National Park Service
Cultural Landscapes Inventory

2017

Revised: 1/2026



Malvern Hill Battlefield

Richmond National Battlefield Park

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Introduction

The Cultural Landscape Inventory (CLI)

The Cultural Landscape Inventory (CLI) is a comprehensive inventory of all cultural landscapes in the National Park System. Landscapes that are listed, or eligible for listing, on the National Register of Historic Places, or are otherwise managed as cultural resources and in which the National Park Service has, or plans to acquire, legal interest are included in the inventory. The CLI identifies and documents each landscape's location, size, physical development, landscape characteristics, character-defining features, and condition. Cultural landscapes have approved CLIs when concurrence with the findings is obtained from the park superintendent and all required data fields are entered into the Cultural Resources Information System (CRIS-CL) database. In addition, for landscapes not currently listed on the National Register and/or without adequate documentation, concurrence is required from the State Historic Preservation Officer, Tribal Historic Preservation Officer, or the Keeper of the National Register.

Scope of the CLI

The information contained within the CLI is compiled from primary and secondary sources and through on-site surveys of the landscape. The level of investigation is dependent upon scoping the need for information. The baseline information collected provides a comprehensive look at the historical development and significance of the landscape. Documentation and analysis of the existing landscape identifies character-defining characteristics and features and allows for an evaluation of the landscape's integrity and an assessment of the landscape's condition. The CLI also includes historic maps, drawings, and images; photographs of existing conditions; and a site plan that indicates major features. The CLI documents the existing condition of park landscape resources and identifies impacts, threats, and measures to stabilize condition. This information can be used to develop strategies for improved stewardship. Unlike a Cultural Landscape Report (CLR), the CLI does not provide management recommendations or treatment guidelines for the cultural landscape, but it may identify stabilization measures.

The Cultural Resources Information System (CRIS)

CRIS is the National Park Service's database of cultural resources on its lands, consisting of archeological sites, historic structures, ethnographic resources, and cultural landscapes. Cultural Resources Inventory System (CRIS) replaces three legacy inventory systems: ASMIS (archeology), CLI (cultural landscapes), and LCS (historic structures); and it reinstates the former ERI (ethnographic resources). This Cultural Landscape Inventory document reflects the information in a corresponding CRIS Cultural Landscape record.

Statutory and Regulatory Foundation

The legislative, regulatory, and policy directives for conducting and maintaining the CLI within CRIS are:

- National Historic Preservation Act (NHPA) of 1966 (16 USC 470h-2(a)(1)) Sec. 110
- Executive Order 13287: Preserve America, 2003. Sec. 3 (a and c)
- Secretary of the Interior's Standards and Guidelines for Federal Agency Historic Preservation Programs
- Pursuant to the National Historic Preservation Act, 1998. Std. 2
- Cultural Resource Management Guideline, 1997, Release No. 5, page 22; issued pursuant to Director's Order #28 (DO-28)

The NHPA requires the identification, evaluation, and nomination of historic properties to the National Register of Historic Places and the maintenance and expansion of an inventory of cultural resources. DO-28 requires a cyclic assessment of the current condition of cultural landscapes based on an assessment interval, with a default of six years.

Use

Beyond fulfilling legal and policy requirements, park staff can use the Cultural Landscape Inventory in the following ways:

- To learn about park cultural landscapes (all staff)
- To inform management decisions (park managers)
- To inform project planning and development (park managers, facility managers, project managers, compliance specialists)
- To monitor the condition of the cultural landscape and take measures to protect its significance and integrity (cultural resource managers, facility managers)
- To recognize the stabilization and treatment needs of landscape features and plan work within cultural landscapes to address the needs (facility managers, cultural resource managers)
- To understand the cultural value of natural systems in a cultural landscape (natural resource managers)
- To create programming and educational materials based on site history (interpretation and education specialists)
- To recognize impacts within cultural landscapes and enforce protection measures (visitor and resources protection staff)

General Information

Property Level and CLI Numbers

Inventory Unit Name:	Malvern Hill Battlefield
Resource Classification:	Component Landscape
CLI Identification Number:	300094
Parent Landscape:	300092
Inventory Status:	Complete

Park Information

Park Name:	Richmond National Battlefield Park
Alpha Code:	RICH
Park Organization Code:	4800
Park District:	RICH
Region:	Northeast
Restricted:	Yes

Landscape Description:

Malvern Hill Battlefield is located at 9175 Willis Church Road, Virginia, approximately thirteen miles southeast of Richmond. The site is part of Richmond National Battlefield Park, a unit of the National Park System comprised of eleven Civil War battlefields and engagement sites and related resources around Virginia's capital city. These sites are variously associated with the events of the Civil War, including the 1862 Peninsula Campaign, 1864 Overland Campaign, naval operations along the James River, and the 1864-65 Richmond-Petersburg Campaign. The July 1, 1862, Battle of Malvern Hill was the final battle of Gen. George B. McClellan's Peninsula Campaign, marking the effective end of Union efforts to reach Richmond in 1862. Malvern Hill Battlefield is located south of, and adjoining, Glendale Battlefield, also a unit of Richmond National Battlefield Park.

The Union army established a strong defensive position across the high ground of Malvern Hill, anchoring its left flank on the steep western slopes and gullies of the hill. From there, Federal artillery and infantry successfully repulsed repeated assaults from the Confederate units from the north and west, inflicting considerable casualties. The tight Union formation, superior artillery position, and support from Union gunboats on the James River two miles to the south proved too strong for the somewhat uncoordinated Confederate attacks. As night fell, the Union position held, and the route south to the Union base of Harrison's Landing was secure.

Malvern Hill Battlefield lies in the southeastern corner of Henrico County, a predominantly rural and agricultural region that also includes several thickly-settled towns and communities and industrial complexes. The park-owned battlefield landscape comprises approximately 343 acres of open fields and 650 acres of forest and wetland, representing the core area of the Battle of Malvern Hill. The landscape incorporates the primary Union line of defense that stretched from the Crewes house westward across the West/Binford farm fields. The landscape also includes large areas of the Confederate approach from the north, important circulation routes, and natural features that influenced the course of the battle. Contributing features include the West house, Willis Methodist Church Parsonage ruins, historical markers, and roads and road traces.

SIGNIFICANCE SUMMARY

Malvern Hill Battlefield, part of the Richmond National Battlefield Park Historic District, possesses significance under National Register of Historic Places Criteria A and D. The site is nationally significance in the area of Military History for its association with the Civil War battle of Malvern Hill on July 1, 1862. The site is also nationally significant in the areas of Commemoration and Conservation for its associations with the Civil War battlefield memorialization and preservation movement. Lastly, the site is nationally significant in the area of Historic (Non-Aboriginal) Archeology for both above-ground and subsurface resources that have the potential to yield information about the battle, as well as the antebellum use of the area. The overall period of significance for Malvern Hill Battlefield extends from 1862 to 1944, which begins with the Civil War battle on July 1, and ends when the NPS officially accepted management responsibility for the park.

ANALYSIS AND EVALUATION SUMMARY AND CONDITION

The historic integrity of Malvern Hill Battlefield is evaluated by comparing landscape characteristics and features present during the period of significance, 1862-1944, with the existing conditions as assessed in 2023. Many landscape characteristics and features from the period of significance remain today. Patterns of natural systems and features that guided settlement and land use and influenced the course of the battle remain evident today, including the natural topography of the level uplands, steep ravines, and swampy drainage bottoms and the dense forest and wetland vegetation present along the Western Run course. Extant circulation features that organize the landscape and that were crucial for troop and equipment movement during the battle include Willis Church Road and Carters Mill Road, as well as the extant farm lanes and visible traces of former circulation features. These circulation features, together with the farm-and-field patterns and the visible traces of former farm sites, convey the historic layout of the landscape and foster an understanding of the battle's events. Contributing buildings and structures include the West house, French's Grist Mill Dam, and the chimneys from the Willis Methodist Church parsonage. Historical markers, including three Freeman markers, illustrate early twentieth century efforts to commemorate and interpret the events of the Civil War in Virginia. Finally, the overall rural character, relative lack of modern development, and the continued agricultural use within the battlefield contribute to the landscape's historic character.

Notable changes since the end of the historic period in 1944 that have altered the character of the landscape include the decline of agriculture, the subsequent reforesting of portions the farm fields, and the absence of historic farm houses and associated structures. The overall historic scene, however, remains largely intact, and the landscape retains enough of its historic qualities to convey its significance for both the Civil War period and the conservation and commemoration period.

Condition:
The landscape of Malvern Hill Battlefield is in "Good" condition, with no clear evidence of impacts that threaten to diminish its historical integrity. Field and forest patterns are stable, with open space maintained by a combination of agricultural use and annual mowing.

Landscape Hierarchy Description:

Malvern Hill Battlefield is a component landscape within the Richmond National Battlefield Landscape, which comprises the entire Richmond National Battlefield Park. In addition to Malvern Hill, there are nine park units categorized as component landscapes: Beaver Dam Creek Battlefield, Chickahominy Bluff, Cold Harbor Battlefield, Drewry's Bluff, Fort Harrison and vicinity, Gaines' Mill Battlefield, Glendale Battlefield, Parker's Battery, and Totopotomoy Creek Battlefield at Rural Plains. Pending additional research, future component landscapes may include North Anna Battlefield and Chimborazo.

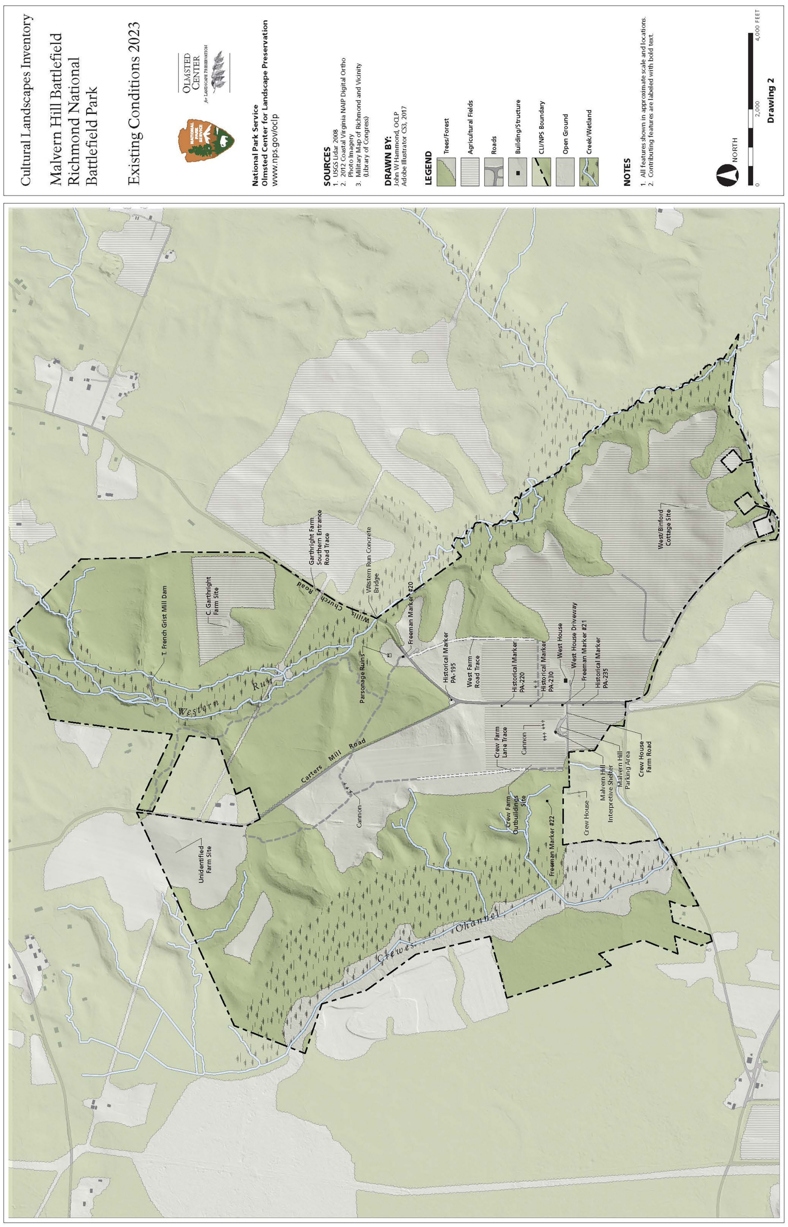
Landscape Type:

Historic Vernacular Landscape

Other Names:

Other Name: Malvern Hill **Other Name Type:** Both Current And Historic

Site Plan



Site map, 1 of 1.

Concurrence Information

Concurrence Status:

Park Superintendent Concurrence: Yes

Park Superintendent Date of Concurrence: 08/23/2017

Completion Status Explanatory Narrative:

The original CLI for Malvern Hill Battlefield was approved by the Superintendent on August 23, 2017. Field documentation and historical research of the Malvern Hill Battlefield cultural landscape was conducted during the summer of 2016 by John W. Hammond and Eliot Foulds, Historical Landscape Architects, Olmsted Center for Landscape Preservation, with assistance from Robert Krick, Historian, Richmond NBP. Analysis and evaluation of the landscape characteristics and features was completed by John W. Hammond in 2017.

Portions of this report, including site history, archeological information, and analysis and evaluation, are based on information contained in the "Cultural Landscape Report for Glendale and Malvern Hill Units of Richmond National Battlefield Park," prepared by John Milner Associates, Inc. in 2004. Portions of the site history in this CLI were extracted and adapted from the history contained in that report. Due to the geographical proximity and the common history shared by both landscapes, the site history for the Malvern Hill Battlefield and Glendale Battlefield component landscapes are identical.

As a contributing site within Richmond NBP, the significance of the Malvern Hill Battlefield landscape was documented in the National Register nomination for the park approved by the Virginia State Historic Preservation Office in 2017 and the Keeper of the National Register in 2018. Portions of the statement of significance in this CLI were extracted and adapted from the National Register Nomination.

This update was completed by Meaghan Papeika, Architectural Historian, and Tim Layton, Historical Landscape Architect, and reviewed by Jeff Killion, Historical Landscape Architect, at the Olmsted Center for Landscape Preservation. Field work was completed in February 2023 by Layton and Papeika. The cultural resource contact for the park is Lexie Lowe, Park Archeologist, who may be reached at alexandra_lowe@nps.gov or 804-904-7443.

SUMMARY OF CLI REVISIONS, 2026

Three levels of effort have been developed for CLI Updates: A, B, and C. Level C is limited to a condition reassessment of the landscape; Level B includes C and is a targeted update of select data fields; Level A includes C and is a comprehensive update of all data fields. The 2026 update to the Malvern Hill Battlefield CLI has been conducted at a Level B effort. The following edits have been made:

• The management category for the landscape remains, "Must be Preserved and Maintained."
• The areas and period of significance are Military, Commemoration, Conservation, and Historic Archeology (Non-Aboriginal) for 1862-1944. The areas and periods of significance align with the 2018 National Register documentation.
• Updates to the Chronology and Physical History sections document changes in the landscape since 2017.
• Updates to inventoried features in the Analysis and Evaluation chapter are consistent with the updated National Register documentation and the Historic Structures Inventory. Virginia Historical Markers PA-195, PA-220, PA-230, and PA-235 are contributing features in the National Register but are not evaluated in the CLI Update because they are not owned or maintained by the NPS. The Archeological Sites section is revised to direct readers to the 2018 National Register documentation. There are also several features not evaluated in the National Register: a large depression south/southeast of the Creweses House that was most likely an icehouse, evaluated as Undetermined pending future research; and a non-historic pit toilet near the Parsonage Ruins.
• The overall landscape condition was evaluated as "Fair" in 2017. The proposed landscape condition evaluation for 2025 is "Fair."
• Updates to existing condition photographs and the site map.

Attachment File Path

CULTURAL LANDSCAPES INVENTORY
CONCURRENCE FORM

Malvern Hill Battlefield
Richmond National Battlefield Park

Richmond National Battlefield Park concurs with the findings of the Cultural Landscape Inventory (CLI) for Malvern Hill Battlefield, including the following specific components:

MANAGEMENT CATEGORY: Must Be Preserved and Maintained

CONDITION ASSESSMENT: Good

Good: indicates the inventory unit shows no clear evidence of major negative disturbance and deterioration by natural and/or human forces. The inventory unit's cultural and natural values are as well preserved as can be expected under the given environmental conditions. No immediate corrective action is required to maintain its current condition.

Fair: indicates the inventory unit shows clear evidence of minor disturbances and deterioration by natural and/or human forces, and some degree of corrective action is needed within 3-5 years to prevent further harm to its cultural and/or natural values. If left to continue without the appropriate corrective action, the cumulative effect of the deterioration of many of the character defining elements will cause the inventory unit to degrade to a poor condition.

Poor: indicates the inventory unit shows clear evidence of major disturbance and rapid deterioration by natural and/or human forces. Immediate corrective action is required to protect and preserve the remaining historical and natural values.

The Cultural Landscape Inventory for Malvern Hill Battlefield is hereby approved and accepted.

Superintendent, Richmond National Battlefield Park — 8/23/2017 Date

Park concurrence form, August 23, 2017.

Cultural Landscapes Inventory
CLI Updates Certification Form
2026

Richmond National Battlefield Park

Chickahominy Bluff, Drewry's Bluff, Fort Harrison, Glendale Battlefield, Malvern Hill Battlefield, Parkers' Battery

Richmond National Battlefield Park certifies the CLI updates for the following sites, including:

CONDITION ASSESSMENT:
Fair – Chickahominy Bluff
Poor – Drewry's Bluff
Good – Fort Harrison
Fair – Glendale Battlefield
Good – Malvern Hill Battlefield
Fair – Parkers' Battery

Good: indicates the inventory unit shows no clear evidence of major negative disturbance and deterioration by natural and/or human forces. The inventory unit's cultural and natural values are as well preserved as can be expected under the given environmental conditions. No immediate corrective action is required to maintain its current condition.

Fair: indicates the inventory unit shows clear evidence of minor disturbances and deterioration by natural and/or human forces, and some degree of corrective action is needed within 3-5 years to prevent further harm to its cultural and/or natural values. If left to continue without the appropriate corrective action, the cumulative effect of the deterioration of many of the character defining elements, will cause the inventory unit to degrade to a poor condition.

Poor: indicates the inventory unit shows clear evidence of major disturbance and rapid deterioration by natural and/or human forces. Immediate corrective action is required to protect and preserve the remaining historical and natural values.

The CLI updates for the sites listed above at Richmond National Battlefield Park are hereby approved and accepted.

JENIFER EGGLESTON Digitally signed by JENIFER EGGLESTON
Date: 2026.01.12 18:58:50 -05'00'

Superintendent, Richmond National Battlefield Park Date

Park concurrence form, January 12, 2026.

Revision:

Revised By	Type of Revision	Revision Date	Revision Narrative
Jeff Killion	CLI Update	01/12/2026	Three levels of effort have been developed for CLI Updates: A, B, and C. Level C is limited to a condition reassessment of the landscape; Level B includes C and is a targeted update of select data fields; Level A includes C and is a comprehensive update of all data fields. The 2025 update to the Malvern Hill CLI has been conducted at a Level B effort.

Geographic Information

State and County:

State	County
Virginia	Henrico County

Size (Acres): 1688.84

Land Tract Number(s)

Malvern Hill Battlefield comprises seven land tracts with a total acreage of approximately 1,688.84 acres. Land tract numbers are 04B-100 (254.12 acres), 04-101 (542.69 acres), 02-102 (446.47 acres), 04-105 (62.03 acres), 04-102 (4.00 acres), 04-176 (25.61 acres), and 04-132 (353.82 acres).

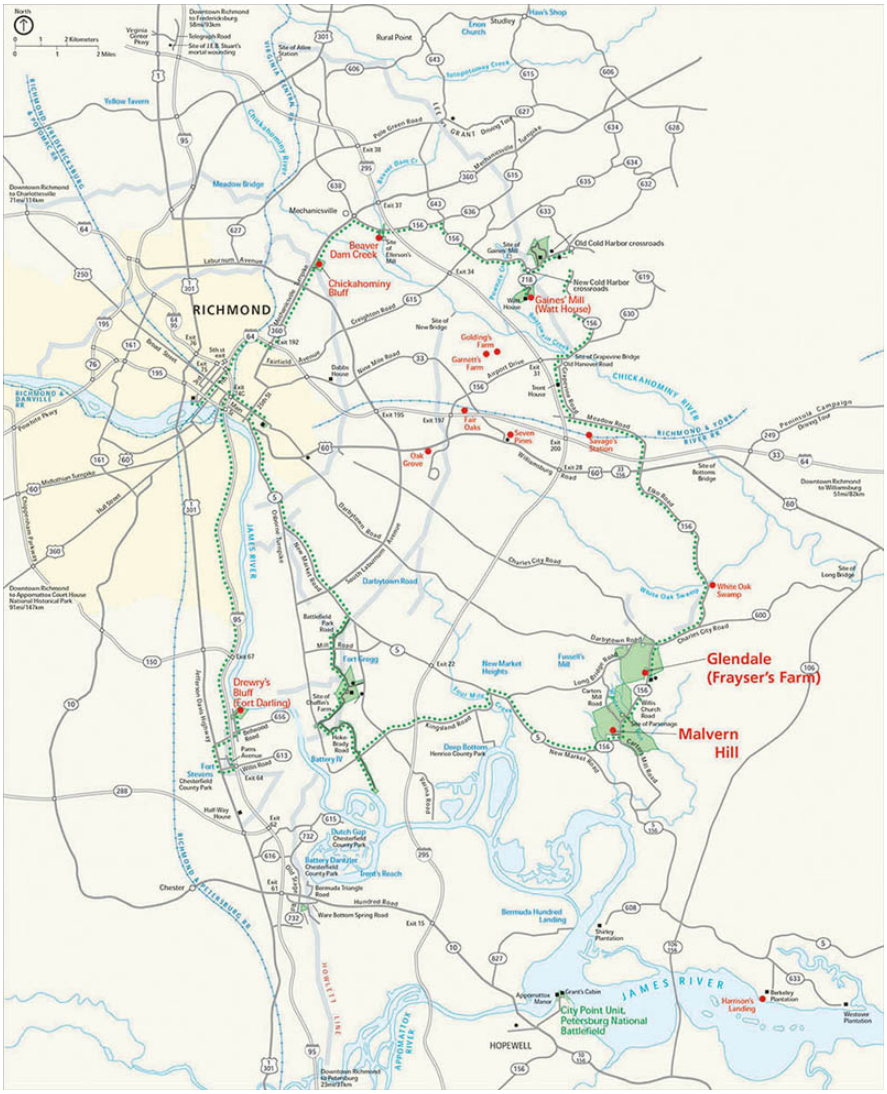
Boundary Description:

The boundary of the Malvern Hill Battlefield landscape corresponds to the park boundary of the Malvern Hill Unit, encompassing the park-owned land most closely associated with the fighting during the Battle of Malvern Hill on July 1, 1862.

Boundary Coordinates

Source	Type of Point	Latitude	Longitude	Narrative
GPS-UnCorrected	Point	37.43023	-77.24293	
GPS-UnCorrected	Point	37.40672	-77.23204	
GPS-UnCorrected	Point	37.4051	-77.24043	
GPS-UnCorrected	Point	37.40716	-77.25954	
GPS-UnCorrected	Point	37.42563	-77.26616	
GPS-UnCorrected	Point	37.43275	-77.24624	

Location Map:



Malvern Hill Battlefield, a unit of Richmond National Battlefield Park, is located approximately thirteen miles southeast of Richmond, Virginia. Malvern Hill Battlefield is immediately south of Glendale Battlefield. (NPS, annotated by Olmsted Center for Landscape Preservation--hereafter OCLP)

Regional Landscape Contexts:

Type of Context: Physiographic

Description:

This context concerns the large-scale physical forms and patterns of the landscape such as hill, plateau, ravine, drumlin, etc. Malvern Hill Battlefield is located in Henrico County approximately thirteen miles southeast of Richmond Virginia (see Regional Landscape Context graphic, at the end of this report). Malvern Hill Battlefield is situated along the eastern edge of the county within a peninsula of land formed by the Chickahominy and James River corridors. Henrico County crosses two of Virginia's physiographic provinces: the Piedmont and Atlantic Coastal Plain, also known as the Tidewater region. The Tidewater area is characterized by large, relatively level terraces or plateaus bounded by steep embankments associated with the margins of waterways. Many of the region's waterways are edged by swamps and other wetlands.

Malvern Hill is largely level plateau that is cut with drainage ravines and bordered with steep escarpments on the south and west side. In general, the level top of Malvern Hill is approximately sixty feet above the bottoms of the drainage corridors. The area is drained by Turkey Island Creek, Western Run, and Creweses Channel, which join just before entering the James River. Turkey Island Creek drains over 18 square miles of primarily forested land, although about a quarter of the area is covered in crops or pasture.

Type of Context: Cultural

Description:

This context concerns the general human overlay on the physical form of the landscape. The area around Malvern Hill Battlefield has been predominantly agricultural through most of the twentieth century. Although Henrico County is relatively populous, with a population of 306,935 in 2010, the majority of its development is in the areas immediately around Richmond. The southeast corner of the county, in which Malvern Hill is situated, remains largely rural with sparse population concentrated along major roads. The area also supports industrial production, including gravel mining on the floodplains of the James River meanders and large chemical plants at the site of Bermuda Hundred seven miles south of Glendale Battlefield.

Type of Context: Political

Description:

This context concerns the overlay imposed on the landscape through general land use, zoning, legal restrictions, transportation, utilities, population, and political jurisdiction (e.g., state, county, city, borough, or village). Malvern Hill Battlefield is a unit of Richmond National Battlefield Park, a park unit of the National Park Service. The site is located in an unincorporated area of Henrico County, Virginia.

Management Information

General Management Information

Management Category: Must be Preserved and Maintained

Management Category Date: 08/23/2017

Management Category Explanatory Narrative:

As approved on August 23, 2017, Malvern Hill Battlefield meets the management category “Must be Preserved and Maintained” because the property is related to the park’s legislated significance and is nationally significant as defined by National Register of Historic Places criteria.

The 1936 enabling legislation for Richmond National Battlefield Park, amended in 1995, states, “In order to preserve the site of the 1862 Peninsula Campaign and the 1864-1865 Battle of Richmond, in the vicinity of Richmond, Virginia, as a national battlefield park for the benefit and inspiration of the people of the United States, there is hereby established, subject to existing rights, the Richmond National Battlefield Park.” Malvern Hill was part of the park’s original acreage. In 2018 the property was identified as nationally significant under Criteria A and D of the National Register of Historic Places, as part of the Richmond National Battlefield Park Historic District. (Act of March 2, 1936, Chapter 113; 49 Stat. 1155; NR 2018, Sec.8: 41-43,92)

Management Agreements:

Type of Agreement: Other

Management Agreement Expiration Date:

Management Agreement Explanatory Narrative:

Richmond NBP issues agricultural leases every 5-6 years. (PEPC 129784)

Legal Interests:

Type of Interest: Fee Simple

Narrative: The boundary of the Malvern Hill Battlefield cultural landscape corresponds to the federally owned parcels.

Located in managed wilderness?: Unknown

Adjacent Lands Information

Do Adjacent Lands Contribute? Yes

Adjacent Lands Narrative:

Adjacent lands are lands outside the cultural landscape boundary, including lands inside or outside the park. The approximately 1,300-acre Malvern Hill Battlefield site contains portions of the core area of fighting during the Battle of Malvern Hill. However, considerable portions of the fighting, as well as maneuvering and staging, occurred on lands currently outside of the park boundary.

National Register Information

National Register of Historic Places

Documentation Status: Keeper - Documented

Documentation Narrative Description:

Malvern Hill Battlefield is part of Richmond National Battlefield Park (NBP), which encompasses a series of non-contiguous sites authorized on March 2, 1936 “for the purpose of protecting, managing, and interpreting the resources associated with the Civil War battles in and around the City of Richmond, Virginia,” and established on July 14, 1944. A large portion of the site belonged to the original state park established in 1932 and was transferred to the NPS. The Park Service acquired additional property at Malvern Hill in 2000.

Richmond NBP was administratively listed without documentation in the National Register of Historic Places on October 15, 1966 with the passage of the National Historic Preservation Act. On November 12, 1969, documentation for Malvern Hill was entered in the National Register. The documentation identified significance at the state level under Criterion A in the areas of art, military, and other (history). The house and surrounding bluff were associated with the Battle at Malvern Hill on July 1, 1862. The house burned down in c.1905, leaving only foundations and one end wall that were in poor condition. The property currently lies outside of the park’s authorized boundary.

Initial park-wide documentation of resources occurred on January 16, 1973 when the park was listed on the Virginia Landmark Register under the name “Richmond National Battlefield Park.” For this listing, a National Register form was prepared but was not approved by the Keeper of the National Register. The documentation accepted by Virginia indicated that the site was significant under Criterion A in the areas of politics and social/humanitarian, Criterion C in the area of architecture, and Criterion D for archeology (historic-aboriginal). The period of significance was identified as the nineteenth century, but no specific dates were given. The documentation itemized resources under four headings: earthworks (11 areas), monuments (approximately 80), Watt house, and Garthright house. No specific resources were identified at Malvern Hill Battlefield.

On February 18, 2000, the Multiple Property Documentation Form (MPDF) “The Civil War in Virginia, 1861-1865: Historic and Archeological Resources” was accepted by the Keeper. The MPDF identified property types and historic contexts with which to evaluate historic and archeological resources related to the Civil War. The six property types were battlefields, earthworks, campsites, military hospitals, military headquarters, and military prisons. Richmond NBP was identified under the battlefields, earthworks, military hospitals, and military headquarters property types under Criteria A, C, and D. The historic contexts were organized by the Civil War campaigns in Virginia, most of which were conducted along the principal transportation routes. The events at Malvern Hill Battlefield (July 1, 1862) were described as part of the Peninsula and Seven Days’ Campaigns.

On October 5, 2009, the Virginia State Historic Preservation Office (SHPO) concurred with the NPS on the eligibility of numerous resources at the park as part of an update to the Historic Structures Inventory (formerly List of Classified Structures). At Malvern Hill Battlefield, nine resources were identified as contributing to the significance of the MPDF’s battlefields property type: Creweses Farm Lane, Creweses House Farm Road, Parsonage Ruins, 1862 Willis Church Road Trace, West House Driveway, West House Foundation, French Grist Mill Dam, 1862 Garthwright Farm Southern Entrance Road Trace, and 1862 West Road Trace. Three resources were identified as contributing to the commemoration of the Civil War at Richmond NBP: Freeman Marker #20 (“Methodist Parsonage”), Freeman Marker #21 (“Battle of Malvern Hill”), and Freeman Marker #22 (“Malvern Hill, Confederate Assault”).

On April 27, 2018, the Keeper accepted the first comprehensive park-wide National Register documentation for Richmond NBP (the Virginia SHPO approved an earlier draft on March 7, 2017).

According to the documentation, the district is primarily significant as the site of major Civil War battlefields and related properties associated with the Union's attempts to take the Confederate capital city of Richmond during the Peninsula Campaign of 1862, the Overland Campaign of 1864, and the Richmond-Petersburg Campaign of 1864-1865. Significance for the 3,629.2-acre federally owned historic district was identified under Criteria A, B, C, and D at the national level in the areas of Military, Ethnic Heritage-Black, Conservation, Other (Commemoration), Science, Engineering, Architecture, Archeology-Historic (Non-Aboriginal), and Archeology-Prehistoric. Robert E. Lee, George B. McClellan, and Ulysses S. Grant were identified as significant persons, and the district's contributing commemorative monuments were evaluated as meeting Criteria Consideration F (Commemorative Properties) because they possess significance engendered from their age, design, and symbolic values. The period of significance for the district was listed as c.1720-1944, beginning with the construction of the Garthright house and ending when the NPS officially accepted management of Richmond NBP. The period of significance was listed at 1725-1864 for historic archeology. The documentation identified the entire site as a contributing resource, along with sixteen other contributing features (see Analysis and Evaluation chapter). An amendment to the National Register documentation is currently underway, which will address 635 acres of North Anna Battlefield (new park unit, acquired from ABT c. 2016/2017); a 50-acre tract at Cold Harbor, which includes Fort Fletcher; 380 acres at Malvern Hill; and 15 acres at Glendale.

According to research conducted for the CLI documentation and the categories of National Register documentation outlined in the "CLI Professional Procedures Guide," Malvern Hill Battlefield at Richmond NBP is adequately documented based on the park-wide National Register documentation approved by the Keeper in 2018. Therefore, for purposes of the CLI, the property is considered "Entered – Documented."

Eligibility: Eligible - Keeper

Concurrence Eligibility Date: 04/27/2018

Concurrence Narrative:

Significance Level: National

Contributing: Contributing

Classification: Site

Statement of Significance for National Register of Historic Places:

Peninsula Campaign:
Malvern Hill Battlefield is a contributing site of the Richmond National Battlefield Park (NBP), which comprises twelve discontiguous administrative units encompassing approximately 4,550 acres in and around the cities of Richmond and Mechanicsville, Virginia, within Henrico, Hanover, and Chesterfield counties. The District contains parts of six sites consisting of Drewry's Bluff, Chickahominy Bluff, Beaver Dam Creek Battlefield, Gaines' Mill Battlefield, Glendale Battlefield, and Malvern Hill Battlefield that are associated with the Peninsula Campaign (April 4-July 2, 1862). The campaign was orchestrated by Major General George McClellan who transported his Union Army of the Potomac by boat to the tip of Virginia's Southeast Peninsula in early April and, after winning a series of battles on the peninsula, reached the outskirts of Richmond in late May and began to make preparations to lay siege to the city. After the Battle of Seven Pines on May 31, Major General Robert E. Lee assumed command of the Confederate Army of Northern Virginia and began to improve the defenses around the city and make plans for taking the offensive. During the week between June 26 and July 2, Lee launched a series of attacks that have since become known as the Seven Days' Battles. Despite being significantly outnumbered, Lee was able to

force the cautious McClellan into abandoning his campaign.

Malvern Hill Battlefield:
Malvern Hill Battlefield is nationally significant under Criterion A in the area of Military History as the site of the July 1, 1862, Battle of Malvern Hill, in which the Union Army successfully defended itself from Confederate assault, allowing the Federal forces to retreat to the safety of the James River. The site is also significant under Criterion A in the areas of Commemoration and Conservation for its association with the Civil War battlefield memorialization and preservation movement, which led to the establishment of Richmond National Battlefield Park in 1936. Malvern Hill Battlefield is significant under Criterion D in the area of Historic (Non-Aboriginal) for both above-ground and subsurface resources that have the potential to yield information about the battle, as well as the antebellum use of the area.

The overall period of significance for Malvern Hill Battlefield extends from 1862 to 1944. The period of significance for site's military associations is 1862, the year of the Battle of Malvern Hill. For commemoration and conservation, the period is 1925-1944, from installation of the Freeman Markers to the year when the NPS officially accepted management responsibility for the park.

CRITERION A

Military History:
Malvern Hill Battlefield is significant at the national level in the area of Military History as the site of the July 1, 1862, Battle of Malvern Hill, the last of the Seven Days' Battles in Gen. George McClellan's Peninsula Campaign. The battle marked the end of Gen. McClellan's Peninsula Campaign and the last chance for Federal forces to reach Richmond and end the war in 1862. The battle also secured the Union retreat to the safety of Harrison's Landing and ensured the Army of the Potomac would survive to continue the fight.

Peninsula Campaign.
In the spring of 1862, Gen. McClellan moved the Army of the Potomac to Fort Monroe at the tip of the Virginia Peninsula bordered by the York and James Rivers. On April 4, he began his march with 50,000 troops up the peninsula toward Richmond, only to be stopped by Confederate fortifications at Yorktown. Believing the Confederate position stronger than it was, McClellan began to settle in for a long siege. For a month, Confederate Gen. John B. Magruder delayed the Federal advance, giving the Army of Northern Virginia crucial time to prepare to defend the capital. On May 4, just as Federal artillery was beginning to tip the balance in the Yorktown siege, Magruder quietly pulled his troops out of his fortifications and retreated toward Richmond. (NR 2018, Sec.8: 46)

During the month of May the Union troops moved northward, closing in on Richmond. Although President Abraham Lincoln urged McClellan to attack Confederate capital, the general continued to overestimate the strength of his opponent, and he moved too slowly and deliberately, stalling for reinforcements. The U.S. War Department agreed to release Gen. Irvin McDowell's First Corps, which had been held back to defend Washington, to march overland and join McClellan. McDowell's orders to join McClellan were rescinded, however, when a push by Major General Thomas "Stonewall" Jackson in Virginia's Shenandoah Valley threatened Washington D.C. (NR 2018, Sec.8: 49)

Sensing a weakness in both the Union position and in McClellan's resolve, Confederate Maj. Gen. Joseph E. Johnston ordered an attack on the Federals at Seven Pines, south of the Chickahominy River on May 31. The hard-fought two-day Battle of Seven Pines ended in the morning of June 1. The attacking Confederates suffered 6,134 casualties, while the Federal total amounted to 5,031. Both sides claimed victory, but the battle did little to change the military situation. The most significant outcome of the Battle of Seven Pines was Jefferson Davis' decision to put Gen. Robert E. Lee in command of the Army of Northern Virginia in place of the wounded Johnston. Lee spent the next few weeks reorganizing the army and improving the lines of earthen fortifications that nearly encircled Richmond. (NR 2018, Sec.8: 49)

Seven Days Battles.
After the Battle of Seven Pines, fighting paused for several weeks. Lee ordered his troops back to their pre-battle lines and the Federals reoccupied their original positions. While McClellan was making preparations to lay siege to Richmond, using the captured portion of the Richmond and York River Railroad to bring his big guns closer to the city, Lee improved his defensive position and began planning to

take the offensive. Lee was convinced that a siege of the Confederate capital would be disastrous as it would only be a question of time if the superior Federal manpower and armament were allowed to entrench around the city. To prevent this, Lee carried out a series of attacks on the Union army that would collectively be known as the Seven Days Battles.
The Battle of Oak Grove, the first of the Seven Days Battles, resulted from an attempt by McClellan to improve his position for an attack on the Old Tavern crossroads. McClellan's plan was to take the wooded area known as Oak Grove, putting his forces in position to attack Old Tavern from the south. At about 8:30 on the morning of June 25, Federal troops began the assault on Oak Grove, moving east along the Williamsburg Road. They were met by three brigades of Confederate defenders under Maj. Gen. Benjamin Huger's command. The battle raged back and forth, but neither side gained any advantage and the fighting ended at nightfall. Casualties amounted to about 625 for the Federals and 440 for the Confederates. (NR 2018, Sec.8: 50)

Meanwhile, Lee proceeded with his plan to defend Richmond through counterattack. Lee moved four divisions against McClellan's right flank outside of Mechanicsville on June 26. Although Jackson's division was late and never engaged, Maj. Gen. A.P. Hill backed by Maj. Gens. Longstreet and D.H. Hill launched a determined attack against Brig. Gen. Fitz John Porter's V Corps, which occupied defensive works behind Beaver Dam Creek on the north side of the Chickahominy River. The Confederate attacks were driven back with heavy casualties, but the show of force unnerved McClellan. Fearing that his supply lines would be cut off, he ordered that his supply base be moved from White House Landing on the York River to Harrison's Landing on the James River. McClellan pulled his right flank back that night into a stronger defensive position behind Boatswain's Swamp. (NR 2018, Sec.8: 52-53)

The following day at Gaines' Mill, Lee pressed McClellan again, launching 57,000 men against the Union forces in the largest Confederate assault of the war to date. The focus of the attack was again the Union right flank, isolated from the rest of the force north of the Chickahominy River. Throughout the day, the Confederates mounted disjointed attacks, first with the division of Maj. Gen. A.P. Hill, then Maj. Gen. Richard S. Ewell. Initially, the strong Union position and lack of coordination of the Confederate attacks allowed the Federal army to withstand the assault, but as afternoon turned to evening, the Confederates began to make some progress. At about 7:00 p.m., when Jackson's divisions finally joined the fight, the Union line collapsed and fell back across the Chickahominy River, burning the bridges behind them. (NR 2018, Sec.8: 55)

The day's casualties surmounted any battle of the Civil War to that point except Shiloh. Porter lost a total of 6,837 men (894 killed, 3,114 wounded, and 2,829 captured). Among the latter number were two entire regiments that had been surrounded as the Union line collapsed. Confederates casualties were worse (1,483 killed, 6,402 wounded, and 108 missing or captured), but they controlled the field as the remainder of Porter's men crossed the Chickahominy and set fire to the bridges behind them. That night, McClellan called a meeting of his general staff and told them directly of his plans for moving the army to the James River.

Lee pursued McClellan as he moved south toward Harrison's Landing, harassing the rear of the retreating column at Savage's Station and White Oak Swamp. At Glendale, Union forces successfully defended the vital crossroads, despite the fact that McClellan had largely relinquished responsibility for managing the elements of his army and had retired to the gunboat Galena on the James River. On the night of June 30, the Army of the Potomac consolidated its position on Malvern Hill. (NR 2018, Sec.8: 55-57)

Battle of Malvern Hill.
The defensive position that the Federals established at the Malvern Hill Battlefield by the morning of July 1 was an exceptionally strong one. McClellan's army was placed in an inverted U-shape around Malvern Hill, which sloped gently up from surrounding open farmland to a height of up to 100 feet and was flanked by deep ravines. While its height was not great, the hill provided the Federals an excellent field of fire in all directions from which the Confederates might come. In order to take the hill, Lee's men would have to attack up-hill and across wide, open fields where they would be met by a Union front that consisted of four infantry divisions supported by massed artillery. Porter, who would ultimately assume command of the battle due to McClellan's absence once again from the field, posted Brig. Gen. George Sykes's division with Capt. Henry J. Hunt's artillery reserve on the southwestern portion of the hill overlooking the approach from the west along New Market Road. Brig. Gen. George W. Morell's division was attached to Syke's

right and extended around the northern apex of the hill in the ground between the Creweses and West houses where it guarded the approach from the north along Willis Church Road and Carter's Mill Road. The farm roads associated with Creweses and West properties, including Creweses House Farm Road. Creweses Farm Lane, West House Driveway, and West Farm Road Trace, were used by the troops to reach their positions and provided access to other areas of the battlefield during fight. On Morell's right around the eastern front and side of the hill were the divisions of Brigadier Generals Darius N. Couch's and Philip Kearny of the Third and Fourth corps, respectively. About 40 pieces of artillery were massed on each side of the hill. Another four divisions numbering about 70,000 troops and an additional 150 cannon were in close support to the south. (NR 2018, Sec.8: 57-58).

During their retreat south, the Federals had left behind a massive amount of commissary stores and weapons and the many stragglers were rounded up. This evidence suggested to Lee and others on his staff that the Army of the Potomac was demoralized and that one more concerted push might finish it. Despite knowing that the Federals held a strong position on Malvern Hill, Lee decided to attack using the commands of Jackson, Magruder, and Huger, which did not participate in the fighting the previous day at Glendale. Jackson came in from the north on Willis Church Road and formed the Confederate left. D.H. Hill, who was still attached to Jackson, placed his division astride the Willis Church Road near the Willis Methodist Church Parsonage in center of the Confederate line. Magruder was to follow Jackson and fill the space on Hill's right but had trouble finding the way and lost hours in marching and countermarching. Magruder's spot was ultimately filled by two of Huger's brigades under Brigadier Generals Lewis A. Armistead and Ambrose R. Wright. Huger and his other two brigades were not present when the battle started in the early afternoon. Again, Lee's subordinates found it difficult to reach their designated stations and the plans for the day began to fall apart. (NR 2018, Sec.8: 58)

As the various Confederate units converged on Malvern Hill, Lee conferred with Longstreet about launching a concentrated artillery barrage from points they had independently scouted to the east and west of Malvern Hill. By massing the army's artillery on both sides of the Federal lines, the converging cross-fire might knock out the Federal guns, opening the way for a general infantry assault. Through a bungled translation of what Lee had intended, orders for the infantry assault were left at the discretion of the inexperienced Armistead who held the closest position to the Union center and was left to determine whether the artillery barrage had the desired effect. If so, his brigade was to charge with a Rebel yell, signaling the start of the general attack. (NR 2018, Sec.8: 58)

The Confederate practice of deploying batteries with each brigade rather than with the larger division made it difficult to assemble all the guns into place. As a result, the firing was uneven and far sparser then intended. The Union gunners easily drove the Confederate batteries from the field, inflicting about 100 casualties in the process. By 3:00 p.m. Lee realized that the barrage was not going to be successful and decided on an alternative plan to flank the Union left with Longstreet's and A.P. Hill's divisions. While he was reconnoitering that area of the Federal lines, Huger's sent several of his regiments forward to clear Federal pickets in his front. Rather than returning to their lines after having done so, the units continued on toward Malvern Hill to an area of cover afforded by a ravine. Huger's seeming success and erroneous reports that the McClellan's army was again retreating, convinced Lee to order Magruder, who had finally reached the field in the late afternoon, to advance. (NR 2018, Sec.8: 58)

Magruder began sending brigades from his division forward along Carter's Mill Road in piecemeal fashion about 5:30 p.m. Hearing the firing, D.H. Hill and other units from Jackson's command advanced on Magruder's left. With no opposition from Confederate batteries, the Union artillery, supported by infantry rifle fire, easily repulsed the attacks. As the Confederates continually reformed and advanced on the Union center and right, Porter was able to call on a deep reserve of fresh troops and artillery to repel them. The disjointed Confederate attacks ended as darkness fell. While the casualty totals, slightly more than 5,000 Confederate and about 3,000 Union, were relatively balanced, the outcome was never in doubt. Confederate charges in parts of the field resulted in fearsome slaughter, prompting D.H. Hill to write later: "it was not war—it was murder." (NR 2018, Sec.8: 58)

The following morning found the Federals gone from Malvern Hill and well on their way to the safety of the Navy's gunboats Harrison's Landing. There, McClellan waited until circumstances forced the recall of the Army of the Potomac to intervene in Lee's operations in Maryland during the fall of 1862. Lee was hailed as the savior of Richmond, but the Seven Days' Campaign was a mixture of success and failure. He was

never able to get his entire army into a position to deal a decisive blow against a foe that was clearly on the retreat and could claim only Gaines' Mill as a decisive victory. Even so, he had succeeded in driving McClellan's much larger army from the gates of Richmond and used the knowledge he had gained of the capabilities of his subordinates to reorganize the Army of Northern Virginia into one of the most capable fighting forces in American history. Richmond would not seriously be threatened again until the spring of 1864. (NR 2018, Sec.8: 58-59)

Commemoration and Conservation:
As part of Richmond National Battlefield Park, Malvern Hill Battlefield is significant at the national level in the areas of Commemoration and Conservation for its associations with the Civil War battlefield memorialization and preservation movement. The 1862 and 1864 Civil War battlefield sites surrounding Richmond did not benefit initially from federal battlefield preservation efforts in the 1890s that resulted in the creation of the country's first four national military parks, all at Civil War sites, under the management of the War Department. Over the next few decades, numerous individuals and groups petitioned Congress for additional parks and memorials at other deserving American battlefields. In the 1920s, Richmond journalist and historian Douglas Southall Freeman led a group of interested residents in forming the Battlefield Markers Association to raise money for the identification and erection of over 60 commemorative markers at various battlefield sites in and around the city. The collection of "Freeman Markers"—15 of which are located within Richmond NBP—is the earliest known series of non-governmental historical markers in the country. (NR 2018, Sec.8: 81)

The Freeman Markers each consist of a 2-ft-3-in by 3-ft-5-in cast iron inscription tablet set at an angle on a concrete capstone with a granite base. The cast iron tablets have raised lettering describing the portion of the battle commemorated; each has a unique identifying number at the lower left corner. Three of these markers are currently located within the boundary of the Malvern Hill Battlefield cultural landscape.

Following the success of the Freeman Markers, the Virginia Conservation and Economic Development Commission began erecting roadside signs in 1927 to commemorate events of the Civil War. These markers consisted of a cast iron sign painted silver with raised black lettering. The signs were mounted vertically on metal signposts. Several such commemorative signs were installed in the area of Malvern Hill Battlefield in 1932 to interpret the events of the Seven Days Battles and the battles of Glendale and Malvern Hill. Four of the 1932 signs are currently located within the boundary of the Malvern Hill Battlefield cultural landscape, but they are not owned or maintained by the NPS. The Commonwealth of Virginia, together with the Civilian Conservation Corps (CCC) under the supervision of the National Park Service, developed the battlefield park between 1927 and 1944 according to the prevailing principles of battlefield preservation and commemoration. At Malvern Hill, designated as Area #2, CCC Crewess performed maintenance and clean-up of the landscape, removing dead material, clearing roadsides, managing forest stands, and cutting a fire break in 1935. By 1938, Crewess had completed a parking pull-off and a rustic park sign adjacent to the Freeman marker along Willis Church Road.

The District's contributing commemorative monuments meet Criteria Consideration F because they possess significance engendered from their age, design, and symbolic values. (NR 2018, Sec.8: 43)

CRITERION D

Historic (Non-Aboriginal) Archeology:
Malvern Hill Battlefield is nationally significant under Criterion D in the area of Archeology – Historic (Non-Aboriginal) for its surviving earthworks and the potential to investigate the evolution of nineteenth-century military engineering, design techniques, and technology over the course of the war. Archeological investigations at Malvern Hill Battlefield have yielded, and may be expected to continue to yield, important information about the use and features of the property present during the period of significance. To date, only the Malvern Hill, Glendale, Gaines' Mill, and Totopotomoy Creek units have undergone systematic, unit-wide archeological review or survey. The identified archeological resources and surviving above-ground elements of the military landscape at Malvern Hill illustrate the organization, operation, and experiences of the Union and Confederate armies that can be extrapolated to archeologically unexplored portions of the district. (NR 2018, Sec.8: 107-108)

Where there are fortifications, there is battlefield debris consisting of dropped and fired bullets; hardware

sheared off uniforms, packs, and weapons; shrapnel from exploded shells; and canisters. Fields of fire and miscellaneous battle debris that may be archeologically recoverable around extant and former structures at the Malvern Hill, Cold Harbor, and Fort Harrison battlefield sites may provide insights into tactical maneuvers that are not otherwise available in documentary sources. (NR Sec.8: 110)

Malvern Hill Battlefield is also nationally significant under Criterion D in the area of Archeology – Historic (Non-Aboriginal) for its potential to yield important information about the antebellum development of the landscape and the enslaved and free people who lived on it. The 1862 Peninsula Campaign and 1864 Overland Campaign were fought across a preexisting cultural landscape of farms and fields shaped by the Virginia Piedmont agricultural history. Several residential/domestic sites identified at the Malvern Hill Battlefield have the potential to contribute substantive archeological data about the Virginia Piedmont agricultural history. (NR Sec.8: 115-117)

Prehistoric Archeology:
Archeological survey work at Malvern Hill has produced a more substantive pre-contact profile for the district, including several higher-density quartz and quartzite lithic scatters on bluffs or ridgetops adjacent to or overlooking the Western Run drainage. Diagnostic Halifax and Savannah River projectile points and one sherd of Mockley were collected, which suggests Late Archaic to Middle Woodland occupation. Although the Malvern Hill sites have not been evaluated, their locations on fairly undisturbed landforms in environmentally favorable contexts suggest a significant degree of archeological integrity and the potential to yield important information about the occupation and use of Malvern Hill during the pre-contact period. (NR 2018, Sec.8: 122)

The excavations at the Creweses/Mettert slave quarters recovered an even more promising pre-contact assemblage. Although the materials, dating to the Early Archaic, Early Woodland, and undetermined Woodland periods, were found in mixed stratigraphic contexts, the Woodland materials were clearly concentrated in the southern part of the site, while the Early Archaic materials were concentrated almost entirely to the north. This temporal segregation, combined with a generally uneven distribution of materials, suggests discrete occupational sequences based on time period and some level of inter-site variability based on specific tasks. This inferred patterning presents an important opportunity to examine the pre-contact settlement of the Malvern Hill area and how the locations of that settlement may have shifted over time based on changes in microenvironmental conditions in and around Western Run to the north and Turkey Creek to the south. (NR 2018, Sec.8: 122)

Note: The final updated National Register documentation approved by the Keeper in 2018 does not identify Prehistoric Archeology as an area of significance.

National Register Significance Criteria:

Significance Criterion A - Associated with events significant to broad patterns of our history

Significance Criterion D - Has yielded, or is likely to yield, information important to prehistory or history

National Register Criteria Consideration:

Consideration F -- A commemorative property

National Register Periods of Significance (with Historic Context Themes):

Time Period: CE 1862 - CE 1862

Historic Context Theme	Subtheme	Facet	Other Facet
Shaping the Political Landscape	The Civil War	Battles In The North And South	

Time Period: CE 1925 - CE 1944

Historic Context Theme	Subtheme	Facet	Other Facet
Expressing Cultural Values	Other Expressing Cultural Values	Other Expressing Cultural Values	Commemoration

Area of Significance:

Area of Significance Category: Military

Area of Significance Subcategory:

Explanatory Narrative:

Area of Significance Category: Other

Area of Significance Subcategory:

Explanatory Narrative: Commemoration

Area of Significance Category: Conservation

Area of Significance Subcategory:

Explanatory Narrative:

Area of Significance Category: Archeology

Area of Significance Subcategory: Historic-Non-Aboriginal

Explanatory Narrative:

NRIS Information:

NRIS Name:	Richmond National Battlefield Park
NRIS ID:	66000836
Primary Certification Date:	04/27/2018
Other Certifications and Date:	MM/dd/yyyy

State Register Documentation:

Identification Number:	043-0033
Name:	Richmond National Battlefield Park
Listed Date:	01/16/1973

National Historic Landmarks:

National Historic Landmark? No

Theme:

Contributing:

NHL ID:

NHL URL:

Date:

Statement of Significance for National Historic Landmark:

World Heritage Site:

World Heritage Site? No

Category:

WHS ID:

WHS URL:

Date:

Is Resource within a designated National Natural Landscape: No

Chronology and Physical History

Chronology:

Year	Event	Major Event Narrative
BCE 4000 - 1000	Inhabited	Paleoindians, early inhabitants of the Henrico County land, live in loosely organized bands typically occupying small, seasonal camps, subsisting by hunting, fishing, and gathering wild plants.
CE 1000 - 1600	Inhabited	Significant changes take place in the lives of local Native Americans. Agriculture appears and gradually becomes increasingly prevalent. Corn, beans, squash, pumpkins, and gourds are cultivated. Semi-permanent villages with populations reaching several hundred develop.
CE 1200 - 1607	Settled	Native American groups, primarily Algonquian-speaking Powhatan, settle in the region.
CE 1607 - 1775	Colonized	Jamestown is settled in 1607 and English settlers colonize the region.
CE 1607	Inhabited	Native Americans living in the area, the Arrohateck, number about 250. The Powhatan Chiefdom has developed into one of the most complex societies existing in the Middle Atlantic region of North America.
CE 1607	Explored	Pocahontas, reportedly one of Chief Powhatan`s favorite children, begins visiting Jamestown with other Native American children.
CE 1607 - 1609	Explored	Between 1607 and 1609, explorers led by Captain Christopher Newport, including Captain John Smith, leave Jamestown on an exploratory mission. They travel up Powhatan`s River, now known as the James River.
CE 1610	Established	John Rolfe settles at Varina Farms.
CE 1611	Established	Sir Thomas Dale establishes Henricus, or Henrico Town, the colony`s second settlement.
CE 1611	Established	Sir Thomas Dale establishes Bermuda Hundred Fort at the confluence of the Appomattox River and James River.
CE 1612	Inhabited	One major village and five smaller settlements are situated on both sides of the James River.
CE 1612	Farmed/Harvested	John Rolfe cultivates a strain of mild tobacco. Rolfe`s tobacco is shipped to England, and Virginia`s economy begins to prosper.
CE 1614	Established	Pocahontas and John Rolfe marry in April 1614. Powhatan signs a peace treaty with English settlers that lasts until March 22, 1622.
CE 1614 - 1622	Farmed/Harvested	Virginia finds economic prosperity from its tobacco production and export to England, leading to land speculation and the establishment of large, mono-crop plantations. Inadequate subsistence farming in favor of tobacco results in continued dependence on Native American trading.

Year	Event	Major Event Narrative
CE 1616	Settled	Private land ownership is instituted by Sir Thomas Dale, altering the development of Henrico Town. By 1616 approximately fifty people remain within its walls. The others have established private farms along the James River. The number of colonists continues to climb, further straining the relationship with the local Native Americans.
CE 1618 - 1619	Established	The Virginia Company undergoes a major reorganization leading to the establishment of representative government within the colony, the first of its kind within a British colony. Virginia is divided into settlements or `plantations,` including the City of Henrico. Each settlement is represented within the General Assembly of 1619.
CE 1618	Settled	The Virginia Company institutes a system of `headrights,` under which all settlers who pay their way to Virginia are granted 50 acres of land. Patrons who pay for passage of others receive their 50 acres, and passengers enter a period of indentured servitude to repay the costs of passage. This system promotes the accumulation of large land grants to wealthy families while providing the mechanism for immigration and cheap labor.
CE 1620	Farmed/Harvested	The Virginia Company ships 40,000 pounds of tobacco to England annually.
CE 1622	Inhabited	Twenty-five English settlements are inhabited in Virginia.
CE 1622	Destroyed	Opechancanough, Powhatan`s younger brother and successor, leads a raid against the English settlements up and down the James River. Henrico Town, Varina Farm, and Tuckahoe are destroyed. Many settlements are abandoned, including portions of Henrico Town.
CE 1624	Land Transfer	With the dissolution of the Virginia Company, Virginia becomes a colony of the English Crown.
CE 1625	Inhabited	Efforts to reestablish Henrico Town fail. Only 22 inhabitants reside in town dwelling-houses.
CE 1627	Land Transfer	The site of Henrico Town is included in a 2,000-acre grant to William Farrar. The site becomes known as Farrar`s Island.
CE 1633	Built	Virginia Assembly orders that roads be laid out as they might seem convenient.
CE 1634	Established	Henrico County, one of eight shires or counties, is established.
CE 1635	Land Transfer	Thomas Harris receives a patent of land on Curles Neck.
CE 1639	Land Transfer	Richard Cocke receives a grant for 2,000 acres, including land on Curles Neck and Malvern Hill. Cocke receives the grant as part of the headright system in recompense for passage for forty people to Virginia from England. It is not believed that Richard occupies the Malvern Hill plantation, but may cultivate it with the help of a tenant overseer.
CE 1640 - 1660	Land Transfer	At some point after his initial grant, Richard Cocke begins to apportion his land on Malvern Hill. By the late 1660s, Captain James Creweses is established on a plantation on the west side of Malvern Hill called Turkey Island. Cocke retains his seat at Bremo.

Year	Event	Major Event Narrative
CE 1655	Land Transfer	James Creweses acquires 541 acres of Richard Cocke's former land at Turkey Island.
CE 1658	Platted	The first surveyor of roads is appointed.
CE 1663	Land Transfer	In 1663, Richard Cocke's son Thomas marries and is established on his father`s land on Malvern Hill.
CE 1663	Built	Thomas Cocke builds a residence on Malvern Hill. The frame structure stands on the southern bluffs of the hill until it burns in 1710.
CE 1665	Built	Sometime before his death in 1665, Richard Cocke establishes a mill and two tanneries on his Malvern Hill land.
CE 1674	Land Transfer	Nathaniel Bacon acquires Curles Neck land.
CE 1676	Military Operation	Nathanial Bacon leads a rebellion against colonial government at Jamestown. Subsequent colonial treaties with Powhatan confine chiefdom to a few, small reservations and require them to pay tribute to the colonial government. James Creweses, who sides with Bacon in the unsuccessful insurrection, is hanged in 1677.
CE 1679	Land Transfer	John Pleasants acquires portions of the Curles Neck land and establishes himself at the plantation seat called Curles.
CE 1690	Land Transfer	John Pleasants, a Quaker, deeds land on Turkey Island plantation to the Friends for a meeting house and burying place.
CE 1698	Land Transfer	William Randolph acquires Turkey Island plantation on Curles Neck.
CE 1699	Established	The capital of Virginia is moved from Jamestown to Williamsburg.
CE 1710	Built	After the original house burns, Thomas Cocke builds a brick house, known at the time of the Civil War as the Malvern House.
CE 1710	Built	Thomas Cocke's residence at Malvern Hill burns, and a new brick residence is constructed.
CE 1723	Established	Garthright family establishes second Quaker Church at White Oak Swamp.
CE 1737	Established	Richmond is established by William Byrd II.
CE 1750 - 1780	Inhabited	Thomas Jolley occupies land within project area near Western Run.
CE 1750 - 1785	Inhabited	Robert Povall occupies land within project area near Western Run.
CE 1770	Inhabited	William Hobson occupies land within project area near Western Run.
CE 1779	Established	Capital of Virginia is moved from Williamsburg to Richmond.
CE 1780	Military Operation	Benedict Arnold and British forces, the Marquis de Lafayette and Colonial troops, British General Cornwallis and his troops, camp on, occupy, and move through the lands in the vicinity of Malvern Hill.

Year	Event	Major Event Narrative
CE 1780	Land Transfer	Descendants of Thomas Cocke sell Malvern Hill house and lands to Robert Nelson.
CE 1780	Established	Robert Pleasants, a Quaker residing at Curles Neck, establishes Gravelly Hill School, an institution for the education of freed slaves. The earliest reference to the area Gravelly Hill adjacent to the project area comes from 1813 Henrico County land tax records.
CE 1785 - 1810	Inhabited	William Bradley occupies land within project area near Western Run.
CE 1785 - 1821	Inhabited	Elizabeth Povall, widow of Robert Povall occupies her husband's estate on the west side of Western Run, a branch of Turkey Island Creek adjacent to the lands of Robert Nelson and Malvern Hills.
CE 1788	Land Transfer	Abraham Womack sells 50 acres all the land of Thomas Jolley's…lying on the Western branch to David Royster.
CE 1791	Land Transfer	David Royster sells the 50-acre Jolley tract to Fleming Jordan.
CE 1802 - 1803	Built	Willis Methodist Church is established.
CE 1803	Land Transfer	John Williams sells to Moses Woodfin 81 acres a plantation…lying on the west side of Western Run.
CE 1810	Land Transfer	Peter West acquires reversionary rights to Robert Povall estate and deeds them to Elizabeth West.
CE 1814	Land Transfer	William Keesee acquires 100-acre plantation in project area, formerly the plantation of William Bradley.
CE 1818	Land Transfer	William Keesee sells 214 acres lying on each side of the road leading from the Long Bridges to Turkey Island to Francis Frayser.
CE 1821	Land Transfer	Thomas I. West acquires the 165-acre Bellfield farm, or West House property, from his mother Elizabeth West. It is likely that shortly after this, Thomas I. West builds the original West house.
CE 1822	Land Transfer	James Binford purchases from county commissioners 101.5 acres of land formerly owned by Moses Woodfin.
CE 1826	Inhabited	First reference to Frayser's Mill in the project area.
CE 1835	Land Transfer	James W. Binford acquires 120 acres of the William Keesee estate in project area. Shortly after this he likely builds and occupies the eastern most Binford residence noted on an 1853 map of Henrico County.
CE 1843	Land Transfer	James Binford sells 137 acres to John Mettert.
CE 1848	Land Transfer	James Binford and Frayser heirs sell 256 acres to John Mettert. A one-quarter-acre burial ground is reserved from this sale.
CE 1849	Land Transfer	Thomas I. West deeds the 100-acre West Cottage property to his son Edward West, reserving the right of access to a marl pit and a grave yard.
CE 1851	Land Transfer	Thomas French acquires Francis Frayser 214-acre property including grist mill.
CE 1851	Land Transfer	Edward West sells the 100-acre West Cottage property to James W. Binford with existing reservations. Binford likely occupies the West Cottage property at this time.

Year	Event	Major Event Narrative
CE 1853 - 1855	Built	Willis Methodist Church parsonage is constructed.
CE 1857	Land Transfer	Thomas French sells 214 acres and abandoned grist mill complex to Christopher C. Garthright who establishes Poplar Grove farm.
CE 1857	Land Transfer	John Mettert sells 393 acres to Edward Poindexter.
CE 1857	Land Transfer	Will of Thomas I. West requests the sale of the tract upon which his blacksmiths and wheelwrights shop is situated.
CE 1857 - 1860	Built	Christopher C. Garthright constructs his residence and agricultural outbuildings at his Poplar Grove farm.
CE 1860	Land Transfer	Sometime before the 1860 census, Cornelius Creweses acquires the house and farm formerly owned by John Mettert.
CE 1862	Military Operation	June 30, Lee directs Confederate attack on McClellan's troops at Glendale as they retreat to James River. Confederate forces fail to stop Federal retreat to Malvern Hill.
CE 1862	Military Operation	July 1, Federal troops successfully defend the Malvern Hill heights from Confederate assault and retreat at night to Harrison`s Landing on the James River.
CE 1862	Military Operation	Following the Federal retreat, Confederate forces occupy Malvern Hill vicinity establishing headquarters at the Creweses House.
CE 1862	Military Operation	Federal forces retake vicinity of Malvern Hill and abandon it several days later.
CE 1865	Land Transfer	Thomas I. West passes the Bellfield farm on to his son John W. West.
CE 1866	Established	Glendale National Cemetery is established.
CE 1867	Established	Reconstruction Act passed by Congress.
CE 1867	Built	First evidence for domestic structure on property farmed by Edward Fuqua.
CE 1868	Land Transfer	Federal Government purchases 2.1 acres of land for Glendale National Cemetery from Nathaniel Nelson.
CE 1869	Farmed/Harvested	The forest between the hill and Willis Church is noted to be cut down.
CE 1873	Land Transfer	Bellfield farm (West House) sold to Robert T. Smith.
CE 1873	Built	New kitchen room added to the rear of Willis Methodist Church parsonage.
CE 1874	Built	Glendale Cemetery Lodge is constructed.
CE 1875	Built	Stone rubble wall surrounding Glendale Cemetery Lodge is constructed.
CE 1877	Built	Creweses house burns. A new house in similar style is constructed shortly after.
CE 1878	Built	New stable and feed house built adjacent to Willis Methodist Church parsonage.
CE 1887	Land Transfer	Malvern Hill house and lands purchased by westerner, Henry P. Morenson. A brick kiln is constructed on site and souvenir bricks sold to tourists visiting the battlefield.
CE 1908	Destroyed	Malvern Hill house burns.

Year	Event	Major Event Narrative
CE 1917	Built	Two new residences are identified for the first time on a Charles City quadrangle map, one on the east side of Route 156, opposite the Willis Methodist Church parsonage, and a second in the location of the Christopher Garthright farm.
CE 1925	Memorialized	Freeman markers are erected on Richmond Area battlefields.
CE 1928	Land Transfer	Richmond Battlefield Parks Corporation purchases 100 acres of the battlefield at Malvern Hill.
CE 1929 - 1930	Built	State Route 156 is constructed, a 38-mile circuitous tour road connecting the Richmond Battlefield Parks Corporation lands. Congress appropriates money for a survey of the Richmond Battlefield Parks Corporation lands.
CE 1932	Established	Richmond Battlefield Park is established as Virginia's first state park.
CE 1933 - 1936	Land Transfer	Richmond Battlefield Park acquires an additional 30-acre parcel of land at Malvern Hill east of Willis Church Road and adjoining the land already owned by the State.
CE 1933 - 1940	Maintained	Civilian Conservation Corp (CCC) conducts work to maintain and improve Richmond Battlefield Park lands.
CE 1936	Established	Richmond National Battlefield Park is established. The Master Plan details that interpretive markers are proposed for Malvern Hill off of Route 156 between the Creweses house and the West house and opposite the Willis Methodist Church parsonage. A picnic area north of the Creweses house was also proposed. At Glendale, a turnout and interpretive markers are proposed.
CE 1938	Paved	State Route 156, or the Battlefield Park Route, is paved by the CCC.
CE 1938	Built	New turn out is constructed at Malvern Hill.
CE 1938	Built	Several new residences, possibly tenant houses, are identified for the first time on a Dutch Gap quadrangle map in the Green Quarters vicinity west of the Creweses house.
CE 1944	Land Transfer	Lands encompassing the Richmond National Battlefield Park are formally accepted by the Federal Government.
CE 1960	Built	One-quarter-mile dirt road constructed from Route 156 westward onto Malvern Hill. A parking area with adjacent visual and audio interpretive shelter is also constructed.
CE 1963	Built	The Colonial Gas Pipeline Company acquires permission from private property owners for a fifty-foot-wide easement for buried gas pipes.
CE 1988	Destroyed	The Willis Methodist Church parsonage burns.
CE 1994 - 1995	Land Transfer	The Association for the Preservation of Civil War Sites (APCWS) purchases approximately 752 acres of land in the vicinity of Glendale and Malvern Hill battlefields.
CE 1997 - 1998	Built	A pedestrian interpretive trail is constructed which links NPS and APCWS lands. The trail extended from the Willis Methodist Church parsonage across Carter's Mill Road to the NPS parking lot.

Year	Event	Major Event Narrative
CE 1999	Rehabilitated	In the spring of 1999, the Glendale National Cemetery lodge is converted to an NPS visitor center for the Glendale and Malvern Hill unites of Richmond NBP.
CE 1999	Land Transfer	In April of 1999, a public commemoration is held at Malvern Hill to mark the ceremonial transfer of the deed for 752 acres of Civil War Preservation Trust (formerly APCWS) lands at Malvern Hill and Glendale to Richmond National Battlefield Park.
CE 1999	Stabilized	The two chimney stacks at the Willis Methodist Church parsonage are stabilized.
CE 1999	Built	During the summer of 1999, new interpretive signs are erected on NPS property and additional artillery are placed on the Malvern Hill plateau east of Route 156.
CE 1999 - 2000	Farmed/Harvested	Civil War Preservation Trust exercises an option on the 245-acre West house property with the intention of acquiring the land and donating it to the Richmond NBP.
CE 2005	Removed	Around 11.5 acres of non-historic forest that blocked the historic landscape are removed. Replaced with native grass meadow.
CE 2005	Altered	A 10-acre streamside agricultural field is converted to a native grass meadow.
CE 2007	Removed	Around 12.4 acres of non-historic forest that blocked the historic landscape is removed. Replaced with native grass meadow.
CE 2008	Built	Park installs new standard detail entrance gates at the West House and Parsonage. (PEPC #21084)
CE 2009 - 2010	Removed	Park removes non-historic 20th century features from Binford Farm Site, including a metal and wood shed, abandoned power poles, condemned concrete silos, several dump sites, and junked cars. (PEPC #25857)
CE 2011 - 2012	Built	The ca. 1940 highway bridge over Western Run is replaced. (PEPC #33549)
CE 2015	Land Transfer	A minor boundary revision includes acquiring part of the ground at Carter Farm. The Civil War Trust owns the tract and is willing to convey said tract to the NPS, once it is included in the boundaries of the park. (PEPC #56441)
CE 2015 - 2016	Built	Park adds a 1.5-mile loop onto the existing trail at Malvern Hill. (PEPC #60059)
CE 2021	Built	Park creates a small boardwalk on Malvern Hill Trail to bridge permanently wet drainage. (PEPC #98405)
CE 2022	Land Transfer	Park acquires 371 acres from the Capital Region Land Conservancy (CRLC) at the south end of Malvern Hill legislative boundary.
CE 2022	Removed	Roadside forest strip thinned in order to see the distant southeastern landscape from the main parking lot.
CE 2022 - 2023	Built	Park installs new gates along a farm road that connects Route 156 with Route 5. (PEPC #112024)
CE 2022	Built	Park installs gates at either end of farm road on 371-acre parcel acquired from CRLC. (PEPC 112024)

Year	Event	Major Event Narrative
CE 2022	Demolished	The park removes two power poles and 100 feet of line and replaces with one pole next to Willis Church Road to improve viewshed while keeping the powerlines operational. (PEPC 105666)
CE 2024	Built	The park installs a pit toilet at Malvern Hill Battlefield near trail head at Willis Methodist Church parsonage. (PEPC 121483)
CE 2024	Altered	The park replaces roof on Malvern Hill interpretive shelter. (PEPC 113459)

Physical History:

INTRODUCTION

The following section provides information on the physical development and evolution of the site, organized by time periods. Portions of this section are excerpted from the Site Physical History contained in the "Cultural Landscape Report for Glendale and Malvern Hill Units" (CLR) by John Milner Associates (2004). Because of the proximity of the Malvern Hill and Glendale study areas, a single, consolidated site history has been developed for both sites. Graphics associated with this section are located at the after each historic period, if applicable.

AMERICAN INDIAN OCCUPATION: 11,000 BCE–1607 CE

Pre-contact settlement of eastern Virginia consisted of three discrete periods during which American Indian settlement patterns varied depending on environmental contexts. These periods are traditionally divided into the Paleoindian, Archaic, and Woodland periods, each of which displayed varying population levels and distribution throughout the Tidewater region. As environmental conditions improved throughout the region and population levels increased correspondingly, inhabitants faced unique and changing pressures resulting from evolving resource availability and cultural adaptation. Settlement patterns transitioned from diverse ecozone locations (particularly near the Atlantic coastline) during the Paleoindian period, to interior upland and wetland locations during the Archaic period, to locations along fertile inland flood plains associated with major rivers during the Woodland period. These developments reflected the increase in population and efforts to maximize resource utilization throughout the various periods.

Settlement patterns in Virginia during the Paleoindian period (c.11000 BCE to c.8000 BCE) directly correlated with the environmental conditions presented during the end of the Pleistocene epoch. The Laurentide ice sheet covered much of northern North America during this time, depressing temperatures in the region and leading to a boreal forest dominated by jack pine and spruce. It is likely that Paleoindian populations maintained seasonal base camps located either in diverse ecozones where flora and fauna were easily procured or near lithic sources that contained the cryptocrystalline stone, a statistically favored material for creating projectile points and other lithic tools such as gravers, adzes, and scrapers. Wider ranging satellite camps would have been seasonally occupied to exploit other natural resources, be they lithic material, flora, or fauna. (Pielou 1991: 108; Anderson and Sassaman 1996: 5,7)

During the Archaic period (c.8000 BCE to c.1200 BCE), Native populations in region began to alter their settlement patterns as a result of the retreat of the Laurentide ice sheet at the end of the Pleistocene epoch and the beginning of the Holocene epoch. As sea levels rose (resulting in gradual flooding and filling the Chesapeake Bay estuary), native peoples spread inland along major rivers and within rich environmental areas associated with the Fall Line separating the Tidewater and Piedmont regions of Virginia. Likely organized into band level social groups, the range of movement for these early inhabitants would have occurred over relatively large regions. Utilizing larger base camps located near sources of lithic material during a portion of the year, smaller groups of families would have dispersed to smaller satellite camps in order to take advantage of seasonally available resources located within upland terraces and resource rich wetland areas. (Anderson and Sassaman 1996: 24-25)

The Woodland period (c.1200 BCE to c.1600 CE) is traditionally differentiated from the Archaic period by the development of a ceramic technology, as well as a greater reliance on horticulture and agriculture crops such as beans, corn, and squash, which supported increased sedentism and the nucleation of societies Populations during this time began to consolidate into villages near rivers and floodplains with fertile soil, favorable terrain, and access to fauna, where communities would clear areas for agricultural development with “slash and burn” techniques. These larger base camps were serviced by smaller resource extraction sites. (Anderson and Mainfort 2002: 1-2; Dent 1995: 231)

Archeological surface surveys conducted as part of the 2004 CLR identified numerous pre-historic sites within the Malvern Hill area. The majority of these sites contained surface scatterings of lithic debitage of quartz, quartzite, or rhyolite. These stone flakes, byproducts of stone tool making, indicate periodic, long term usage of the area by Native Americans from the Early Archaic through the Late Woodland periods. The sites, primarily located on terraces or bluffs overlooking streams and drainages, may have been base camps or seasonal hunting and gathering camps. (JMA 2004: 31-33)

EUROPEAN SETTLEMENT AND EARLY COLONIAL VIRGINIA: 1607–1700

Jamestown and James River Settlement:
Native American tribes known to have lived in the area during the contact period were predominantly represented by Algonquian speaking groups located throughout the Maryland and Virginia Tidewater as far south as Albemarle and Pamlico Sounds in eastern North Carolina and as far north as the Potomac River, most of which were under the political influence of the Powhatan chiefdom centered on the James and York River watersheds. Although himself a Pamunkey, Chief Powhatan's political influence extended over all Algonquian speaking tribes in the Tidewater Virginia area. The Chickahominy tribe was a notable exception to Powhatan's governance, living within the boundaries of the Powhatan influence but maintaining an independent governing body. (Waselkov et.al. 2006: 215-216,218)

Early contact between English settlers and Native populations began with the establishment of the first permanent English settlement at Jamestown in 1607. The settlers were met by Native Americans, including Pocahontas, reportedly one of Chief Powhatan's favorite children, who visited Jamestown on several occasions with other children. English interest in the area extended beyond Jamestown, and explorers ventured inland following the major rivers. Between 1607 and 1609, Captain Christopher Newport led a group of explorers, including Captain John Smith, on an exploratory mission from Jamestown up Powhatan's River, now known as the James River. The group explored the river corridor, interacting with the Native Americans and making numerous stops. (Henricus Historical Park; Ibikunle et.al. 2012: 22; Henrico County Virginia)

Sir Thomas Dale arrived in Virginia in May 1611 with instruction from the London Company to locate a suitable site for the establishment of a new town and principal seat for the colony. Five months later Dale moved approximately thirty miles up the James River from Jamestown and established Henricus, also known as Henrico Town, Virginia's second settlement. Appointed High Marshall of the colony, Dale was responsible for law enforcement and military defense. Henrico Town stood "upon a neck of very high land, three parts thereof environed with the main River." Expecting Henrico Town to replace Jamestown as the principal seat of the colony, Dale believed its upriver location offered more security from attack. The high bluffs offered both a defensive advantage and a healthier environment than the swamps of Jamestown. (Henricus Historical Park)

Under Dale's direction the men of the settlement were assigned specific tasks that included clearing the land in preparation for dwellings and agriculture and construction of defenses and buildings, while others were assigned as guards. The area surrounding the settlement was home to more than 250 Arrohateck Native Americans. Relationships with the local native population had steadily deteriorated since 1607 and the settlers of Henrico Town faced near constant risk of attack. Dale instructed the men to construct a long fence across the narrow end of the neck of land to make it an island. The English settlers continued to be harassed by Powhatan's skilled bowman as the settlement progressed. Within four months frame houses, storehouse, watchtowers, and huts lined three streets. A wooden church had been constructed and the brick foundation for a permanent church had been laid. (Hernricus Historical Park, Henrico County Virginia)

As the population of the colony grew and settlement expanded along the course of the James River and other waterways, shipping vessels from England became a common sight on the navigable waters. By 1612, one major village and five smaller settlements were situated on either side of the James River. Settlers continued to expand agriculture and crop production, especially tobacco. Land transportation remained poorly developed within Tidewater Virginia for the first one hundred and fifty years of settlement. (Henricus Historical Park)

Sir Thomas Dale introduced the concept of private land ownership to the new settlement. Thereafter many settlers enthusiastically established private farms along the James River. By 1616 only about fifty people remained within the original wall of Henrico Town. The spread of population beyond the original settlements further strained the relationship with the local Native Americans. Early settlers built homes beside bays, rivers, creeks and inlets, which were critical to transportation within the region. The first roads in the region followed Native American trails, but passage was difficult and

water remained the primary method of transportation. (Henricus Historical Park)

On March 22, 1622, the fragile peace established between settlers and the Native Americans suddenly ended. A raid led by Opechancanough, Powhatan's younger brother and successor, against English settlements up and down the James River abruptly changed the course of Henrico Town and surrounding land. During what became known as the Great Massacre of 1622, Henrico Town and Varina Farm were almost completely demolished. Men, women, and children were killed and houses were burned. Henrico Town was abandoned and the majority of survivors retreated to the safety of Jamestown and other nearby settlements. Subsequent efforts to reestablish the Henrico Town were not fruitful, and after 1622 only twenty two inhabitants were reported residing in ten "dwelling houses." Tensions between colonists and Native Americans continued to increase as the population of colonists grew and Native Americans were displaced. (Henricus Historical Park; Henrico County Virginia)

Economic Development and Early Transportation:
In 1619 the Virginia Company had instituted reforms leading to the establishment of representative government within the colony, the first of its kind within a British colony. The Virginia Colony was divided into settlements, or "plantations." Each settlement sent representatives to the General Assembly of 1619 in Jamestown. In 1633, the Virginia general assembly ordered highways to be laid out "according as they might seem convenient." The expansion of roadways was necessary to connect to developing inland settlements. As the population rose through the mid-seventeenth century, new counties formed and churches, courthouses, ferries, and taverns became the focal points for roads that led from farm lanes. The first surveyors of roads were appointed in 1658, and five years later vestries were given the power to 'order out laborers in proportion to the tithables.' Working under surveyors, these men kept the roads forty feet wide. (WPA 1940: 1)

Key to the burgeoning economic success of the settlement at Jamestown was the development of a marketable tobacco strain by John Rolfe in 1612. Met with high demand in both England and mainland Europe, this provided an economically viable product and generated renewed interest in the overall development of Virginia colonization. As demand for tobacco increased, greater numbers of settlers made the voyage to the New World in search of economic success. Initially, many of these were brought over as indentured servants to work on land owned by others under the headright system. Landowners in the mid-Atlantic region remained dependent primarily on white indentured servitude throughout much of the seventeenth century, with immigration levels remaining relatively high until the very end of the 1600s. (Dunn 1984: 159-160)

By 1630, much of the Native American population had been pushed westward and posed less of a threat to the growing colony. In 1624 England assumed control of the colonies following the 1622 attack and trouble within the Virginia Company. Henrico County was established in 1634 as one of the eight original shires or counties of Virginia. Henrico County's initial boundaries incorporated an area from which ten counties were later formed as well as the cities of Richmond, Charlottesville, and Colonial Heights (Henrico County Virginia). Varina Farm became a village called Varina within Henrico County. By 1635 the population of Virginia colony had grown to 4,914. (Ibikunle et.al. 2012: 20; Bruce 1896: 319)

Servant immigration levels dropped off significantly by the end of the seventeenth century as tobacco prices fell and planters were unable to entice servants with the promise of economic success. Additionally, because of a combination of a greater number of landowners throughout the colonies and an increase in land planted in tobacco to make up for lower prices, what labor was available to planters was not sufficient to meet the demand of increased levels of production. To make up this labor shortfall, planters increasingly turned to black slaves imported from Africa. (Kulikoff 1986: 39,41)

By the turn of the eighteenth century, the depressed tobacco prices required landowners to produce ever increasing amounts of the crop in order to turn a profit. Intensive cultivation rapidly depleted soils, driving planters to seek yet more land. But as the eighteenth century progressed and settlement in the area increased, land became more constrained. Growers increasingly experimented with crop rotation and soil amendments to rehabilitate depleted soils, allowing field to

go fallow until nutrients had been replenished. Yet, increasing population and continued pressure for fresh land fueled westward expansion of the colonial frontier. Following major waterways such as the James, York, Rappahannock, and Potomac rivers, colonists slowly pushed into the interior of Virginia's Tidewater region. (Kulikoff 1986: 47; Lemon 1984: 103)

Settlement and Land Ownership:
Early settlement of the Tidewater region was driven by economic interests in England, primarily the cultivation and exportation of tobacco. Tobacco was a land- and labor-intensive crop, and its successful production relied on abundant and cheap supply of both. These were initially provided by a system that tied land grants to the transportation of new settlers from England to Virginia. Under the system, known as "headrights" and instituted in 1618, colonists already established in Virginia received 100 acres of land, while new settlers who arranged their own transportation to Virginia would receive 50 acres. Wealthier merchants and ship owners who sponsored another individual's transportation would receive the passenger's 50 acres in compensation. Thus a ship owner or patron who facilitated the passage of a ship full of English, Scottish, and Irish immigrants would receive a large grant of several hundred to a few thousand acres. The immigrants would then be indentured to work on the land for a number of years, typically seven. (JMA 2004: 36)

Under this system, a relatively few wealthy families were able to accumulate vast tracts of prime land. Many of the most powerful families in early Virginia used headrights to established themselves along the banks of the James River during the first decades after settlement. As the population of free settlers rose, feeding the demand for land, these landowners leveraged their holdings into wealth and influence. While retaining the best riverfront land for themselves, they sold off portions of land further from the river. Other land was divided and bequeathed in wills, transferred through marriages, or traded. Along the winding river bank, earlier colonies and forts were giving way to sprawling plantation seats, with grand houses overlooking the river. The names of these plantation seats became primary local and navigational identifiers (Figure 1). (JMA 2004: 37)

In 1636, Richard Cocke sponsored the passage of 60 people to Virginia and received a grant of 3,000 acres within a meander of the James River called Curles Neck, where he established a plantation seat and named it "Bremo" (Figure 2). Two years later he transferred 1,000 acres of this land to Ann Hallom, widow of Robert Hallom. These 1,000 acres appear to have been land directly east of Bremo, between it and Malvern Hill, which would become the seat known as "Turkey Island." Land along the west side of Curles Neck, granted to Thomas Harris in 1635, was known by the plantation seat "Curles." Cocke added to his land in 1639 with an additional 2,000 acres, a headright grant which included 1,700 acres "upon the head of turkey Island Cr. called by the name of Mamburne Hills." (JMA 2004: 37)

The Turkey Island land passed from Ann Hallom through William Edward to James Creweses. James Creweses (Creweses is the most common spelling, although the name is spelled Crewess in his will) was a merchant and planter who came to Virginia in about 1651. At some point during the next decade he acquired 1,000 acres of Cocke's Turkey Island property, although it is not clear whether this included any of the land on Malvern Hill. Creweses's time in Virginia was marked by feuds with other local businessmen, and he frequently resorted to litigation to settle disputes with other colonists. In 1676, Creweses was involved in the Bacon Rebellion and hanged a year later. Having no heirs, Creweses left his Turkey Island plantation to Giles Carter and his wife Hannah, who own the land for about eight years before selling it to William Randolph. (Harbury 2001: 557-558)

Richard Cocke established himself at Bremo, passing it to his son Richard sometime before his death in 1665. About the same time, he gave the Malvern Hill land to his eldest son Thomas. Richard Cocke may have begun to cultivate the land on Malvern Hill prior to his death, but it is likely that this land went undeveloped until Thomas acquired it. Transporting tobacco and other goods down the steep bluffs to the river would have been challenging, and Richard owned large amounts of land on Curles Neck more accommodating than the Malvern Hill land. Thomas, however, established his primary plantation at Malvern Hill, building a wood frame house on the southern bluffs of the hill looking toward the river in about 1663. His fields and pastures would have stretched northward across the level plateau, incorporating as much land as could be cleared and cultivated. (Southall 1896: 405-414)

Thomas also harnessed the energy of the streams for industrial endeavors. In Richard Cocke Sr.'s will, probated in 1665, he appoints Thomas to look after "the mill" on Malvern Hill for the use of his brothers, for which he was to be paid "three thousand pds. Tobacco and caske p. Annum." This mill may very well have been located on Western Run at the site referred to as "French's Grist Mill" during the Civil War. The mill would have allowed Thomas and his siblings to grow and mill wheat and corn and to earn extra income milling grain from neighboring farmers. (Southall 1896: 405-414).

In his will probated in 1697, Thomas bequeathed to his children 5,000 acres of land and "the home-place on Malvern Hills," having on it the flour mill and two tanneries. The tanneries would also have been located on streams, but due to the noxious nature of leather tanning and its tendency to foul the water, these would have been located further downstream, perhaps on the lower reaches of Western Run, Turkey Island Creek, or on the small creek known as Turkey Run (also referred to as Creweses Channel). (Southall 1896: 405-414)

Horse racing was popular in Virginia during the last quarter of the seventeenth century, and Thomas and his brother Stephen Cocke were active in many of the races along the James River. Accounts of many of these races were recorded in court records, as colonists frequently appealed to the courts to settle disputes arising during the races, such as interference between the racers and fair starts. In a deposition in 1678 William Randolph described a race at Malvern Hill between Stephen Cocke and William Epes for "ten shillings on each side." According to the deposition, Cocke encroached on Epes and the two "Josselled upon Mr. Epes horse's path all most part of the race." (Southall 1896: 409)

The Malvern Hill plantation appears to have been passed from through four more generations of the Cocke family, finally passing out of the family around the time of the American Revolution.

Land to the west of Malvern Hill, 691 acres known as the "Tymber Slash" or simply the "Slash," was patented by Thomas Ludwell, with one of its boundaries "described as "beg. at cor. tree between Mr. Cocke & Mr. Crewess, hard by a Cart path & c." The Slash was evidently not purchased for tobacco farming, but for its ability to provide raw lumber exports, as well as resources necessary for the local production of tobacco hogsheads. By 1690, the Timber Slash property was part of the extensive holdings of John Pleasants, who also owned Curles, his home seat, and "Turkey Island Point Plantation," comprising 150 acres. All told, Pleasants' will contained bequests totaling over 12,000 acres in the area. (JMA 2004: 40)

Religion:
John Pleasants was notable not only for his vast land holdings, but also because he was a member of the Religious Society of Friends, or Quakers. Not recognized legally by the Church of England, Quakers came to represent a significant population in the settled areas between Turkey Island and White Oak Swamp. In an attempt to curtail Quaker immigration, the Anglican-dominated civil authorities fined Quaker colonists for a variety of offences, including improper marriages, failure to attend church, and illegal religious gatherings. In 1682, a complaint was entered against:
"John Pleasants and Jane Tucker als. Larcome als Pleasants (quakers) defend'ts have shewed that the sd. two p'sons doe unlawfully accompany themselves together as man and wife without legall marriage, and also that they have made a breach of three penall lawes of this Country Viz't…absence from the Church…refuseing to have their children Baptized…for haveing and suffering a Conventicle at or near their house…and as being pr'sent and members of the sd. Conventicle."

Judgement for the charge of being improperly married was found in the Pleasantses' favor, but they were found guilty of the other charges. After appeals that went as far as England, the charges were dismissed. (Pleasants 1908: 218-219)

Tolerance of Quakers increased as the seventeenth century closed, and by the time of his will in 1690, John Pleasants was able to bequeath "To the Friends (now called Quakers) a small parcel of land purchased of Benjamin Hatcher, next to Thomas Holmes [on the Turkey Island plantation], for a meeting house and burying place. Another prominent Quaker family that owned considerable land in the area, the Garthrights, helped to organize a second meeting house at White Oak Swamp in 1723.

The road that joined the two meeting houses became known as Quaker Road. (Pleasants 1908: 219)

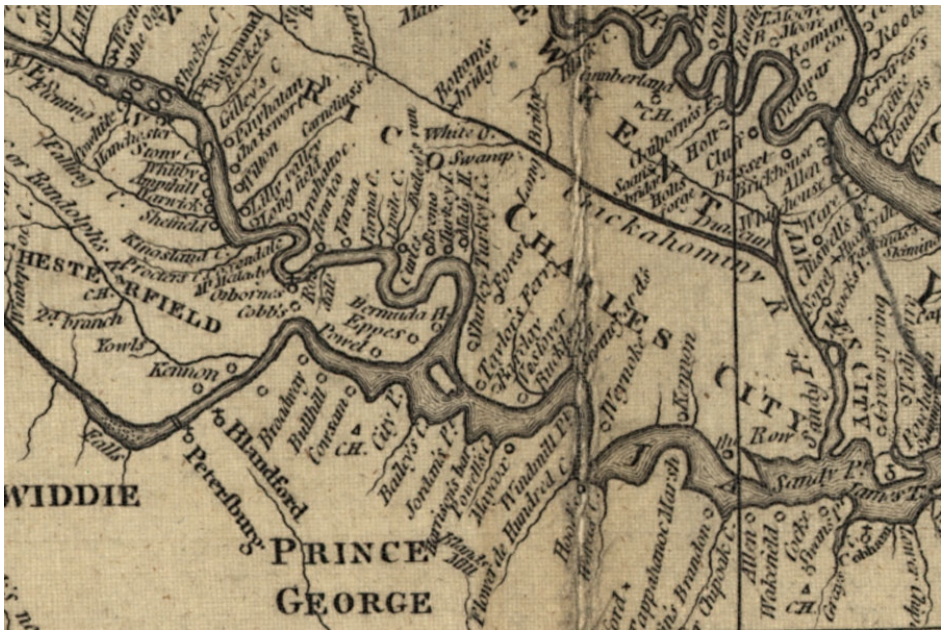


Figure 1. Detail of a map of Virginia, 1787. The names of the estate seats in the vicinity of Malvern Hill include Curles, Bremo, Turkey I., and Malv. H. (Library of Congress).



Figure 2. Map showing the locations of estate seats near Malvern Hill in the late seventeenth century (OCLP).

LATE COLONIAL AND ANTEBELLUM VIRGINIA, 1700-1861

Development of Transportation:
Tobacco farming built successful and prosperous communities that developed where deep rivers made shipping possible. Large plantations developed along the James River during the early eighteenth century. The marshes in front of the grand homes overlooking the James River were spanned with wharves "that welcomed ships of commerce ready to exchange the luxuries of Europe for a cargo of golden leaf." Small-scale farmers in the Tidewater area were unable to compete with the land and labor demands of large-scale tobacco production driven by low priced labor and slavery. Many moved westward to untouched land and fresh fields. Settlers used Native American trails to move west to fresh fields, and over time these pathways would become roads. Westward movement expanded the transportation system beyond rivers, and the heads of navigation at the fall line of the principal rivers became cargo transfer points, developing into the cities of Petersburg, Richmond, Fredericksburg, and Alexandria. (WPA 1940: 1-2).

The need to transport and move tobacco spurred the development of early roads. Once dry, tobacco leaves were packed in huge casks, or "hogsheads," and the unwieldy containers were rolled along the ground drawn by a horse or ox. The general assembly recognized these paths in 1712 and 1720. The early 'rolling roads' led to 'public warehouses' located in Tidewater ports, which became an increasingly common part of the landscape as tobacco was transferred to the growing ferry system. By the mid-1700s, more than 330 ships and 3,000 sailors were involved in the tobacco trade transporting goods between Virginia and England. Horseback travel made the movement of goods from earlier settlements to the growing number of frontier posts easier and more efficient. Horses and riders moved in single file along narrow trails called 'tote roads', 'pack roads,' or 'horse ways.' (WPA 1940: 2)

Colonial dissatisfaction under British rule grew from the mid-1700s through the outbreak of the Revolution. In 1776 Richard Adams and Nathaniel Wilkenson, representing Henrico, participated in the Fifth Virginia Convention, voting to send delegates to the Continental Congress to propose separation from the British, leading to the Declaration of Independence (Henrico County Virginia).

During the Revolution, Henrico County suffered significant loss and destruction. The Westham Munitions Foundry was destroyed, historic documents and records were lost, and grand houses and outbuildings were burned. British Gen. Benedict Arnold's invading force occupied Richmond in January 1781. Gen. Arnold surprised the Virginia Navy at Osborne's Landing in the old river channel by Farrar's Island (present site of Henricus Historical Park) on April 21, 1781. The American Navy retreated and set vessels afire that could not be moved. Arnold's men, now part of British forces led by Gen. William Phillips, approached Richmond for a second time. Local militia men and American Continental Troops led by Gen. Marquis de Lafayette intercepted the British forces. Gen. Lafayette and his troops marched from eastern Henrico to Yorktown in 1781, where they assisted in the defeat of the British army and the end of the American Revolution. (Henrico County Virginia)

Despite increasing development along the coast, routes within Tidewater Virginia were slow to develop, and waterways remained the primary mechanism to move people and goods. At the close of the revolution, Henrico County's roads were primarily unimproved. Travelers between 1776 and 1782 noted the lack of maintenance and repair of roadways. Impassible portions of roads were bypassed with another roadway. During wet seasons the roads, as observed by an English traveler, were "hopeless seas of mud with archipelagoes of stumps." Through the second half of the eighteenth century, the popularity of private coaches and stagecoaches grew throughout the region, although travel remained difficult. (WPA 1940: 2)

George Washington noted the importance of commercial routes connecting the waters of eastern Virginia with the Ohio River in the eighteenth century, but the Revolutionary War intervened with initial canal construction projects. In 1790 the James River Company opened the first commercial canal in the United States. The canal paralleled the James River for seven miles from Richmond to Westham. The highly used canal proved to be a profitable venture until the economic recession of 1820. There was also a rise in manufacturing at the end of the Revolution. After years of trade with England, independence made local manufacturing and processing more important than ever. Throughout the eighteenth century the intensive cultivation of settlers had depleted the soil quality and many farmers were forced to switch from tobacco to grain. It is likely that the land surrounding

Malvern Hill was used for grain production at this time. (WPA 1940: 3)

Depletion of Agricultural Soils and Growth of Industry:
The degradation of soil fertility in the 1800s was the consequence of agricultural processes that did not provide for long term vitality. Edmund Ruffin, a noted agriculturalist and politician, had a strong interest in rejuvenating the depleted soils and restoring productivity to the land of Tidewater Virginia. Ruffin's observations of the landscape, including the land surrounding the future site of Malvern Hill are documented in his 1832 book, "Essay on Calcareous Manures." The portion of land along the river margins with the richest soils was cleared and tilled without cessation for many years. After exhausting the river's edge, early farmers cleared slopes near the river for agriculture, a process which continued through the first half of the nineteenth century. The soils on the slopes naturally contained less nutrients, and failed much sooner than soils adjacent to the river had. If the slopes were not rich enough to grow tobacco when first cleared, or when they later failed to produce tobacco, the land was typically planted with corn for two to three years in succession. As the productivity of the soil declined, corn was then planted every other year. During the intermediate years between corn crops fields were "rested" under a crop of wheat which produced four to five bushels per acre. If the soil became too poor to produce wheat, the field was used for close grazing in between corn crops. Manure was applied to tobacco crops, but not other crops. The successive pattern of grain crop production was maintained until the field would not produce five bushels of corn to the acre. Once exhausted of its ability to produce, the land was abandoned to recover, and pines and scrub grew. After twenty to thirty years of successional growth, the field would be cleared by the farmer and put under similar tillage. However, the ability of the land to produce would decline far faster this second time. This practice led to a patchwork pattern of cultivated fields, abandoned fields, and successional vegetative growth. Some farms were abandoned all together. It is likely that the area surrounding the site of Malvern Hill consisted of this pattern formed by over cultivation of soils. (Ruffin 1852: 35-36)

Uplands, such as the site of Malvern Hill, often consisted of poorer soil. Common vegetation included both pines and whortleberry bushes. Shallow basins punctuated ridge lands and formed seasonal ponds that collected water in the winter and dried in the summer. These shallow ponds are likely what early settlers described as marshes and contributed to the struggle of early overland transportation when they turned to mud in the springtime. Ruffin describes the only rich and durable soils below the falls of the rivers as narrow strips of high land along river banks and the alluvial low lands. Although highly productive, the alluvial bottoms lessened in value because they were often too sandy and were at risk for inundation by floods. (Ruffin 1852: 37)

Traveling from Washington to Richmond in 1852, Frederick Law Olmsted, a noted landscape architect and journalist, made use of both steamboat and rail travel. Olmsted observed,
"not more than a third of the country, visible on this route …is cleared; the rest mainly a pine forest. Of the cleared land, not more than one quarter seems to have been lately in cultivation; the rest is grown over with briars and bushes, and a long, coarse grass of no value."

Olmsted observed that maize and wheat were the primary crops. Impressive old plantation mansions, often standing in a grove of white oaks, stood on hilltops throughout landscape. Most of the plantation homes were constructed of wood, painted white, and had a dozen or so slave cabins scattered about. More common habitations of white people consisted of logs or loosely boarded frames. (Olmsted 1996: 31-32)

Farming and related industries such as milling continued to the primary occupation of Henricoans through the early nineteenth century. However, industry such as coal mining was growing, especially in northern and western Henrico. Growing industry was supported by an increase in slave labor. (Henrico County Virginia)

Land Ownership:
While the size and composition of farms and plantations outside Richmond varied tremendously from small family farms to large plantations, the majority of farms were modest affairs with a few, small, roughly constructed buildings. On larger estates, clusters of domestic buildings typically included a dwelling, slave quarters, and a kitchen, privy, smokehouse, and dairy. Field slave quarters, barns,

tobacco barns, and animal shelters usually stood farther from the main dwelling. After 1700, when grain cultivation began to gain popularity, the region's rivers and streams became dotted with mills, milldams, and millponds. (JMA 2004: 45)

Deeds and wills from the eighteenth century suggest that land ownership patterns were relatively stable during the eighteenth century, with property held by only a few families. Families including Garthright, Jolley, Nelson, Pleasants, Povall, Rogers, and Royster appear to have owned land on or around Malvern Hill, passing the farms down from generation to generation. Other families that owned property in the area include Bradley, Jordan, Stagg, Whitlock, and Womack. While the exact boundaries of these properties cannot be determined, the physical features noted in their descriptions, such as the Western Run and the Slash, place them in the immediate vicinity of Malvern Hill. (JMA 2004: 45)

Malvern Hill was the home plantation of the Cocke family for over a century. It was passed from Thomas Cocke, who died in 1697, through four successive generations of the family. Thomas' great-grandson, James Powell Cocke, died in 1753 and left to his son James "the testator's tract of land called Malvern Hills in Henrico County, containing 670 acres…and 16 negroes now on the plantation at Malvern Hills and stock and household goods at said place." His son James lived on Malvern Hill until about 1785. (William and Mary Quarterly, Volume XXVII: 142; Virginia Magazine of History and Biography, Vol 4: 435)

The Pleasants family also continued to live in the Curles Neck and Four Mile Creek area, shaping not only local history, but also the history of the nation. Although the Quakers were one of the first groups to oppose slavery, many Quakers were slave owners, and records suggest that John Pleasants was involved in the slave trade in the late seventeenth century. His grandson, however, also John Pleasants, had come to the belief that slavery was wrong, and in his will in 1771 he left his slaves to his children with the stipulation that they be freed if and when manumission became legal in Virginia. (Bruce 1896: 82,100)

John Pleasants' son, Robert Pleasants, born at Curles in 1723, was one of Virginia's most active abolitionists. One of the founders and president of the Virginia Abolitionist Society, he fought for the passage of the Manumissions Act in 1782 that allowed the emancipation of slaves by their owner, either at death through a will, or via a deed of manumission. In 1784, two years after manumitting his slaves, Pleasants founded the Gravelly Hill School, the first school for free blacks in Virginia, and set aside 350 acres of land to maintain the schools. Pleasants also gave land to his former slaves so that they could establish farms of their own and provide for their own subsistence. By the time of the Civil War, a number of free black families lived in what was known as the Gravelly Hill community north of Malvern Hill. (Bruce 1896: 82,100)

The landscape mosaic of large river plantation, smaller inland plantations, family farms, and community places such as churches, grist and saw mills, and commercial warehouses evolved slowly during the years leading up to the Civil War. Even with the rapid growth of Richmond and its importance as an industrial and commercial center in the late eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, little physical change occurred in the agricultural community within the project area. (JMA 2004: 49)

The predominant occupation of the residents within the Malvern Hill/Glendale area and its immediate region was farming. Tobacco cultivation declined sharply through the first half of the nineteenth century, so that by 1850, none of the farmers in the area are recorded as producing tobacco. The majority of the farmers grew corn and oats, and the larger farmers, such as John Warriner, Benjamin Pollard, Thomas I. West, John H. Mettert, and James W. Binford, also grew wheat. (JMA 2004: 50)

The majority of the properties within and adjacent to the project area were small farms of 100 or 200 acres. There were also many smaller farms belonging to freed slaves or their descendants, such as the Sykes brothers, whose properties lay just above Long Bridge Road as it existed in 1862, and laborers, such as Royal Jones. Other names of free black residents prior to the Civil War include Brown, Pleasants, Adkins, and Carter, mostly clustered along Long Bridge Road, an area formerly owned by Robert Pleasants. (JMA 2004: 50)

Larger farms, from 200 to 800 acres, were fewer in number but physically dominant within the landscape. These properties ranged in scale from B.F. Dew's estate at Malvern Hill (757 acres) and the farm of Edward Poindexter (800 acres), to the prosperous working farms in the area exemplified by Dr. John Mettert (400 acres), Thomas West (450 acres), Nathaniel and Ethland Nelson (212 acres), Christopher Garthright (214 acres), James W. Binford (300 acres), Leroy Kemp (400 acres), and James Ladd (362 acres) (Figure 3). Most farmers at mid-century farmed only a portion of the land they held. A significant amount of land was classified as "unimproved" and included woodlots, pasture, fallow fields, meadows, and swampy areas. (JMA 2004: 50)

By the nineteenth century, land within the project area began to be sold more frequently in parcels of 50 to 200 acres. Outside of but adjacent to the project area were larger plantations containing several hundred acres such as Robert Nelson's 800-acre Malvern Hill tract south of the battlefield, and Benjamin Pollard's 800-acre tract east of the battlefield. Prior to the Civil War, the Woodfin, Binford, and Frayser families owned land that is currently within the project area. In 1803, Moses Woodfin purchased an 81-acre plantation from John Williams that was "on the west side of the Western Run, on the line of William Garthright, dec'd… to William Hobson's land to a corner poplar in a slash." The same land and an additional 20 acres was sold to James W. Binford in 1822 and was described as that "formerly owned by Moses Woodfin, dec'd. being the lot which fell to John Woodfin, dec'd. and ordered to be sold." Binford owned the land until 1843 when he in turn sold it to John H. Mettert. (JMA 2004: 52)

James W. Binford was important with respect to the project area, as he bought and sold sections of both what would become known as the Creweses farm and Christopher C. Garthright's 'Poplar Grove.' His real estate dealings with Francis Frayser may have included the site that is now the Parsonage. Francis Frayser's holdings were as extensive as those of James Binford; at one time they owned the land which would ultimately become the site of the Glendale National Cemetery, more than likely the parcel sold to individuals establishing Willis Methodist Church, and the property which would eventually be reconstituted by John H. Mettert as his 450-acre farm listed in the 1850 census. Francis' widow Elizabeth sold the farm residence and its adjoining land situated on the eastern side of Willis Church Road to Nathaniel Nelson in October, 1849. Ethland Nelson, who owned the farm with R.H. Nelson prior to and after the Civil War, sold at least two parcels to the federal government, one in October 1868, and another in August 1873. These parcels presumably became Glendale National Cemetery. The Nelson family retained control of the property until 1908. (JMA 2004: 52)

Other large tracts of land were in the possession of the Garthrights and Wests. Samuel Garthright, Sr. was a large landowner—at least one Samuel Garthright had land contiguous with what would become the northern boundary of John Mettert's farm. Christopher C. Garthright bought the 214-acre farm, later known as 'Poplar Grove,' from miller Thomas French in August 1857. Agricultural statistics record that Christopher C. Garthright resided at 'Poplar Grove' in 1860. This suggests that the buildings on that property were constructed just prior to the Civil War. (JMA 2004: 52)

The West farm represents one of the most consistent family holdings in the area. Robert Povall originally owned 800 acres adjacent to Malvern Hill, including most of the 1862 West farm. The property was passed on to the Wests when Povall's widow Elizabeth was remarried to Edward West in 1790, maintaining her dower's rights to the property. They had a son, Thomas I. West, who was subsequently given the 165-acre 'Bells' or 'Bellfield' farm in 1821, known as the West farm in 1862. Thomas I. West passed Bellfield on to his son John W. West after his death in 1865. Thomas I. West also gave another son, Edward West, the 100-acre 'West Cottage' parcel in 1849. Edward West later sold this parcel to James W. Binford in 1851. At least two Binford residences appear in the West/Binford tract: one identified on an 1853 Henrico County map, and another identified on a late nineteenth-century map showing July 1862 battle positions. Prior to 1851, Binford likely occupied the easternmost property overlooking Western Run, as he did not purchase the 'West Cottage' tract until 1851. Land tax records indicate that he improved this early and easternmost property ca. 1846-1847. After his purchase of the 'West Cottage' in 1851, he likely moved there, as it was more conveniently located adjacent to a prominent thoroughfare, Carter's Mill Road. Subsequent maps of the West/Binford parcel made during the Civil War document that the older structure overlooking Western Run may have been torn down or removed by the mid- to late 1860s. (JMA 2004: 52)

In 1843, Dr. John H. Mettert purchased the property on the western bluffs of Malvern Hill from James Binford, including a dwelling house, barn, and outbuildings. John Mettert appears in the 1850 census, as well as on the map of Henrico County from 1853, but is absent from the Henrico County census of 1860. Although some Civil War accounts refer to the farm by Mettert's name (alternately Mellert), most refer to it as Poindexter's farm, Crewes's farm, Crewes's house, or "formerly Dr. Mettert's." Deeds suggest that Mettert sold the property to Edward Poindexter in 1857, who may have in turn sold it to someone named Crewes before the war, giving the property its name. The 1860 census for the Eastern Division of Henrico County contains three Crewes households, headed respectively by Joseph Crewes, a laborer with no real estate, Peter J. Crewes, a soap and candle maker with real estate valued at $5,000, and Cornelius Crewes, a 56-year-old farmer with total real estate and personal property value of $175,000, a fortune at the time. According to historian Benson John Lossing, who visited Malvern Hill in 1866, "The theater of that conflict was on the farms of Cornelius Crewes, Dr.
Turner, John W. West, E.H. Poindexter, James W. Binford, and L.H. Kemp." (Lossing 1868: 438-439)

The property map accompanying the 1843 deed from James Binford to John Mettert indicates the property owners surrounding Mettert's farm. These included Philip Frayser on the north and west, Francis Frayser (by this time, his widow, Elizabeth) on the northeast, Thomas West on the east, George Poindexter's on the south, and J. Seldon on the west. Mettert completed his holdings of approximately 400 acres listed in the 1850 census by purchasing an additional 256 acres from James W. Binford, his wife, and Philip Frayser's heirs, Mary F. and Fanny, five years later in 1848. This deed contained provisions for acreage reserved for a "burying ground," probably for the Fraysers. It is likely that Binford held Philip Frayser's estate in trust for what appear to be his daughters. In the 1860 census, Fanny Frayser is listed as part of James W. Binford's household. Binford's actual residence was located directly south of the Poindexter farm, and to the southeast of Thomas I. and John W. West's farm. Although he is listed as having only 300 acres of land, by 1860 his personal wealth was $21,800. (JMA 2004: 53)

Many of the farms in the area were occupied by tenant farmers and managers who oversaw crop production for the owners who lived elsewhere. This often led to discrepancies between names found on deeds, censuses, maps, and local informants. Some maps label the West house with the name Dr. Turner, although it does not appear that he ever owned the land. In the 1860 census, Edward Fuqua, farmer, is found under the Epps household. As Epps was 60 years old at the time of the census, Fuqua likely assisted in the management of the farm. At some point between 1860 and 1867, Edward Fuqua bought the 116.5 acres of Binford land to the northwest of Willis Methodist Church, and below the eastern ravine that is now the project area's northern boundary. Fuqua's property constitutes an important part of the Glendale battlefield. The map drawn by Nathaniel Michler after the war documented a farmhouse and Fuqua's ownership of the property. A dwelling, larger outbuilding, small orchard, and small road leading to Willis Church Road appear on the 1867 Michler map. While fields were almost always cultivated, the farmhouses themselves might not have been occupied; census records for 1860 showed at least four farms in the general vicinity of the 1862 battles to be "vacant." (JMA 2004: 54)

Landscape Description, 1860:
Settlement and agricultural patterns instituted by the earliest English tobacco planters dictated vernacular spatial relationships such as roads, fields, and home sites between neighboring farms. Most farms in the project area and beyond showed a consistency in agrarian settlement. Home sites were located in open land, usually on elevated topography, linked directly or indirectly to main thoroughfares by cart paths or farm roads. Farm complexes were usually surrounded by orchards and cultivated fields interspersed with woods, meadows, and pastures. Nineteenth-century slave quarters, with labor focused on the production of mixed grains, tended to be clustered in larger aggregations usually closer to the main domestic complex than during the previous century (Figure 4). Cultivated fields were generally bordered by farm roads or paths, more than likely alignments dating to the "rolling roads" and cart paths of the seventeenth century. Fields were also frequently divided by woodland, wood fences, or hedgerows. Outbuildings such as barns and storage facilities (as seen on the Crewes, West, and Dew properties) were frequently built along these lanes, which served on a larger scale to informally connect these structures with the main domestic complexes.

Other agricultural features included drainage ditches and channels.



Figure 3. Detail of an atlas from 1853 showing the Malvern Hill area. Farms in the area are labeled with the names Dr. J.H. Mellert, Mr. T.I. West, Mrs. E. Garthright, J.W. Binford, and B. Pollard (Library of Congress).



Figure 4. Detail of an a map drawn by Col. Nathaniel Michler from 1867 showing the Malvern Hill area and the layouts of the Crew, West, and Binford farms (Library of Congress).

CIVIL WAR, 1861-1865

In 1861, President Abraham Lincoln appointed Gen. George B. McClellan to command the Union Army of the Potomac. McClellan turned out to be an incomparable organizer and a superb administrator; during the late summer, autumn, and winter, on the outskirts of Washington, he refashioned the amateur soldiers of Bull Run into a well-drilled, professional army. (JMA 2004: 62)

In the spring of 1862, McClellan devised a plan to capture the Confederate capital of Richmond via the Virginia Peninsula. A fleet of ships carried the Army of the Potomac from Alexandria to Fort Monroe and Newport News. From there, the Army of the Potomac, its flanks protected by the James and York Rivers, could purportedly reach Richmond in a week. The Federals could secure the head of navigation of the York River at West Point then continue up the Pamunkey River to White House Landing. From there a railroad ran to Richmond. The Richmond and York River Railroad could thus become the main line of supply for the invaders and carry tons of supplies, ammunition, and heavy siege artillery from ships to the doorstep of Richmond. An investment of Richmond, McClellan hoped, might well deal the Confederacy such a psychological and economic blow as to bring the war to an end. (JMA 2004: 62)

The Lincoln administration discovered in the winter of 1861-1862 that McClellan was a cautious general. Despite the limited size of the force that stood in his way at first and the short distance to Richmond, McClellan faced two sets of obstacles. One entailed the natural elements, the other his own conservative approach and tendency to overestimate the strength of his opponent. Spring downpours, impassable roads, and a bewildering road system slowed the progress of his army up the corridor between the York and James Rivers. Confederate Maj. Gen. John B. Magruder contributed to McClellan's cautiousness by falsely implying that he had a large force defending the Yorktown Warwick Line. McClellan's concern regarding the strength of the Confederate force lying between his troops and Richmond delayed him on the Peninsula preparing for a "siege." (JMA 2004: 62)

During the last half of March, the Army of the Potomac had begun to disembark from transports at Newport News and Fort Monroe, at the tip of the Peninsula, seventy-five miles from Richmond, and the Federal army already occupied Fredericksburg, some fifty miles from Richmond. By April 17, Confederate Gen. Joseph Johnston and most of his divisions had arrived at Williamsburg to defend against the Union advance. One day before McClellan's major onslaught was scheduled to begin, the Confederates retreated, but fought a bitter delaying action at Williamsburg on May 5. The Federals would not see the spires of Richmond until nearly eight weeks after the first troops landed at Fort Monroe, the intervening time allowed the Confederacy to summon thousands of troops from the Deep South, as well as Virginia and North Carolina, to the rescue of Richmond. (JMA 2004: 63)

Seven Days Battles:
Gen. McClellan directed the Army of the Potomac to approach from the east, overland across the peninsula of land between the York and James Rivers. As originally planned, the strategy for this attack included a two-pronged offensive that brought McClellan's army from the east and Gen. Irvin McDowell's army from the north. McDowell's army, however, was never released to enter the fray due to President Abraham Lincoln's insistence that his army remain in the north to protect the Federal capital in Washington, D.C. Once that threat lessened, McDowell's army was diverted by Gen. T.J. "Stonewall" Jackson's first Shenandoah Valley campaign, which had the goal of keeping the Federals from reinforcing the Peninsula troops for their attack on Richmond. McClellan's strategy was also thwarted by unusually wet spring conditions, which hampered the mobility of Union artillery; cannon and other large guns became stuck in muddy roads, and log bridges had to be constructed to cross many creeks and swamps. With only McClellan's army to contend with, Confederate Gens. Robert E. Lee, newly appointed commanding general of all forces, and J.E.B. Stuart managed to stave off a preliminary attack from the northeast by the Federals. McClellan wrote "As soon as I gain possession of the 'Old Tavern' I will push them in upon Richmond and behind their works; then I will bring up my heavy guns, shell the city, and carry it by assault." (JMA 2004: 63)

Gen. McClellan's army occupied Beaver Dam Creek near Mechanicsville in May and June 1862, while Gen. Lee conceived of a bold plan to drive the Federals from Richmond. The Seven Days' Battles were a result of his ambition to crush the Army of the Potomac, and McClellan's unwillingness to fight a total war for the capture of Richmond. The first engagement on June 26, 1862, between the two forces at Beaver Dam Creek, as well as Jackson's arrival from the Shenandoah Valley campaign,

convinced McClellan to retreat. Calling his plans “a change of base,” he ordered his naval contingent to relocate from White House on the Pamunkey River to Harrison’s Landing on the James River. Supplies were also moved south, including thousands of wagons and a herd of 2,500 cattle. A Confederate account of the Federal retreat described its effect on the landscape:
“The whole country was full of deserted plunder, army wagons, and pontoon-trains partially burned or crippled; mounds of grain and rice and hillocks of mess beef smouldering; tens of thousands of axes, picks, and shovels; camp kettles gashed with hatchets; medicine chests with their drugs stirred into a foul medley, and all the apparatus of a vast and lavish host; while the mire under foot was mixed with blankets lately new, and with overcoats torn from the waist up. For weeks afterward agents of our army were busy in gathering in the spoils. Great stores of fixed ammunition were saved, while more were destroyed” (Rev. Dabney, quoted in JMA 2004, 64).

At Gaines’ Mill the next day, June 27, Lee succeeded with two tactical objectives: clearing all Federal forces from the north bank of the Chickahominy River, and gaining control of New Bridge. As McClellan retreated to the southeast, headed for the safe haven of the Federally-controlled Harrison’s Landing, Confederate generals took up a relentless series of attacks on the withdrawing army. A portion of the two forces clashed next in the Battle of Savage’s Station on June 29, south of the Chickahominy and east of Gaines’ Mill. The final engagements of the Seven Days’ Battles occurred at White Oak Swamp and Glendale on June 30, and Malvern Hill on July 1. The Federal army was able to protect its retreat at Malvern Hill and establish itself at Harrison’s Landing for the next month before retreating further down the Peninsula. When Lee recognized the inactivity of McClellan’s forces, he abandoned his pursuit, and turned his attention northward to Manassas, where a new Federal army was posing a severe threat. (JMA 2004: 64)

During the Seven Days’ Battles, the casualties were staggering: 15,849 Federals and 20,614 Confederates. Although Lee was unable to destroy the Federal army, the North was unsuccessful in its first attempt to overtake the Confederate capital of Richmond. During the Seven Days’ Battles, Gen. Lee burst onto the scene as a brilliant military tactician; on the other hand, Gen. McClellan lost most of his political support, and was replaced as the Commander of the Federal army within a few months. Both sides realized that the war between the North and South would be of a magnitude and duration that few would have imagined. (JMA 2004: 64)

Prelude to Battles:
Gen. Robert E. Lee’s offensive north of the Chickahominy River on June 26 and 27, 1862, which culminated in the Battles of Beaver Dam Creek and Gaines’ Mill, profoundly shook Federal Gen. George B. McClellan. Convinced that he was heavily outnumbered and having just abandoned the area north of the Chickahominy, McClellan ordered his forces to retire southward. He sought to bring his troops safely to a secure enclave at Harrison’s Landing on the James River. He had already begun to make that area his principal supply depot. (JMA 2004: 67)

McClellan’s first problem was to extricate his forces from their fieldworks facing Richmond and the threat posed by a presumably more numerous and aggressive enemy. At this juncture, he had about 100,000 men, 281 field pieces, 26 siege guns, and more than 3,800 wagons and ambulances. Immediately behind the front were stockpiles of weapons, ammunition, and supplies, as well as field hospitals, headquarters, baggage, and herds of cattle, horses, and mules. This gear, equipment, and livestock had to be removed or destroyed in an orderly manner. Only a few twisting roads led the twenty or so miles to Harrison’s Landing, and careful planning would be necessary to avoid traffic jams of wagons and troops. In addition, the retreat might turn into a disastrous withdrawal if the Confederates kept up the pressure. Losing a series of rearguard actions might be the equivalent of losing a campaign, while a large battle along the roads to Harrison’s Landing would imperil the existence of the principal Federal army of the Eastern Theater. In the end, McClellan was successful in his “change of base,” and reminded the public and his critics of this fact for years afterwards. It can be argued that the Army of the Potomac made it to safety despite McClellan and benefitted greatly from the failures of the pursuing Confederates. (JMA 2004: 67)

Lee was not satisfied with merely driving Brig. Gen. Fitz John Porter’s reinforced Fifth Corps over the Chickahominy River, nor with relieving the investment of Richmond; his new goal was to pocket and destroy the enemy between the Chickahominy and the James Rivers. To accomplish this, Lee would

have to mobilize the Confederates under Maj. Gens. John Magruder and Benjamin Huger, who had bemused McClellan in front of Richmond for several weeks, and set them after him. After determining whether the Federals were retiring down the Peninsula toward Yorktown or south toward the James River, Lee, to strike the Federals, would have to coordinate movements by converging forces across difficult terrain, and transfer much of his own army across the Chickahominy River. This was an exceedingly ambitious plan for a new army that had already experienced difficulty in the last two days getting inexperienced staff and generals, untrained troops, inaccurate and vague maps, and poor roads. (JMA 2004: 68)

McClellan told his generals of his decision to retreat to the James River at a council of war on the evening of June 27, as the weary veterans of Gaines' Mill crossed the Chickahominy. His generals were astonished at this proposed "change of base." Fiery Brig. Gen. "Fighting Joe" Hooker and Brig. Gen. Phil Kearny urged McClellan to let them attack Richmond, arguing that the Chickahominy could be defended easily against a Confederate crossing. McClellan denied their request, rejected their argument, and gave word to start the change of base the next morning. (JMA 2004: 68)

Lee was also surprised at McClellan's decision. Gen. J.E.B. Stuart's cavalry soon learned that Porter had retired southward, not eastward, and that the Federal base at White House Landing was a smoking ruin. Suspicious plumes of smoke and explosions south of the Chickahominy River suggested to Lee that McClellan was destroying equipment before a retreat, while clouds of dust spoke of Federal troops marching south. Lee sent Brig. Gen. Richard Ewell to guard Bottom's Bridge four miles southeast of Gaines' Mill in order to cut off any Federal retreat down the peninsula. No major battles occurred on June 28, the eye of the hurricane that was the Seven Days' Battles. (JMA 2004: 68)

Lee was convinced early on June 29 that his adversary was retiring southward, and set his rested troops on the roads to trap his opponent. Magruder was ordered out of the Richmond trenches north and south of Williamsburg Road toward Savage's Station on the Richmond and York River Railroad in order to pin McClellan's rearguard. Jackson was to reconstruct Grapevine Bridge over the Chickahominy River, cross, and advance on Magruder's left. Meanwhile, Generals Longstreet and A.P. Hill would cross at New Bridge, loop behind Magruder and join Huger, who was also advancing out of Richmond. If the three divisions of Longstreet, Hill, and Huger could march fast and strike hard, they would catch McClellan south of White Oak Swamp, and might catch a few Federal units and wagon trains in the act of crossing the swamp. Lee's strategy was to deliver the fatal blow to the Army of the Potomac at the crossroads of Glendale. (JMA 2004: 68)

Magruder was elated at signs of Federal retreat as he headed eastward. He ran into a small Federal rearguard at Allen's farm (Peach Orchard), as well as a larger rearguard at Savage's Station. Almost half of McClellan's army was deployed there in lines of battle: Gen. Edwin V. Sumner's Second Corps, Gen. Samuel P. Heintzelman's Third Corps, and good part of Franklin's Sixth Corps. Outnumbered, Magruder naturally decided to wait for Jackson, a risk given that Jackson had failed to appear at Beaver Dam Creek and turned up late at Gaines' Mill. Unfortunately, Jackson was again absent, leaving Magruder at a disadvantage. (JMA 2004: 68)

On the afternoon of June 29, Magruder faced odds of three to one. Magruder was ill and groggy from lack of sleep, but he launched a series of half-hearted assaults that Sumner easily repulsed. The odds improved considerably when Gen. Heintzelman decided his corps was not needed and joined the retreat. Later, Federal Gen. Henry Slocum pleaded with McClellan to let his tired troops fall back. McClellan was far to the rear, supervising the swamp crossings, and had left no one in charge of the rear half of his army. Gen. Sumner, after repelling the Confederate attacks at Savage Station, wanted to counterattack until a staff officer reminded him that McClellan wished him to retreat at nightfall. "Bull" Sumner obeyed his instructions, put his men on the roads toward the swamp crossing, and by 10:00 a.m. the next morning, all organized Federal formations were safely across White Oak Swamp. (JMA 2004: 69).

Battle of Glendale:
McClellan sent Porter's battered Fifth Corps and the Fourth Corps under Gen. Erasmus Keyes, whom McClellan thought ineffectual, to a prominent point across the route of retreat called Malvern

Hill. The remaining three corps, along with vehicles carrying a multitude of equipment, stretched ten miles along the most direct route to the James River, passing White Oak Swamp Bridge and a country crossroads on the way to Malvern Hill. Meanwhile, Lee was hurrying several powerful columns toward the Federal bottleneck at Glendale. He planned that his seven divisions coming from the west and Jackson's four divisions from the north would cut off a major portion of the Federal army. These forces would arrive at Glendale, Lee expected, on the last day of June and win the decisive battle he had sought all week/ (JMA 2004: 69)

Despite his vulnerable position, McClellan's corps commanders deployed their troops in jumbled dispositions. Elements of four Federal Corps participated in the fight at the Glendale crossroads and the nearby skirmish at White Oak Bridge on June 30. At the latter site, Sumner left two divisions as a rearguard under Gen. Franklin: Gen. Israel B. Richardson's of the Second Corps, and Maj. Gen. William F. Smith's of the Sixth. Two miles to the west, the five divisions at the crossroads represented four army corps. The flanks of the Federal line were "in the air," that is, not anchored on natural protection. Fortunately the divisions on the flanks were good ones. On the left stood the Third Corps division of General Hooker, and on the right, the divisions of able Gens. Philip Kearny of the Third and Henry Slocum of the Sixth Corps. In the center, facing the open fields of the Whitlock farm and without natural defenses, were Brig. Gen. George A. McCall's exhausted and battered soldiers of the Fifth Corps, supported by Brig. Gen. John Sedgwick's Second Corps Division. Two Second Corps brigades were marching toward Glendale from White Oak Swamp Bridge when the battle commenced. Parts of two corps, those of Porter and Keyes, and plentiful Federal artillery were on Malvern Hill, ready to pitch in if needed. (JMA 2004: 69)

General McClellan was not present on the field of battle, nor had he delegated authority to anyone. Gen. Edwin Sumner, his senior corps commander, was on the scene but exercised little control over the events of the day. Despite the unsound military procedure of absent authority and a combination of higher commands, the Federals had a clear mission: they must hold at Glendale and White Oak Swamp until sundown, allowing the Federal baggage trains time to crawl over and around Malvern Hill to Harrison's Landing, fourteen miles from Glendale. The Federals along Willis Church Road were a huge and extended flank guard for the Army of the Potomac. (JMA 2004: 69)

At White Oak Swamp Bridge, Jackson had again sunk into lethargy. He briefly showed energy, then procrastinated, and napped through much of the so-called "Battle of White Oak Swamp," which ultimately became an episodic artillery duel. (JMA 2004: 70)

General Huger's contribution to the fighting was as nearly inconsequential as that of Jackson. Two miles short of Glendale, which the confederates called Frayser's Farm, Huger's leading brigadier, William Mahone, found felled trees blocking the Charles City road ahead of his troops. They could hear Federal axmen and crashing timber not far ahead, but instead of sending skirmishers to get rid of them, Mahone decided to chop down trees himself to create a new road parallel to the old one. As a consequence, the Federals found out what Mahone was doing and began knocking down trees across the old road and in the path of the potential new one. This absurd "battle of the axes" delayed Huger until 2:30 p.m. When he did arrive close to the crossroads, he found the strong battle line of Slocum's division confronting him. Huger fired a few of his cannon, and halted his column for the rest of the day. (JMA 2004: 70)

A small Confederate division under Gen. Theophilus Holmes had crossed the James on pontoon bridges at Drewry's Bluff, and was supposed to interdict Willis Church Road near the base of Malvern Hill and otherwise assist the other Confederate columns. However, when Holmes appeared in range of Malvern Hill, nearly three dozen Federal cannon on top of the hill, joined by gunboats in the James River, opened fire on him. The gunfire drove his untested division from the scene around 4:30 p.m. before it could do anything. Lee ordered Magruder to support the attack, but Magruder's division took the wrong road and spent the battle marching to no effect. That left the divisions of A.P. Hill and Longstreet, both under the latter's command, coming up Darbytown Road onto Long Bridge Road toward Glendale, to fulfill Lee's plan. Lee ordered them to shake out their skirmishers and prepare to attack about 3:00 p.m., but it took so much time to form a line of battle that Lee wondered if the Confederates would catch any enemy wagons that day. (JMA 2004: 70)

Two hours later, Lee gave the word to advance, hoping that the rising crescendo of combat would attract cooperation from Huger and Jackson. Through pine woods, cropland, and the inevitable swamps, Longstreet's men moved forward. By chance they headed directly toward McCall's Pennsylvania Reserves. For a while McCall's men held, supported by a limited number of Federal guns. McCall's division eventually buckled, and some units, including two batteries, ran to the rear. On a rise in front of the crossroads, the Confederates briefly overran an artillery battery before being driven back. (JMA 2004: 70)

Fresh Federal troops were soon on the scene, sent there not by McClellan or Sumner, but by Federal division generals acting on their own initiative. Richardson rushed his division from White Oak Bridge; Sedgwick and Hooker kept the hole from widening, while Kearny hurled his division at the Confederates. The fight seesawed back and forth as both sides threw reinforcements into the breach. The vicious struggle around the guns was one of the rare examples of hand-to-hand bayonet fighting in the Civil War. (JMA 2004: 70)

Nightfall brought a conclusion to the struggle, and the Confederates grudgingly fell back. Lee had captured eighteen guns and many prisoners, but he had not gained the destruction of the enemy army. He had not even gained the crossroads or managed to link up with Huger and Jackson. (JMA 2004: 71)

The federal line held as night fell. Losses were about equal in the fierce fighting at Glendale, but the Federals fell back unmolested that evening, some two miles to the strong defensive position on Malvern Hill. The Confederates would advance in the same direction the next morning. (JMA 2004: 71)

Glendale, or Frayser's Farm as the Confederates commonly called it, ended as did many Civil War battles, with a bloody stalemate that left the attacker with greater numbers of casualties and hardly any gain of ground. The Battle of Glendale was notable, however, for both the courage displayed by the participants and the difficulties of command and coordination experienced by each army. Lee's elaborate converging attack by four columns proved to be too complex for his forces. Confederate artillerist E. Porter Alexander vividly recalled that Glendale had a dubious distinction, declaring that "it involved, I believe, more actual bayonet, & butt of gun, melee fighting than any other occasion I know of in the whole war." veteran of a great many battles, Alexander also asserted that it was the best chance the Confederates ever had to win the war. (JMA 2004: 71)

Lee might have won his gamble at Glendale if his army had functioned better, but once again he learned that his army was not yet seasoned. The day after the battle the Confederate commander quietly complained to a subordinate, in a bitter tone unusual for him, "yes, he will get away because I cannot have my orders carried out." But Lee was convinced, despite the evidence at Glendale, that his enemy was demoralized and running for cover, and that one more day of Confederate effort might bring triumph. He prepared for battle on July 1 at Malvern Hill, the last clash of the Seven Days' Battles (JMA 2004: 71)

Battle of Malvern Hill:
On July 1, the day after the bloody standoff at Glendale, the Army of the Potomac and the Army of Northern Virginia confronted each other at Malvern Hill (Figure 5). The Federal Army of the Potomac stood in a very strong defensive position, with most of their army present. A general could hardly hope for a better position for defense than the one McClellan had at Malvern Hill. Although it was one of the highest spots in eastern Virginia, some 130 feet above sea level, its configuration was far more important than its height. Malvern Hill was an open plateau, with its flanks covered by ravines, streams, swamps, and dense brush. The top of the plateau was less than a mile across. From the perspective of the Federals, the Confederates would have to assault frontally up more than half a mile of gently rising ground covered with crops and fringed with dense woodlands. The center of the slope facing north was ideal for the ricochets of artillery roundshot; it was a wheat field, with the grain bundled into wheat shocks. (JMA 2004: 74)

As they had in the past, the Confederates again had major problems getting into position, even though Malvern Hill was less than two miles from the edge of the Glendale battlefield. Lee issued

unclear marching orders; Magruder's troops headed in the wrong direction most of the day; and the majority of the army was jammed into the narrow corridor of Willis Church Road, unable to fan out because of the swampy and steep terrain of adjacent Western Run. As with the previous battles fought during the Seven Days, the Battle of Malvern Hill started late in the day, with sunset serving as an impediment to a decisive victory. (JMA 2004: 74)

Both Fitz John Porter and McClellan were responsible for the Federal dispositions, although Porter was the field commander on July 1, 1862. Porter placed Brig. Gen. George W. Morell's division from his own Fifth Corps to the west of Willis Church Road, and situated Sykes's division of regulars and Maj. Gen. Gouverneur K. Warren's volunteer brigade, also of the Fifth Corps, to protect the left rear of the Federal position against Confederates who might try to outflank Malvern Hill by River Road. McCall's crippled division of the Fifth Corps, now under Brig. Gen. Truman Seymour, was in the rear near the Malvern Hill house, Porter's headquarters. Brig. Gen. Darius N. Couch's division of Keyes' Fourth Corps stood to the east of Willis Church Road. The corps of Heintzelman (Third), Sumner (Second), and Franklin (Sixth) were at a right angle to Couch to guard the eastern slope of the hill, and also to act as a reserve. Although not recorded in post-battle correspondence or reports, the Federal troops under Heintzelman, Sumner, and Franklin may have constructed a semicircular earthwork or battery southeast of the West farm property. Two Confederate maps dating to 1862 note a Federal battery adjacent to and north of the J.W. Binford 'West Cottage' residence, presumably guarding the southeastern slope of Malvern Hill. The maps show the battery facing in a general northeastern direction. It is also possible that the earthwork shown on the Confederate maps, if it existed, may have been constructed later on during the war after the Battle of Malvern Hill. (JMA 2004: 74)

The Union artillery, which was to dominate the battle, was grouped in three locations: dozens of guns faced west from their position south of the Crewes house to assist Sykes in his role of guarding the River Road; about thirty-seven cannon were unlimbered along the northern face of the position beside the Crewes and West property farm lanes, including across Willis Church Road; and, because Malvern Hill was not large enough for the deployment of all the Federal ordnance, most batteries were in reserve on the nearby Dew property at the start of the fight. Union gunboats Galena and Aroostook were anchored in the James, prepared to contribute to the battle. Of the Union's Army of the Potomac, only the cavalry, Peck's division of the Fourth Corps, Gen. Keyes, and Gen. McClellan did not participate in the Battle of Malvern Hill. (JMA 2004: 75)

McClellan's army lay in an inverted U-shaped formation with the James River and the road to Harrison's Landing at the southern opening. In place by 7:00 a.m. and facing a series of long, sloping, open cultivated fields bounded by woodlots, Porter had 75,000 men and two hundred guns ready for action. Even though only three dozen or so cannon could command the north slope of the hill at any one time, they presented a formidable sight. When Gen. D.H. Hill saw what awaited the Confederate forces, he warned Lee "If General McClellan is there in force, we had better let him alone." (JMA 2004:75)

Lee was still determined to end the campaign with a blow that would destroy the Federal army and end the war in Virginia. However, disorganization slowed the Confederate approach to Malvern Hill on July 1. Huger sent two of his brigades on a circuitous route in the belief that Charles City Road was still blocked by Federal departure, and that he was needed at the front. Huger's column arrived at the Glendale crossroads in time to collide with Jackson's men marching up Long Bridge Road from White Oak Swamp. Lee ordered Jackson's command to file into battle lines at the foot of Malvern Hill, east of Willis Church Road, and just behind Western Run. He positioned Brig. Gen. Charles S. Winder's division and most of Ewell's in reserve near Willis Methodist Church. Lee wanted Magruder's relatively fresh men to be on the Confederate right, west of Willis Church Road, but these troops were still missing. Instead, Lee put Huger's two brigades in that location, on the right of D.H. Hill. (JMA 2004: 75)

Confusion over the discrepancies in Confederate maps and local tradition with respect to the real "Quaker Road" caused Magruder to waste most of the day marching his troops away from the battlefield. Longstreet finally caught up with him and directed him to take position on the west side of Willis Church Road. As a result, Huger's and Magruder's brigades were interspersed when the battle

began. The worn divisions of Longstreet and A.P. Hill rested in the rear along with the artillery reserve. Clearly these arrangements implied a frontal attack up the gentle slopes of Malvern Hill. It was already 5:00 p.m.; maneuvering to the northeast around the hill, as Jackson suggested, was out of the question. (JMA 2004: 76)

Lee's orders were overly simple and vague. First, Confederate artillery massed on the flanks of Lee's army was to bombard the Union line. Once they had created confusion and a gap in the Union position, Gen. Armistead's brigade of Huger's division was to send up a shout as the signal for Brig. Gen. Lewis A. Armistead's men and thirteen other brigades to storm the Federal center. (JMA 2004: 76)

Matters went awry from the start. Longstreet claimed he had discovered a place on the Confederate right where sixty cannon could unlimber to blast the Federals. He suggested Jackson plant some of his batteries behind his own troops to produce a crossfire on the heights. Neither general was in fact able to establish advantageous artillery locations; when the Confederate guns tried to go into battery, Porter's cannon quickly rendered them all but useless. No Confederate officer ever gave orders to Gen. William Pendleton's reserve artillery, which sat out the battle in the rear. Instead of softening the Federal position for a concentrated Confederate assault, much of Lee's artillery was put out of action. (JMA 2004: 76)

No one could say for sure later how or when each of the Rebel brigades received the signal to charge. The five attacks of Confederate infantry were disjointed from the start. The Federal artillery, sited in its indomitable position, mowed down the Confederates. In only one spot on the Union left, north of the Crewes house at the steepest part of the hill, did one regiment – the 3rd Georgia of Ambrose R. Wright's brigade – gained brief hold on any part of the hilltop. Their success was short-lived. The Confederates were thrown back when the 14th New York Regiment rushed to the threatened spot. In the end, Porter's line was never at risk; the Federal batteries and battle lines repulsed every attack. D.H. Hill, whose division was the only one of Jackson's command committed to the attack, was shattered on the deadly slope. General Holmes' small division of green troops cautiously advanced along the River Road but did not dare come within range of the artillery, infantry on the hill, and the gunboats hurling shot and shell from the James River. (JMA 2004: 76)

Porter recognized that he had won a great victory and wanted to counterattack Lee's army, but he had to await the decision of McClellan, who briefly showed up at the end of the battle, riding through the cheers of the seven Federal divisions, many still standing in reserve. Mentally and physically exhausted from the hammering inflicted by Lee on his Army of the Potomac, McClellan refused to exploit the victory, and ordered his troops to continue their retreat to the safe haven of Harrison's Landing on the James River, ten miles away. (JMA 2004: 76).

A rainstorm the night of the battle prevented any pursuit. Lee eventually followed the Federals to Harrison's Landing, where he found McClellan's army behind formidable natural and manmade defenses. Six weeks later, the Lincoln administration recalled McClellan and his army from their entrenched camp at Harrison's Landing. The Peninsula Campaign, which had really ended at Malvern Hill, was now officially over. The Army of the Potomac would not return to the outskirts of Richmond for two years. (JMA 2004: 76)

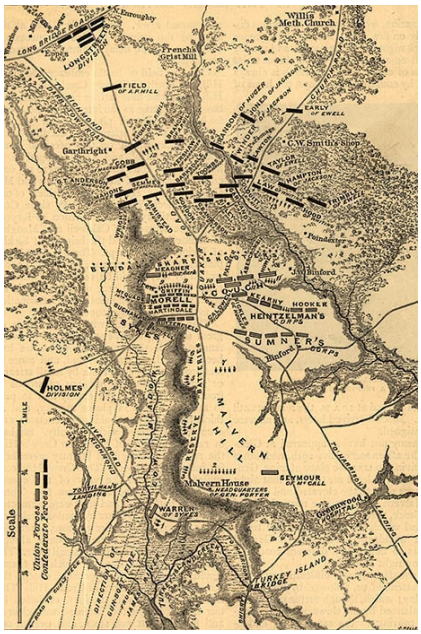


Figure 5. Map of troop movement during the battle of Malvern Hill (Century Magazine, v.30 Aug. 1885).

RECONSTRUCTION AND CIVIL WAR COMMEMORATION, 1865-1932

As a result of a large-scale military presence within Virginia throughout the Civil War, large portions of farmland were left fallow as farmers struggled to cope with the heavily damaged infrastructure. Barns and other agricultural buildings had been burned or dismantled, fences torn down, livestock carried away or slaughtered, crops burned in the field, woodlots decimated, and roadways and canals damaged or destroyed as soldiers attempted to disrupt supply lines. With the loss of slave labor, the South also faced complete restructuring of farm operations as landowners struggled to cope with the newly implemented wage-based labor system within the confines of a labor-intensive agricultural economy. These factors prevented much of the South from experiencing economic success for decades following the Civil War. (Foner 1988: 170-171)

Agricultural labor after the Civil War included newly freed slaves, as well as tenant farmers. Despite their newly won freedom, however, many former slaves were unsure of how to sell their labor, and former masters were unused to associating with labor on a consensual basis. In many areas of the South, free labor systems evolved that were only marginally different from the slave labor system, with landowners withholding payment until the crops had been harvested and sold to prevent workers from leaving during the growing season. Although this left a large amount of control in the hands of the landowners, laborers found themselves gaining autonomy as they demanded changes in the methods of payment. Beginning soon after the close of the Civil War and becoming widespread by 1870, tenure agreements known as sharecropping signaled the final stage in the decentralization of plantation agriculture. Under this system, landowners made arrangements with individual families specifying the family's responsibility for a particular piece of land, in return for which they would typically receive one third of the year's crop. This system allowed property owners to avoid the difficulties presented by the shortage of cash and credit in the postwar South while giving laborers an alternative to gang labor and daily white supervision. Despite the nationwide depression which began with the Panic of 1873, Southern agriculture continued to improve following the lows seen during the years of the Reconstruction period. (Foner 1988: 171-174)

Immediately after the battles of Glendale and Malvern Hill, some residents who lived adjacent to the project area sold their property and moved on. It appears that Dr. Poindexter, whose farm was east of and adjacent to the battlefield, decided not to come back to his plantation after the conflict in July, for in October 1862 he put it up for auction. Over the next two decades, many other residents who could afford to do so also moved away from the area. Malvern Hill house never fully recovered from the war, and as a result, Benjamin F. Dew leased his plantation at Malvern Hill in 1864 and sold it several years later. During 1866, a Mr. Wyatt was a tenant there. (JMA 2004: 121)

The trend of local property subdivision that began prior to 1862 continued during the postbellum period. This may have been a direct result of the continued division and sale of estates. During the last quarter of the nineteenth century, both the Binford and West (later R.T. Smith) properties were divided and passed on to multiple heirs. Some of these lots were later sold to other regional or non-Virginia residents. (JMA 2004: 121)

By 1864, Henrico County had adopted a new fencing law that required owners of livestock to fence their animals. This law reversed centuries of common law practice that allowed livestock to roam free over the land and placed the onus on property owners to fence their own fields in order to protect them from foraging animals. As Benjamin F. Dew noted in an advertisement to lease his farm, “all of the labor of fencing will be saved as the late fence law is in operation in Henrico.” (JMA 2004: 121)

During his May 1866 visit to Glendale and Malvern Hill, historian and biographer Benson Lossing wrote of his bleak impressions there. He noted that the Crewes and Malvern Hill houses and grounds still showed the effects of war. Lossing’s comments suggest that the project area and its surrounding region were attempting to cope with the loss of slavery. He noted that the Crewes house, “near which the artillery of Porter and Couch was planted, had been a fine mansion, with pleasant grounds around it; but both mansion and grounds told the sad story of the desolation which had been brought to all that region by the scourge of war. Only two very aged women inhabited the shattered building, the garden was a waste, the shade trees had disappeared, and only a single field was in preparation for culture.” An illustration of the Crewes house vicinity printed around that time shows a single man plowing furrows in a field. (Lossing 1868: 438-439; JMA 2004: 121)

Three years after Lossing’s visit, a Northern newspaper correspondent also toured the Malvern Hill vicinity and had a more positive assessment of the landscape’s recovery:
“The green acres of wheat were waving before the wind. The buds were appearing on the trees, the apricots, cherries, and peaches were in full bloom and birds of brilliant plumage sang delightful songs of spring from every branch.…How strange to think that these high bluffs were the scene of such a conflict but seven years ago! …War? There are no indications of war. Everything is peace.” (JMA 2004: 121)

This correspondent’s account also suggests that some new agricultural clearing had also taken place. “The forest, which was so scarred and battered, between the hill and Willis Church, has been cut down, and rich grain speaks of prosperity and peace.” Although it is not clear, the reference to the removed forest “between the hill and Willis Church,” may be the area immediately north, southwest, or southeast of the Christopher Garthright house. The 1867 Michler map shows heavy forest growth in each of these areas. (JMA 2004: 122)

The earliest evidence for a structure on the Edward C. Fuqua property dates to 1867. Edward Fuqua does not appear on the 1860 agricultural census, and participants in the Battle of Malvern Hill described the vicinity of the Fuqua property as an open field, strongly suggesting that structures had not been built by 1862. The Michler map places the Fuqua property northwest of Willis Methodist Church, east of Western Run and west of the Quaker or Willis Church Road. It shows a single main residence and one small outbuilding, possibly a kitchen or smokehouse, enclosed by fencing. West of and adjacent to the main residence is a small group of trees, possibly an orchard. A farm lane leading southeast connects the residence to another east-west farm lane connecting to Willis Methodist Church and the Quaker or Willis Church Road on the east, and Western Run on the west. Adjacent to and on the western side of the first farm lane is a second outbuilding, possibly a barn or other agricultural structure. The domestic complex is surrounded by a small clearing, probably Fuqua’s agricultural fields. A Thomas Fuqua, probably a descendant of Edward, is listed in the 1880

agricultural census as farming a 100-acre property, 20 acres of which was improved and maintained as meadow. (JMA 2004: 122)

In 1877, the Crewes house burned. Shortly thereafter a new house was constructed on the same site (Figure 6). It was the ca. 1870 house that appeared in subsequent historic photographs and drawings, many of which were intended to illustrate the Malvern Hill battlefield. (JMA 2004: 122)

Emancipation had created a large work force of freed slaves. Those former slaves who did not flee the area remained to work the land. The 1870 population census records that a large population of African Americans resided just outside the project area in Gravelly Hill. As recorded in the census, few of these African Americans farmed their own land in 1870. By far the most prevalent occupation listed was that of 'laborer,' suggesting semi-permanent if not seasonal employment. In contrast, most white residents who lived in or adjacent to the project area were listed as 'farmers,' presumably owning or renting the land they worked. (JMA 2004: 122)

In the decades after the war, many of the South's large plantations, which had functioned as efficient, productive, agricultural units under slavery, could not do so after Emancipation or during the economic depression of the 1870s, and were either abandoned or sold. As a result, many of these former plantations were purchased by Northern men of financial means. This general regional trend was also played out in the larger Malvern Hill area. In 1898, one writer noted that "northern men of wealth had purchased desirable estates. One had bought 5,000 acres at Curl's Neck, had built a stately home on the James, and was bringing his great farm into the highest state of cultivation. Malvern and Westover were [also] owned by northern men." (JMA 2004: 123)

In 1883, The Century magazine initiated a series of articles on the Civil War written by prominent generals of both sides. These articles eventually became a four-volume set of articles published between 1884 and 1887, with maps and illustrations, covering the most significant battles of the war. For the article on the Battle of Malvern Hill, the magazine sent a photographer to take photos of the battlefield, which were used to generate illustrations for the article. Many of these photos survive, complete with annotated notes for the illustrator, providing a valuable record of the conditions of the battlefield in the late nineteenth century.

The landscape depicted in the 1885 photos generally agrees with descriptions of the battlefield at the time of the battle. Much of the area remains open, with large agricultural fields bordered by distant lines of trees. The significant terrain of the battlefield is evident in the sloping and rolling ground of the open fields. Particularly apparent are the steep slopes and ravines along the western side of the hill near the Crewes House, where Confederate soldiers sought a protected approach to the Union lines. The Crewes House in the photos is the reconstructed structure of 1870, but its design and proportions closely resemble those of the original structure. The house is surrounded by a collection of outbuildings, fences, and vegetation – shade trees and fruit trees (Figure 7). Three structures included in soldiers' accounts and war-period maps are also visible in the photos. A large barn stands to the northeast of the Crewes House, and directly north of that, in a line, are two buildings that had been slave quarters at the time of the war. The slave quarters appear to be uninhabited and in poor condition by 1885, with missing siding and windows (Figure 8).

Also depicted in the photos are the West House, the Willis Methodist Church Parsonage, and the Nelson House at the Glendale crossroads. These images reveal similar arrangements of structures with fields, shade trees, agricultural and domestic outbuildings, and fences (Figures 9 and 10).

Commemoration:
The first organization to commemorate Civil War battlefields was the Gettysburg Battlefield Memorial Association in 1864. It was administered by veterans dedicated to preservation of the Gettysburg battlefield and memorialization of key battlefield sites, events, and individuals. The approaches established by the association to marking lines of the battle were later adopted by administrators of National Military Parks. During the 1890s, the nation's first four National Military Parks were established at Chickamauga and Chattanooga, Gettysburg, Shiloh, and Vicksburg, and influenced battlefield commemoration around the nation, including Richmond National Battlefield Park during the early to mid-twentieth century. The military parks protected battlefield land from development, in

some cases restored historic landscape features, provided opportunities for military training and historical research, and allowed for reunions of veterans that were hoped could contribute to much needed national reunification. Battlefield preservation and commemoration was very popular, but ultimately proved too expensive for the federal government to fund. Soon, Congress would begin to debate methods for prioritizing land acquisition and sharing the costs associated with acquisition and management with other entities. (Dutton and Associates 2010, 2-41)

Despite the national attention paid to battlefield preservation and the large number of battlefields located in the Richmond, Virginia, area, no sites were targeted for protection during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. The first proposal for a public commemorative effort was a road to link important sites associated with the 1862 Peninsula and 1864 Overland Campaigns in 1914. The proposal was never pursued due to the onset of World War I. All other Civil War commemorative efforts conducted between the 1880s and 1920s revolved around grassroots efforts and activities, such as reunions of Civil War veterans, and the establishment of individual monuments and commemorative and interpretive signage on privately-owned land as allowed by the owners. (Willett 1957: 27)

One of the groups that worked to mark historic battlefield sites in the Richmond area and indicate their significance was the Battlefield Markers Association, which was established in the 1920s. Among its leaders was Douglas Southall Freeman, a Richmond writer, editor, and historian. Freeman and the others involved in the organization raised funds sufficient to erect 59 commemorative markers on key battlefield sites around the city by 1925. The markers featured a consistent design comprised of granite-block bases supporting inscribed bronze tablets. The first marker was dedicated by Robert E. Lee's grandson, Dr. George Bolling Lee, at the Walnut Grove Church on November 6, 1925. Several of these markers were erected in the Glendale/Malvern Hill area, including markers #15 (Riddell's Shop), #16, #17, #18 (Frazier's Farm), #19 (Willis' Church), #20 (Methodist Parsonage), #21 (Battlefield of Malvern Hill), and #22 (Malvern Hill). (Dutton and Associates 2010, 2-41)

In 1927, a group called the Richmond Battlefield Parks Corporation began assembling some of the original battlefield acreage, and in 1928 purchased 100 acres of the battlefield at Malvern Hill. In 1927, the state of Virginia also began a program to recognize important historic sites with roadside markers. Several markers were installed along U.S. Route 1 that year, and by 1930 the program had grown to 691 markers throughout the state. Initially administered by the Conservation and Economic Development Commission, the program was focused on military events and colonial sites. In 1932, the state erected several signs in the area of the Malvern Hill and Glendale Battlefields commemorating the battles (Figure 11). (Striker 2012)

The Willis Methodist Church Parsonage, like many area structures, suffered physical damage during the Malvern Hill conflict. It was not until 1873 that needed repairs were made; that year, four doors were replaced and a new 12 by 18-foot cooking and store room was constructed to the rear of the structure. Five years later, in 1878, a stable and feed house were also built adjacent to the Parsonage. (JMA 2004: 128)

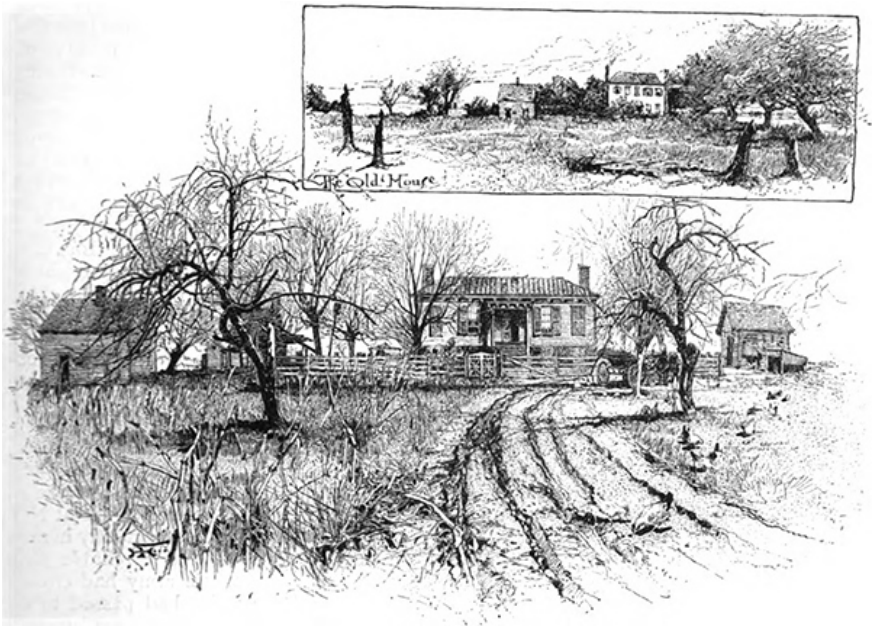


Figure 6. Drawings of the Crew House made in 1885 depicting the house as it appeared shortly after the Civil War (top) and the house that was constructed in ca. 1870 (Battles and Leaders of the Civil War).

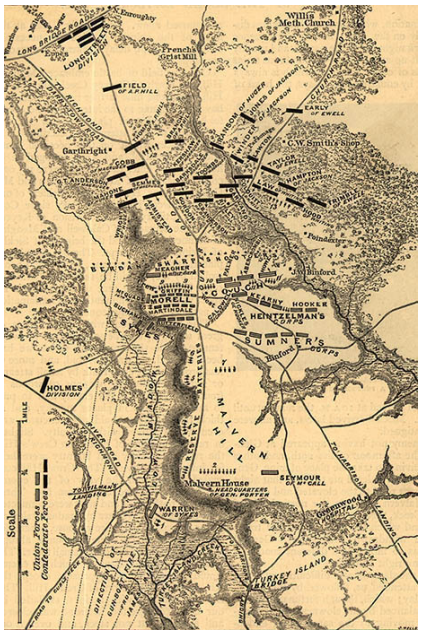


Figure 7. Detail of a photo taken in 1885 showing the Crew House and surrounding farm (Gilder-Lehrman Collection, Richmond NBP archives).



Figure 8. Detail of a photo taken in 1885 showing the outbuildings at the Crew House, including two former slave quarters, a barn, and the reconstructed Crew House far right (Gilder-Lehrman Collection, Richmond NBP archives).



Figure 9. Detail of a photograph taken in 1885 showing the Willis Methodist Church parsonage with fences and outbuildings (Gilder-Lehrman Collection, Richmond NBP archives).



Figure 10. Drawing of the West House, drawn from an 1885 photograph, showing plowed fields and shade trees around the house (Battles and Leaders).



Figure 11. A crew working around historical marker PA-195 at Malvern Hill, late 1930s (Richmond NBP archives).

RICHMOND NATIONAL BATTLEFIELD PARK, 1932-2025

Virginia's Richmond Battlefield Park, comprised of the land holdings of the Richmond Battlefield Parks Corporation, became the first Virginia state park on January 12, 1932. Formal dedication of the park occurred in June of 1932 at the 42nd Reunion of United Confederate Veterans. The deeds transferred to the state included parcels totaling 572 acres within the three counties of Hanover,

Henrico, and Chesterfield. The battlefield sites included in the park were Beaver Dam Creek, Gaines' Mill, Cold Harbor, Fort Gilmer, Fort Johnson, Fort Gregg, Fort Harrison, Malvern Hill, Drewry's Bluff, and Parker's Battery, but no land at Glendale. (JMA 2004: 153)

Upon formal receipt of the Richmond Battlefield Parks Corporation lands, the state conducted several preliminary studies on the future development of the properties. From the beginning, the objectives for Richmond Battlefield Park were prioritized: "The major objectives to be considered are the preservation of remaining fortifications, locating troop movements and positions, marking these, and making the whole group of areas available to the student and tourist." Each park holding was summarized and appraised individually. Despite holding no lands at Glendale, the Commission addressed this property, summarizing that "it is not suggested that any [land] be secured at this time as the existing road system discloses when fully marked, all troop positions and movements." At Malvern Hill, the lack of earthworks and fortifications assigned it a low priority within the future development plans:
"The present holdings embrace no remains but contain to a large extent the land occupied by both forces. It is a very large tract and unless kept worked will soon become a wilderness. It is suggested that it be exchanged for a row along the front of the Federal position and then with troop position marks the whole story can be told."

By the early 1930s, Malvern Hill's future was mapped out: "Development at Malvern Hill should come in time, but there is no occasion for hurry. The land is probably too high-priced for the acquisition of the whole battlefield and there are no trenches to be preserved." (JMA 2004: 153)

The Virginia Commission on Conservation and Development was the state department charged with park maintenance and development. By 1933, however, it was already clear that they would be unable to raise the finances to support the individual parks and the wider park system. State officials turned to the Civilian Conservation Corps (CCC) – one of the work programs associated with President Franklin D. Roosevelt's New Deal – to accomplish basic park maintenance and development. CCC work was initiated under the supervision of the National Park Service (NPS) between 1933 and 1940, while the park was technically still administered by the Virginia Commission on Conservation and Development. Examples of the CCC efforts included construction of a truck trail between Fort Harrison and the park headquarters, construction of a visitor contact station at Cold Harbor, as well as trails, guard rails, and parking turn outs.

By 1935, it was noted that "Richmond Battlefield Park [was] developed by a CCC camp for the past two years in conformity with the development of the national military parks at Fredericksburg and Petersburg." At Malvern Hill, labeled as Area #2, basic maintenance was initiated only in 1934. Activities which took place at Malvern Hill included the removal of all dead materials from the ground and the establishment of a fire break, roadside clearing, forest development, including the thinning of trees to make the area "attractive," and the establishment of a nursery, "set aside for transplanting of various specimens of plant life for future use in beautifying landscape" as well as general "landscaping." (JMA 2004: 154)

In 1934, the land comprising the Richmond Battlefield Park was once again offered to the U.S. government for protection as a national military park. Sometime between 1933 and 1936, the Malvern Hill parcel of Richmond Battlefield Park was augmented through the acquisition of an approximately 30-acre parcel east of State Route (S.R.) 156 and adjacent to the 100-acre parcel already owned by the state. A map printed in 1933 detailing the holdings of Richmond Battlefield Park identifies this 30-acre parcel as part of a larger tract labeled "additional land, to be obtained." The Master Plan for Richmond National Battlefield identifies that this parcel was acquired by 1936. (JMA 2004: 154)

On March 2, 1936, enabling legislation was signed by President Roosevelt establishing Richmond National Battlefield Park "to set [the lands] apart as a public park for the benefit and inspiration of the people," and to protect the Civil War battlefield resources associated with the struggle for the capital of the Confederacy and to interpret these resources so as to foster an understanding of their larger significance." Richmond National Battlefield Park (NBP) became the seventeenth unit of the national park system to commemorate the events of the Civil War. After eight years of legal issues regarding

the transfer of land titles, back taxes, right-of-way easements and other problems, the park was officially accepted by the NPS on July 14, 1944 (Figure 12). (JMA 2004: 154)

A master plan for the development of each park unit at Richmond NBP was proposed in 1936. A map of the Malvern Hill Unit documents that a large portion of land north and south of the 130-acre property, including Glendale, was proposed to be acquired. The map also suggests that, at Malvern Hill, interpretive markers were proposed along the right-of-way of S.R.156 between the Crewes house and the West house and opposite the Willis Methodist Church parsonage. A picnic area north of the Crewes house was also proposed. At "Frayser's Farm," or Glendale, additional interpretive markers were also proposed in association with a parking pull-off. (JMA 2004: 154)

Initial federal work in the vicinity of the project area was first carried out in 1937. In 1938, a CCC camp application to continue work for an additional six months documented the work that had already been accomplished in the vicinity of Malvern Hill and Glendale. This work included:
"a hard-surfaced road 'Battlefield Park Route,' Virginia Highway 156, supplemented by minor roads on the area proper…rendering the points of interest and the battlefields accessible to the public. A series of markers, orientation and troops movement maps, pictorial displays and a museum afforded a means of visual education and a number of picnic areas [were] established for the convenience of park guests." (JMA 2004: 155)

In 1938 the CCC installed a parking pull-off and rustic style sign adjacent to the Freeman marker along Willis Church Road (Figure 13). A report on an inspection of park holdings in early 1941 at Malvern Hill and White Oak Swamp noted that the "turnouts for markers are all right and markers on them seem to be in good shape." (JMA 2004: 153,155)

In 1937, the Army War College visited the Malvern Hill battlefield to conduct classes there. Two photographs capture a portion of the West house residence and landscape surrounding it during this period (Figure 14). They document that, with the exception of a small grove of trees surrounding the house, the immediate land was cleared, most likely still in use as agricultural fields. (JMA 2004: 155)

A 1938 Dutch Gap, Virginia, U.S.G.S. quadrangle map documents that, by the end of the first quarter of the twentieth century, Carter's Mill Road, from its junction with S.R. 156 to its terminus with Long Bridge Road, had been converted into a major thoroughfare with a hard-surfaced road. Two small roads not noted on the 1867 Michler map are indicated north of the Crewes house running from S.R. 156 west through the property, crossing the Crewes farm lane, and continuing down the western bluffs into the "low meadows" area associated with the agricultural fields along the channel below the Crewes farm. These farm roads were used to link the Crewes property with its adjacent fields to the west. The only area containing new structures is the former "low meadows" area of the Crewes agricultural fields. This area is labeled on the map as "Green Quarters," and contains approximately eleven new structures, most likely farmhand or tenant housing. By 1952, however, a Dutch Gap quadrangle map recorded that most of these structures had been removed. (JMA 2004: 155)

Between 1938 and 1942, it was estimated that more than 68,000 cars and 221,000 visitors came to Richmond NBP. After the NPS assumed administrative responsibility for the park in 1944, however, little work was undertaken in the years immediately after World War II. Between 1944 and 1951, Richmond NBP was administered in conjunction with Fredericksburg and Spotsylvania National Military Park. At Gaines' Mill, repairs were made to the Watt house during the 1940s and 1950s. Additional acreage associated with Parker's Battery was added to the park in 1956. The Virginia Electric Power Company acquired easements from private property owners at Malvern Hill in 1947 for an electrical power line that ran north of and adjacent to the project area. The line was erected soon thereafter. (JMA 2004: 156)

In 1956, officials from Richmond NBP proposed several improvements to the existing park system as part of their prospectus for Mission 66, an ambitious ten-year NPS program aimed at improving visitor facilities in time for the agency's 50th anniversary. Within the project area, it was proposed that an "addition of .25 mile of dirt road from S.R. 156 to the gates of the Crewes house at Malvern Hill, and the construction of a parking area and .15 mile of foot trail to a historical marker on the rear of the ridge near the Crewes house be carried out." (JMA 2004: 156)

During the early 1960s, additional NPS development of the Malvern Hill property was conducted. A hard-packed earth road was constructed from S.R. 156 westward onto park property. A parking area with adjacent visual and audio interpretive shelter was constructed. The shelter contained a brick and wood bench, and a brick podium with an interpretive map showing the troop movements on July 1, 1862, and an accompanying audio explanation of events. Adjacent to the western side of the shelter was a Napoleon cannon pointed northward. (JMA 2004: 156)

Sometime during the mid- to late twentieth century, gravel was excavated from a pit within the project area. This borrow pit, west of Carter's Mill Road and approximately 3,000 feet north of the Crewes house can still be seen today. In 1963, the Colonial Gas Pipeline Company acquired permission from private property owners for a fifty-foot-wide easement to bury their pipes. The pipeline now carries petroleum and runs directly through the project area in a southeast to northwest direction intersecting Willis Church Road above the Willis Methodist Church Parsonage and Carter's Mill Road at the historic E. Garthright farm. (JMA 2004: 156)

A c.1970 Master Plan for Richmond NBP noted that, in addition to the primary interpretive focus, the park property at Malvern Hill was slated for "group recreation" development, including an Arts and Crafts Center adjacent to the Crewes house, a picnic area with space available for sports and games, and camping sites in the wooded area west of the Crewes house. This was never constructed. (JMA 2004: 156)

In 1988, the Willis Methodist Church parsonage burned, leaving only two brick chimney stacks standing. In September 1992, a 1.53-acre parcel was donated to Richmond NBP by the National Park Foundation. This parcel became the part of the Glendale Battlefield Unit that now encompasses 513 acres. A 1993 study prepared by the Civil War Sites Advisory Commission, "Report on the Nation's Civil War Battlefields," included surveys and evaluations of 384 Civil War battlefields, including those associated with Richmond. This report identified the degree to which these battlefields were threatened by development, and raised public awareness regarding the need to preserve the protect battlefields. Both the Glendale and Malvern Hill battlefields were listed in the study and identified as either Class A or Class B battlefields, representing the principal strategic operations of the war, with a direct and decisive influence on their campaign or the course of the war. (JMA 2004: 157)

Landscape Changes Since 2017:
Changes to the landscape since the original 2017 CLI was completed include:
• 2021: Park creates a small boardwalk on Malvern Hill Trail to bridge permanently wet drainage. (PEPC #98405)
• 2022: Park acquires 371 acres from the Capital Region Land Conservancy (CRLC) at the south end of Malvern Hill legislative boundary.
• 2022: Roadside forest strip thinned in order to see the distant southeastern landscape from the main parking lot.
• 2022: Park installs new gates along a farm road that connects Route 156 with Route 5. (PEPC #112024)
• 2022: Park installs gates at either end of farm road on 371-acre parcel acquired from CRLC. (PEPC 112024)
• 2022: The park removes two power poles and 100 feet of line and replaces with one pole next to Willis Church Road to improve viewshed while keeping the powerlines operational. (PEPC 105666)
• 2024: The park installs a pit toilet at Malvern Hill Battlefield near trail head at Willis Methodist Church parsonage. (PEPC 121483)



Figure 12. Photo showing an early Malvern Hill Battlefield sign, date unknown (Richmond NBP archives).



Figure 13. New turnout with Freeman marker, historical marker PA-230, and rustic entrance sign at Malvern Hill, 1938 (Richmond NBP archives).



Figure 14. Army War College at Malvern Hill in 1937. Students listen to a lecture in the yard of the West House (visible left side of the photograph) (Richmond NBP archives).

Uses

Functions and Uses:

Major Category	Category	Use/Function	Historic	Current	Primary
Defense	Battle Site		Yes	No	Yes
Agriculture/Subsistence	Farm (Plantation)		Yes	No	No
Landscape	Natural Area	Forest	Yes	Yes	No
Agriculture/Subsistence	Horticulture Facility		Yes	No	No
Education	Interpretive Landscape		No	Yes	Yes
Landscape	Leisure-Passive (Park)	Leisure-Passive (Park)	No	Yes	No
Recreation/Culture	Outdoor Recreation	Outdoor Recreation-Other	No	Yes	No
Domestic (Residential)	Single Family Dwelling	Single Family House	Yes	No	No

Public Access:

Public Access: Unrestricted

Public Access Narrative:

All units of Richmond NBP are closed from sunset to sunrise daily and all day on Thanksgiving Day, December 25, and January 1, but there are no gates, fences, or admission fees restricting public access to public roads, parking lots, and the trail system. Access to Malvern Hill Battlefield is provided via public roads, a parking lot with interpretive shelter, and interpretive foot trails.

Associated Ethnographic Group

Ethnographic Study Status: No Survey Conducted

Ethnographic Narrative:

Authors of this CLI update consulted with David Goldstein, Ph.D., Tribal and Cultural Affairs Lead, NPS, DOI-Region 1. No ethnographic study of the Malvern Hill Battlefield, nor the Richmond NBP, has been conducted. The park currently consults with following Federally Recognized tribes: Delaware Nation, Catawba, Chickahominy East, and Pamunkey.

Analysis & Evaluation of Integrity

Analysis and Evaluation of Integrity Narrative Summary:

The historic integrity of Malvern Hill Battlefield is evaluated by comparing landscape characteristics and features present during the periods of significance, 1862 and 1925-1944, with the existing conditions as assessed in 2023. Many landscape characteristics and features from the period of significance remain today. The Battle of Malvern Hill represents an integral part of Union Gen. George B. McClellan's Peninsula Campaign and a definitive moment in is effort to move the Army of the Potomac to the safety of Harrison's Landing on the James River. After maneuvering twenty miles across the farmlands and swamps of northeastern Virginia, all the while protecting its flanks and eluding the pursuing Confederate forces, the Army of the Potomac consolidated its position on the high ground of Malvern Hill for one last defensive stand. Today, the landscape patterns and their surviving features of Malvern Hill Battlefield continue to convey the significance of the landscape as a battlefield and as an example of early battlefield conservation and commemoration. Contributing landscape characteristics present today include natural systems and features, spatial organization, land use, topography, vegetation, circulation, buildings and structures, views and vistas, small-scale features, and archeological sites.

Patterns of natural systems and features that guided settlement and land use and influenced the course of the battle remain evident today, including the natural topography of the level uplands, steep ravines, and swampy drainage bottoms and the dense forest and wetland vegetation present along the Western Run course. Extant circulation features that organize the landscape and that were crucial for troop and equipment movement during the battle include Willis Church Road and Carters Mill Road, as well as the extant farm lanes and visible traces of former circulation features. These circulation features, together with the farm-and-field patterns and the visible traces of former farm sites, convey the historic layout of the landscape and foster an understanding of the battle's events. Contributing buildings and structures include the West house, French's Grist Mill Dam, and the chimneys from the Willis Methodist Church parsonage. Historical markers, including three Freeman markers, illustrate early twentieth century efforts to commemorate and interpret the events of the Civil War in Virginia. Finally, the overall rural character, relative lack of modern development, and the continued agricultural use within the battlefield contribute to the landscape's historic character.

Notable changes since the end of the historic period in 1944 that have altered the character of the landscape include the decline of agriculture, the subsequent reforesting of portions the farm fields, and the absence of historic farm houses and associated structures. The overall historic scene, however, remains largely intact, and the landscape retains enough of its historic qualities to convey its significance for both the Civil War period and the conservation and commemoration period.

INTEGRITY

The National Register of Historic Places defines integrity as the ability of a property to convey its significance through physical resources. The National Register program identifies seven aspects of integrity: location, design, setting, materials, workmanship, feeling, and association. Retention of these qualities is necessary for a property to convey its significance; however, not all seven aspects must be present to retain integrity. The following evaluation is based on an 1862-1944 period of significance for Malvern Hill Battlefield.

Malvern Hill Battlefield retains the integrity aspects of location, design, feeling, and association, clearly exhibiting important spatial relationships between the circulation system, the former farm locations, and the topographical and hydrological features necessary to convey the site's significance. The site's setting and historic feeling is conveyed through the rural character and continued agricultural use. Historic materials and workmanship are present in the parsonage chimneys and in historic portions of the West house, but the absence of the majority of the constructed features present during the historic period diminishes these aspects of integrity considerably.

Landscape Characteristics and Features:
The next section presents an analysis of landscape characteristics and their associated features and corresponding Historic Structures Inventory names and numbers, if applicable. It also includes an evaluation of whether the feature contributes to the property's National Register eligibility for the historic period (1862-1944), contributes to the property's historic character, or if it is noncontributing, undetermined, or managed as a cultural resource. If a feature is non-contributing, it is evaluated as "compatible" (visually congruent with the historic character of the landscape) or "incompatible" (visually incongruent with the historic character of the landscape).

Landscape Characteristic:

This section presents an analysis of landscape characteristics and their associated features and corresponding List of Classified Structures names and numbers, if applicable. It also includes an evaluation of whether the feature contributes to the property's National Register eligibility for the historic period (1862-1944), contributes to the property's historic character, or if it is noncontributing, undetermined, or managed as a cultural resource. Graphics associated with this section are located after each landscape characteristic, if applicable.

Landscape Characteristic: Natural Systems and Features

Historic Conditions:
Natural systems and features are the natural aspects that have influenced the development and physical form of the landscape, and can include geology, geomorphology, hydrology, ecology, climate, and native vegetation. The landscape associated with the 1862 Battle of Malvern Hill occupies an upland plateau above the James River within Virginia's coastal plain. The landscape is generally comprised of level upland areas edged by stream corridors in linear ravines with steep, often densely vegetated slopes. Soils are generally deep, well-drained sandy loam. Intermittent drainages drain toward the south into Western Run and Turkey Island Creek, which in turn drain to the James River.

Prior to European settlement of coastal Virginia, the Malvern Hill area was likely forested with mature mix of hardwoods and pine, with wetland vegetation in the stream drainages. It is possible that portions of the forest had been periodically altered by natural or anthropogenic fire or had been otherwise managed by Native American populations to facilitate travel, improve game habitat, and make it easier to hunt and grow food. Forests in the region contained abundant game, including deer, hares and rabbits, squirrels, and wild fowl, and the James River, as well as the larger streams, were an important source for fish and shellfish.

The first use of the Malvern Hill area by European settlers was likely the grist mill built by Richard Cocke sometime before the 1660s. Cocke had all the farm land he could use on his Curles Neck land, but the streams on Malvern Hill would have provided the moving water needed for the mill and his tanneries. These uses are mentioned in his will that left the land, the mill, and the tanneries to his son Thomas.

Thomas Cocke was likely the first settler to farm the Malvern Hill land, beginning in the 1660s. Forest was gradually cleared over the years as more and more of it was converted to agriculture. Timber was used for building material and for fuel, and may have been an early export crop to England or to the rapidly developing plantation economy of the Caribbean. As the land was divided and sold to other farmers, the clearing would have accelerated, so that by the early eighteenth century, much of the upland area would have been cleared for crops and pasture.

The region's overall climate, soils, water supply, and abundant natural resources made it very habitable. Brief and comparatively mild winters and abundant rainfall supported intensive agriculture, and by the early eighteenth century tobacco was the dominant commercial crop. Tobacco cultivation required great amounts of land and labor, and without proper crop rotation practices, quickly depleted the soil of important nutrients. These factors, and an unstable tobacco market, forced many farmers to diversify their crops by the late eighteenth century.

The natural topography of Malvern Hill was one of the most decisive factors in the Federal victory in 1862. The naturally occurring landform within and around the project area consisted of a series of ridges or plateaus edged by steeply sloped hydrologic systems, including runs, streams, and the escarpments that formed the edge of the terraced landforms associated with the James River basin. These ridgelines and plateaus ran between the creeks that generally drained from northwest to

southeast towards the James River. The most prominent ridge during the Battle of Malvern Hill was the northern end of Malvern Hill plateau encompassed by the Crewes house on the west and the West house on the east. Historical accounts describe in detail this northern flank where the Federal army occupied the high ground, and record the openness and gradual incline of the agricultural fields in front and peripheral woods in the distance. The gentle slope of the plateau maximized the Federals' advantage, as it offered little in the way of cover for the Confederates. The exceptions were the steep drainages that cut the hill on the west side, offering the Confederate forces their best opportunity for close approach of the Federal line.

In front of the northern ridge of Malvern Hill, the ground sloped gently down to a shallow depression, or "ravine," running west from the intersection of the Carter farm lane and the Quaker or Willis Church Road. "There extended across [the field in front of Malvern Hill] at a distance of about one-third of a mile from the federal front, and parallel with it, a deep ravine, its western end debouching into the valley formed by Turkey Run." Beyond this were other shorter ravines. "In front were numerous defensible ravines." These ravines were to feature prominently in the battle maneuvers of July 1, 1862, as they were occupied by both Federal and Confederate troops over the course of the day. (Ripley 1868: 52)

Two knolls were selected by the Confederate army as positions on which to establish their artillery for the battle. These two knolls, one located on the Poindexter farm east of Willis Church Road and the other at the northern end of the Crewes agricultural fields, were about the same elevation as the federal position on Malvern Hill and were thought to provide an opportunity for crossfire that would weaken the Federal battery. This tactic failed under a return of strong artillery fire, and the resultant battle was fought with assaults of Confederate troops moving across the open field from north to south and east to west. During the battle, small variations in the topography became critical to the Confederates, who used anything they could find for cover, including several ravines along the western edge of the plateau north of the Crewes house. Confederate soldiers also used shallow depressions in the Crewes agricultural fields for cover and to regroup as their assaults were broken up by Federal artillery fire. The ravines along Western Run and Willis Church Road were sites where units attempted to form up their lines before advancing from the woods into the field of fire.

By the time of the Civil War, the majority of forest cover had been cut for timber, fuel, or for clearing agricultural fields. What forests remained were concentrated along roadways, field edges, in the wet bottom areas of the creeks, and on the steeper slopes of the ravines. These wooded patches provided important cover for Confederate troops, but the denser thickets and wet land of the creek bottoms also created substantial obstacles for troop and equipment movement. "Western Run, or river, flows on the south and east at its base, and is covered by a thick undergrowth of woods, which continue in the distance around to the north and west." While infantry troops could cross these areas on foot, artillery and other heavy wagons would have had to cross at well- established fords or bridges. Brig. Gen. Jubal A. Early described his approach to Malvern Hill, "passing along the side of a ravine covered with trees and thick undergrowth, until the head of it reached a small road leading across an open bottom on a creek…General Ewell and myself, with my staff officers, were directed to cross by a detour to the right over an old dam, as the only practicable way for horses." (JMA 2004: 83; Official Records)

Post-Historic and Existing Conditions:
Forest cover on Malvern Hill has fluctuated over the years since the battle, but has generally been more abundant than it was in 1862. The primary fields of the Crewes and West farms have remained in cultivation and therefore clear of trees since then, but these have been encroached on all sides by second-growth forest. Some forest stands were periodically cleared for timber and replanted with loblolly pine monocultures, most recently in the 1980s. Beginning around the turn of the twenty-first century areas of forest were cleared as part of battlefield preservation and interpretation. Today, around 300 acres of the primary battlefield area remain open, either in agricultural land or open meadow, with forest cover concentrated along the western slope of the hill, in the creek bottomlands, and in the area north of the Y-intersection of Willis Church Road and Carter's Mill Road.

Owing to their unsuitability for agriculture or timber production, the creeks and wetlands in the

ravines have remained relatively unchanged since the historic period. A combination of forest and emergent wetland vegetation occupies the wide, level floodplain of Western Run (Figure 15). Wetlands also occur in association with three drainages that empty into Western Run, two to the north of the former Garthright farm and one extending across Carter's Mill Road and emptying into Western Run near the parsonage. Much as they were at the time of the Civil War, these wetland corridors are difficult to cross today, with muddy ground and dense, tangled vegetation.

Evaluation:
The primary contributing components of the natural systems and features of Malvern Hill today are the natural topography, hydrology, and existing forest and wetland vegetation. The natural topography of Malvern Hill still conveys the historic character of the landscape, the considerations that influenced land use and development, and the tactical advantages and challenges that impacted the battle. The open agricultural fields reveal the gentle slope and high ground advantages of the Federal position and the relationship between the Federal and Confederate batteries. The shallow drainage courses within the fields still convey the paltry cover they provided Confederate soldiers during the battle. Tree cover that has grown up since the battle largely obscures the steep slopes and drainages on the west side of the plateau that offered Confederate troops avenues of approach.

Landscape Characteristic Graphics:



Figure 15. Southeast view of Western Run showing the character of the wetland and forest vegetation in the channel bottom. (OCLP, 2023)

Landscape Characteristic: **Spatial Organization**

Historic Conditions:
Spatial organization is the three-dimensional organization of physical forms and visual associations in the landscape, including the articulation of ground, vertical, and overhead planes that define and create spaces. Throughout the historic period, the landscape of Malvern Hill was organized according to agricultural function. Individual farm clusters were anchored by a dwelling house, with a variety of agricultural and domestic outbuildings arranged informally around it. Placement of buildings and other features met functional needs, following the topography of the land. These structures may have been in informal clusters or in short rows. The dwelling house and primary domestic outbuildings would have been surrounded by a fence, which may also have enclosed a kitchen garden and perhaps ornamental plantings or some sort of formal or pleasure garden. Orchards were a part of every farm, usually located relatively close to the house. The orthogonal arrangement of trees in the orchards lent a quality of formality in an otherwise organically organized landscape.

Most maps prior to the Civil War did not show specific arrangement of individual farms, but military engineering maps drawn soon after the battle, such as those drawn under the direction of Brig. Gen. Nathaniel Michler, record great detail in the organization of the landscape. Within the current Malvern Hill Battlefield landscape boundary, five farm clusters are indicated on the map, three of which are identified by name: Crewes, on the western edge of the hill; J. West, directly east and on the opposite side of the road from the Crewes farm; and J.W. Binford in the southeast corner of the landscape boundary. Two farm clusters are drawn but not identified: a small cluster of four structures directly north of the Crewes farm and a larger cluster of buildings at the site known to be the Garthright farm. These farm cores consisted of a dwelling house, one or two larger barns, and several smaller structures that were likely a mix of slave quarters and domestic and agricultural outbuildings. Beyond the domestic cores of the farms, the landscape was cut up into open, cultivated fields and forested areas. The fields were generally informally shaped, occupying the most level, arable land with their edges following sloped or wet areas.

Post-Historic and Existing Conditions:
Generally, the Malvern Hill Battlefield landscape is comprised of level upland areas, both farmed and forested, that are edged by wooded, steeply-sloped drainage corridors. Stream corridors are typically linear ravines with steep, often densely vegetated side slopes. Four relatively large open spaces exist within the project area uplands: hay fields west of Willis Church Road associated with the historic Garthright farm; hay and crop fields west of Carter's Mill Road associated with the Crewes farm; crop fields and other open cover along Turkey Run; and crop and hay fields to the east of Carter's Mill Road associated with the West and Binford farms (Figure 16). Smaller open spaces include the cleared easement of the Colonial Pipeline Company that traverses the project area, the site of the Parsonage ruins, the land associated with a former tenant house across Willis Church Road from the Parsonage ruins, and a small clearing along the interpretive trail to the west of the Malvern Hill Unit parking area. Much of the remainder of the project area is wooded, except for the Western Run bottomlands, which are characterized by combinations of emergent and forested wetlands.

Evaluation:
The primary organizing features today are the field-and-forest patterns and the circulation features, as well as existing and former dwelling house sites. Although the Crewes house is currently outside of the landscape boundary, its visual presence in the landscape along with the large open field that stretches to the north, and the farm lane traces clearly convey the organization of this part of the landscape. The strong defensive position of the Union Army and its relationship to Confederate artillery positions and avenues of attack is conveyed by the open field and by the interpretive materials and cannon placed at the site. Other features that reinforce the legibility of the historic spatial organization include the extant West house and the fields around it, the former Garthright site and its associated fields, and Willis Church Road and Carter's Mill Road, which still largely follow historic alignment. Overall, the spatial organization of both the agricultural landscape and the important spatial relationships of the battlefield are evident in the landscape.

Landscape Characteristic Graphics:



Figure 16. View looking southwest toward the West House. (OCLP, 2023)

Landscape Characteristic: Land Use

Historic Conditions:
Land uses are the principal activities in a landscape that form, shape, and organize the landscape as a result of human interaction. The primary historic land use throughout the Malvern Hill area was agriculture. Fields were plowed for crops, mowed for hay, or used as pasture for livestock. Agricultural use began in the seventeenth century and continued through the Civil War to the end of the historic period. Initially, tobacco was the primary crop, and the use of the land was dedicated to the growth and processing of this valuable product. As the importance of tobacco declined, production diversified into wheat, corn, oats, and other crops. Much of the agricultural processing and storage was done on site, and facilities like tobacco barns, corn cribs, and smokehouses were common.

Although not present on every farm, dedicated processing facilities, like grist mills and tanneries, were also present in the vicinity of Malvern Hill. Thomas Cocke established a grist mill somewhere within the project area, likely at the location later identified as “French’s grist mill.” His will also mentions two tanneries on Malvern Hill, but how long this use persisted is unknown. Industrial uses appear to have ceased by the time of the Civil War, as most references to the mill dam on Western Run refer to it as “old” or “former.” Other uses within the landscape boundary include:
--Military: Battles of Glendale and Malvern Hill, June 30 and July 1, 1862, and use of private residences as military headquarters during the battles and hospitals for several days after the battles.
--Residential: the Crewes, Garthright, West, Binford, and Willis Methodist Church parsonage domestic complexes.
--Agricultural (timbered): woodlots.
--Religious: Willis Methodist Church (outside of the project area).
--Cemetery: Willis Methodist Church cemetery (outside of the project area); dead associated with Battles of Glendale and Malvern Hill possibly buried within the project area; and a burial ground possibly associated with a seventeenth/eighteenth-century domestic complex.
--Open space/undeveloped: Hillsides, ravines, wetlands, and woodlands unsuitable and not used for
agriculture.
--Commemorative/educational: Civil War commemoration and the creation of Richmond NBP.

Post-Historic and Existing Conditions:
Agricultural land use continues today, with approximately 263 acres within the Malvern Hill Battlefield cultural landscape boundary currently under agricultural production (Figure 17). Crops include wheat, corn and soybeans. Commemorative, interpretive, and educational landscape areas or features include trails, waysides, kiosks, and shelters, where visitors are provided with interpretive programs, including guided and self-guided tours, informational materials, displays, and/or literature. Interpretive/educational features include the shelter and kiosk at the Malvern Hill Unit of Richmond NBP, the trail system that leads past the Crewes house, and the loop trail between the parsonage and the Federal and Confederate lines of the Battle of Malvern Hill. Guided tours and special events also occur periodically over much of the site.

Evaluation:
Continued agricultural use is a contributing characteristic of the Malvern Hill Battlefield cultural landscape.

Landscape Characteristic Graphics:



Figure 17. View looking southeast toward the West House, showing one of the agricultural fields cultivated in wheat. (OCLP, 2023)

Landscape Characteristic: Topography

Historic Conditions:
Topography is the three dimensional configuration of the landscape surface characterized by features (such as slope and articulation) and orientation (such as elevation and solar aspect). The Battle of Malvern Hill occurred in a landscape of natural and cultural topographic features—such as ravines, field depressions, elevated ridges and "cliffs," level fields, cut roads, cart paths, and drainage ditches—that played a determinant role in the outcome of the fighting. Many of these features remain recognizable today.

The naturally occurring landform within and around the project area consisted of a series of ridges or plateaus edged by steeply sloped hydrologic systems, including runs, streams, and the escarpments that formed the edge of the terraced landforms associated with the James River basin. These ridgelines and plateaus ran between the creeks that generally drained from northwest to southeast towards the James.

Three prominent plateaus within the project area were, in 1862, occupied by farmsteads: one at the Garthright farm, and another at the Crewes farm. The Parsonage was also located on a relatively high point overlooking Western Run. Steeply sloped on either side, the banks of Western Run formed a narrow ravine that widened at the base of the plateau where the Garthright property was located. Western Run was impounded by a wide earthen mill dam during the mid-nineteenth century. The change in elevation between the Garthright plateau and Western Run was between forty and sixty feet.

West of Western Run, Malvern Hill extended for over one and one-quarter miles from north to

south, and three-quarters of a mile from west to east, framed by Creweses Channel to the west and Western Run to the east. Robert Knox Sneden painted an image entitled 'The Rebel Attack on Weeden's Battery and 14th Brooklyn Regiment.' Sneden's watercolor depicts the scene on the west side of 'Crewes's Hill' on July 1, 1862. The steep western edge of the Malvern Hill plateau descended to a ravine associated with Creweses Channel. The slope descending to the low meadows area was covered in rows of corn stalks. Snipers were positioned halfway down the bluff, with a few artillery pieces defending from above. Only a few scattered linear stands of trees were present, presumably lining creeks or drainages. The meadow is depicted as a lush, open green area. The steeply-sloped western edge of Malvern Hill is referred to in historical accounts found in the Official Records of the Union and Confederate Armies (hereinafter referred to as the OR) as "Malvern Cliffs." The escarpment at Malvern Hill formed the edge of one in a series of James River alluvial terraces, and sloped variously at between 6 and 50 percent.

Post-Historic and Existing Conditions:
Much of the project area landscape is representative of the landform patterns characteristic of the Atlantic Coastal Plain physiographic province: large, relatively level alluvial terraces divided by the steeply sloped banks of perennial and intermittent drainages. In the northern section of the project area, the land is relatively level and reaches a high point of 140 feet above mean sea level. This broad plateau is edged to the west by a steeply sloped and narrow ravine associated with Western Run, which flows in a southwesterly direction. South of the confluence of McDowell Creek and Western Run, the stream corridor widens, forming a broad, marshy bottomland. This bottomland extends in a southeasterly direction through the remainder of the project area. Smaller drainages flow into the corridor from the east, dividing the upland plateau located between Willis Church Road and Western Run into a series of three relatively narrow peninsulas. The same pattern occurs to the south of Willis Church Road and east of Carter's Mill Road whereby a broad upland plateau is subdivided by steeply-sloped drainages emptying into Western Run located to the east.

To the south of the Colonial Pipeline Company easement, the land rises up to meet the northwest/southeast trending plateau referred to as the Malvern Hill prominence, edged to the west by a steeply-sloped escarpment. To the west of and below the escarpment is the relatively low and level terrain of the Creweses Channel corridor. This stream is located along the edge of a James River terrace that includes the Slash. Creweses Channel flows through the terrace.

Evaluation:
The natural topography of the Malvern Hill Battlefield, including the high level plateau, rolling hills and knolls, steep slopes, and drainages, contribute to the integrity of the cultural landscape. Contributing cultural topographic features include the Crewes farm road trace; Willis Church Road road cut embankments; and the grist mill dam, terrace, and borrow pits. Numerous other topographic features related to historic land uses, including road traces, borrow pits, marl pits, and building sites, are concealed within the forests and have yet to be identified. Unless known to be otherwise, extant topographic features should be considered potentially contributing.

Landscape Characteristic: Vegetation

Historic Condition:
Vegetation includes deciduous and evergreen trees, shrubs, vines, groundcovers, and herbaceous plants, and plant communities, whether indigenous or introduced in the landscape. Prior to settlement, Malvern Hill and its surroundings would have been almost entirely forested with mixed deciduous and coniferous species. Dominant tree species included numerous species of oak, including white (Quercus alba), red (Q. rubra), black (Q. nigra), willow (Q. phellos), scarlet (Q. coccinea), pin (Q. palustris), and blackjack (Q. marilandica). Other common trees were the American chestnut (Castanea dentata), yellow poplar (Liriodendron tulipifera), American beech (Fagus grandifolia), sweetgum (Liquidambar styraciflua), and hickory (Carya spp.). Red maple (Acer rubrum), American holly (Ilex opaca), blackgum (Nyssa sylvatica), ash (Fraxinus spp.), and

sycamore (Platanus occidentalis) would have also been significant components of local woodland cover. Conifers were represented by a variety of pine species, including loblolly pine (Pinus taeda) and Virginia pine (P. virginiana).

Clearing of these forests began in the seventeenth century as wood was cut for lumber and fuel and the area was converted to the production of tobacco and other crops. Initially, tobacco was by far the predominant crop grown in Tidewater Virginia. The nutrient-intensive crop quickly depleted soils, however, and after a few growing seasons, new land had to be cleared to maintain production, accelerating the rate of deforestation. Areas depleted by tobacco cultivation were then planted with cereal grains, which required less fertile soil, or were left fallow.

Tobacco cultivation declined through the seventeenth century, replaced by wheat and corn, along with, to a lesser degree, oats, potatoes, peas. By the time of the Civil War, there is little evidence that tobacco was grown in the Malvern Hill area in significant quantity. Many of the descriptions of the mid-summer battles mention shocked wheat stacked for harvest, as well as oats and corn. Fruit orchards were also common on the farms, with many eyewitnesses describing passing orchards as the armies marched southward. The 1867 Michler map documents numerous orchards clustered around farm cores. Primary fruits grown in orchards were apples, pears, and peaches.

In addition to agricultural vegetation, domestic and ornamental vegetation was common near dwelling houses and farm cores. Shade trees were typically the large native tree species, including oak, sycamore, black locust, chestnut, hickory, and ash. The Michler maps of the area indicate trees near farm cores that may represent shade trees, including allées of trees lining farm roads. These shade trees had the effect of spatially defining the domestic core of a farm and differentiating it from the agricultural land beyond. Although ornamental vegetation was not often documented in the landscape, domestic areas of farms typically contained a variety of ornamental shrubs, flowering trees, flowering perennials, and other vegetation.

The battles had devastating impacts on the vegetation of the area. While crops and smaller vegetation would have quickly recovered from the damage inflicted by the armies, forests, shade trees, and orchards would have borne the scars of war for decades. Continued agricultural use following the war resulted in relatively stable vegetation patterns defined by forested areas, open crop fields, orchards, and domestic vegetation.

Post-Historic and Existing Conditions:
Following the historic period, continued agricultural use and kept large portions of the battlefield open and prevented reversion to forest. Other areas were kept open through periodic clearing as part of battlefield preservation efforts. Most recently, 48 acres of forest north and northeast of the Malvern Hill parking lot were restored to open meadow in 1999 and 2007 by the park and the Association for the Preservation of Civil War Sites (APCWS). Today, vegetation within the Malvern Hill cultural landscape includes agricultural crop fields, forests and wetland vegetation, mowed grasses and forbs in uncultivated fields, and ornamental vegetation.

Forest cover represents the largest vegetation category within the Malvern Hill Battlefield cultural landscape. Approximately half of the area within the landscape boundary is covered in second-growth forest or forested wetlands. Forest composition is dominated by mixed hardwoods and pines and monoculture stands of pines. The even-aged pine stands were generally planted within the past few decades as timber stands within cleared areas. In upland areas, hardwood woodlands are typically comprised of oak-hickory forest species such as white oak, red oak, beech, yellow poplar, black walnut, hickory, and American holly. Many of the existing woodland areas have been selectively timbered over the years.

Woodlands located along the stream corridors are characterized by stands of bottomland hardwoods that include yellow poplar, sweet gum, sycamore, red maple, and birch. Adjacent to Western Run there is a stand of mature bald cypress trees. Due to its difficulty in logging and unsuitability for agriculture, some of the largest and oldest trees are located in the bottomlands. Forested wetlands, vegetated by tree species such as birch, willow, sweet gum, red maple, and black gum, are also present along the stream corridors. The steeply-sloped margins of Western

Run are also wooded. Non-native species are prevalent in the forested areas.

Currently, approximately 263 acres of fields within the Malvern Hill cultural landscape boundary are cultivated for crops, including wheat, corn, and soybeans (see Figure 17). In addition to the crop acreage,131 acres are maintained as grass/forb meadow vegetation with regular burning and mowing.

Ornamental plantings associated with the West house include boxwood, lilac, American holly, and azalea planted around the foundation of the house, and sycamore, silver maple, crape myrtle, and forsythia around the western and northern ends of the house (Figure 18). Domestic vegetation can be found at former dwelling sites, such as the West Cottage site, which contains daylilies.

Evaluation:
The vegetation patterns present in the Malvern Hill Battlefield landscape today continue to convey the essential characteristics present during the historic period and that help convey the landscape's significance. The primary contributing characteristic of the vegetation of Malvern Hill Battlefield is the overall pattern of field and forest. The wide open fields that were present at the time of the battle provided the Union army superb visibility, contributing to their strong defensive position. Today, the uninterrupted fields that stretch north and east from the crest of the hill demonstrate this military advantage and present a scene not unlike the one that the soldiers faced. Similarly, the forests at the north end of the landscape, along Western Run and along Willis Church Road, are associated with important cover for the Confederates as they staged their attacks on the Union position. Forests between the Crewes fields and the Turkey Run channel, however, were not present during the battle and detract from the legibility of the landscape. These trees conceal a ravine that the Confederate soldiers used as cover for an assault on the Union artillery line.

The presence of agricultural crops contributes to the historic character of the battlefield landscape. During the mid-summer battle, soldiers noted, "Wheat was in the shock, oats were ready for the harvest, & corn was waist high." Individually contributing vegetation include the sycamore, silver maple, and crepe myrtle and the foundation ornamental plantings at the West house.

Landscape Characteristic Graphics:



Figure 18. View looking north showing the ornamental vegetation and shade trees around the West House. (OCLP, 2023)

Landscape Characteristic: Circulation

Historic Conditions:
Circulation includes the spaces, features, and applied finishes that constitute systems of movement in the landscape. The primary circulation feature through the Malvern Hill Battlefield in 1862 was Willis Church Road, which led from the Glendale crossroads south and southwestward to the plateau of Malvern Hill. It was down this road that Union troops had moved from Glendale before setting up their defensive position at Malvern Hill, and from which portions of the pursuing Confederate army launched their attack. From the Glendale crossroads, Willis Church Road passed its namesake church before descending to and crossing Western Run. From there, it passed the Willis Methodist Church Parsonage as it climbed out of the drainage ravine before meeting Carter's Mill Road at a Y-intersection. From there, it turned south and passed between the Crewes farm and the West farm before turning eastward at the southern end of Malvern Hill.

Carter's Mill Road was a farm road that connected Long Bridge Road in the north with Willis Church Road at the Y-intersection. The Y-intersection was only a quarter mile north of the main Union batteries, and as there was no vegetative cover between the batteries and either Willis Church Road or Carter's Mill Road, the Union guns were able to subject these approaches to blistering fire.

Historical maps show that the term 'Quaker Road' was used to describe the route of the Willis Church Road, but historical records document that there was another route known as the 'Quaker Road': "being a road about 2 miles in length, leaving the Long Bridge Road to the right about 300 yards above Mr. Nathan Enroughty's gate, and entering the Charles City River Road at Tilghman's Gate, about one half mile below Sweeney's Tavern." In 1862, this Quaker Road was described as overgrown with grass and weeds. "The said [Quaker] road, having been of late but little used, has

become obscure and is not generally used as a public road."

Secondary roads located in the vicinity of the battlefields consisted of a network of internal farm roads or paths—also known as lanes, bridle paths, or cart paths—linking adjacent properties. These included: the Crewes farm road, farm roads linking the West farm to the Parsonage, and roads connecting the Garthright farm to the Poindexter farm. Some of these secondary roads were probably based on cart paths established in the seventeenth century, as they were considerably narrower than the primary public roads. They most likely consisted of wagon ruts or hard packed earth surfaces. Internal roads, such as the Crewes lane, linked barns and outbuildings with both the farm house precinct and the cultivated fields and pastures. Most secondary roads within the project area were likely dirt roads frequently cut into and below ground surface due to two centuries of prior use. Deep wheel ruts in many secondary roads made passing difficult if not impossible.

Post-Historic and Existing Conditions:
Two paved, public roads provide access to the project area: S.R. 156, also known as Willis Church Road; and Carter's Mill Road (Figure 19). S.R. 156 is part of an eighty-mile tour route that provides connections between Richmond area Civil War battlefields and sites. The road has also been identified by Henrico County as a potential Virginia scenic byway. The two-lane road has a rural character and is intermittently edged by open farmland and woodlands. Carter's Mill Road is similarly rural in character.

Willis Church Road edges the project area along its southwest boundary, turns northeast to form a "T" intersection with Carter's Mill Road, and the two roads follow the same corridor northward for approximately 1/4 mile before diverging in a "Y" fork. Carter's Mill Road subsequently leads northwest, and Willis Church Road heads northeast. Visitors typically arrive via S.R. 156 from the south at the Malvern Hill Unit overlook. From the north, they first approach the Glendale National Cemetery Lodge, which houses the visitor contact station that serves the Malvern Hill and Glendale units.

The access road to the Malvern Hill Unit of Richmond NBP is a paved asphalt drive that leads west from Willis Church Road to a tear-drop-shaped parking area and turnaround overlooking the Malvern Hill plateau. An interpretive shelter, kiosk, and replica cannon are sited north of the parking area to provide visitors with an overview of the battlefield. The parking area is edged by a sidewalk that provides pedestrian access to the interpretive shelter. A gravel interpretive trail leads west from the sidewalk to a clearing in the woods overlooking the Malvern Hill escarpment where a Freeman marker commemorates the battle.

The Malvern Hill Unit entrance drive doubles as the access route to the Crewes house for its resident; beyond the turnaround and parking area, the road continues west as a private driveway to the house. Signs identify the driveway as private property, and indicate that visitors should not trespass.

Other vehicular circulation within the project area includes both paved and unpaved drives, and unpaved access roads. Drives located within the project area include hard packed earth and gravel drives leading through the fields on the historic Garthright property from Willis Church Road, to the West house, and to another former farmstead to the south from Carter's Mill Road. Farm lanes also provide access to the fields southeast of the West house.

There are three interpretive trails currently located within the Malvern Hill Unit of Richmond NBP. One is a loop trail, surfaced variously with hard packed earth, mulch, mown grass, and crushed stone (Figures 20 and 21). The loop extends between the Parsonage, the fields northeast of the Crewes house where the Confederate line was positioned, the fields north of the West house, and the Malvern Hill Unit entrance. Wayside exhibits edge the trail at regular intervals. Replica cannon are sited along the trail north of the West house, in the field along Carter's Mill Road, and near the interpretive shelter at the Malvern Hill Unit entrance. A new trail was recently constructed that extends northward beyond the Confederate cannon position for a half mile before looping back through the woods along Western Run before reconnecting to the first loop near the Parsonage. A third spur trail extends between the Malvern Hill Unit parking area and Freeman marker #22 atop a

knoll north of the Crewes house. The trail is surfaced variously with crushed stone and hard packed earth.

Evaluation and Contributing Features:
The circulation system of Malvern Hill Battlefield as a whole contributes to the integrity of the cultural landscape. Willis Church Road still follows its war-time alignment and exhibits a character similar to the early twentieth century. Approximately 1,500 feet of Carter's Mill Road also follows its original alignment, however it was realigned sometime after the war to follow the boundaries of private property. Today, Carter's Mill Road still reflects the alignment and overall character it exhibited at the end of the period of significance. No traces of the original alignment of the road are apparent in the landscape. Discernible traces of former circulation that still contribute to the cultural landscape include the Crewes Farm Lane Trace, the Garthright Farm Southern Entrance Road Trace, and the West Farm Road Trace.

Landscape Features:

Feature Name	CLI Feature ID	Feature Contribution	CRIS-HS Resource ID	Associated CRIS-AR ID	FMSS Record Type	FMSS Record Number	FMSS Exact Match
Willis Church Road	181793	Contributing	521704				No
Carters Mill Road - North Section	181795	Contributing	538384				No
Crewes House Farm Road	181797	Contributing	081626				No
Garthright Farm Southern Entrance Road Trace	181799	Contributing	661824				No
Crewes Farm Lane Trace	181801	Contributing	081625		Location	21717	Yes
West House Driveway	181803	Contributing	528587				No
West Farm Road Trace	181805	Contributing	524890				No
Malvern Hill Parking Area	181807	Noncontributing – Compatible					No
Malvern Hill Interpretive Trails	181809	Noncontributing – Compatible					No

Landscape Characteristic Graphics:



Figure 19. View looking north showing Willis Church Road and the entrance to the Crew House Farm Road. (OCLP, 2023)



Figure 20. View looking south showing the topographical depression indicating the former location of the Crew Farm Lane. (OCLP, 2023)



Figure 21. Image of a wooden foot bridge over a small drainage creek along the Malvern Hill Battlefield trail. (OCLP, 2023)

Landscape Characteristic: Buildings and Structures

Historic Conditions:
Buildings are elements constructed primarily for sheltering any form of human activity in a landscape, while structures are elements constructed for functional purposes other than sheltering human activity. Residential properties at this time were generally sited to take advantage of the higher elevations; the six residential sites located within the project area in 1862—Crewes, Willis Methodist Church Parsonage, Christopher C. Garthright domestic complex, Thomas West domestic complex, James W. Binford complex, and J.W. Binford/'West Cottage' residences—commanded topographic high points, as did many adjacent residential sites. Farming operations, too, were concentrated on the upland plateaus, ridgelines, and slopes.

Buildings and structures present in the 1862 landscape included farm dwellings, slave quarters, barns, storage buildings and dependencies, and livestock quarters—all of wood-frame construction. The only known exception was Malvern Hill house, a brick residence dating from the seventeenth century. Dwelling complexes—precincts which included the residence or house, related dependencies such as kitchen, privy, smokehouse, and kitchen garden—were often bounded by perimeter fencing to maintain an area free of livestock.

The Crewes Domestic Complex.
The Crewes farm complex occupied the northwestern edge of the larger Malvern Hill plateau. It was here that several hundred Federal artillery pieces were sited during the Battle of Malvern Hill. Several accounts of the Crewes farm describe its main dwelling house as elegant and surrounded by large shade trees, a garden, and fruit trees. On viewing the Crewes farm for the first time, J.J. Marks described it as "an old fashioned but sumptuous country seat, surrounded by innumerable outhouses and embosomed in vines and trees." A similar description by William C. Kent recalled that it was "a tall, large, old fashioned, wooden building, a perfect gem of a place but deserted." Arriving at Malvern Hill on June 30, Alfred M. Apted described the Crewes farm only as containing a "large white house—Dr. Mellerts' [sic] overlooking the field and valley. The main house faced the

James River and contained an enclosed garden."

A dirt road led from Willis Church Road due west to the Crewes residence. This road was lined with fruit and shade trees. Intersecting this access road was another small farm lane running in a north-south direction. This road led to a group of outbuildings including "a barn, or tobacco dryhouse," and two slave houses or 'cabins.' This road had been referred to as a 'bridle path' and connected the larger battlefield with the Crewes domestic complex. Several other eyewitnesses also mention Crewes 'cabins' or quarters.

Throughout the day on July 1, 1862, the Crewes residence and its outbuildings were subjected to a barrage of Confederate artillery and gunshot. Several eyewitnesses noted that the farm house and outbuildings bore marks of war including cannon shot. Six years after the battle, Benson J. Lossing visited the Crewes farm and described it as having once "been a fine mansion, with pleasant grounds around it; but both mansion and grounds told the sad story of the desolation which had been brought to all that region by the scourge of war. Only two very aged women inhabited the shattered building, the garden was a waste, the shade trees had disappeared, and only a single field was in preparation for culture."

During the battle, the Crewes domestic complex was used by Federal forces as a headquarters and hospital, and like other area buildings, after the Federal retreat to Harrison's Landing, it was used as a command center and field hospital by the Confederate army.

Many Federal dead were buried on the grounds of the Crewes farm complex. As Fred Fleet reported several weeks after the battle, "in the yard and around the house were several graves of Yankees, some of men wounded in the battle of July 1st …but a few of the newest graves were of their cavalry who were killed when they retook the place. Of course all was desolation.…We saw several great pits 20 or 30 feet long and 6 to 8 feet wide in which our men had buried the Yankees. Our men were all buried neatly in separate graves and a board with their names on them placed at their heads." Glendale National Cemetery, consecrated in 1866, was used for the reinterment of the bodies of Federal soldiers buried on the Crewes property and elsewhere on the battlefield.

Four historic drawings, and four historic photographs, document the Crewes domestic precinct in the years following the Battle of Malvern Hill These depictions indicate that there were at least four outbuildings within the area immediately surrounding the main dwelling. The 1867 Michler map shows four separate outbuildings located immediately south of and adjacent to the main dwelling. It is not known what function these particular outbuildings served. The Michler map also shows the main dwelling house within a fenced enclosure. To the north and east of the main dwelling, at least three separate structures lined the Crewes farm lane in 1862. A large frame barn was located closest to the main dwelling on the west side of the farm lane. Also on the west side of the farm lane were two frame 'cabins,' or slave quarters, the southernmost one possessing a distinct brick or stone chimney in the center. Lossing's 1866 drawing shows that the fields to the north of the Crewes domestic complex appear to be lined with rail fencing and hedgerows. To the west of the Crewes plateau, in the 'low meadows,' rail fencing appears to have lined the western fields as well.

The Crewes house burned in 1877 and was rebuilt shortly thereafter. Descriptions and drawings of the original building suggest that the new structure was of similar size and style to the original house.

Willis Methodist Church Parsonage.
The Willis Methodist Church Parsonage was located on the west side of the Quaker or Willis Church Road north of the West farm and south of the Garthright domestic complex. An 1853 Henrico County map does not show a structure in the location of the Willis Methodist Church Parsonage, but an architectural assessment of the structure suggested that it was built c.1845–1855. Presumably the date of construction is likely c.1853–1855.

In 1862, Oscar Littleton, pastor of the Willis Methodist Church, and his family resided in the congregation's parsonage. On the eve of the Battle of Malvern Hill, Mr. Littleton was taken prisoner by Federal forces and the rest of the Littleton family evacuated the parsonage. Upon returning to

their home, they found the structure riddled with shot and damaged by the impact of at least one cannonball. After the Federal retreat from Malvern Hill, the Parsonage was used as a field hospital by Confederate troops. Despite being near the center of the conflict, the Parsonage emerged relatively structurally sound and continued to be used after the war.

The 1867 Michler map shows that the main dwelling house was set back from the road and that a yard was located between it and the road to the south and east. A wooded area surrounded the house to the west and north. Historic photographs and drawings from the late nineteenth century suggest that, like other domestic complexes, the Parsonage had several outbuildings. At least two additional frame structures, a smaller probable smokehouse or kitchen, and a larger barn-like structure are pictured to the north and east. Documentary evidence suggests that these structures were built in 1878, and were therefore not present in 1862. The Parsonage itself is shown surrounded by several large shade trees and a wooden rail fence An additional picket fence north and east of the Parsonage appears to also enclose the larger barn-like structure.

The Garthright Domestic Complex.
The Garthright domestic complex was located west of the Quaker or Willis Church Road and just southeast of the T. French Grist Mill dam. The domestic complex is bordered on the west and southwest by Western Run and on the east and southeast by the Quaker or Willis Church Road. North of the property is a wooded area bordering a small open field to the north and east of the main residence. Unfortunately very little historical correspondence has been found to suggest the appearance of this domestic complex in 1862 or later. The archeological walk-over survey in this area could not verify evidence from the historic map due to poor visibility. However, the apparent lack of cultivation in the immediate vicinity of the former domestic complex suggests that intact archeological features may be present.

The 1867 Michler map provides us with the best description of the likely appearance of the Garthright domestic complex during the Civil War. This map shows a central dwelling house and six outbuildings located just south of and adjacent to the Garthright farm lane, a route with two branches that connected the domestic complex with the Quaker or Willis Church Road and the Poindexter farm. The outbuildings northwest of the main dwelling are arranged in an inverted ‘L’. On the northern side of the farm lane, a seventh outbuilding is shown. A grove of trees stands between the house and the outbuildings and there appears to be a spring located east of the dwelling.

The Hobson/Frayser/French Mill Site.
This site is located northwest of the Garthright domestic complex and just west of Western Run. The 1867 Michler map identifies an unknown structure northwest of and adjacent to the ‘old mill dam’. Given the structure’s proximity to the mill dam, it may be the remains of a miller’s house. No historic description of the Hobson/Frayser/French miller’s house is known to exist. No archeological evidence of the structures shown on the Michler map were found. Artifacts found in the vicinity date to the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries.

The Thomas West Domestic Complex.
This complex was located east of and across Willis Church Road from the Crewes residence. The West property, a tract of which was named ‘Bells,’ was farmed throughout the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. Thomas West was deeded a 165-acre property in 1821 and established a working plantation there which he renamed Bellfield. Land tax records suggest that construction of buildings on the property first took place in 1832–1833 and additional work occurred in 1839–1840. It is not known which structures were built during these periods, but it is presumed that the spatial organization and layout of the farm complex noted on Civil War period maps may have been in place by the end of the 1830s. An account of the Battle of Malvern Hill conveyed by Chaplain Edward D. Neill, a member of the First Minnesota Infantry, U.S. Volunteers noted the following about the role of the West house:

“During the latter part of this afternoon immense shells from the gunboats passed over our heads into the woods, where the enemy was. A Confederate soldier is reported to have said that his regiment was doing very well until great cooking-stoves began to fly through the air and break into pieces in their midst. When night came I slept on a sofa in the West house. The person who

seemed to be the head of the household was a gentlemanly man, but greatly worried by the irruption [sic] of an invading army trampling down his crops. Before the morning of Tuesday, the 1st of July, Sumner's Corps reached Malvern Hill from Glendale, and was posted on the right of the Union Army. About eight o'clock Confederate artillery took position in a wheat-field on the Poindexter farm, and opened fire, the shells bursting near the West house. The family, with some of their neighbors, in consternation fled into the cellar, to which there was access by a large outside door. The head of the house in great distress enquired, "What shall I do?" There was a dressing-table draped with red cloth, and I suggested that it be torn off and fastened on a long pole over the house, in the hope that it might alter the range of the shots. It was distressing to hear the moans and see the tears of the women in the cellar, and as General Meagher was riding by I directed his attention to them. With the impulsiveness of a kind Irishman, he drove up to the cellar-door, and looking down, assured the frightened ones that they would soon be relieved; but in what way I did not see."

The 1867 Michler map documents a primary residence north of a short farm road leading west to the Willis Church Road. Four adjacent outbuildings surround a small courtyard to the east of the main primary residence. North and east of the residence is a row of at least six structures, possibly slave cabins. Further east are two larger farm structures, probably barns or stables. Two roads are shown crossing the West property: a minor east-west farm road connecting Willis Church Road with the J.W. Binford 'West Cottage' residence and Carter's Mill Road, and a minor farm road extending south from West's two larger farm structures to Carter's Mill Road. This short road is partially lined with an allée of trees at its southern end. A variant of Michler's map produced during the same period also shows a minor farm road running north from West's two larger farm structures and connecting to the Willis Church Road just south of the Willis Methodist Church Parsonage.

Various historic photographs and drawings of the West farm property were made during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. A drawing of the West domestic complex looking west, made ca. 1885, was most likely based on a period photograph. The drawing shows a frame ell structure with three chimneys behind a rail fence lining a farm road. In front (south) of the fence is a recently plowed agricultural field. A pen and ink and watercolor image showing a nearly identical view was made by Robert Knox Sneden during the same period. This image shows the primary frame residence with three chimneys and a smaller outbuilding adjacent to and north of it. What appears to be a military tent is set up behind and north of the domestic complex. A rail fence separates the domestic complex and a farm road from an agricultural field to the south. The larger landscape beyond the domestic complex is relatively treeless.

The James W. Binford Domestic Complex.
The 1853 atlas of Henrico County indicates a dwelling of J.W. Binford located approximately 1,200 feet east of the West farm complex overlooking Western Run, in addition to the "West Cottage, J.W. Binford" dwelling to the south. There is speculation that this was a pre- existing dwelling that James W. Binford occupied prior to his purchase of the 'West Cottage' parcel in 1851. Very little is known about this residence other than that, when James W. Binford acquired the 136-acre parcel in 1835 from the William Keesee estate, a structure was already standing on the property. Land tax records suggest that it was improved by Keesee in 1821–1822. Keesee had acquired it from the William Bradley estate in 1814. Bradley had farmed it as part of the Povall estate from the late eighteenth century on. This James W. Binford domestic complex is not shown on the 1867 Michler map so it was presumably destroyed or torn down by this date. A 1918 Charles City quadrangle map shows a structure in the approximate location of this property. No historic photographs or drawings of this property are known to exist.

The James W. Binford 'West Cottage' Domestic Complex.
The Binford 'West Cottage' domestic complex was located approximately 2,600 feet southeast of the West farm complex, east of and adjacent to Carter's Mill Road. The Binford occupation of the 'West Cottage' complex postdates an earlier Binford residence noted on an 1853 Henrico County map. James W. Binford, already a resident within the West/Binford parcel, purchased the 100-acre 'West Cottage' property from Edward West in 1851. Edward West had been given the farm by his father Thomas West in 1849.

The 1867 Michler map documents a primary residence and at least three smaller outbuildings. South of the domestic complex, a larger farm structure, most likely a barn, is located east of a small farm road. A variant of Michler's map produced during the same period documents that the largest structure was a 'ruin.' This may reflect the events of August 1862 or possibly an earlier salvage effort conducted by former owner Edward West. The Binford 'West Cottage' residence was located at the intersection of two farm roads, one extending west to the Carter's Mill Road, and a second extending northwest to the West domestic complex and south to the Carter's Mill Road. A small farm lane also extended due east from the J.W. Binford/'West Cottage,' led down the slope of the southeastern corner of the Malvern plateau, and crossed Turkey Island Creek. There are no known historic drawings or photographs that document the Binford residence at 'West Cottage.'

Post-Historic and Existing Conditions:
Following the Civil War, the number of buildings in the project area decreased as the scale of agriculture declined and farms no longer contained slave dwellings. By the time Richmond NBP was established, several farms remained within the current project area, although they were all outside of the park boundary at the time. These included dwelling houses and farm structures at the sites of the former Crewes, West, Garthright, and Binford properties, as well as the Willis Methodist Church Parsonage. As the park boundary was expanded to incorporate more of the battlefield landscape, many of these buildings, which largely post-dated the Civil War, were removed. The parsonage was destroyed by fire in 1988.

The only building located within the cultural landscape boundary today is the West house located across S.R. 156 from the Malvern Hill Unit entrance (Figure 22). The existing house is believed to have been constructed in the late nineteenth or early twentieth century, incorporating the original foundation and possibly other portions of the war-time structure. The existing West house is a 2-1/2 story clapboard I-house with a hipped, and central cross-gabled, standing-seam metal roof. It has interior end chimneys, two-over-two, double-hung windows, an ell addition on the eastern façade, and a porch addition on the southern façade. The front of the porch is supported by brick piers and short timber columns typical of bungalow-style houses.

The Parsonage ruins are comprised of two brick chimneys standing alongside one another, and are all that remain of the mid-nineteenth century structure since a 1988 fire (Figure 23). The chimneys are surrounded by a wood post-and-rail fence that limit visitor access to the ruins. Near the fence is a modern pit toilet painted brown so to be less intrusive. The T. French grist mill dam is a 350-foot-long, 30-foot-wide, 10-foot-high earthen berm spanning Western Run at the northern end of the Malvern Hill site. The dam is associated with a grist mill that stood on the west bank of the creek from c.1814 to 1862. It is unknown why the mill fell out of use, but the dam was extant in 1862, as noted in observations made during the Battle of Malvern Hill.

A Mission 66-era interpretive shelter was constructed at the Malvern Hill Unit parking area in 1961 (Figure 24). It is an open-air structure composed of six painted metal posts, set in a concrete slab, that support a slightly pitched roof. Within the shelter there is a brick seat wall capped with flagstone, an interpretive exhibit, and a box containing an interpretive audio tape. The audio tape appears to be powered by a solar panel sited atop the shelter's roof. Located at the edge of a visitor parking area, the shelter overlooks the open field where the most hotly contested combat of the Battle of Malvern Hill occurred.

A concrete bridge that spans Western Run along Willis Church Road was constructed in 2010, replacing an earlier 1940s bridge. There is also a large depression south/southeast of the Creweses House that was most likely an icehouse, but further research is recommended.

Evaluation and Contributing Features:
Buildings and structures that contribute to the integrity of the cultural landscape include the West house, grist mill dam, and the parsonage chimney ruins. These features, together with the Crewes house (currently outside of the park boundary) provide landmarks that are vital to the understanding of the events of the battle. Non-contributing buildings and structures include the interpretive shelter and the concrete Western Run bridge.

Landscape Features:

Feature Name	CLI Feature ID	Feature Contribution	CRIS-HS Resource ID	Associated CRIS-AR ID	FMSS Record Type	FMSS Record Number	FMSS Exact Match
West House	181783	Contributing	661717				No
T. French Grist Mill Dam	181785	Contributing	654920				No
Parsonage Ruins	181787	Contributing	514420		Location	8952	Yes
Malvern Hill Interpretive Shelter	181789	Noncontributing – Compatible					No
Western Run Concrete Bridge	181791	Noncontributing – Compatible					No
Pit Toilet	209946	Noncontributing – Compatible					No
Possible Icehouse Depression	209947	Undetermined					No

Landscape Characteristic Graphics:



Figure 22. View looking south showing the West House. (OCLP, 2023)



Figure 23. View looking northwest showing the Parsonage ruins. (OCLP, 2023)



Figure 24. View looking northeast showing the interpretive shelter at the Malvern Hill parking area. (OCLP, 2023)

Landscape Characteristic: Views and Vistas

Historic Conditions:
A view is the expansive and/or panoramic prospect of a broad range of vision that may be naturally occurring or deliberately contrived. A vista is a controlled prospect of a discrete, linear range of vision, which is deliberately contrived. The large unbroken agricultural fields of the Crewes, West, and Binford farms that stretched out on both sides of Willis Church Road, together with the high sloping ground, created sweeping views throughout the battlefield. Views from the Union artillery position extended two-thirds of a mile to the north and more than a mile to the northeast, providing clear lines of site to the Confederate artillery positions.

Post-Historic and Existing Conditions:
Views and viewsheds within the project area include internal views across open agricultural lands edged by woodlands and hedgerows, and longer views from knolls or ridgelines. Open spaces affording internal views include the agricultural fields and young pine stand west of Western Run Farms subdivision; the agricultural fields at the historic Garthright farm; the small fields associated with the former tenant farm east of the Parsonage; a small clearing at the Parsonage; the agricultural fields northeast and east of the Crewes house; and the system of agricultural fields, ditches, and wetlands adjacent to Creweses Channel (Figure 25).

Long views are afforded across the agricultural lands to the northeast of the Crewes house (Figure 26). This view is possible from the Malvern Hill Unit wayside at the southern end of the field as well as from the northern portion of the field that abuts Carter's Mill Road. This view is particularly important to the interpretation of the battle events of July 1, 1862, indicating opposing lines of Union and Confederate artillery at a crucial point of the battle.

Evaluation:
The open views across the fields at Malvern Hill Battlefield, particularly those between the Union and Confederate artillery positions, are essential characteristics of the cultural landscape. Other contributing views include the view of the West House from Willis Church Road at the parsonage ruins, views of the Crewes fields and West house from Carters Mill Road, views of the Binford/West Cottage site from the West House, the sweeping view of the battlefield from the junction of Willis Church Road and Carters Mill Road, and the filtered views into the Garthright fields from Willis Church Road.

Landscape Characteristic Graphics:



Figure 25. Image showing the view looking south from the Parsonage ruins toward the West House. (OCLP, 2023



Figure 26. Image showing the view from the Union position near the Crew House toward the Confederate artillery position. (OCLP, 2023)

Landscape Characteristic: Small Scale Features

Historic Conditions:
Small-scale features are the elements that provide detail and diversity for both functional needs and aesthetic concerns in the landscape. Many of the project area's agricultural fields, roads and domestic complexes were lined with or enclosed by fencing during the 1862 period. Based upon review of period descriptions of the landscape, at Malvern Hill fences lined both sides of Willis Church Road near the Parsonage; enclosed the agricultural field north of the Malvern Hill plateau where it bordered a thickly wooded area and also closer to the base of the gentle rise leading to Malvern Hill; ran east/west near the junction of Carter's Mill and Willis Church Roads; were located north of the last body of trees in Carter's field; ran around the Crewes house precinct in a north/south direction to the east of the house and at the head of the ravine to its southeast; and edged the tree line where Magruder's men emerged into the field.

Historic photographs, maps, and drawings also document fences surrounding the Crewes house, the Willis Methodist Church Parsonage, the Fuqua house that was likely built c.1867, and the Malvern Hill house south of and adjacent to the project area. These images also document fences lining the West house farm road, and the Crewes house fields surrounding the slave cabins. For the most part, these fences appear to have been constructed of wooden posts and rails, although there was apparently a picket fence surrounding the corral north of the Parsonage, a split rail fence at the foot of Malvern Hill, and a split rail fence on the eastern edge of the ravine behind the Crewes slave quarters. In addition to fences, the landscape would have contained a variety of small-scale features of agricultural function, including wells, farming equipment and tools, troughs, and similar objects.

Beginning in the 1920s, several commemorative markers were erected in and around the Malvern Hill Battlefield to interpret the Battles of Glendale and Malvern Hill and the Seven Days Battles. In 1925, the Battlefield Markers Association erected historical markers, also known as Freeman markers, each comprising a concrete and granite base with an inscribed iron plaque that provided a brief description of the location's association with the Civil War. These were followed by painted metal commemorative signs mounted on signposts erected by the Virginia Conservation and Development Commission in 1932. Designed to be read from cars, these markers were placed along the roadside.

Post-Historic and Existing Conditions:
After the historic period, the landscape continued to feature small-scale features related to agricultural use and Civil War commemoration and interpretation. As more of the agricultural land was included within the park boundaries, however, many of the agricultural features were removed.

The majority of the small-scale features located within the project area today are associated with park development and the interpretation and commemoration of the Civil War Battles of Glendale and Malvern Hill. They include cannon at the Richmond NBP interpretive shelter, in the field to the north along Carter's Mill Road, and to the north of the West house; as well as interpretive waysides along the trail east of Willis Church Road, at the Parsonage, in the field west of Carter's Mill Road, at the interpretive shelter, and along the trail north of Crewes house.

Three Freeman markers are located within the Malvern Hill Battlefield landscape. Marker #20 is located at the Willis Methodist Church parsonage, marker #21 is located on Willis Church Road at the entrance to the Malvern Hill parking area, and marker #22 is located along an interpretive foot trail north of the Crewes house (Figures 27 and 28). Each of these structures has a cast-iron inscription tablet mounted at a slant on a concrete slab, which in turn rests on a granite block base. The structures are approximately four feet wide and three feet high. Four of the Virginia Conservation and Development Commission markers from 1932 are located in the project area: PA-195, PA-220, PA-230, and PA-235, all located along Willis Church Road between the Y-junction with Carters Mill Road and the Malvern Hill parking area (Figure 29). In addition to these, there are numerous historical markers, interpretive waysides, and signs that have been installed since the

historic period.

Several cannon have been placed along the Union position at the crest of Malvern Hill near the parking area and the West house, as well as at the Confederate artillery position at the north end of the Crewes fields (Figure 30). Other small-scale features located within the project area include gates, pipeline location markers, wood post-and-rail fencing around the Parsonage ruins and along Willis Church Road near the Parsonage, wooden electrical poles, and metal guard rails along Willis Church Road associated with the bridge crossing of Western Run.

Evaluation and Contributing Features:
Overall, the density and character of the small-scale features at Malvern Hill Battlefield have changed significantly since the time of the battle. The wide variety of features that populated the agricultural landscape are generally absent today. Cannon placed at the Malvern Hill parking area and at the Confederate position at the north end of the Crewes field help convey the layout of the battlefield and the general military character, however these should be considered compatible but non-contributing features. The three 1925 Freeman markers and the four 1932 Virginia historical markers (not owned or managed by park) contribute to the commemorative period of the landscape.

Landscape Features:

Feature Name	CLI Feature ID	Feature Contribution	CRIS-HS Resource ID	Associated CRIS-AR ID	FMSS Record Type	FMSS Record Number	FMSS Exact Match
Freeman Marker #20	181765	Contributing	512412		Location	1627888	Yes
Freeman Marker #21	181767	Contributing	081627				No
Freeman Marker #22	181769	Contributing	081628		Location	22826	Yes
Cannon	181779	Noncontributing – Compatible					No
Interpretive Waysides	181781	Noncontributing – Compatible					No

Landscape Characteristic Graphics:



Figure 27. Freeman Marker #20 at the Parsonage ruins. (OCLP, 2023)



Figure 28. Image of Freeman Marker #21 on Willis Church Road near the Crew House Farm Road entrance. (OCLP, 2023)



Figure 29. View of Virginia Historical Marker PA- 195 looking northeast at the junction of Willis Church Road (shown) and Carters Mill Road. (OCLP, 2023)



Figure 30. View looking north showing one of the cannon at Union artillery position near the Malvern Hill parking area. (OCLP, 2023)

Landscape Characteristic: **Archeological Sites**

Archeological sites are the locations of ruins, traces, or deposited artifacts in the landscape and are evidenced by the presence of either surface or subsurface features. Only sites identified in approved National Register documentation are identified in this report.

The Richmond NBP Historic District encompasses more than 2,800 acres spread across multiple units, all but two of which lie north and east of the James River. To date, only the Malvern Hill, Glendale, and Gaines' Mill units have undergone systematic, unit-wide archeological review or survey. As stated in the 2018 National Register documentation, the identified archeological resources and surviving aboveground elements of the military landscape at Malvern Hill, Glendale, and Gaines' Mill illustrate the organization, operation, and experiences of the Union and Confederate armies that can be extrapolated to archeologically unexplored portions of the District. Because the war was fought on a preexisting cultural landscape shaped by an agrarian economy dependent on slave labor, the District also has the potential to yield important information about the antebellum development of that landscape and the enslaved and free people who lived on it. (NR 2018, Sec.8: 109; Review comment, L. Lowe, 28 July 2025)

The entire Malvern Hill site has been assigned CRIS-AR number RICH00009. There are also three specific contributing sites noted in the National Register documentation: Crewes Farm Outbuildings – Slave Quarters Site (RICH00024), West/Binford Outbuildings and Cottage Site (RICH00036/RICH00037), and West House Federal Battle Line Site (RICH00050). For additional information on these sites, and other structures, see the 2018 National Register documentation. (NR 2018, Sec.7: 39-40)

Landscape Features:

Feature Name	CLI Feature ID	Feature Contribution	CRIS-HS Resource ID	Associated CRIS-AR ID	FMSS Record Type	FMSS Record Number	FMSS Exact Match
RICH00020 - T. French Grist Mill Dam Site	181751	Contributing					No
RICH00021 - C. Garthright Farm Site	181753	Contributing					No
RICH00022 - Parsonage Ruins Site	181755	Contributing					No
RICH00024 - Crew Farm Outbuildings – Slave Quarters Site	181757	Contributing					No
RICH00036/RICH00037 – West/Binford Outbuildings and Cottage Site	181759	Contributing					No
RICH00044 - West House and Adjacent Barn Site	181761	Contributing					No
RICH00050 – West House Federal Battle Line Site	181763	Contributing					No

Condition

Assessment Interval (Years): 4

Next Assessment Due Date: 01/12/2030

Condition Assessment and Impacts

Condition Assessment: Good

Assessment Date: 01/12/2026

Condition Assessment Explanatory Narrative:

Overall the condition of the Glendale Battlefield landscape is “Good.” Vegetation patterns maintained by mowing and/or agricultural use have been retained. Landscape integrity is primarily carried by the landscape characteristics of natural systems and features, topography, spatial organization, and views and vistas, which do not show significant impacts or require immediate corrective action. The West House, a contributing feature that post-dates the battle, is in fair condition, but other features are in good condition. As published in the 2025 “CLI Professional Procedures Guide,” the definition of “Good” states:
The property shows no clear evidence of major negative disturbance and deterioration by natural and/or human forces. The property’s cultural and natural values are as well preserved as can be expected under the given environmental conditions. No immediate corrective action is required to maintain its current condition.

Condition Assessment: Good

Assessment Date: 08/23/2017

Condition Assessment Explanatory Narrative:

Overall, the Malvern Hill landscape is stable, with vegetation patterns maintained by mowing and/or agricultural use. Landscape integrity is primarily carried by the landscape characteristics of natural systems and features, topography, spatial organization, and views and vistas, which do not show significant impacts or require immediate corrective action. The West house, a contributing feature that post-dates the battle, is in poor condition, but other features are in good condition.

A “good” condition assessment means that the overall cultural landscape shows no clear evidence of major negative disturbance and deterioration by natural and/or human forces. The landscape’s cultural and natural values are as well preserved as can be expected under the given environmental conditions. No immediate actions corrective action is required to maintain its current condition.

Impacts

Type of Impact: Adjacent Lands

Other Impact:

External or Internal: External

Impact Narrative: Federally controlled or otherwise protected land of Malvern Hill comprises the core of the battlefield, including the primary Union defensive line and the areas of Confederate approach. Much of the battlefield, however, remains in private ownership.

Date Identified: 08/23/2017

Type of Impact: Structural Deterioration

Other Impact:

External or Internal: Internal

Impact Narrative: The West house is currently in poor condition.

Date Identified: 08/23/2017

Treatment

Stabilization Measures

Treatment Documents

Treatment Type:	Rehabilitation
Treatment Completed:	No
Document Type:	Cultural Landscape Report Parts 1 and 2
Document Date:	2004-10-01
Title:	Cultural Landscape Report for Glendale Battlefield, Richmond National Battlefield Park
IRMA Link:	https://irma.nps.gov/DataStore/Reference/Profile/2267019

Narrative:

The management objective outlined in the park's 1996 General Management Plan (GMP) is, "to identify, evaluate, protect, restore, and preserve park cultural resources important to the understanding of the military actions during the 1862 Peninsula Campaign and the 1864 and 1865 battle actions that resulted in the final struggle for Richmond." Regarding Malvern Hill, the GMP recommended:
• Remove existing shelter
• Build new trail up the hill
• Acquire additional cannon for interpretation
• Preserve and restore surrounding landscape
• Develop new waysides
• Continue agricultural leasing. (GMP 1996: 24,39)

Treatment for the combined landscape of Malvern Hill and Glendale was addressed in the 2004 Cultural Landscape Report by John Milner Associates, which was based on recommendations in the 1996 General Management Plan (GMP) for Richmond NBP. The CLR recommended the treatment alternative of rehabilitation to meet the goals and objectives of the GMP by preserving and stabilizing features of the historic battlefield landscape as well as the commemorative and preservation-era landscape, while also allowing for new uses such and expanded visitor access, interpretation, and contemporary agricultural and forest management practices.

Additionally, Malvern Hill Battlefield is included in the park's Earthworks Management Plan and Fire Management Plan. The plan, based on earthwork management guideline documents, plant ecology, and soil science, describes the park's practices to preserve earthworks while showcasing key areas for visitors and minimizing maintenance costs. It outlines that full forest coverage is the best way to protect soil from erosion and to monitor for and remove hazard trees where applicable. (PEPC 115308; Review comment, K. Allen, 28 July 2025)

Approved Treatment Costs

Estimated Cost Date:	09/30/2017
Estimate Level:	Similar Facilities
Estimator:	Park
Cost Narrative:	

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Supplemental Information:

Supplemental Information Title: U.S. Bureau of the Census

Supplemental Information Narrative:

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