National Park Service
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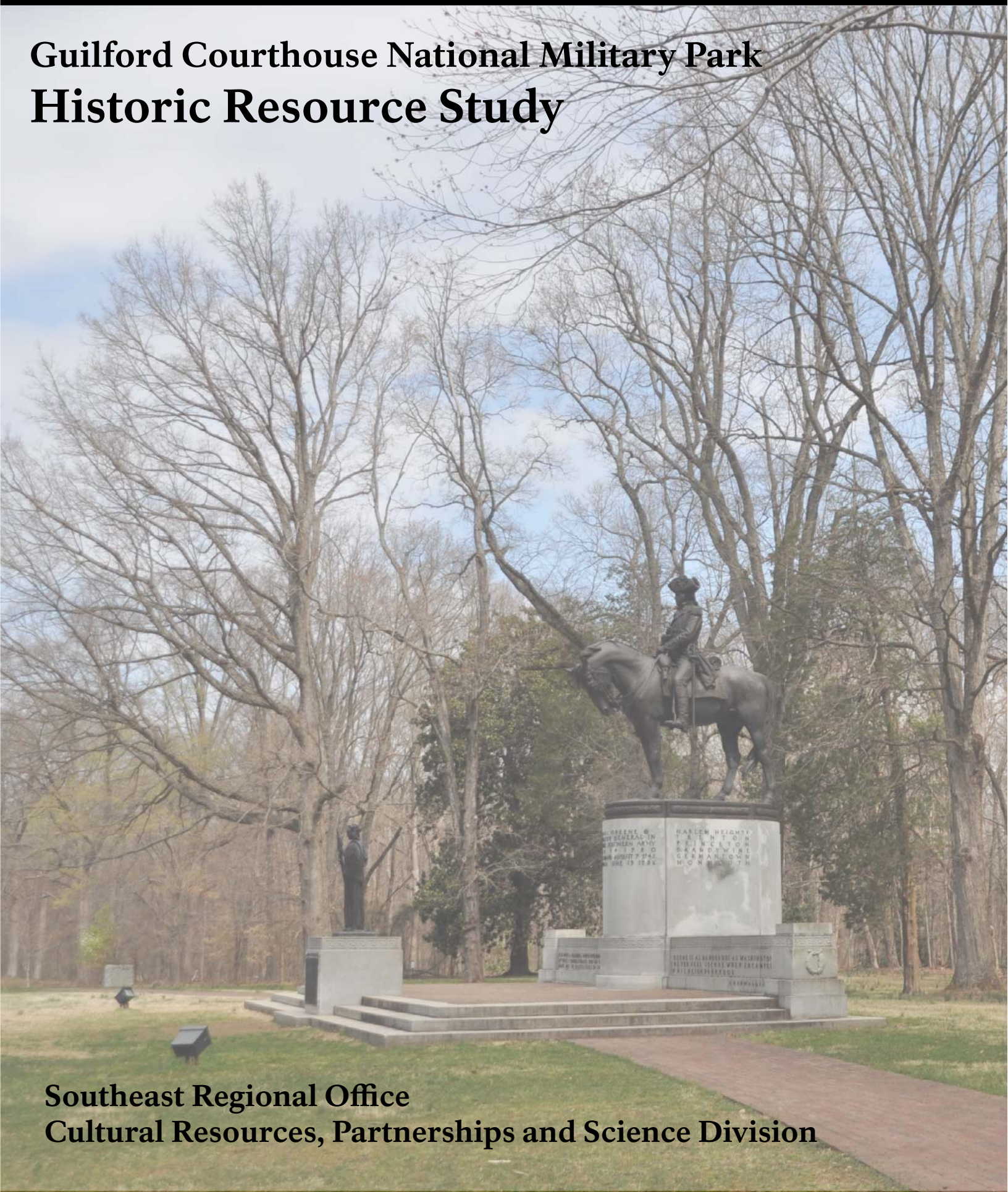
Guilford Courthouse National Military Park
Greensboro, North Carolina

Guilford Courthouse National Military Park
Historic Resource Study



Southeast Regional Office
Cultural Resources, Partnerships and Science Division

Guilford Courthouse National Military Park

Historic Resource Study

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About the cover: Monument to Nathanael Greene at Guilford Courthouse National Military Park, 2015

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Guilford Courthouse National Military Park

Greensboro, North Carolina

Historic Resource Study

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Introduction

Description of Guilford Courthouse National Military Park

The battle fought at the small North Carolina backcountry hamlet of Guilford Courthouse on Thursday, March 15, 1781, was the largest, most hotly contested action of the climactic Southern Campaign of the American Revolution. While American Maj. Gen. Nathanael Greene defended the ground at Guilford Courthouse with an army of almost 4,500 American militia and Continentals, a smaller British army of about 1,900 veteran regulars and German allies commanded by Lord Charles Cornwallis tactically defeated him. After 2 1/2 hours of intense and brutal fighting, Cornwallis forced Greene to withdraw from the field. Greene's retreat preserved the strength of his army, although Cornwallis achieved victory at the cost of over 25% of his army. Guilford Courthouse thus proved to be a seminal moment in British military operations in the American Revolution. Weakened in his campaign against Greene, Cornwallis abandoned the Carolinas hoping for success in Virginia. Seven months after his victory at Guilford Courthouse, Cornwallis surrendered to the combined American and French forces under General George Washington.

Approximately six miles northwest of downtown Greensboro, North Carolina, Guilford Courthouse National Military Park commemorates the pivotal battle of the Southern Campaign and interprets its significance within the context of the American Revolution (Figure 1). Established in 1917, Guilford Courthouse National Military Park is the first American Revolution battlefield preserved by the federal government as a national park. Presently, the park serves as the centerpiece of a National Historic Landmark District that consists of federal, municipal, and privately owned properties. The park protects 250 acres of the approximately 1,000 acres that originally composed the battlefield. The terrain at Guilford, which lies within the North Carolina Piedmont physiographic province, is gently rolling, wooded, and crossed by two creeks. Two heavily used roads, US 220

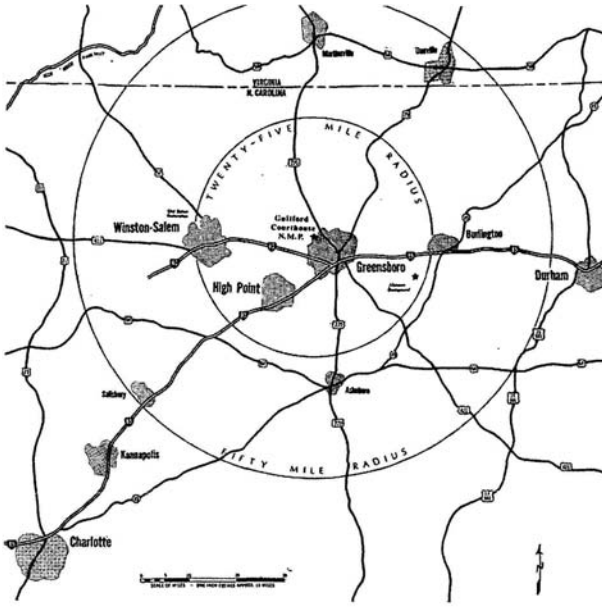


Figure 1: Regional Context Map for Guilford Courthouse National Military Park from the Guilford Courthouse National Military Park Cultural Landscape Report (1998).

and New Garden Road, subdivide the park into three contiguous areas and most of the outlying landscape consists of sprawling suburbs.

The park preserves numerous cultural features associated with the 1781 battle, including the locations of the American First, Second, and Third lines, the probable site of Guilford Courthouse, and portions of New Garden Road (historically Great Salisbury Road), which was the region's main transportation corridor at the time of the battle. The park also protects the Hoskins Farm site, where Cornwallis deployed his troops into battle lines to commence the attack on the American forces. Additionally, the park preserves many significant post-battle features, such as archeological remains from the town of Martinville, established as the county seat in 1785. The park contains many monuments and other cultural resources connected with the battlefield's commemorative period, which began in the mid-1880s. Visitors can explore the park on the 2 1/4-mile self-guiding automobile tour or hike the park on nearly 4 miles of foot trails. The park features a film on the history of the battle and the Southern

Campaign and offers interpretive programs. The park's museum collection contains nearly 170,000 artifacts, including American Revolution weapons, equipment, and other archeological and historical artifacts.

Purpose and Scope of Work

The purpose of this project is to produce a historic resource study for Guilford Courthouse National Military Park. According to the National Park Service's *NPS-28: Cultural Resource Management Guideline*:

> A historic resource study (HRS) provides a historical overview of a park or region and identifies and evaluates a park's cultural resources within historic contexts. It synthesizes all available cultural resource information from all disciplines in a narrative designed to serve managers, planners, interpreters, cultural resource specialists, and interested public as a reference for the history of the region and the resources within a park. Entailing both documentary research and field investigations to determine and describe the integrity, authenticity, associative values, and significance of resources, the HRS supplies data for resource management and interpretation. … The HRS identifies needs for special history studies, cultural landscape reports, and other detailed studies and may make recommendations for resource management and interpretation.

A List of Classified Structures (LCS) for Guilford has identified most historic structures within the park. The National Park Service (NPS) has published several historic documents on Guilford, including an Administrative History in 1995, a Cultural Landscape Inventory in 1998, a Cultural Landscape Report in 2003, an archeological overview and assessment in 2014, and a Foundation Document in 2014. In addition, the NPS has produced a National Register Nomination in 1978 (updated in 1996) and a National Historic Landmark Nomination in 2001. These documents are accessible through the NPS's Southeast Regional Office and Guilford Courthouse National Military Park.

A large part of this HRS synthesizes both NPS documentation and other sources identified. The HRS will complement future planning and management of the park by providing additional baseline historical research and interpretation of the park's cultural resources. The study also serves to enhance and broaden existing National Register documentation as well as provide historical background for any future National Register work. The Historic Preservation Act mandates that the NPS survey and nominate to the National Register all buildings and structures within their parks that have local, State, and National Significance.

Through historic contexts, this HRS provides an updated evaluation of previously identified structures while identifying and evaluating extant structures previously unidentified and/or unevaluated. Evaluation of these structures follows the National Register of Historic Places Criteria and Criteria Considerations (*National Register Bulletin #15*). This HRS considers any new monuments added to Guilford Courthouse National Military Park since the publication of previous studies and evaluates them as cultural resources despite their age of less than fifty years.

Historic Contexts

This HRS evaluates the historic significance, integrity, and eligibility of the park's historic resources within three historic contexts. These contexts correspond to the fundamental resources and values (FRVs) identified by the NPS in the 2014 Foundation Document. The following three historic contexts have been developed for the current study: (1) The Battle of Guilford Courthouse in the Context of the Southern Campaign of the American Revolution; (2) The Development of Roads at Guilford Courthouse and External Influences; and (3) The Commemorative Monuments of the Guilford Battle Ground Park.

The first context provides an overview of the American Revolution and details the Southern Campaign leading up to the Battle of Guilford Courthouse. It also offers information about the March 15, 1781, battle at Guilford Courthouse, including the pre-battle positioning of Greene's

army, the advancement of the British Army from the Hoskins Farm site, descriptions of the actions as the battle ensued, and a summary of events that occurred after the battle. Resources from the battle period include historic roads and battle lines, as well as forests and fields.

The second context provides an overview of the history of New Garden Road from its use by European Americans settling the North Carolina backcountry to its role in the 1781 battle and its later treatment by the NPS. The second context also explores how external influences, such as increased use of the automobile and suburbanization, had an impact on New Garden Road, as well as others roads developed in the area. This context not only emphasizes the historic roadway from the battle period, but also historic structures and infrastructure from the New Deal and Mission 66 eras during the NPS's management of the park.

The third context explores commemoration at the park, which encompasses historic resources spanning several different management eras, including the Guilford Battle Ground Company, the War Department, and the National Park Service. The context covers a general history of commemoration in the United States that began in the final years of the American Revolution. Guilford represents a significant effort by a group of likeminded citizens to commemorate an American Revolution battlefield in the late 1800s and early 1900s by constructing a variety of monuments on the site. The context examines these monuments through their aesthetics and materiality in light of nationwide trends in art.

These three contexts provide additional information through which existing National Register documentation can be amended or new National Register documentation can be created. While such amendments and/or new documentation are not included in this scope of work, the HRS makes new recommendations for the same in the final chapter, which includes management recommendations. The final chapter thus contains recommendations for any special history studies and other detailed studies that should be prepared in the future.

Research Methods

Research for this HRS entailed a survey of primary and secondary sources related to the history of the park to inform the historic contexts. Primary sources for research included: local, county, and state land and court records and plats; U.S. government archives; newspaper articles; and interviews with park staff. Below-ground archeological resources were not evaluated in this study. Appendices are included at the end of the HRS to illustrate and enumerate the park's historic resources.

Research for the first context focused heavily on secondary resources. This included a literature review of older publications, such as Charles E. Hatch's *Gilford Courthouse And Environs* (1970), Thomas E. Baker's *Another Such Victory* (1981), John Buchanan's *The Road to Guilford Courthouse* (1997), John Hairr's *Guilford Courthouse* (2002), as well as those reflecting new research, namely Lawrence E. Babits and Joshua B. Howard's *Long, Obstinate, and Bloody: The Battle of Guilford Courthouse* (2013). While many historians of the American Revolution still contest specific details of the battles, this context synthesizes the research available.

The second context consisted of a survey of historic maps, photographs, and other documents in collections ranging from the Library of Congress to the University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill and at the Guilford Courthouse National Military Park archives. Research for the second and third contexts entailed a study of the documents in the David Schenck Papers, 1849-1917, and the Joseph M. Morehead Papers, 1753-1919 in the Southern Historical Collection and accessed online through the University of North Carolina University Libraries' website. The newspaper clippings, correspondence, and other documents in these papers provided a great amount of primary documentation regarding the development of the roadways and monuments at the park. In addition, the "Commemorative Landscapes of North Carolina" online database provided key contextual information for the third context as the website documents the state's history through a spatially based presentation of commemorative monuments, shrines, and public art.

Chapter 1: The Battle of Guilford Courthouse in the Context of the Southern Campaign

Guilford Courthouse and the Southern Campaign

On March 15, 1781 at the Battle of Guilford Courthouse, Maj. Gen. Nathanael Greene commanded an army of almost 4,500 American militia and Continental soldiers against a British army of 1,900 veteran regulars commanded by Lord Charles Cornwallis. After two and a half hours of contested fighting, Cornwallis claimed possession of the battlefield, scoring a tactical victory over the Americans. Historians characterize the battle as the "highwater mark of British military operations in the Revolutionary War."[1] The British victory, however, came with an enormous cost as Cornwallis' force suffered over 25% casualties. Greene, on the other hand, carefully withdrew his soldiers, abandoning the field in order to preserve the remaining strength of his force. The Battle of Guilford Courthouse marked the apex of the British campaign in the South in 1780 and 1781 (Figure 2). The campaign and the toll it took on Cornwallis' army set in motion Cornwallis' decision to march to Yorktown, VA, where, seven months after the Battle at Guilford Courthouse, he surrendered his force to Gen. George Washington.

The Battle of Guilford Courthouse is also the culmination of a series of battles, beginning with the Battle of Kings Mountain on October 7, 1780, where the Continental Army and American militia units began to turn the tide of the Revolution against the British Army. Also in October 1780, Gen. George Washington appointed Nathanael Greene to command the Continental Army in the South. Greene employed a new strategy of attrition to frustrate the opposition, in particular Cornwallis, who repeatedly tried to force Greene into a decisive battle. On January 17, 1781, Greene's subordinate, Gen. Daniel Morgan, decisively defeated a scouting force led by Lieutenant Colonel Banastre Tarleton at the Battle of Cowpens. Cornwallis mobilized his army and began to chase Morgan and Greene. Greene led Cornwallis north, evading capture and avoiding pitched battle with the British. Greene's strategy was to wear down Cornwallis, draw him away from his supply depots, and choose an advantageous time and place to fight.

Greene chose Guilford Courthouse, a rural crossroads in the sparsely settled North Carolina Piedmont to face Cornwallis. To understand the role of the Battle of Guilford Courthouse in the American Revolution, it is necessary to review the broader background of the war and, in particular, the Southern Campaign of 1780 and 1781.

Overview of the American Revolution

The American Revolution (1775-1783) arose from growing tensions between residents of Great Britain's thirteen North American colonies and the colonial government, which represented the British crown. In April 1775, skirmishes between British troops and colonial militiamen in the towns of Lexington and Concord, Massachusetts, marked the beginning of the conflict.[2] During the first two years of the American Revolution, most of the fighting occurred in the Northern Colonies. While Gen. George Washington commanded

1 See for example: "History and Culture," National Park Service, accessed October 1, 2015, http://www.nps.gov/guco/learn/historyculture/index.htm.

2 "Stories from the Revolution," National Park Service, accessed October 1, 2015, http://www.nps.gov/revwar/about_the_revolution/capsule_history.html

Figure 2: Map showing the "American Revolution in the South," National Park Service, undated. Accessed online October 8, 2015: http://battleofcamden.org/nps7881.pdf.

the Continental Army to victory at Trenton and Princeton, New Jersey, in late 1776 and early 1777, the British still retained the initiative. However, on October 7, 1777, Patriot forces under the command of Gen. Horatio Gates achieved a significant victory at Saratoga, New York.[3]

By 1780, after almost five years of fighting, the British Army had not defeated Washington's Continental Army and the British public grew weary of the war. Military strategists, in particular Lord Germain, the Secretary of State for the Colonies in London, promoted a new strategy to mobilize Loyalists in the South and reestablish their authority over the Southern Colonies. These strategists speculated that legions of Southerners would rush to support the British Army, volunteering as soldiers or providing supplies. With this local support, they argued the British Army would end the rebellion in Georgia and the Carolinas.[4] Subsequently, the British Army would invade Virginia and take control of the Chesapeake, where they would establish a base from which to attack Washington's army from the south.[5]

In May 1780, British forces under Lt. Gen. Sir Henry Clinton, recently appointed theater commander over the South, successfully captured Charleston, South Carolina. After only a few days, Clinton departed Charleston to return to the North, confident that by taking the political and economic epicenter of the region, the British Army would enjoy a quick victory over the South. Clinton placed Maj. Gen. Charles Cornwallis in command of the remaining British Army to implement the plan formulated by Germain and others: build loyalist support, establish outposts in the interior of the Carolinas, and defeat the Continental Army. For the next two years, however, the British found themselves in a protracted and increasingly frustrating battle with various militia and Continental Army units.[6]

In July 1780, Cornwallis led his army out of Charleston to invade the interior of South Carolina. On May 29, 1780, Lieutenant Colonel Banastre Tarleton, leading a Legion of cavalry and light infantry, soundly defeated Continental forces under Col. Alexander Buford in the Battle of Waxhaws near the North Carolina border. Stories of Tarleton's men slaughtering American soldiers spread across the countryside, irreparably damaging the British Army's reputation amongst Southerners.[7]

In July 1780, Horatio Gates took command of the newly formed Continental Army in the South, replacing Gen. Benjamin Lincoln, who surrendered during the fall of Charleston. Gates led his troops to confront Cornwallis upon learning that the British Army had moved towards Camden, South Carolina. Gates called upon local militias and irregular soldiers to join his force and make a stand against the British. Several South Carolina militia leaders, including Francis Marion and Thomas Sumter, were among those to arrive in support. In August 1780, Gates' Army outnumbered Cornwallis', but Gates made strategic mistakes like positioning untested militia brigades directly across from the strength of Cornwallis's line. The charging British regulars routed the milita on the American flank, resulting in a devastating defeat for Gates and the Continental Army.[8]

Several local militia leaders, in particular Francis Marion, Thomas Sumter, and Andrew Pickens, left Gates' command and independently pursued hit-and-run campaigns against the British for the rest of the year. Avoiding a full-scale battle, these militia leaders carried on harassment attacks that took advantage of their mobility and of their superior knowledge of the local terrain. The successful campaigns of Marion, Sumter, and Pickens demonstrated to subsequent Continental

3 "The American Revolution: 1763-1783," The Library of Congress, accessed October 1, 2015, http://www.loc.gov/teachers/classroommaterials/presentationsandactivities/presentations/timeline/amrev/

4 John Shy, "British Strategy for Pacifying the Southern Colonies, 1778-1781," in *The Southern Experience in the American Revolution*, ed. Jeffery J. Crow and Larry E. Tise (Chapel Hill, NC: The University of North Carolina Press, 1978), 160.

5 Lawrence Edward Babits and Joshua B. Howard, *Long, Obstinate, and Bloody: The Battle of Guilford Courthouse* (Chapel Hill, NC: The University of North Carolina Press, 2009), 6.

6 Ibid.

7 Frances Kennedy, *The American Revolution: A Historical Guidebook* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2014), 214.

8 Henry Lumpkin, *From Savannah to Yorktown: The American Revolution in the South*(Lincoln, NE: toExcel Press, 2000), 64.

Army commanders a new way to challenge the British Army and galvanized popular support for the American forces.[9]

After the victory at Camden, with the encouragement of British military leaders who wanted Cornwallis to extend the campaign into North Carolina, Cornwallis sent a force led by Maj. Patrick Ferguson toward Charlotte, North Carolina. As word of Ferguson's presence and harsh treatment of local residents circulated across the countryside, backcountry insurgents moved into the area to confront the British expedition. On October 6, 1780, Ferguson moved his men into a defensive position at the top of King's Mountain and prepared for battle. Over 3,000 mountaineers and irregular units charged, overwhelming the British forces. Ferguson, the only British officer present at the battle, was killed and his command was soundly defeated.[10]

The defeat at King's Mountain temporarily slowed Cornwallis' advance into North Carolina. Accordingly, Cornwallis returned the main section of his army to Winnsboro, South Carolina, to reorganize and resupply. In doing so, he left behind a series of supply outposts in South Carolina stretching from Ninety-Six in the west to Georgetown in the east.

The Southern Campaign: From Cowpens to Guilford Courthouse

After the defeat at Camden, commanding Gen. George Washington appointed Nathanael Greene to be the Maj. Gen. in command of the Southern Army. In his letter to the Continental Congress, Washington wrote of Greene, "in whose abilities, fortitude, and integrity from a long and intimate experience of them, I have the most entire confidence."However, Washington had little advice to give Greene on his new command. As he wrote on October 22, 1780, "Uninformed as I am of the enemy's force in that quarter, or our own, or of the resources which it will be in our power to command for carrying on the war, I can give you no particular instructions but must leave you to govern yourself entirely, according to your own prudence and judgment and the circumstance in which you find yourself. . . ."[11]

When Greene arrived in Charlotte, NC in December 1780, the army under his command consisted of 1,500 soldiers, including only 950 regular troops. Greene chose to move quickly to gain the initiative against Cornwallis rather than establishing winter quarters as planned for by his predecessor Gen. Gates. Greene recognized that the Southern Campaign would be different from the war in the North, where Washington hoped to defeat the British in a decisive battle. Greene decided to play to his troop's strengths, utilize better knowledge of local terrain, and employ guerrilla tactics to counter the British superiority in experience and resources. Greene also wanted to draw Cornwallis deeper into the Carolinas, removing him from his main supply depots on the coast.[12]

Greene divided his force. He sent Daniel Morgan to threaten the British garrison at Ninety-Six, South Carolina. Cornwallis, learning of the movement, decided to attack Morgan first before confronting Greene's main army. Cornwallis sent Tarleton towards Ninety-Six and Morgan. Tarleton chased Morgan, who led the British Legion commander towards Cowpens, South Carolina. Morgan chose to confront Tarleton on terrain of his selection, were he determined his men would have an advantage. Morgan's troops arrived on the field a day earlier than Tarleton. They rested, ate, and prepared for battle. Morgan positioned his men in three successive lines of progressive strength, beginning with militia units and concluding with his most trusted, battle-tested Continental units. Tarleton's troops, tired from a long, forced march, attacked Morgan's men at dawn on January 17, 1781. Tarleton made a frontal assault up a long, gentle incline into the face of the American defense. Morgan had instructed the

9 Scott D. Aiken, *The Swamp Fox: Lessons in Leadership from the Partisan Campaigns of Francis Marion* (Annapolis: US Naval Institute Press, 2012).

10 Dameron, David J., *King's Mountain: The Defeat of the Loyalists, October 7, 1780* (Cambridge: Da Capo Press, 2003).

11 "The American Revolution, 1763-1783: Revolutionary War: Southern Phase, 1778-1781," Library of Congress, accessed July 1, 2015, http://www.loc.gov/teachers/classroommaterials/presentationsandactivities/presentations/timeline/amrev/south/greene.html

12 William Gilmore Simms, *The Life of Nathanael Greene, Major General in the Army of the Revolution* (New York: Derby and Jackson, 1856), 116.

militiamen to fire two volleys into the advancing British line and then fall back. Morgan wanted the successive lines to soften up the British and Tarleton's aggressive charge fell into Morgan's trap. The first and second lines fired their volleys and then withdrew to support the third line. The British misinterpreted the Americans' movements, believing they were retreating. They ran headlong into Morgan's third line of fresh regulars. Morgan defeated Tarleton, inflicting tremendous damage to the British force. Tarleton's losses were: 110 dead, over 200 wounded, and 500 captured. Morgan had only 12 killed and 60 wounded.[13]

Cornwallis immediately tried to catch Morgan after the battle, but could not before Morgan had rejoined Greene's main force. After Cowpens, Cornwallis plunged into North Carolina sending his army in pursuit of Greene and Morgan. Greene purposefully led Cornwallis into a month-long chase across North Carolina. Morgan placed boats in advance of his troops to transport his men across rivers. Cornwallis could not keep pace so at Ramsour Mill, Cornwallis burned his baggage trains in an effort to increase his speed. As a result, Cornwallis and the British Army had to depend upon local residents for supplies or result to plundering for supplies. When Loyalist support was not forthcoming, Cornwallis' army did in fact pillage local farms, further alienating local residents and driving more to support Greene and the Americans.[14]

On January 19, 1781, Cornwallis marched north in pursuit of Greene, following intelligence gathered by patrols sent out under Tarleton's command. The reports from Tarleton "induced Earl Cornwallis to cross Buffaloe creek and Little Broad river, in hopes of intercepting Gen. Morgan." Tarleton explained, "Great exertions were made by part of the army, without baggage, to retake our prisoners, and to intercept Gen. Morgan's corps on its retreat to the Catawba; but the celerity of their movements, and the swelling of numberless creeks in our way, rendered all our efforts fruitless."[15]

The British discovered that Morgan had crossed the Catawba River at Sherrald's Ford, while sending some troops and prisoners farther north to cross at Island Ford. Morgan pushed northward, keeping the swollen river between himself and his British pursuers. After having spent several days readying his regiments, Cornwallis's army marched on January 28 and then encamped near Beattie's Ford. At this time, the Catawba was nearly impassible due to rising waters. Meanwhile, Morgan had been "collecting the Militia" and "filling all the Private fords to Make them Impassable."[16] He also dispatched Brig. Gen. William Lee Davidson, a former Continental officer, with North Carolina militiamen to Beattie's Ford.

While Maj. Gen. Nathanael Greene left his Continental units along the Pee Dee River under Brig. Gen. Isaac Huger, with orders to march north to Salisbury, Greene himself set out on January 28 with a guide and three dragoons on a long journey across south central North Carolina to Beattie's Ford.[17] After reaching Morgan on January 30, Greene held a council of war at Beattie's Ford with Morgan, Davidson, and cavalryman Lt. Col. William Washington. According to Greene's plan, Morgan's men were to hold Sherrald's Ford while Davidson and his militia held the lower fords as long as possible and then fall back to Salisbury, a major manufacturing and supply center for the southern Continental army.[18]

As Greene met with his war council, Cornwallis sent a feint led by Lt. Col. James Webster and the 33rd Foot toward Beattie's Ford and then marched to a smaller crossing four miles south, known as Cowan's Ford. On February 1, a battle ensued in which a local Tory killed Brig. Gen. William Lee Davidson. After the battle, Cornwallis moved the majority of his army across Cowan's Ford, while Davidson's remaining men fled Beattie's Ford. Once the British forced the crossing at Cowan's, the Continentals moved rapidly, marching toward Salisbury by a more northerly route. Seemingly unaware that the Continentals had fallen back to Salisbury, Cornwallis dispatched Tarleton with the 23rd Foot and his legion dragoons to search

13 Lawrence E. Babits, *A Devil of a Whipping: The Battle of Cowpens* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1998) and "The Battle of Cowpens," National Park Service, accessed October 1, 2015, http://www.nps.gov/cowp/learn/historyculture/the-battle-of-cowpens.htm .

14 Babits, *Long, Obstinate, and Bloody,* 13-14.

15 Quoted in ibid., 15.

16 Quoted in ibid., 16.

17 Ibid.

18 Ibid., 17-18.

for Greene.[19] On February 2, Greene evacuated Salisbury after loading wagons with food, ammunition, and weapons. Greene ordered the militia towards Trading Ford on the Yadkin River. The next day, Greene and Morgan rode to Trading Ford and watched the army cross while the river rose rapidly from the rain. Greene and Morgan were running out of time as Cornwallis was behind them by only a day's march.[20]

On February 2, the British marched for Salisbury where they pillaged food and supplies left by Greene's army. The following night, the British vanguard led by Brig. Gen. O'Hara reached Trading Ford. As elevated water levels prevented Cornwallis from using the Trading Ford, he followed the Yadkin River upstream to the Shallow Ford, passing through the Moravian communities of Bethania, Bethabara, and Salem.[21] After reaching Salem, Cornwallis was in an excellent position to place his forces between Greene's army and the Dan River, the next major watercourse before the Virginia line.[22]

Meanwhile, Greene had marched for Guilford Courthouse with his Continentals, which they reached by February 7. At Guilford, he met with Morgan and was soon joined by Huger and Lt. Col. Henry "Light Horse Harry" Lee, who had traveled from Cheraw, South Carolina.[23] Huger and Lee camped "in the woods a few hundred yards in the rear of the courthouse," along the Reedy Fork Road.[24] On February 9, Greene called a meeting of his principal commanders where they planned a rapid withdrawal to the Dan River after noting their terrible strategic position. Greene thus planned to avoid battle, draw the British as far as possible from their base, and retire into Virginia to resupply, if necessary.[25]

To prevent Greene from escaping, Cornwallis continued the pursuit, which developed into a race for the river fords.[26] The Dan River was deep and only could be crossed on its upper reaches. Accordingly, Cornwallis interposed his army between Greene and these fords, hoping that he might compel the Southern Army to fight. Greene, however, had prepared for such a contingency and had ordered the construction and collection of boats on the south bank of the Dan, which enabled his men to cross to the north side of the river by February 19. After having "pursued Greene's army for three weeks, covering some 250 miles over muddy, frost-encrusted roads, in torrents of rain and sleet, crossed several major waterways and fought many skirmishes," Cornwallis had lost the Race to the Dan.[27]

With Greene and his army on the north bank of the Dan River, Cornwallis marched to Hillsborough, North Carolina. After arriving there on February 20, Cornwallis raised the Royal Standard and called upon all loyal subjects to rally to his assistance. The results were disappointing, however, and so in a few days they were marching again.[28] Cornwallis moved west of Hillsborough, mostly in search of provisions, and established camp on the south side of Alamance Creek between the Haw and Deep Rivers. Cornwallis troops began to suffer from the Army's inability to support itself and to find assistance from Loyalists. Sergeant Roger Lamb wrote, "Such was the scarcity of provisions at Hillsborough, that it was impossible to support the army in that place."[29]

In the meantime, Greene collected reinforcements and rested his army in Halifax County, Virginia. Greene's main objective was to wear down Cornwallis with piecemeal partisan hit-and run tactics, holding him as far from his supply base as possible, while simultaneously working to keep

19 Ibid., 22.

20 Ibid., 25-26.

21 Ibid., 27.

22 Ibid., 28.

23 John Buchanan, *The Road to Guilford Courthouse: The American Revolution in the Carolina's* (New York: John Wiley and Sons, 1997), 351.

24 Babits, *Long, Obstinate, and Bloody,* 29.

25 Ibid.

26 Courtland T. Reid, *Guilford Courthouse National Military Park, North Carolina*, Historical Handbook Series No. 30 (Washington, D.C.: National Park Service, Department of the Interior, 1959; reprint 1960).

27 Babits, *Long, Obstinate, and Bloody,* 36.

28 Reid, *Guilford Courthouse National Military Park, North Carolina*.

29 Buchanan, *The Road to Guilford Courthouse, 360.*

Tory recruitment at minimal levels.[30] On February 22, Greene crossed back to the south bank of the Dan and remained on the move until the last of the summoned militia reinforcements could join him.

Detachments from both Armies met in a series of small-unit skirmishes across the Piedmont: Pyle's Defeat, Clapp's Mill, and Weitzel's Mill. These smaller actions presaged the larger battle a few days later at Guilford Courthouse. In the days leading to Guilford, the soldiers fought in thick woods, across farm fields, and through undulating terrain cut by meandering streams. Additionally, Greene continuously added to his knowledge of local roads and rivers near Guilford Courthouse, developing avenues of access and egress he would use during the subsequent battle.

Greene sent a force under Lt. Col. Henry Lee to intercept a group of Loyalists, under the command of Col. John Pyle, that were marching to join Cornwallis. Coming across two of Pyle's advance riders who mistook Greene's force as the British Army, Lee learned of Pyle's location and surprised the Loyalist force. The skirmish resulted in one hundred Loyalist casualties.[31]

Units from Cornwallis' and Greene's armies met again on March 2, 1781 at Clapp's Mill (also called the Battle of Alamance.) Cornwallis, who had departed Hillsborough on February 27, stationed his troops on the south bank of Alamance Creek. Greene moved a portion of his troops a few miles from the British on the opposite bank, while the main body of Greene's army remained several miles away encamped at the Speedwell Ironworks. Clapp's Mill was a settlement of German farmers, with an assortment of farm buildings and open fields. Detachments from the two armies clashed in the fields surrounding Barney Clapp's farm, leaving three Americans dead and 21 British soldiers dead or wounded.[32]

Cornwallis continued his effort to engage Greene in direct conflict. He moved his army toward the Americans near Weitzel's Mill. The Americans' intercepted a British scouting party and the two forces engaged in a running fight along the road to the mill. The Americans lost approximately twelve soldiers and the British losses numbered about 25. The Americans pulled back and retreated towards Guilford Courthouse. Local militia units and the troops retreating from Weitzel's Mill joined Greene's main army as it marched on March 12th toward Guilford Courthouse.[33]

The Battle of Guilford Courthouse, March 15, 1781

Pre-Battle Positioning of Greene's Army.

The skirmishes occurring before the Battle of Guilford Courthouse enabled Maj. Gen. Nathanael Greene time to organize and deploy his army in the dense woods west of the courthouse. The terrain and the sheer size of Greene's force contributed to his use of a three-line formation, similar to the strategy Sumter successfully employed at Cowpens. Greene positioned two militia lines, one North Carolina and the other Virginia, supported by a third line comprised of his Delaware, Maryland, and Virginia Continentals. In addition, Greene placed riflemen and light troops on each flank while Dragoons covered the extreme flanks. Greene also placed his artillery in two locations: one at the center of the first line and the other near the center of the third line.[34]

Greene's first line of militia consisted of the two North Carolina brigades. North of the Great Salisbury Road, Greene placed Brig. Gen. Thomas Eaton's Halifax District brigade, consisting of approximately 500-600 men. South of the Great Salisbury Road that bisected the battlefield, Greene placed Brig. Gen. John Butler's Hillsborough District brigade, consisting similarly of 500-

30 John Hairr, *Guilford Courthouse: Nathanael Greene's Victory in Defeat, March 15, 1781*, Battleground America Guides (Da Capo Press, 2002), 70.

31 John S. D. Eisenhower and W. J. Wood, *Battles of the Revolutionary War: 1775-1781* (Cambridge: Da Capo Press, 2003), 240-241.

32 Reynolds, William R. *Andrew Pickens: South Carolina Patriot in the Revolutionary War* (Jefferson, NC: McFarland and Co., 2012), 247.

33 Babits, *Long, Obstinate, and Bloody,* 39.

34 Ibid., 59.;Thomas E. Baker, *Another Such Victory: The Story of the American Defeat at Guilford Courthouse That Helped Win the War for Independence* (New York: Eastern Acorn, 1981), 43-45.

600 men. Next to Butler, Col. William Moore commanded the Caswell County militia facing west from behind a rail fence.[35]

South of the Caswell County troops, Butler placed the Granville County militia, led by Col. Joseph Taylor. To the left of Taylor's regiment, Col. Thomas Farmer and Col. John Taylor commanded two Orange County militia regiments, including a small detachment of Wake County men. A third, smaller detachment led by Col. Robert Mebane may have also been present. To their left were small contingents, probably platoon-size formations numbering about twenty-five men each, from Rockingham, Randolph, and Chatham Counties. Further south, Butler posted the Rowan, Mecklenburg, and Guilford militias of which most of the men hid in woods while some stood behind the rail fence that ran the length of the fields to their north.[36]

In the center of this first line, Greene placed two six-pounder field pieces commanded by Capt. Anthony Singleton of the 1st Continental Artillery along the Great Salisbury Road. He positioned a company of at least 40 North Carolina Continentals at the most exposed position on the first line, behind and on the flanks of Singleton's artillery.[37]

Records indicate that on the north flank of the first line, Greene posted Col. Charles Lynch's Virginia riflemen, Capt. Robert Kirkwood's Delaware company, Capt. Phillip Huffman's Virginia company, Lt. Col. William Washington's Continental dragoons, and at least two mounted companies of militia dragoons. Archaeologist Lawrence E. Babits and research historian Joshua B. Howard, however, suggest that Lt. Col. William Washington's Continental dragoons probably were not on this flank because of heavy brush and the lack of any pathways adequate for horsemen. Instead, they may have been in the open space north of the courthouse where the army had camped in early February.[38]

The second line was three hundred to 350 yards behind the first line. Greene anchored the southern flank with William Campbell's Virginia riflemen, Joseph Winston's Surry and Wilkes County, North Carolina, riflemen, in addition to Lee's Legion dragoons and infantry. Greene posted the Virginia militia to the east of (behind) the North Carolinians in a dense tangle of underbrush and woods. North of Great Salisbury Road, Greene positioned Brig. Gen. Robert Lawson's brigade of Virginians, comprised of men from the central and eastern part of the state. Lawson assigned Col. Beverley Randolph's regiment, consisting of men from Powhatan, Amelia and Cumberland Counties, to the brigade's northern (right) flank. South of Randolph stood Col. John Holcombe's regiment, which included men from Amelia, Charlotte, Mecklenburg, and Powhatan Counties. The smallest regiment in Lawson's brigade, consisting of only a few companies from Mecklenburg, Powhatan, and Brunswick Counties, held the position closest to the road.[39]

Brig. Gen. Edward Steven's brigade, mostly consisting of men from the lower Shenandoah Valley, stood south of Great Salisbury Road. Closest to the road and south of Skipwith's men, Stevens placed Col. Peter Perkins's Pittsylvania County regiment. South of Perkins's men, Stevens placed Col. Nathaniel Cocke's regiment, most of which came from Lunenburg County but also included companies from Halifax County and Prince Edward. South of Cocke's men, Stevens positioned Col. George Moffett's Augusta County regiment. The southernmost unit of Seven's brigade was the regiment from Rockbridge and Augusta Counties under Col. Samuel McDowell.[40]

One of McDowell's men, Samuel Houston, provided a statement that described the tree cover along the second line and its effect on the course of the battle. Houston stated, "When we marched near the ground we charged our guns. Presently our brigade major came, ordering us to take trees as

35 Babits, *Long, Obstinate, and Bloody,* 59-60.

36 Ibid., 60-61. Lawrence E. Babits and Joshua B. Howard, *Fortitude and Forbearance: The North Carolina Continental Line in the Revolutionary War, 1775-1783* (Raleigh, NC: North Carolina Office of Archives and History, 2004), 152.

37 Babits, *Long, Obstinate, and Bloody,* 61-62.

38 Ibid., 62. Baker, *Another Such Victory,* 44-45.

39 Babits, *Long, Obstinate, and Bloody,*64-66.

40 Ibid., 66-67.

we pleased. The men run to choose their trees, but with difficulty, many crowding to one, and some far behind others. Presently the Augusta men, and some of Col. Campbell's men fell in at right angles to us."[41] Houston's account suggests that the tree cover south of the road may have been less thick than McDowell's position. It also indicates that during the battle the Virginia militia fought more as skirmishers rather than in a linear formation.[42]

Greene posted his third line more than 500 yards to the east, behind the Virginians. The line consisted of Maryland, Delaware, and Virginia Continentals under Col. Otho Holland Williams and Brig. Gen. Isaac Huger. Greene and his staff sat on their horses behind the third line near the courthouse, 60 yards to the rear of the 1st Maryland. Col. John Gunby and Lt. Col. John Eager Howard led the 1st Maryland, which Greene had posted in a copse of woods on the slopes of the slight ridge in the center of the Continental line.[43] Greene posted the 2nd Maryland, led by Lt. Col. Benjamin Ford, closest to the Great Salisbury Road with its left flank turned at a right angle from the crest of the ridge to the roadbed.[44]

Brig. Gen. Isaac Huger led the Virginia brigade, which consisted of the 1st and 2nd Virginia Regiments of 1781. Greene positioned them furthest north of the road, hidden in the woods along the west-facing slope. Since the vale bulges east at this point, they were well to the rear of the 1st Maryland's axis. Facing northwest along the slope bordering the southern edge of the vale's eastern extension, Greene placed the 2nd Virginia between the 1st Virginia and the 1st Maryland.[45]

Between the Virginia regiments, Greene positioned his second section of artillery. Capt. Lt. Ebenezer Finley commanded these two six-pounders along with two lieutenants and 26 enlisted men. Several smaller militia units, most of them light horse, waited near Guilford Courthouse behind the third line. Another mounted detachment of about 100 men, under Col. Francois Lellorquis, the Marquis de Malmedy, and Baron de Gloeback, eventually formed north of the courthouse although they did not arrive in time for the fight. Pension accounts also suggest that supplied at least two light horse companies from Guilford County, commanded by Captains Thomas Cook and Daniel Gillespie, were nearby but did not participate in the battle.[46]

Greene had his men, which totaled over 4,000, positioned in the field by 11:00 A.M. on March 15, 1781. Green then rode up and down the first line and gave a speech imploring the militia to "fire two volleys and then retire."[47] Shortly afterwards Greene rode to the third line. Soon after Greene's departure, Lee arrived with his men and, likely unaware of Greene's oratory, gave his own speech to the North Carolinians on the first line. Subsequently, Lee and his men rode to their position on the south flank, suggesting that there was possibly a lane, or path, connecting the first line to the flank.[48]

Around 1:30 PM, the North Carolina Militia spotted British soldiers 400 yards to their west. The citizen soldiers watched anxiously as a long column of British soldiers advanced down the descent and across a small creek toward Joseph Hoskins's house. Cornwallis had arrived.[49]

Advancement of the British Army

Soon after discovering Greene's troops blocking Great Salisbury Road, Cornwallis situated his forces and readied his men for battle. He ordered Leslie, Webster, and O'Hara to advance and deploy their men into a line extending north and south of the road. As the units crossed Horsepen Creek, they moved into the woods about a hundred yards west of Joseph Hoskins's farmstead.[50]

As these first British troops found their positions, they faced a bombardment of solid shot fired by Anthony Singleton's artillery, which had advanced several yards in front of the North Carolina militia line. However, the dense woods adjacent

41 Quoted in ibid., 68.

42 Ibid.

43 Ibid., 68-69.

44 Ibid., 70-71.

45 Ibid., 72-74.

46 Quoted in ibid., 77.; Buchanan, *The Road to Guilford Courthouse*, 373.

47 Babits, *Long, Obstinate, and Bloody,* 72-74.

48 Ibid., 77-78.

49 Buchanan, *The Road to Guildford Courthouse,374*.

50 Ibid., 94.

to the road prevented Singleton's blasts from fully reaching the British regiments[51] Responding to the American artillery fire, Cornwallis ordered Lieutenants McLeod, Smith, and O'Hara to advance their pieces to the front and return fire. While the artillery duel lasted at least twenty minute, both sides suffered only minor casualties. Subsequently, the Americans withdrew their guns, as there is no evidence suggesting their active participation when the British attacked the first line.[52]

While under bombardment, Cornwallis situated Webster's brigade north of the road, with the 33rd Foot holding the left flank and the 23rd Foot the right. South of the road stood the 71st Highlanders and the Von Bose Regiment.[53] To support the main line, Cornwallis positioned the Guards Grenadiers and the 2nd Guards Battalion across the road, centered behind the 23rd and 71st. Farther south, he placed the 1st Guards Battalion to support Maj. Gen. Leslie and the right wing. North of the road, Cornwallis stationed the jaegers and the Guards light infantry behind the 2nd Guards. Across the lane from them, Tarleton's British Legion and the 17th Light Dragoons stood in reserve.[54]

In an after-action report, Cornwallis explained his plan: "The woods on our right and left were reported to be impracticable for cannon; but as that on our right appeared more open, I resolved to attack the left wing of the enemy."[55] Presumably, Cornwallis was referring to a second smaller open field in front of the American left flank, although his statement may reflect that the woods south of the road were less dense than the woods on the north side.[56] Shortly after noon, the British army advanced through the dense underbrush and woods toward Greene's first line. Johann Du Buy commented, "As the whole country is covered with woods and forests, it was impossible to see the enemy, much less their position."[57]

Within minutes of advancing, the 23rd and 71st entered an open field "wet and muddy from the rains which had recently fallen," roughly 400 yards from the North Carolina militia line on the other side of a rail fence.[58] The British regiments soon realized they would have to cross two fence lines before reaching the Americans. The first fence was located on the western edge of the field and the second was roughly 200 yards in front of the American line north of the road and 150-175 yards of the Americans positioned south of the road.[59] After the British crossed the open field north of the road, the attack on the American first line began.

The First Line

As the British came into view, the North Carolina militiamen holding the first line prepared for the assault.[60] British Captain Thomas Saumarex noted the conditions of the battlefield, "The Royal Welsh Fusiliers had to attack the enemy in front, under every disadvantage, having to march over a field lately ploughed, which was wet and muddy from the rains which had recently fallen. The regiment marched to the attack under a most galling and destructive fire, which it could only return by an occasional volley."[61]

According to Babits and Lawrence, the British 23rd and 71st marched forward, leaving both of their flanks temporarily exposed because the 33rd to the north and the Von Bose to the south fell behind as they moved through more densely wooded areas. [62] The 71st marched across the open field before reaching the midfield fence. At this point, the Highlanders crossed the fence, reformed their ranks, and resumed moving forward. To their right, the Hessians were moving southeast into position and extending their line.

Von Bose's commanding officer, Maj. Johann Du Buy, stated that as the men following Von Bose moved through the woods, they found "a deep ravine in front of us with high banks filled with water. We crossed it with much difficulty and then came to a fenced-in wheat field, on the other

51 Ibid.

52 Buchanan, *The Road to Guilford Courthouse*, 374.

53 Ibid.

54 Ibid., 96.

55 Ibid.

56 Ibid.

57 Ibid.

58 Ibid.

59 Ibid., 99.

60 Ibid., 100.

61 Ibid., 101.

62 Ibid., 102.

side of which was the enemy consisting of about 1,000 Continental troops and militia *en ligne*. We tore down most of the fences on our side and jumped over the others without, however, being inconvenienced by the enemy, although they were not more than 300 yards distant. I formed the battalion into line with the utmost dispatch and ran to meet the enemy in tolerable order."[63] This "deep ravine," according to Babits and Howard, was likely the lower, western end of a watercourse that today crosses the Hoskins Farm site. The leftmost companies of the Von Bose regiment entered the southernmost field about 220 yards west of the Americans holding the first line. William Campbell, leading the Virginia riflemen on the southern flank, recalled that the British "immediately advanced upon our Troops, upon which the firing of small Arms began."[64]

According to reports from Greene, Tarleton, and Lee, the American militia first fired when the British crossed the middle fence lines, approximately 140-150 yards away from the American position. Accounts by those British and Americans actually engaged at the first line suggest the main volley came later, when the British were closer to the first line, some accounts suggesting the distance was only 35-50 yards.

Campbell's Virginia riflemen, posted on the ridgeline just beyond the southern edge of the field and riflemen positioned on the first line's southern end, likely engaged the British first, peppering them with shot as the British soldiers advanced toward the first line. The first line of American militia waited until the British got within "killing distance" for their less accurate muskets.[65]

Having crossed the middle fences, the British north of the road advanced on the American line. The 23rd moved forward, leaving their left flank exposed to enemy fire. When the Welch Fusiliers came within range of the North Carolinian's muskets, the veteran redcoats broke into a run charging toward the inexperienced Americans.[66]

The North Carolina militia fired. British Capt. Thomas Saumarez reported the 23rd received "a most galling and destructive fire."[67] To the 23rd's right, the 71st crossed 150 yards of open field before they too came under fire. Granville County militiaman John Watkins wrote that along the left of the American line "orders were given not to fire until the Enemy passed two dead trees standing in the field through which they was to approach us, about 100 yards from the fence."[68]

The Hessians marching on the 71st right also suffered. Hessian sergeant Koch explained: "About 100 yards from the enemy line, they delivered a general fire and 180 men of our von Bose Regiment immediately fell."[69] The British and Hessians regrouped and returned fire. On the left end of the British line, the 33rd probably did not fire at the American first line because their approach took them through deep woods. They continued to march north towards Lynch's Bedford County riflemen and the Continental infantry under Capt. Robert Kirkwood and Lt. Philip Huffman.[70]

The North Carolina militia broke ranks as the British and Hessian soldiers charged with fixed bayonets. Wetwood Armistead's stated that his entire company fled in the face of the assault. Many of the men fell to the rear, behind Lawson's and Stevens's brigades who formed the second American line. The Virginians had received orders to let the North Carolinians pass through so they could reorganize with the third line near the courthouse. Other militiamen made their way to the northern and southern flanks and disappeared into the woods beyond, as the British "charged with such impetuosity as to cause them to retreat."[71]

As the 23rd and 71st broke through the North Carolina center, the 33rd and Von Bose, on either side of the center thrust, attacked Kirkwood and Lynch on the northern flank and Campbell, Winston, and Lee on the southern. As these units moved forward, they separated from the units in

63 Ibid., 103.

64 Ibid., 101-02.

65 Ibid., 104.

66 Ibid.

67 Ibid., 106.

68 Ibid., 108.

69 Ibid.

70 Ibid., 108-09.

71 Ibid., 113.

the center. As the 33rd advanced to the northeast, the 23rd tried to hold the line together by moving north. As a result, the British center developed a gap. In response, Brig. Gen. O'Hara led the 2nd Battalion of Guards under James Stuart and the Guards Grenadier Company into the space. Cornwallis also sent the light infantry of the Guards and the Jägers into the woods to support the 33rd on the left. O'Hara advanced the 1st Battalion of Guards to cover the Hessians'right. Greene's first line had extended the British battle line and forced Cornwallis to deploy his reserves early in the battle.[72]

From the beginning of the battle, Lynch's Bedford riflemen north of the road, and Campbell's and Winston's riflemen on the southern flank fired at the advancing British. The battlefield on the left flank of the British, in front of the 33rd was thick with trees. John Larkin, a Guilford County man who served alongside Kirkwood's men said that the men were not in traditional battle line, but spread out behind trees. Shortly after the North Carolina militia line collapsed, Kirkwood and Lynch began to withdraw to the east towards the second line, drawing the British forward.[73]

The Second Line

The Virginians posted along the second line could not see the advancing British army but could hear the battle raging and see the North Carolina militia regiments falling back. There was approximately 400 yards between the first and second lines of Greene's army. North of Great Salisbury Road, on the British left, the 33rd moved through the woods following a stream as they tried to remain connected to the 23rd on their right. The 23rd crossed open fields under fire from the opposing Virginia riflemen. Once they had reached the top of the slope in their front, the 33rd turned east and began driving towards the American right flank. By the time they passed the now abandoned first line, the light infantry and the Jägers were in position to protect the 33rd's left flank. Pushing forward, the 33rd drove back the right end of American second line.[74] North of the road, Lawson ordered Randolph's and Holcombe's Virginia regiments forward when the British troops came into view. As Randolph's and Holcombe's regiments met the 23rd, the Guards Grenadiers and the 2nd Guards Battalion, sent to fill the gap during the British assault on the first line, arrived. The Guards Grenadier angled north and struck Holcombe's left flank. The battle for the second line's northern half rapidly dissolved into a series of sharp skirmishes as small squads and platoons of Virginians and British infantrymen fought hand to hand in the woods.[75] The British eventually gained the advantage and pushed the middle of the American right flank backwards.

Around this time, according to participant accounts, Cornwallis appeared near the front to lead the attack. Seargent Lamb recalled:

"I saw Lord Cornwallis riding across the clear ground. His lordship was mounted on a dragoon's horse (his own having been shot), the saddlebags were under the creature's belly, which much retarded his progress, owing to the vast quantity of Underwood that was spread over the ground; his lordship was evidently unconscious of the danger. I immediately laid hold of the bridle of his horse, and turned his head. I then mentioned to him, that if his lordship pursued in the same direction, he would in a few moments be surrounded by the enemy, and, perhaps cut to pieces or captured. I continued to run along the side of the horse, keeping the bridle in my hand, until his lordship, gained the 23rd regiment, which was at that time drawn up in the skirt of the woods."[76]

South of Great Salisbury Road, the British advanced much more slowly. The 2nd Guards Battalion along either side of the road attacked the Virginians under Brig. Gen. Edward Stevens. Here, the battle also dissolved into separate skirmishes and close quarters fighting. During the fighting, Brig. Gen. Stevens fell wounded after receiving a shot through the thigh. He ordered a retreat and the right half of his command immediately fell back towards the rear. The southern portion of Steven's troops, under Maj. Alexander Stuart, stood their ground because they had yet been attacked.

According to Babits, the fractured character of the battle line was a result of Greene's strategy and the nature of the battlefield. Greene's of using multiple

72 Ibid., 114.

73 Ibid., 114-15.

74 Ibid., 117.

75 Ibid., 119.

76 Ibid., 122.

lines had broken the British line as different units advanced at different rates. Also, British troops may have followed paths across the undulating terrain, resulting in an indirect march across the battlefield.

On the right, Von Bose and the 1st Guards attacked the American southern flank, formed by troops under Col. William Campbell, Captain, Andrew Wallace, and Lt. Col. Henry Lee. "Light Horse" Lee withdrew to the southeast. The 1st Guards on the far right of the British line followed Lee becoming separated from the rest of their line. Stuart's men, having thus far avoided active battle, attacked the unprotected left flank of the British. Lee and Campbell also turned and attacked the now vulnerable Guards. The combined Continental troops inflicted significant casualties, but a group of Hessian troops arrived in time to prevent total destruction of the 1st Guards. The Hessians drove the Virginians back, at which point the American's withdrew. The Hessian did capture a few Virginians, but most escaped towards the third line near the courthouse.

The British troops were now spread out across the line of battle, fighting separate, disconnected skirmishes with the Americans. They succeeded pushing much of the second line backwards, but at the expense of ammunition, men, and energy. As they renewed the advance, Greene's third line of fresh Continental infantry waited.

The Third Line

Greene placed his final line of tested Continental soldiers approximately 800 yards behind the second line. While they reportedly could not see the action, the waiting troops could hear the battle approaching them.

Lt. Col. John Eager Howard wrote that "the first [Maryland] regiment under Gunby was formed in a hollow, in the wood, and to the right [west] of the cleared ground about the Court house. The Virginia Brigade under Genl. Huger were to our right. The second [Maryland] regiment was at some distance to the left of the first, in the cleared ground, with its left flank thrown back so as to form a line almost at right angles [to the] 1st regt." Babits explains that the 2nd Maryland was largely south of Great Salisbury Road with a few units on the north side. He also suggests that there was a gap between the two Maryland battalions. Huger, presumably, occupied the line between the road and the edge of the ridge overlooking the valley between the second and third lines. The land on this portion of the battlefield fell away into a densely wooded gully in front of the Americans. On the Great Salisbury Road, between the two divisions, Greene posted the surviving North Carolina Continentals and Singleton's two six-pound cannon.[77]

Lt. Col. Samuel Hawes's Virginia Continentals occupied the line to the right of the 1st Maryland. In front of these two regiments, Captain Lt. Ebenezer Finley had two six-pound cannon positioned on the terrace overlooking the valley ready to fire upon a British advance. Beyond, Col. John Greene's Virginia regiment occupied a wooded slope on the edge of the valley. On the far right of the American Line, Col. Charles Lynch and Capt. Robert Kirkwood had their regiments in line. Many of the Virginia militiamen joined one of these regiments after they withdrew from the second line.[78]

The 33rd Foot, the Jägers, and the 2nd Battalion of Guards approached the northernmost right flank of the American third line opposite Lynch and Kirkwood. The 33rd arrived first and immediately attacked. Continental fire drove them back and the 33rd withdrew to a high point across the vale opposite the Americans. The 2nd Guards attacked next in the direction of the 2nd Maryland. The Marylanders, because they were in position along the road, were exposed to British artillery fire. According to Cornwallis, "The second battalion of Guards first gained the clear ground near Guilford Court-house, and found a corps of Continental infantry, much superior in number, formed in the open field of the left [north] of the road."[79] The 2nd Maryland tried to move its line to meet the British marching from the west. The 2nd Guards, coming across the valley in front of the third line, re-formed their battle-line, fired a series of volleys, then charged. The 2nd Guards dislodged the 2nd Maryland and captured Singleton's cannon near

77 Ibid., 142.

78 Ibid., 143.

79 Ibid., 147.

Great Salisbury Road.[80] The 1st Maryland led a counter attack against the Guards whose advance had exposed their left flank. North Carolina militiaman Nathaniel Slade described the scene, "this conflict between the brigade of Guards and the first regiment of Marylanders was most terrific, for they fired at the same instant, and they appeared so near that the blazes from their guns seem to meet."[81] Washington's 3rd Continental light dragoons then attacked the Guards from the rear. Cornwallis, who witnessed the counter attack, recalled that the 2nd Guards Battalion was "immediately charged and driven back into the field by Col. Washington's dragoons, with the loss of the 6-pounders they had taken."[82] Having taken substantial casualties, the Guards fell back.

As the 1st Maryland moved back towards the courthouse to reform their line, several British regiments appeared in the valley below them. At this point, Greene ordered a withdrawal to save his army. Greene wrote after the battle that "they having broken the 2d Maryland Regiment, and turned our left flank, got into the rear of the Virginia brigade; and appearing to be gaining on our right, which would have encircled the whole of the Continental troops, I thought it most advisable to order a retreat."[83] Green's Virginia regiment covered the withdrawal. Soon, the remaining British regiments arrived to pursue the withdrawing Continentals but the Virginians successfully harassed the exhausted British enough that they broke off the chase. According to Otho Holland Williams, "the enemy did not presume to press our rear with any spirit they followed only three miles where the regular troops halted and a great many of the milita formed."[84]

Greene led his troops away from the battle along Reedy Fork to the predetermined meeting location at Speedwell Ironworks on Troublesome Creek. He had sent his army's baggage and supply wagons there prior to the battle. Lee's dragoons escaped the battle along Great Salisbury Road and rejoined Greene later. Greene ordered his commissaries to distribute two days' rations and a gill of rum to each soldier. The British stayed on the battlefield near the courthouse, camping that night surrounded by the dead and wounded. A cold rain fell on the British troops. They had little food and the rain prevented fires to warm them on a cold night. According to Babits, "The men had last eaten at 4:00P.M. on 14 March, consuming the last of their four ounces of beef and four ounces of bread per man. Since then they had marked nearly fifteen miles, fought several intense skirmishes, and engaged in a major battle."[85]

On March 18, Cornwallis departed Guilford Courthouse, marching his troops south to New Garden. For two days, he allowed his troops to rest at the Quaker village. He then headed east looking to find "some place for rest and refitment."[86]180. Eventually, Cornwallis withdrew all the way to Wilmington, where he had lines of communication with Clinton, in the North, and the garrison in Charleston.

The Battle at Guilford Courthouse was technically a tactical victory for the British who drove the Continentals off the battlefield. They captured 1,300 small arms, four American six-pounders, two ammunition wagons, and other helpful supplies. The Americans, however, extracted a price for Cornwallis' nominal victory. Of the 1,934 men Cornwallis led into battle that morning, the British reported 93 killed, 413 wounded and 26 missing. Greene officially had 4,400 men at Guilford, though not all saw action. The battle cost the Americans: 79 killed, 184 wounded, and 1,046 missing. Of the 1,046 missing, 885 were militia[87].

After the Battle of Guilford Courthouse

The Southern Army under Greene stayed in the region after Guilford Courthouse, making regular attacks on remaining British outposts. Greene reported, "I am determined to carry the War immediately into South Carolina."[88] Greene's men attacked garrisons at Hobkirk's Hill, Ninety-Six, and Eutaw Springs, forcing the British to withdraw their soldiers towards the coast to more secure

80 Ibid., 148-49.

81 Ibid., 152.

82 Ibid., 153.

83 Ibid., 164.

84 Ibid., 170.

85 Ibid., 164-71.

86 Ibid., 180.

87 Buchanan, The Road to Guilford Courthouse, 380

88 Ibid., 181.

garrisons. Except for Charleston and Wilmington, Greene effectively controlled the interior of South and North Carolina.

In April 1781, Cornwallis departed Wilmington and marched his army north towards the Virginia and the Chesapeake. He met some resistance along the way, fighting minor skirmishes with North Carolina militia units. He positioned his Army on the peninsula between the York and James River, near Yorktown, where he waited for reinforcements. Gen. Washington, apprised of Cornwallis' movements and Greene's victories in the South, changed his own plans. He abandoned his siege of the British Army in New York City and force-marched his main army over five hundred miles to Virginia intending to crush Cornwallis and inflict a fatal blow to the British Army. Supported by French troops, Washington surrounded Cornwallis in Yorktown. On October 17, 1781, Cornwallis surrendered to Washington. While fighting continued for the next two years, the surrender of Cornwallis effectively deprived the British of any realistic opportunity to defeat the Continental Army.[89]

Cornwallis failed to win the Southern Campaign because of his own mistakes and because of Greene's superior tactics. Cultivating Loyalist support in the Carolinas' was essential to the British effort, but the actions of Cornwallis and his subordinates effectively alienated residents of the backcountry. Greene also rose to the moment, adapting military tactics to achieve his objective of wearing down the British. He recognized, unlike Horatio Gates who stumbled headlong into Camden, that his force would not likely win a conventional campaign against the better-trained British Army. Greene had to rely upon unpredictable militia units to support his trained regular soldiers; and Greene used the militias effectively. He allowed the militias to disperse at strategic moments, reducing the logistical demands of his Army and speeding his evasive maneuvers out in front of Cornwallis.[90] Greene learned that he could reform his troop strength by calling the militias back at strategic moments, as he did for the Battle of Guilford Courthouse. Greene was also patient, willing to evade Cornwallis until the conditions better suited his troops. Perhaps most significantly, Greene could accept a partial, tactical defeat, surrendering the field of battle after a conflict, while avoiding a larger, operational defeat that would result in the complete surrender of his army. He did not press the battle at Guilford Courthouse towards a decisive conclusion, for example, but held back his reserves and withdrew in good order in order to fight another day. Greene's "victory in defeat" strategy allowed him to sap the strength of an imposing enemy while preserving his own army.[91]

After the war, Nathanael Greene returned to his home in Rhode Island. South Carolina and Georgia awarded him plantations as a token of gratitude of his service during the war. Greene sold the South Carolina plantation to settle his debts. In 1785, he moved his family to Mulberry Grove, the plantation outside of Savannah, Georgia that had been the home of the former loyalist lieutenant governor John Graham. On June 19, 1786, Greene died at age forty-four after a brief illness.[92]

Between May 1780 and December 1782, when the British evacuated Charleston, the American and British forces fought more than 40 battles and skirmishes across Georgia and the Carolinas. While many of the engagements were tactical victories for the British Army, American troops prevented the British from achieving their objective of raising Loyalist support and driving the Continental Army from the region.

89 David Lee Russell, *The American Revolution in the Southern Colonies* (Jefferson, NC: McFarland and Company, 2000), 302.

90 Dennis Conrad, "General Nathanial Greene," in *General Nathanael Greene and the American Revolution in the South*, ed. Gregory D. Massey and Jim Piecuch (Columbia, SC: The University of South Carolina Press, 2012), 15.

91 Jim Piecuch, *"The Evolving Tactician: Nathanial Greene at the Battle of Eutaw Springs," in General Nathanael Greene and the American Revolution in the South, ed. Gregory D. Massey and Jim Piecuch (Columbia, SC: The University of South Carolina Press, 2012), 214-15.*

92 Gregory Massey, "The Transformation of Nathanael Greene," in *General Nathanael Greene and the American Revolution in the South*, ed. Gregory D. Massey and Jim Piecuch (Columbia, SC: The University of South Carolina Press, 2012), 257.

Chapter 2: The Development of Roads at Guilford Courthouse and External Influences

This chapter provides a context of the roads at Guilford Courthouse National Military Park. While New Garden Road (previously Great Salisbury Road) was a central feature in the Battle of Guilford Courthouse, its significance encompasses earlier decades as it was a primary thoroughfare for European Americans settling the North Carolina backcountry in the early to mid-1700s. Primary accounts incorporated into this chapter provide a sense of general road conditions, which remained quite poor throughout the 1800s despite initiatives to develop stagecoach lines and turnpikes. The chapter also explores the development of carriage roads across the battlefield and highways linking the battlefield to Greensboro in the context of nationwide trends, such as the City-Beautiful Movement and the Good Roads Movement. Finally, the chapter considers road improvements by the Public Works Administration during the Depression-era, as well as the National Park Service's development of the tour road after Mission 66, in light of greater automobile use, higher visitation rates, and increasing suburbanization.

Colonial Roads and Early Settlement of North Carolina

When the English first explored the North Carolina backcountry in the late 1600s, the Great Trading Path, or the Occaneechi Path, was one of many Native American trails. The Great Trading Path was not a single path but rather a "braided network of paths"[1] that linked the many small villages scattered across the Piedmont landscape. In the 1670s, the path became the primary route of travel and commerce in the region as Virginians brought European goods, such as metal tools, cloth, blankets, ammunition, and rum, to the Catawba, Cherokee, and neighboring Siouan tribes in exchange for deerskins and fur.[2] The Great Trading Path stretched from Petersburg, Virginia, across many Piedmont counties to near present-day Charlotte, North Carolina, crossing the land that would later become Guilford County (Figure 3).[3]

In the year 1700, John Lawson wrote about his travels down the trade paths and described the roads as being well-cared for and generally pleasant. Many other accounts, however, paint a vastly different picture indicating the roads were "wretched and exceedingly bad" or "rough and circuitous."[4] Despite the generally poor condition of the roads, a substantial migration into the region occurred from about 1750 to 1770. During this period, many immigrants traveled from the port of Philadelphia southward along the Great Philadelphia Wagon Road, an improved Indian trail extending to North Carolina (Figure 4).[5] Travelers primarily walked, rode on horseback, or

1 Rebecca Taft Fecher, "The Trading Path and North Carolina," *Journal of Backcountry Studies* 3, no. 2 (2010).

2 Ibid. R. P. Stephen Davis Jr., "Great Trading Path," University of North Carolina Press.

3 "Before railroads, the Salisbury and Petersburg stage coach line passed through Guilford, as did also the Salisbury and Fayetteville road. And before these, the same roads were the great Trading Paths of the Indians … The road was not original with them. They held it by right of conquest from the buffalos, which fed all winter on the tall peavines growing luxuriantly and abundantly in Guilford." Sallie Walker Stockard, *History of Guilford County, North Carolina* (Guilford County, North Carolina: Gaut-Ogden Company, 1902), 55.

4 Hugh T. Lefler and William S. Powell, *Colonial North Carolina, A History* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1973), 170.; Fecher, "The Trading Path and North Carolina."

5 Today, Interstate 85 roughly follows much of the original route from Petersburg, Virginia, to the Georgia border. Ethel Stephens Arnett, *The Saura and Keyauwee in the Land that Became Guilford, Randolph, and Rockingham* (The North Carolina Delta Kappa Gamma Society, 1975).

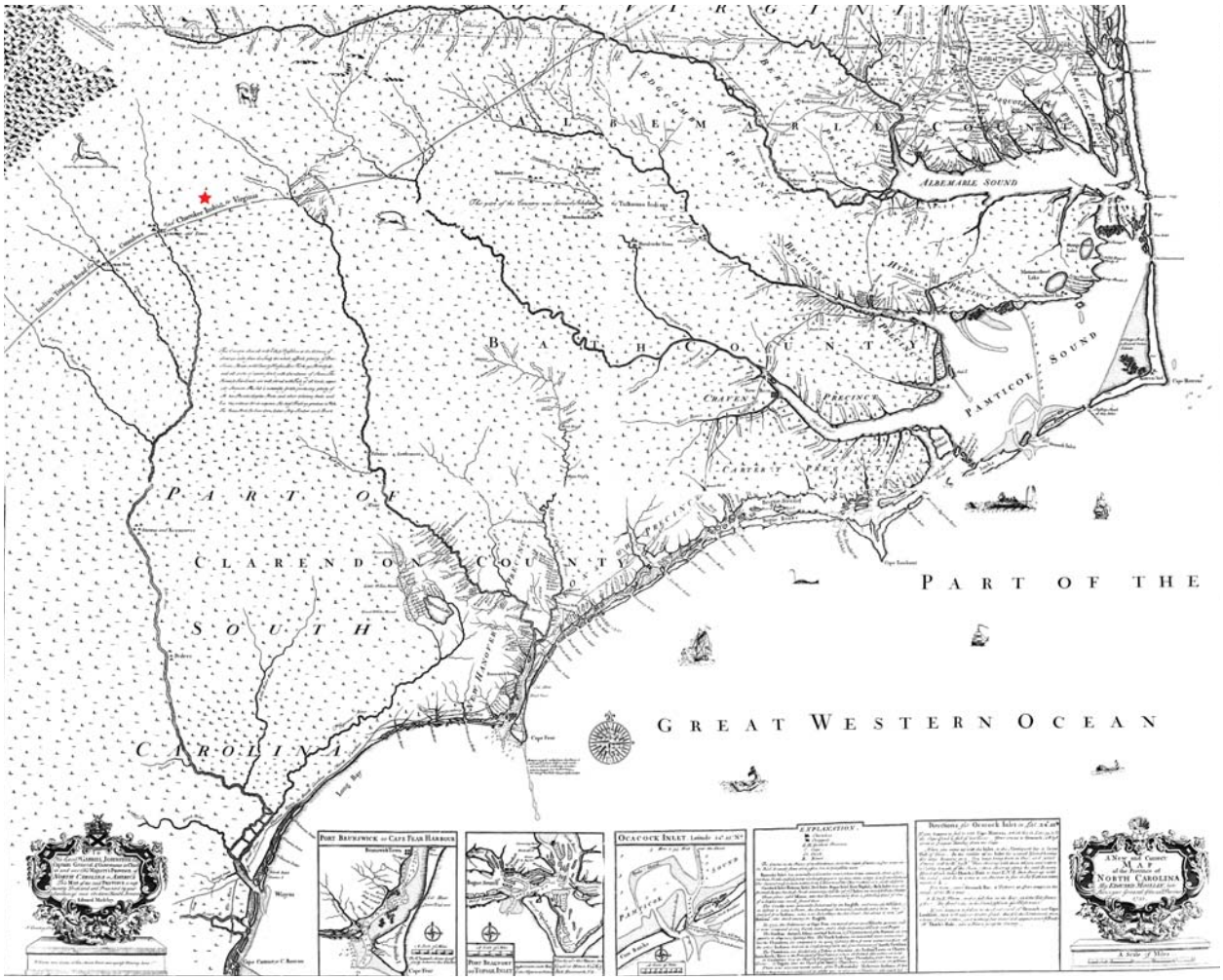


Figure 3: "A New and Correct Map of the Province of North Carolina," created by North Carolina's Surveyor General Edward Moseley and printed in 1733 by John Cowley of London in East Carolina University, North Carolina Maps Collection. The red star has been added to mark the general area of present-day Guilford County (modified by The Jaeger Company, June 22, 2015).

used a wagon down the Great Philadelphia Wagon Road and other secondary trade paths to reach the North Carolina backcountry.[6] The existing network of Indian paths laid the groundwork for the establishment of new towns.[7]

As various groups of immigrants settled in North Carolina in the mid-1700s, the need for installing government on the local level increased. Thus, Orange County was annexed from Bladen, Granville, and Johnston counties in 1752 and in two years the community of Corbin Town (renamed Childsburgh in 1759 and then Hillsborough in 1766) became its seat. Similarly, Rowan County was created in 1753 from Anson County with the community of Salisbury subsequently becoming its seat. Great Salisbury Road (now New Garden Road) probably was established around this time from an existing trade path that connected the towns of Salisbury and Hillsborough.[8]

The majority of settlers in this general area were comprised of Scotch-Irish, Germans, and Quakers.[9] Around 1757, a group of Quakers constructed the New Garden Meetinghouse for their community at New Garden (now Guilford College), located about half way between Salisbury

6 Fecher, "The Trading Path and North Carolina."

7 Fecher, "The Trading Path and North Carolina."

8 The road has also been referred to as the Main Road, the Salisbury and Hillsboro road, and later the Old Salisbury Road. Samuel A'Court Ashe, *Biographical History of North Carolina from Colonial Times to the Present*, vol. 7 (C. L. Van Noppen, 1908).

9 Ethel Stephens Arnett, *Greensboro, North Carolina – The County Seat of Guilford* (Chapel Hill, NC: The University of North Carolina Press, 1983), 12.

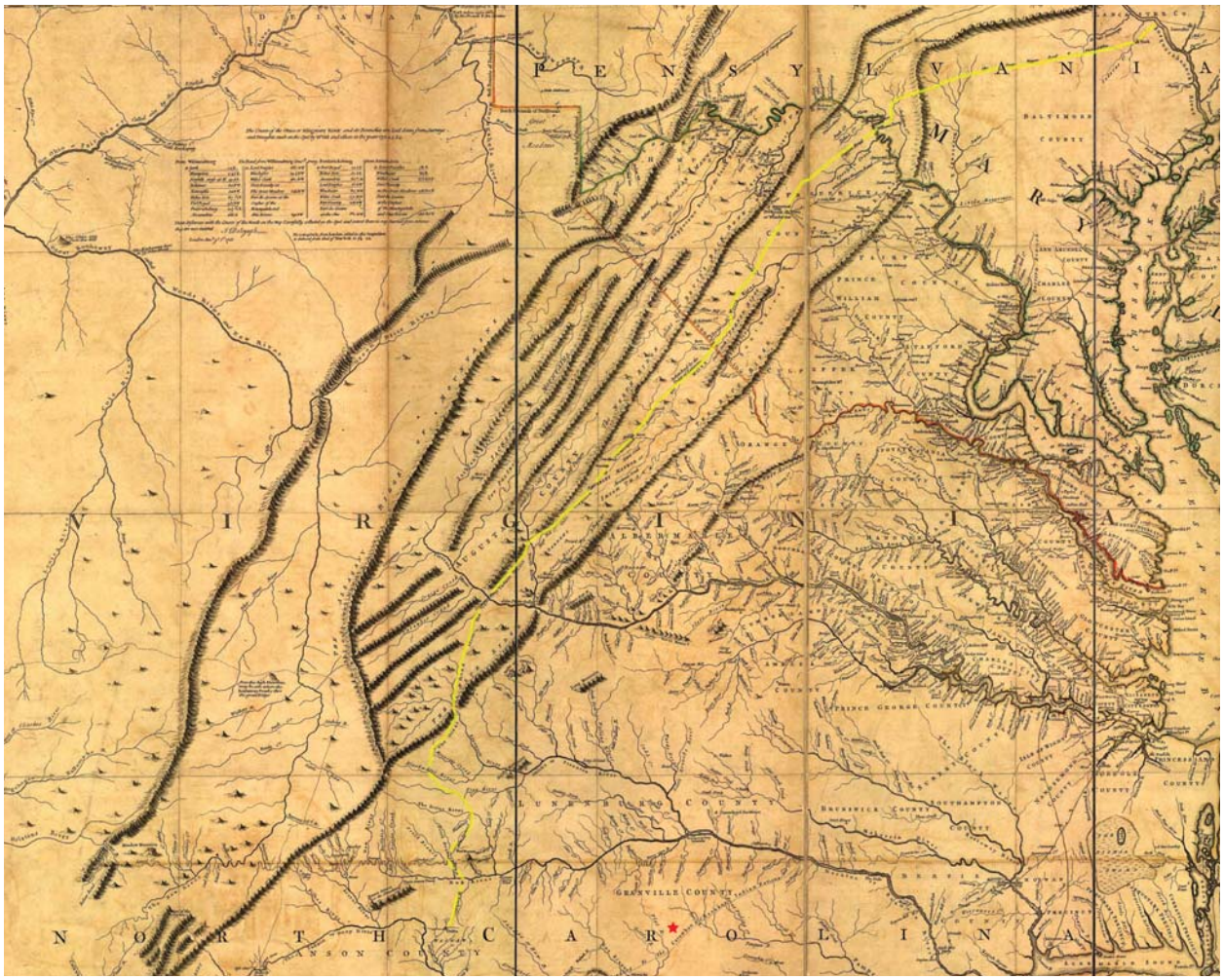


Figure 4: "A map of the most inhabited part of Virginia containing the whole province of Maryland with part of Pennsylvania, New Jersey and North Carolina" drawn by Joshua Fry & Peter Jefferson in 1751, published by Thos. Jefferys, London, 1755, in Library of Congress Geography and Map Division Washington, D.C. 20540-4650 USA. A yellow line has been added to highlight 'The Great Road from the Yadkin River through Virginia to Philadelphia distant 455 Miles' - an accurate survey of what would become the Great Philadelphia Wagon Road. A red star has been added to mark the general area of present day Guilford County (modified by The Jaeger Company, October 20, 2015)

and Hillsborough (Figure 5).[10] At this time, settlers probably established New Garden Road, which apparently assumed a route different from its present-day course. From its intersection with the trading path that connected Salisbury and Hillsborough, New Garden Road extended southeast from the Guilford community near Horsepen Creek and eventually curved eastward at its junction with "the Western or trading Path."[11]

In 1764, the North Carolina Assembly tasked the county courts to lay out "Public Roads, and establish and settle Ferries, and to appoint where Bridges shall be built."[12] In addition, "Overseers of the Highways or Roads" could conscript taxable males from ages sixteen to sixty for about one week a year to make the roads more passable for carriages and wagons, which had become the primary modes of transportation.[13] The laws of early North Carolina that required the building, maintenance, and regulation of public roads, bridges, and ferries, however, were largely

10 Milton A. Ready, *History of North Carolina* (Columbia, SC: University of South Carolina Press, 2005), 65.; Fecher, "The Trading Path and North Carolina." Stockard, *History of Guilford County, North Carolina*, 125.

11 Based on an evaluation of historical maps, it is possible that what is currently "New Garden Road" combines portions of what was historically known as New Garden Road and the trading path linking Salisbury to Hillsborogh (which likely became Great Salisbury Road).

12 Quoted in Milton Ready, *The Tar Heel State: A History of North Carolina* (Columbia, SC: University of South Carolina Press, 2005), 65.

13 Fecher, "The Trading Path and North Carolina."

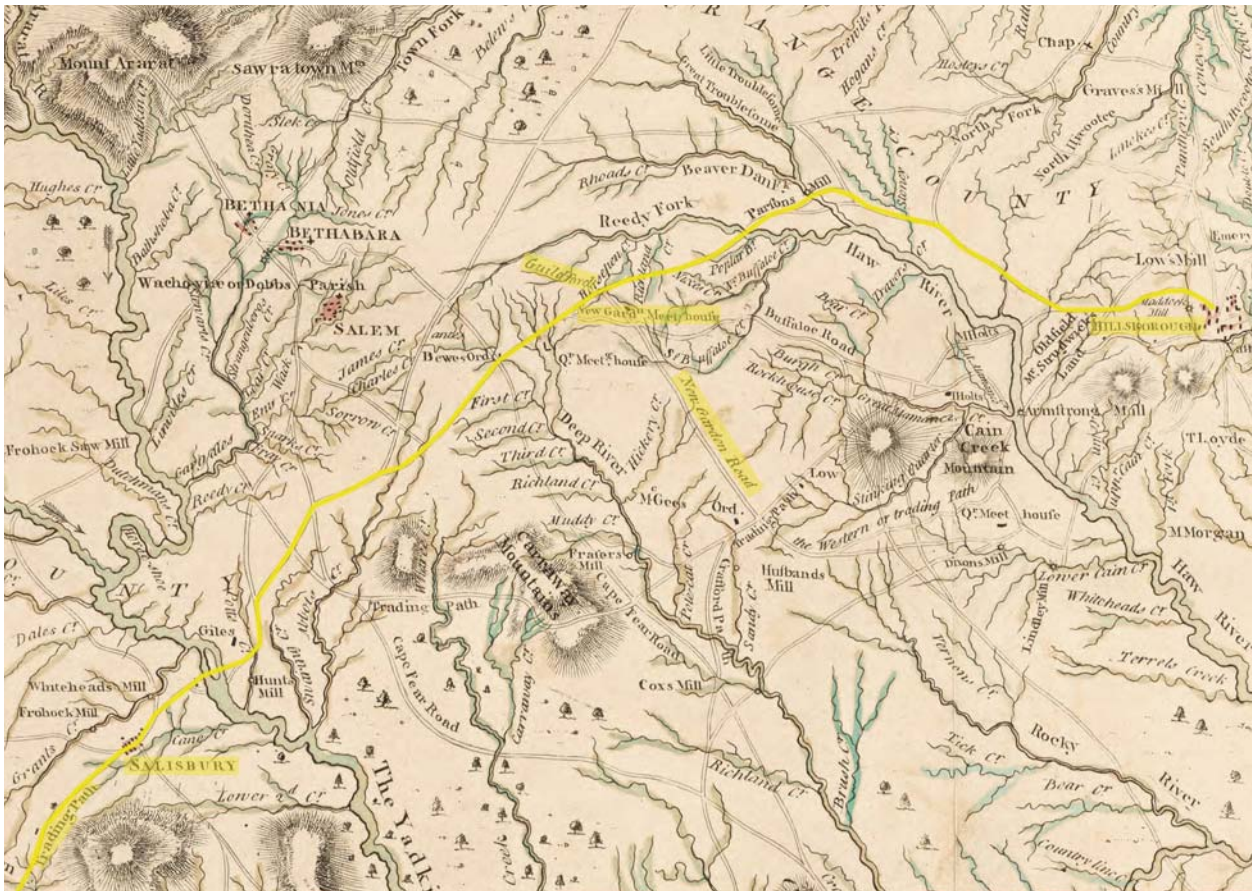


Figure 5: A detail of "A Compleat map of North-Carolina from an actual survey," created by John Collett in 1770, in University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill, North Carolina Maps, Digital Collection (modified by The Jaeger Company, June 22, 2015). Yellow highlights added to show key points discussed in the text.

ignored.[14] Lack of capital, manpower, and skill limited most road construction efforts to clearing away trees and underbrush for the passage of small wagons.[15]

Roads in the American Revolution and the 1781 Battle of Guilford Courthouse

The rivers and weather greatly affected the road networks throughout North Carolina and so knowledge of this relationship had an impact on strategies and outcomes of the Southern Campaign. On January 17, 1781, the Battle of Cowpens in South Carolina ended in victory for the Continental Army forces under Brig. Gen. Daniel Morgan over the British Army led by Gen. Banastre Tarleton. Several days later, after receiving reinforcements, British Gen. Charles Cornwallis set out after Morgan who was 20 miles north of Cowpens at Gilbert Town, near present-day Rutherfordton, North Carolina. Cornwallis explained:

> "I decided to march by the upper, in preference to the lower roads leading into North Carolina, because fords being frequent above the forks of the rivers, my passage there could not easily be obstructed; and General Greene having taken post on the Peedee, and there being few fords in any of the great rivers of this country below their forks, especially in, winter, I apprehended being much delayed; if not entirely prevented from penetrating by the latter route."[16]

14 Ready, *The Tar Heel State: A History of North Carolina*, 65.

15 KSK Architects, "New Jersey Historic Roadway Study," 64.

16 Lawrence Edward Babits and Joshua B. Howard, *Long, Obstinate, and Bloody: The Battle of Guilford Courthouse* (Chapel Hill, NC: The University of North Carolina Press, 2009), 13-14.

While Cornwallis was correct in noting that fords above the forks were more numerous and less likely to be strongly held by defenders, it appears that he miscalculated the potential for rapid flooding of the rivers above the forks. Although it was nearly 70 years later when historian Benson J. Lossing passed through the area on a historical tour, his accounts probably provide a fairly accurate assessment of the road conditions at the time of the Southern Campaign. Lossing stated, "no one can form an idea of the character of the roads in winter… where the red clay abounds, without passing over them. Until I had done so, I could not appreciate the difficulties experienced by the two armies in the race toward Virginia, particularly in the transportation of baggage wagons or of artillery."[17]

Accounts on both the Patriot and British sides provide additional context to how the weather affected the roads. Headed toward Salisbury, Sergeant Major William Seymour explained that they marched in "a very unpleasant condition, it having rained incessantly all night, which rendered the roads almost inaccessible."[18] After crossing Trading Ford on February 3, Delaware Lt. Thomas Anderson reported "every step being up to our knees in mud [and] it raining on us all the way."[19] Several days later Brig. Gen. Edward Stevens, commanding a small group of Virginia militia, wrote that the "rain that fell the night before raised the river in such a manner as made it difficult to cross even in boats."[20] With Cornwallis in close pursuit, Morgan and his continentals continued marching "taking the road towards Guilford Court House," which they reached on February 6.[21]

Greene dispatched an express to Colonel James Martin, commander of the Guilford County militia, urging him to gather men and supplies and to send Greene the "most intelligible man… well acquainted" with the local roads, distances, and settlements.[22] Both armies passed through the Moravian communities including Bethania, Bethabara, and Salem. Greene and Morgan reached Guilford on February 7 and were soon met by Brig. Gen. Isaac Huger and Lt. Colonel Henry Lee, who camped "in the woods a few hundred yards in the rear of the courthouse," along the Reedy Fork Road.[23] From February 8-10, Greene held a council of war at Guilford Courthouse where he decided to organize a light corps detached from the main body of his army that would serve as a decoy and thus delay Cornwallis's army. This strategy enabled the American main force to reach the Dan River and begin crossing the swollen waters into Virginia on February 13. Lacking supplies, Cornwallis was unable to wait for the rivers to recede and thus retreated from the Virginia border while Greene's army replenished itself with food and ammunition and received reinforcements.[24] In a letter to Secretary of State Lord George Germain, Cornwallis blamed his inability to intercept Greene on "defective" intelligence, "bad roads, and the passage of many deep creeks and bridges destroyed by the enemy's light troops."[25]

On February 19, the war shifted back into North Carolina as portions of Greene's Southern Army moved back across the Dan River and began pursuing the British southward. On March 8, Cornwallis's army encamped near Guilford and then again marched past the courthouse "down the Hillsborough Road, awaiting an opportunity to attack."[26] Several days later, on March 14, the American army arrived back at Guilford Courthouse, while the British were only twelve miles away. Predicting that an attack was eminent, Greene directed Lee's command to camp three miles west of Guilford Courthouse on the Great Salisbury Road. Soon, Lee and his dragoons moved down the road toward Cornwallis. Meanwhile, Tarleton led advance elements of Cornwallis's army along the road in Lee's direction. About four miles west of the courthouse, Tarleton's dragons approached the New Garden Meeting House when American Lt. James Heard and his men fired a volley from the underbrush on both sides of Great Salisbury Road.[27]

17 Ibid., 14-15.

18 Ibid., 25.

19 Ibid., 25-26.

20 Ibid.

21 Ibid., 26.

22 Ibid., 27.

23 Ibid., 28.

24 Ibid., 29-32.

25 Ibid., 36.

26 Ibid., 50.

27 Ibid., 51.

Subsequently, Heard's men dashed east along Great Salisbury Road where they met Lee's column about four miles from Guilford Courthouse. Lee's men found themselves in a long, straight portion of road bordered by high fences on either side. Lee saw that he could position his column so as to bottleneck the British forces within this "lane."[28] Tarleton ordered his legion dragoons to charge after Lee's men and the two sides engaged a skirmish until Tarleton's men retired, fleeing back down Great Salisbury Road and taking a secondary road that branched to the southeast. The route allowed Tarleton to travel along the Hillsborough Road on his way to the New Garden Meeting House, where he expected to meet the infantry of Cornwallis's advance guards. Lee, however, traveled directly down the Great Salisbury Road toward the Quaker grounds, where the Guards Light Infantry under Capt. John Goodricke surprised him. Subsequently, guards deployed in line from the road and fired a volley that knocked down several dragoons, including Lee, and instigated a second skirmish.[29]

Outnumbered, Lee ordered his cavalry to stand their ground while the infantry and riflemen retreated seven-tenths of a mile east to a wooded area along Great Salisbury Road called "Cross Roads," where a third skirmish occurred.[30] Lee's delaying actions gave Greene time to organize and deploy his army in the dense woods west of the courthouse, where the main battle would soon ensue. Greene positioned his troops in a three-line system along Great Salisbury Road, while posting two six-pounder field pieces in the center of the road.[31] Soon after discovering Greene's troops blocking Great Salisbury Road, Cornwallis quickly situated his forces in lines on both sides of the road near the farmstead of Joseph Hoskins.[32] Great Salisbury Road thus provided a central axis for the pivotal battlefield, which, despite ending in British victory, substantially weakened Cornwallis and caused him to abandon the Carolinas.

28 Ibid., 52.

29 Ibid., 53.

30 Ibid., 55.

31 Ibid., 61-62.

32 Ibid., 94.

A map of the Battle of Guilford Courthouse published in 1787 indicates some of the local roads that influenced the fighting and army formations. The map shows a road (unlabeled) that stretched southeast from Great Salisbury Road, which formed the southern boundary of the battlefield.[33] The map also shows the "road from Reedy Fork," which Greene used when retiring his troops after the battle (Figure 6).[34]

The Development of Martinville along Great Salisbury Road

A few months after the Battle of Guilford Courthouse, Alexander Martin and his brother-in-law merchant, Thomas Henderson, purchased a 350-acre tract that encompassed much of the battlefield site and Guilford Courthouse.[35] By 1785, Martin and Henderson had laid out a town surrounding the courthouse established circa 1774 and began selling lots. In November 1785, Guilford Representative John Hamilton, who kept a tavern at the county seat, brought the matter of acquiring an official town charter before the legislature and his bill became law on December 29, 1785. [36][37] The newly chartered town was named

33 It's difficult to determine if this road correlates with the "Buffaloe Road" indicated on the map in Figure 3. It is possible because a 1762 deed for William Churtond described his 350-acre tract (which later contained the sites of the battlefield and Guilford Courthouse) as "Lying on both Sides of Hunting Creek[,] a fork of Rich Land Creek waters of the Reedy Fork of Haw RiverOand on both Sides [of] the Main Buff[a]lo Road."John Hiatt, *Guilford Courthouse National Military Park Cultural Landscape Report* (U.S. Department of the Interior, National Park Service, Southeast Regional Office, Cultural Resources Division, 2003). 14.; John Carteret, Earl Granville to William Churton, 16 Grant #115-E (in mfm box 111A-119J), North Carolina Department of Archives and History, Raleigh, North Carolina.

34 Ibid., 18.

35 Ibid., 23.; The deed describes the par as a "parcel of Land situate lying in the Couty of Guilford Whereon the Court house of the said County now Stands on both sides of Hunting Creek." See Guilford County Deeds, Book 2: 131; Book 4: 510.

36 Ibid.; Clark, ed., *State Records of North Carolina,* vol. 17: 297; Guilford County Court Minutes, Book 1: 37.

37 Ibid.; The Martinville Act is reprinted in Clark, ed. *State Records of North Carolina,* vol. 24: 779-780.

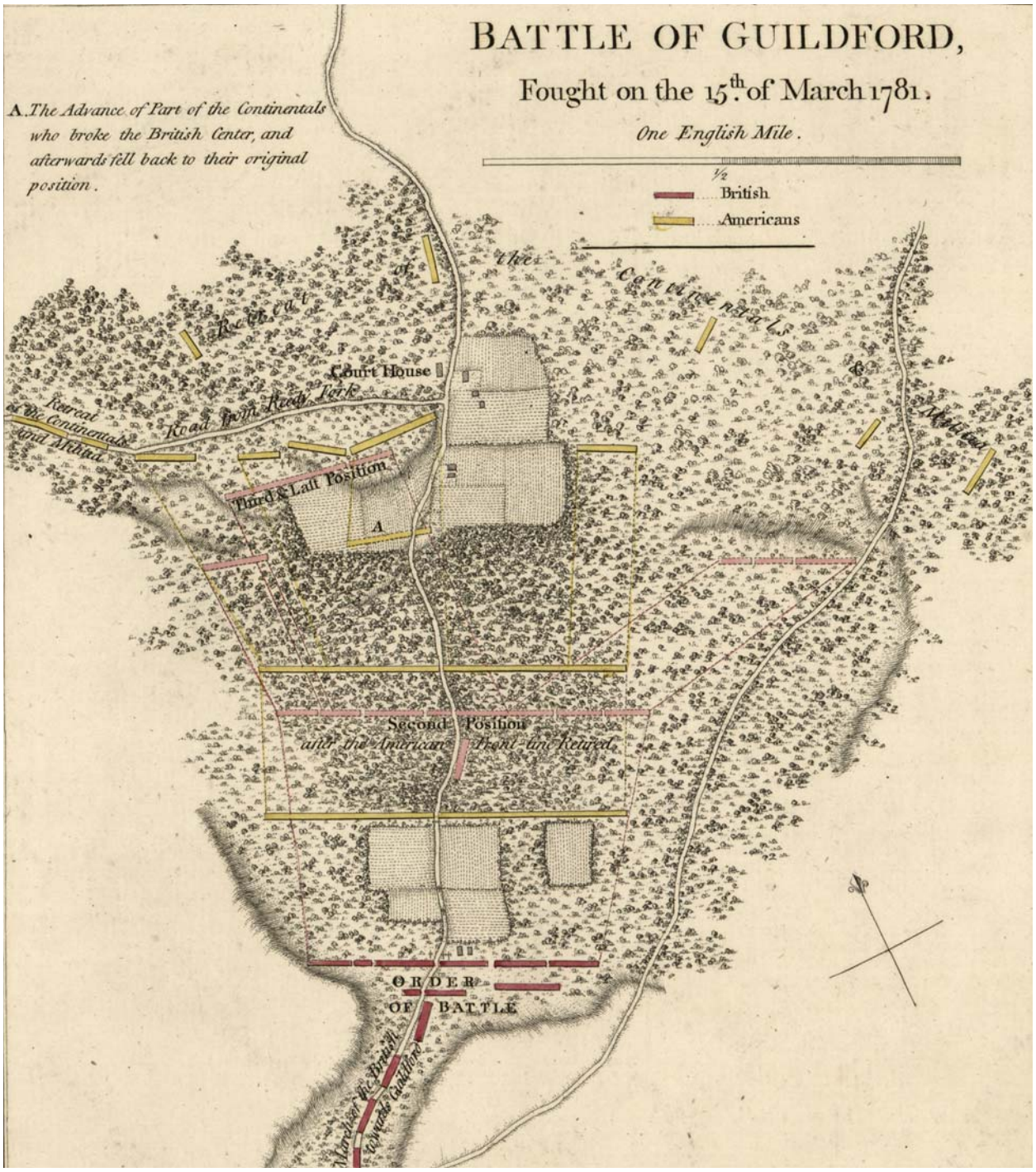


Figure 6: Map of the "Battle of Guildford fought on the 15th of March 1781" published in 1787 in British Lt. Col. Banastre Tarleton's *A History of the Campaign of 1780-1* from the Library of Congress Geography and Map Division Washington, D.C. 20540-4650

Martinville, in honor of Martin, who served as Governor of North Carolina from 1782 to 1785 and again from 1789 to 1792.

Land records reveal that Martinville was centered on a right-angled intersection formed from the east-west Green Street (a portion of Great Salisbury Road) and the north-south Battle Street (a portion of Reedy Fork Road).[38] The intersection divided the town into traditional quadrants, which the town's planners designated as the North,

38 Reedy Fork Road had been extended south from its junction with Great Salisbury Road sometime between 1781 and 1785. CLR, 24; Raleigh, C. Taylor, "The First Guilford Courthouse and Adjacent Land" (TMs, dated January 12, 1953, GUCO Files, Guilford Courthouse National Military Park), 7.

South, East, and West Squares.[39] A detail of a map from 1808 shows the town of Martinville along the Great Salisbury Road and indicates additional roads extending from the town in other directions, including the road from Reedy Fork to the north (renamed McQuistian's Bridge), High Rock Road to the northeast, Fayetteville Road to the southeast, New Salisbury Road to the south, and Bruce's Cross Road to the northwest (Figure 7).

Despite development of taverns and mercantile stores in Martinville in the late 1700s, as well as the construction of a new courthouse, the town never grew into a major commercial or population center in the North Carolina Piedmont. Martinville declined mostly as a result of Guilford County residents' dissatisfaction with the county seat no longer being centrally located after the formation of Randolph and Rockingham Counties out of parts of Guilford County in 1779 and 1785, respectively. The so-called "Centre Party" outmaneuvered the pro-Martinville faction and, in 1807, an act of the General Assembly ordered that the county seat of Guilford County to move to a more central point.[40]

In 1810, the county court relocated about six miles southeast of Martinville to the newly established town of Greensboro named after Gen. Nathanael Greene. Subsequently, the small community that had developed in Martinville disappeared.[41] While a detail of an 1830 map still shows the location of Martinville, it is clear that the main thoroughfares in Guilford County shifted to connect the new county seat of Greensboro with the nearby towns of Wentworth to the north, Caswell to the northeast, Asheboro to the south, and Lexington to the Southeast (Figure 8).

39 Hiatt, *Guilford Courthouse National Military Park Cultural Landscape Report*, 24.

40 Arnett, *Greensboro, North Carolina – The County Seat of Guilford*, 18-19.

41 Ibid.

Figure 7: Detail of Guilford County from "The First Actual Survey of the State of North Carolina" by Jonathan Price, John Strother, and William Harrison in University of North Carolina Chapel Hill, North Carolina Maps, Digital Collection.

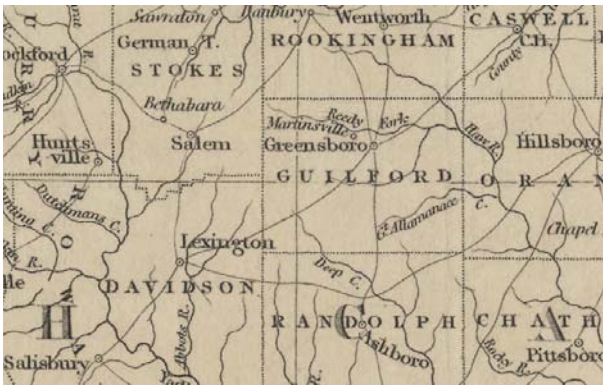


Figure 8: A detail of the "Map of the states of North & South Carolina," published by I.T. Hinton & Simpkin & Marshall (circa 1830) in University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill, North Carolina Maps, Digital Collection.

Stage Lines and Turnpike Development in North Carolina

Throughout the early to mid-1800s, stagecoaches became a popular mode of transportation in North Carolina and other states. Stagecoaches, drawn by teams of two to six horses, were public vehicles that ran scheduled, long-distance routes between designated towns by changing horses at predetermined stops where travelers would often stay in an inn or tavern.[42] The conditions of roads often were abhorrent, and if horses or carriage

42 John Preston Arthur, *Western North Carolina; a history (1730-1913)* (Raleigh, NC: Edwards & Broughton printing company, 1914).

wheels became mired in mud, passengers often had to get out and walk to the next stop.[43]

Although stagecoach travel first began in North Carolina after the American Revolution, it was not until the early 1800s when the majority of stage lines were developed throughout the state, many of which accompanied U.S. Mail carrier routes (Figure 9). While some states licensed early stage lines, North Carolina did not exercise any oversight at either the state or local level, which left the establishment of stagecoach lines to individual entrepreneurs or to companies of investors.[44] In 1829, the Salisbury (NC) and Petersburg (VA) stage coach line passed through Guilford County.[45] Additionally, in 1835, the South-Western Line, which was established to connect the cities of Milton, Greensboro, Charlotte, and Yorkville (SC), also passed through Guilford County.[46]

Around the same time that stage coach lines were being established in North Carolina, interest in turnpikes, or toll roads, developed. Although the turnpike era in North Carolina spanned nearly four decades in the 1800s, it only made modest contributions to the advancement of statewide transportation. After the War of 1812, state leader and jurist Archibald D. Murphey promoted turnpikes as a way to connect the state's western counties with its river ports.[47] Turnpikes commonly became known as "Farmers' Railroads" because they gave farmers and manufactures a way to reach distant markets with their products.[48]

While stage lines often were basic clay roads, many turnpikes were plank roads, built with pine and oak sills harvested from nearby forests. The construction technique entailed placing the wooden sills lengthwise along an adequately drained roadbed and then covering them crosswise with additional planks. The planks were then covered with gravel or sand, which was hardened

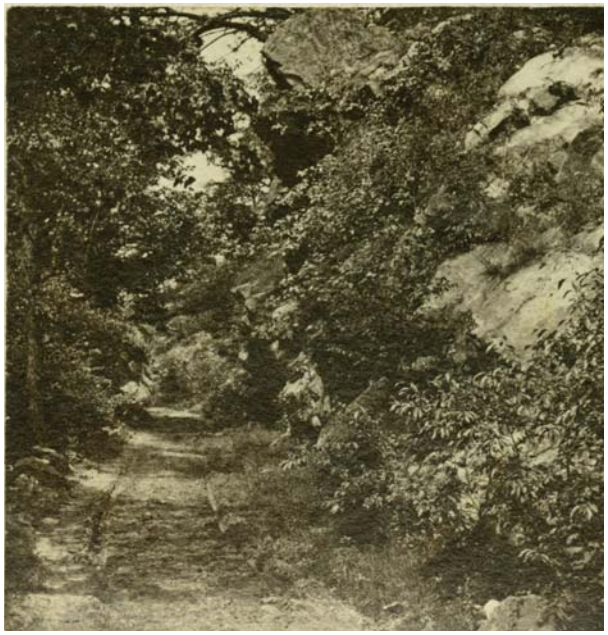


Figure 9: "Stage Road at Still Water," (circa 1869-1873) in the Rufus Morgan Photographic Collection #P0057, North Carolina Collection Photographic Archives, The Wilson Library, University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill.

by horse manure into a firm surface. Although the construction cost was low, most plank roads deteriorated by 1860 and were never rebuilt as railroad travel increased (Figure 10).[49]

Between the 1840s and 1850s, the state of North Carolina chartered 84 companies to build plank roads, including the Greensboro & Deep River Plank Road Company.[50] While it does not appear that any plank roads traversed the Guilford battlefield or the deserted town of Martinville, some of the plank roads extended through nearby towns. For example, the Fayetteville and Western Plank Road, built from 1849 to 1854, was a North Carolina toll route that stretched 129 miles from Fayetteville to High Point (about 20 miles southwest of Greensboro) to Salem and then on to Bethania, where the Moravian farming and craft community existed.[51]

43 John B. Anderson, "Stagecoaches," University of North Carolina Press, http://ncpedia.org/stagecoaches.

44 Ibid.

45 Stockard, *History of Guilford County, North Carolina*, 55.

46 Anderson, "Stagecoaches."

47 Charles H. McArver, "Turnpikes," University of North Carolina Pres, http://ncpedia.org/turnpikes.

48 "Plank Roads," http://historync.org/plankroads.htm.

49 J. Turner, *Laws of the State of North Carolina Passed by the General Assembly at the Session of 1852* (Raleigh, NC: Wesley Whitaker, Jr., 1853); David A. Norris and Robert E. Ireland, "Roads," University of North Carolina Press, http://ncpedia.org/roads.

50 Norris and Ireland, "Roads"; Turner, *Laws of the State of North Carolina Passed by the General Assembly at the Session of 1852*.

51 Troy L. Kickler, "Fayetteville and Western Plank Road," North Carolina History Project, http://www.northcarolinahistory.org/encyclopedia/70/entry.

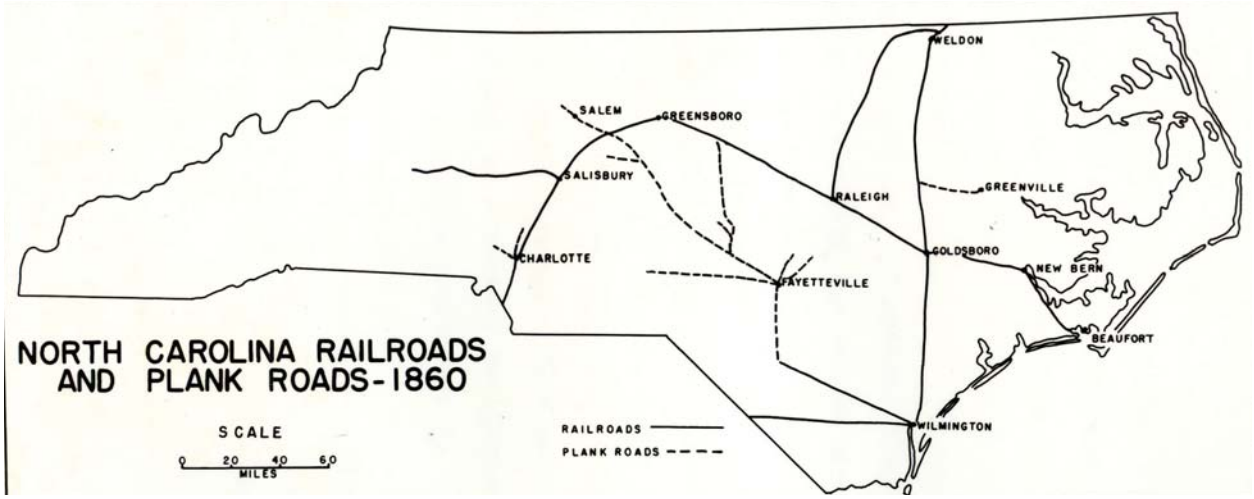


Figure 10: Map of "North Carolina railroads and Plank Roads-1860." in B.E. Logan, An Historical Geographic Study of North Carolina Ports (unpublished Ph.D. Dissertation, University of North Carolina, 1956), 88.

Depictions of Great Salisbury Road

Despite the increase in the development of plank roads in North Carolina in the mid-1800s, the majority of roads across the state were little more than wide clay paths. These often were rutted and dusty when dry and nearly impassable when wet, which made travel very difficult and hindered the movement of goods to market and to rail stations.[52] Great Salisbury Road likely was one of these common clay paths, which had become a subsidiary route following the establishment of Greensboro. Still, the road continued to bisect the former battlefield and provided primary access to the historic site.

In 1848, historian Benson J. Lossing traveled to the Guilford battlefield and produced an illustration that depicted a portion of Great Salisbury Road along the site for his 1853 *Pictorial Field-Book of the Revolution* (Figure 11). In his book, Lossing described his illustration:

> "This view is from the eminence southwest of the site of old Guilford Court House, near the junction of the roads running one north to Bruce's Cross-roads, the other west to Salem. The log-house, partially clap- boarded, seen on the right, was uninhabited. It stands near the woods which intervene between Martinsville [sic] and the plantation of Mr. Hotchkiss [Hoskins]. In the distance, near the center, is seen Martinsville, and between it and the foreground is the rolling vale, its undulations furrowed by many gulleys [sic]. In an open field, on the left of the road, seen in the hollow toward the left of the picture, was the fiercest part of the battle, where Washington charged upon the guards. Upon the ridge extending to the right, through the center of the picture, the second line (Virginians) was posted. The fence running to the right from Martinsville, down into the valley on the right, denotes the Salisbury road."[53]

In 1855, a few years after Lossing's travels, an anonymous author visited the Guilford battleground and published his or her observations in a local newspaper. The visitor's account not only gives details of the topography along Great Salisbury Road at the time, but the vegetation surrounding it. The author explained:

> "From Martinville, in the road towards Salem, you immediately descend a steep hill, at the bottom of which is a deep ravine down which murmurs a gentle stream shaded by alder and other kinds of undergrowth. On crossing this stream you immediately ascend a long sloping hill—From Martinville to near the top of this hill, the land is cleared for about half a mile on both sides of the road, and the brow of the hill is a little over half a mile from Martinville. At this point, the brow of the hill, the road

52 Norris and Ireland, "Roads."

53 Hiatt, *Guilford Courthouse National Military Park Cultural Landscape Report*: 30; Benson J. Lossing, *Pictorial Field-Book of the Revolution*, vol. 2 (New York: Harper Bro, 1860), 595.

Figure 11: Engraving showing a "View of the Battle-ground" from Benson J. Lossing's, Pictorial Field-Book of the Revolution, vol 2 . (New York: Harper Bros., 1860), 389, 405n2. The view is from the eastern sector of the battleground site and shows the town of Martinville (left center) from the junction of Old Salisbury and Bruce Roads.

> enters a dense oak forest and passes through it for about 500 yards. In the latter 200 yards the road gradually begins to descend another hill; so that when you emerge for the forest you have a fine commanding view of a descending open country for about a mile head, and cleared about a mile in width."[54]

Despite the publications in the mid-1800s describing the Guilford battlefield, it is likely that knowledge of the site beyond the immediate local community had generally decreased. This probably was due to the shift in primary travel routes that connected to Greensboro, bypassing the battlefield and the former town of Martinville. By the 1880s, when Judge David Schenck moved to Greensboro, he sought to visit the battlefield and explained that "out of a population of 3,000 people in Greensboro he could not find half a dozen persons who could point him to the scene of the battle."[55] Schenck, however, soon directed the attention of locals to the battlefield after founding the Guilford Battle Ground Company (GBGC) to preserve and improve the site. In 1886, the Cape Fear and Yadkin Valley Railroad (CF&YVRR) made the Guilford battleground more accessible to visitors when it completed a segment of tracks that extended across the site.

Guilford Battle Ground Park in the Context of the Good Roads Movement

In the late 1800s and early 1900s, the development of roads in within and around the Guilford Battle Ground Park occurred in the context of a nationwide campaign to improve roads, also known as the "Good Roads" movement. The movement began in the 1880s when social reformers, recreational bicyclists, and farmers began lobbying for road improvements. While each group had their own reasons, the social reformers promoted better roads to end the isolation of rural life and to provide rural dwellers better access to a variety of social opportunities available in towns and cities. The reformers also pursued higher urban living standards through improved street sanitation. In addition, they expressed their belief that exposure to aesthetics and nature was beneficial and thus advocated for the City Beautiful Movement.[56]

54 Quoted in Guilford Battleground Co., *A Memorial Volume of the Guilford Battle Ground Company* (Greensboro, NC: Reece & Elam Power Job Printers, 1893), 101-03.

55 Quoted in ibid., 6.

56 KSK Architects, "New Jersey Historic Roadway Study," 50.

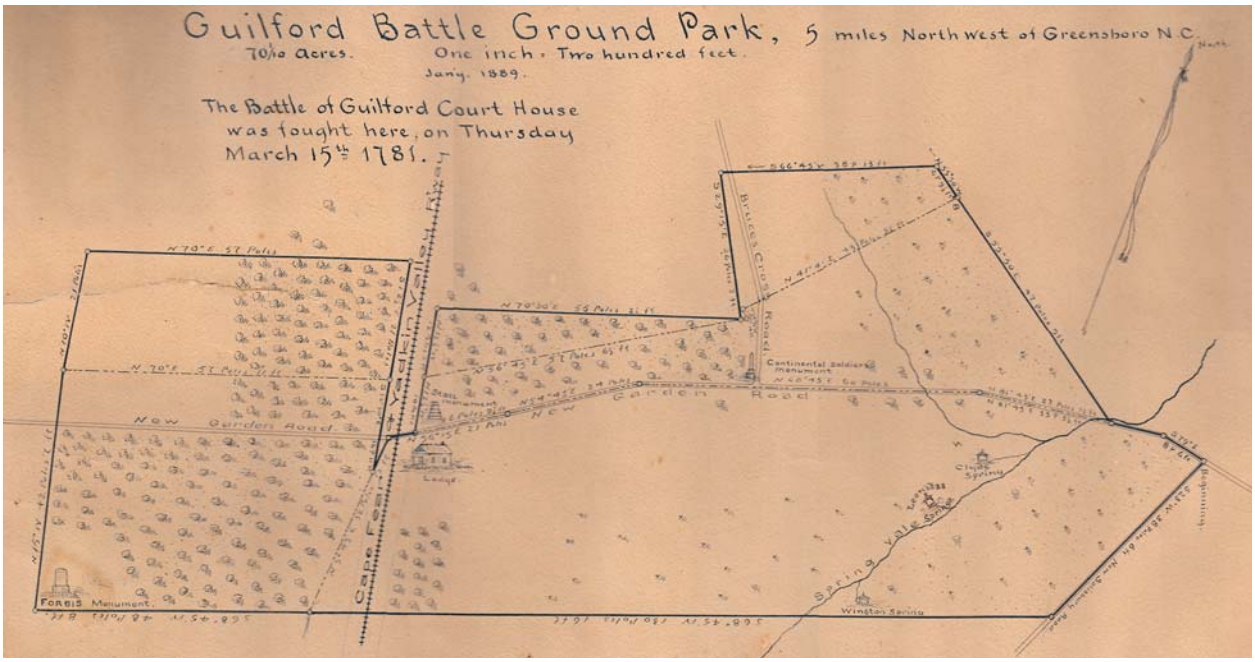


Figure 12: Plan of the "Guilford Battle Ground Park," (January 1889) in National Park Service, Guilford Courthouse National Military Park Archives, Map Collection.

Associated with the establishment of urban parks and monumental bridges, the City Beautiful Movement also promoted better roads fanning outward from urban centers to connect city dwellers with the countryside where they could enjoy exercise, fresh air, sunshine, etc.[57] The GBGC's development of the Guilford Battle Ground Park, about six miles northwest of the city of Greensboro, thus also fits in the context of the City Beautiful Movement. GBGC president Schenck once wrote that he believed the battlefield would "become the park of the city, where its citizens can go for rest and recreation."[58] While the GBGC's improvements at Guilford largely consisted of erecting monuments on the battlefield (see Chapter 3), the company also developed scenic carriage roads throughout the park.

Many travelers of the period reached the Guilford Battle Ground Park by way of the Cape Fear and Yadkin Valley Railroad (CF&YVRR), which completed a section of tracks in 1886 crossing the battlefield and connecting Greensboro with the town of Madison (Figure 12). Despite this new rail connection, workers soon began constructing the roadbed of Battlefield Road (later Old Battleground Road and then Battleground Avenue), part of a public highway directly linking the battlefield with the city of Greensboro.[59] At the 1888 Board of Director's meeting, GBGC president David Schenck explained,

> "The Cape Fear and Yadkin Valley Railroad, which traverses the State North and South, passes through it [the battleground], and the public highway from Greensboro to Summerfield runs parallel with and near to the railroad all the way. This public road is dry and smooth during eight months of the year, the distance from Greensboro to the Battle Ground can easily be driven in fifty minutes.[60]

As the GBGC envisioned transforming the battlefield into an amenity for Greensboro, the company developed carriage roads leading to newly-established features throughout the park. In 1891, Schenck explained "During the last year we have opened out 'Nannie Avenue,' a circuitous

57 Ibid.

58 David Schenck, "To the Stockholders of the Guilford Battle Ground Company, Greensboro, NC, March 15, 1890," in *David Schenck Papers, 1849-1917, Folder 16: Volume 15: 1887-1900: Scan 36* (Southern Historical Collection, The Wilson Library, University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill).

59 Hiatt, *Guilford Courthouse National Military Park Cultural Landscape Report*, 36.

60 David Schenck, "Meeting of the Board of Directors, Greensboro, NC, November 14, 1888 " in *David Schenck Papers, 1849-1917, Folder 16: Volume 15: 1887-1900: Scans 15-16* (Southern Historical Collection, The Wilson Library, University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill).

drive to the Clyde and Leonidas Springs, and set it on either side with a line of 100 beautiful Sugar Maples. . . ."[61] He continued to say, "We have also laid out a drive around the square field of 4 1/2 acres which is designed for a Parade Ground, and lined it also with a double row of Sugar Maples."[62] Additionally, Schenck stated, "The roads and drives about the place have been put in first-rate condition and will be very inviting to visitors during the summer."[63]

By 1895, the GBGC had constructed another new road in the park called Holt Avenue, which connected Old Battleground Road with New Salisbury Road. A newspaper article explained, the road "is about five hundred yards in length and has been opened on a straight line twenty feet wide" and included an allee of sugar maples, in keeping with the GBGC's other recent roads (Figure 13).[64] The article further stated that when the trees mature "the vista will be most attractive and striking. The grand Holt Monument surmounted by the splendid statue of Major Joseph Winston, will be in the centre of this avenue at its eastern terminus."[65]

An 1892 plan of the Guilford Battle Ground Park shows the development of Holt Avenue, as well as others roads from this period (Figure 14). In 1896, Schenck wrote, "The old roads, over which a generation traveled more than a century ago, have been discovered and graded and transformed into easy-going avenues."[66] That same year, Schenck suggested, "The avenues have all been named and

Figure 13: "Holt Avenue." (undated) in National Park Service, Guilford Courthouse National Military Park Archives, Photograph Collection, File No. GUCO 2254.

sign-boards put along them. They bear the names of our heroes: Sumner, Dixon, Davie, and Winston. Holt Avenue, about three-eighths of a mile long, called for our benefactor, Gov. T. M. Holt. . . .[67]

While the roads in the park may have remained in relatively good condition due to lighter usage, increased recreational travel, brought about by the Duryea Brothers' 1893 introduction of the first gasoline-powered automobile, soon deteriorated public highways, such as the one in Guilford. A 1898 local newspaper article stated, ". . .the public highway leading to the Battle Ground is in a most neglected condition. It has received no work for a year . . . The Battle Ground Company made a special appeal to the county commissioners to repair the road but no assistance was given. There is not even an overseer on it."[68] Such complaints about roads were not unique to Guilford, but had become quite common throughout many states as automobile usage increased. This situation not

61 David Schenck, "Annual Report of President Schenck, March 14, 1891 " in *David Schenck Papers, 1849-1917, Folder 16: Volume 15: 1887-1900: Scan 49* (Southern Historical Collection, The Wilson Library, University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill).

62 Ibid.

63 Ibid.

64 "Beautiful Avenue at the Battle Ground, newspaper clipping from the *Greensboro Record*," in *David Schenck Papers, 1849-1917, Folder 19: Volume 18: 1893-1897: Scan 194* (Southern Historical Collection, The Wilson Library, University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill, March 29, 1895).

65 Ibid.

66 David Schenck, "President Schenck's Report, newspaper clipping from March 15, 1896," in *David Schenck Papers, 1849-1917, Folder 16: Volume 15: 1887-1900: Scan 129* (Southern Historical Collection, The Wilson Library, University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill).

67 Ibid.

68 Newspaper clipping from the *The Telegram*, in *David Schenck Papers, 1849-1917, Folder 20: Volume 19: 1898-1901: Scan 187* (Southern Historical Collection, The Wilson Library, University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill, March 24, 1898).

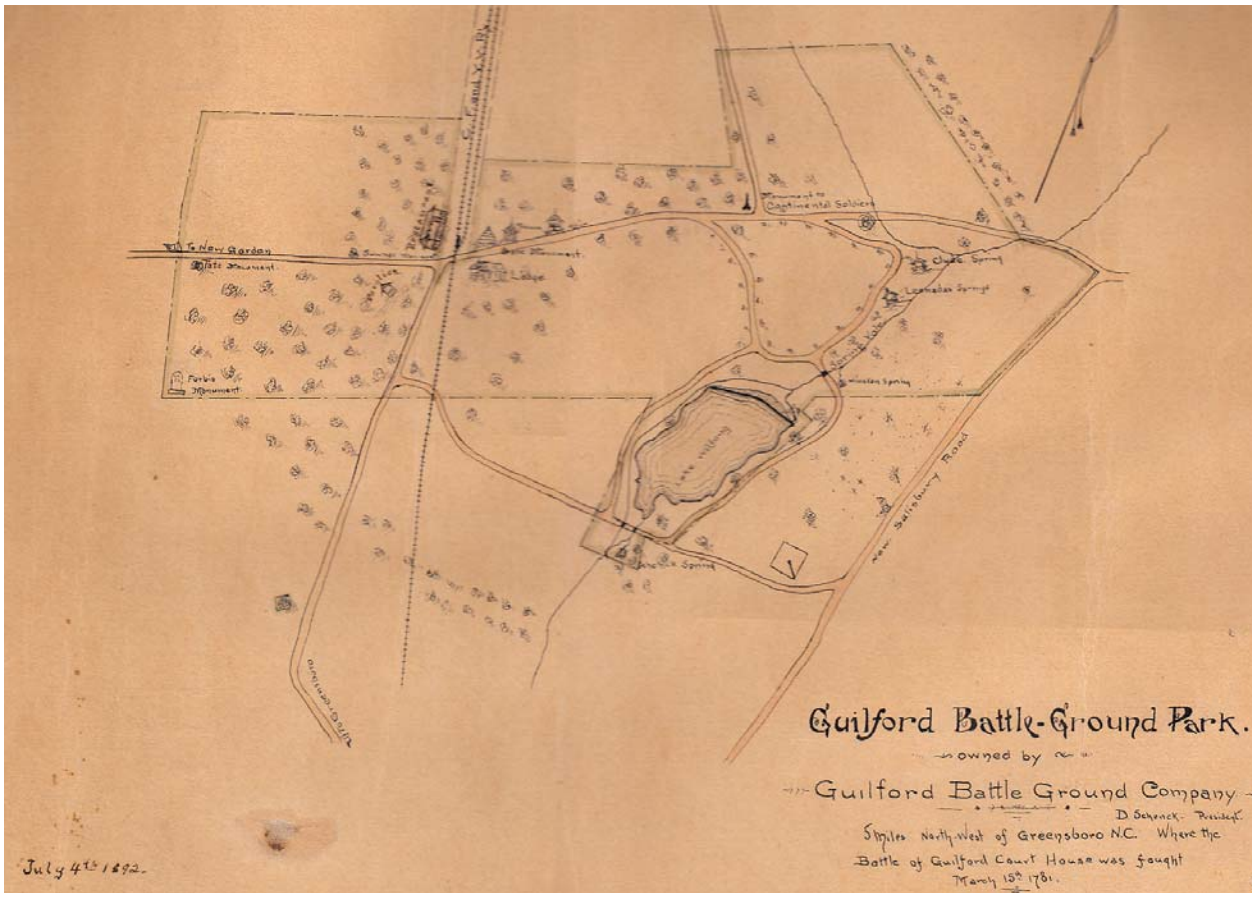


Figure 14: Plan of the "Guilford Battle Ground Park," (July 4, 1892) in National Park Service, Guilford Courthouse National Military Park Archives, Map Collection.

only instigated an overall need for improved road surfaces and durability, but also the emergence of professional highway engineers and the allocation of public funding for road building and maintenance, which the Good Roads movement helped establish.[69]

By the late 1890s, the federal government initiated an "object lesson" roads program to build short stretches of "good" roads on or near state experimental farms that would "serve to instruct the roadmakers, to educate the visiting public and to improve the economic administration of the farms."[70] Shortly thereafter, the Good Roads campaign reached the state of North Carolina with the 1899 formation of the Buncombe County Roads Association in Asheville.[71] The Good Roads movement continued to spread across the state and on March 13, 1901, the General Assembly of North Carolina authorized the Commissioner of Agriculture and the State Geologist to act as a state highway commission. The commission was aimed at "furnishing local authorities with information, specifications and plans for the improvements of roads and bridges."[72]

In February 1902, leaders of the Good Roads Association on the local and county level, along with state geologist Joseph A. Holmes, founded the North Carolina Good Roads Association (NCGRA) in Raleigh to promote the building and maintenance of the state's roads and

69 KSK Architects, "New Jersey Historic Roadway Study," 50.

70 Richard F. Weingroff, "A Maximum of Good Results: Martin Dodge and the Good Roads Trains," U.S. Department of Transportation, Federal Highway Administration, https://www.fhwa.dot.gov/highwayhistory/dodge/02.cfm.

71 Robert E. Ireland and Wiley J. Williams, "Good Roads Campaign," University of North Carolina Press, http://ncpedia.org/good-roads-campaign.

72 E. L. Powers Company, "North Carolina," *Good Roads Magazine* 8 (1907), 4.

Figure 15: "Delegates in Attendance Upon the North Carolina Good Roads Convention," in State Library of North Carolina, Government & Heritage Library. Henry B. Varner, Southern Good Roads (Lexington, N.C.: Southern Good Roads Pub. Co.) August 1917 Issue, 5.

Figure 16: Photograph of "A County Chain Gang at Work," in State Library of North Carolina, Government & Heritage Library. Henry B. Varner, Southern Good Roads (Lexington, N.C.: Southern Good Roads Pub. Co.) March 1916 Issue, 8.

bridges (Figure 15).[73] Soon, thousands of North Carolinians began forming local groups, such as the Guilford County Good Roads Association, to urge their county governments and the state to finance highway improvements.[74] By 1905, the laws of North Carolina authorized the state penitentiary's board of directors "to furnish to the authorities of any county in the State, convicts, not exceeding twenty-five in number during any one year, for the purpose of working the public roads in said county" (Figure 16).[75]

Because of the phenomenal growth of the automobile industry, leadership in the Good Roads movement shifted from bicycle owners to automobile owners after 1900. Before the turn of the century, the majority of tourists consisted of upper-class citizens, although the affordability of automobiles in the 1900s soon made weekend leisure travel possible for members of the middle class. Until the widespread introduction of the automobile in 1904, gravel pavements, which were appropriate for relatively light wagon and carriage traffic, dominated road improvement practice. Road historian, Spencer Miller, suggests that "improved roads of a higher type than water-bound macadam were so few that they were in effect only experimental" before the large-scale use of automobiles.[76]

As traffic volume increased and growing numbers of Americans began touring the countryside, a significant problem occurred as passing traffic continually stirred up the dust that served as the binder between stones in the roadbed. Thus during the Good Roads era, researchers conducted many experiments with paving surfaces yet they gave little attention to new approaches to structural composition or alignment.[77] During this period, workers used two general construction methods: (1) surface construction, where a surface material was applied on an untreated road and (2) trench construction, which entailed excavating the roadbed before applying the paving material. Roadbeds constructed during this era often had a similar profile to the old turnpike roads, which were high in the center and tapered down to the shoulders. Rural roads often consisted of only one lane, with an eight-foot wide gravel or stone surface, forcing vehicles to pull over onto the shoulders to pass.

While road improvement projects from the first decade of the 1900s often kept circuitous routes intact, it was not long before supporters of the Good Roads movement began advocating for new,

73 Miss H. M. Berry, "The North Carolina Highway Commission," *Southern Good Roads* (1915), 8.

74 During this period, residents of Guilford County formed the Guilford County Good Roads Association. Henry B. Varner, *Southern Good Roads* (1911).

75 E. L. Powers Company, "Convict Labor Laws and Highway Interest," *Good Roads Magazine* 8, no. 12 (1907), 413.

76 KSK Architects, "New Jersey Historic Roadway Study," 54.

77 Ibid., 56.

Figure 17: Map of "The central Highway of North Carolina," in State Library of North Carolina, Government & Heritage Library. Henry B. Varner, Southern Good Roads (Lexington, N.C.: Southern Good Roads Pub. Co.) May 1911 Issue, 20.

more direct routes. By 1911, advocates in North Carolina promoted the idea of a central highway that would contain 460 miles of continuous public roads stretching across the state from Beaufort harbor on the east coast to the Tennessee line in the mountainous west (Figure 17).[78] The goal was to link "all the counties together with a comprehensive system of good roads that furnish easy avenues for neighborly intercourse between the peoples of all their towns and cities and farming sections."[79] The improving connectivity among counties likely had an impact on the Guilford Battle Ground Park as better roads brought more travelers through the area and thus increased visitation to the site. During this Good Roads era, roads became appreciated for their recreational value and motor touring became a popular activity.

Around 1913, Joseph T. Morehead, Jr., GBGC acting secretary, discussed the company's anticipation of the construction of a sand-clay road across the battlefield. Morehead explained:

> "The building of this road will be of almost inestimable value,-particularly to the many visitors who go to the battle ground and whose time is limited, requiring them to go over the grounds in a carriage or an automobile. At the present time it is practically impossible to go across the grounds from one side to the other in an automobile."[80]

The following year, Morehead stated that "a road about 1 ¼ mile in length, running through the grounds, has been completed."[81] However, rather than being constructed of sand-clay, the road was built of clay and crushed granite. The North Carolina Granite Corporation at Mt. Airy provided "about 15 carloads of crushed granite at actual cost" for the job, while the Southern Railway issued "a special freight rate for the shipments."[82] The Guilford County Road force completed the work of grading and constructing the road, which was without cost to the GBGC. Morehead appeared pleased with the results, believing "it is now possible, even in the worst Winter weather, for visitors to go from one side of the field to the other in an automobile."[83]

78 Edward E. Briton, "The North Carolina Central HIghway," *Southern Good Roads* (1911), 20.

79 "Good Roads Notes in Brief," *Southern Good Roads* (1916), 24.

80 "Annual Report," in *David Schenck Papers, 1849-1917, Folder 17: Volume 16: 1911-1917: Scan 48* (Southern Historical Collection, The Wilson Library, University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill, 1914).

81 It is unclear, but the stretch of road being described is likely that of new Gard (previously Great Salisbury) Road as it bisects the battlefield. Jr. James T. Morehead, "Minutes of the Annual Meeting of the Directors of the Guilford Battle Ground Company," in *David Schenck Papers, 1849-1917, Folder 17: Volume 16: 1911-1917: Scan 61* (Southern Historical Collection, The Wilson Library, University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill, 1915).

82 Ibid.

83 Ibid.

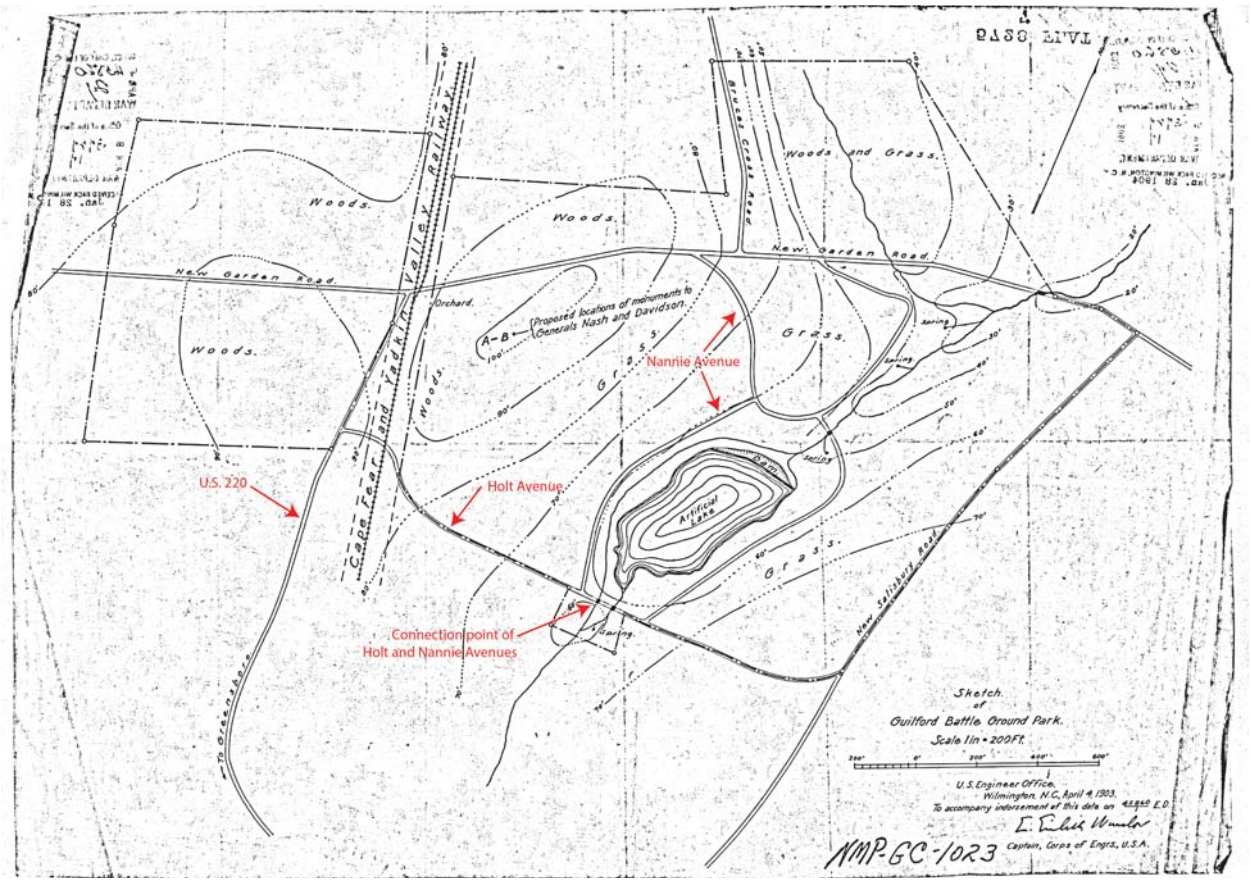


Figure 18: "Sketch of Guilford Battle Ground Park," (U.S. Engineer Office, Wilmington , NC, April 4, 1903) in National Park Service, Guilford Courthouse National Military Park Archives, Map Collection (Red annotations and arrows added by The Jaeger Company, July 15, 2015).

While Morehead provides a general account of some of the roadway changes characteristic of this period, some of the maps from the early 1900s provide additional evidence of changes to circulation patterns in the park. While a 1903 "Sketch of Guilford Battle Ground Park" does not show a bypass (West Loop Road, also First Line Road) along the western boundary of the park, the road is present on a 1920 USGS soil map of North Carolina and provided access to the first line area (Figure 18 and Figure 19).[84] A comparison of the two maps also shows that the GBGC realigned segments of New Garden Road and Nannie Avenue during this period. They rerouted segment of New Garden Road south to incorporate the northeast section of the original Nannie Avenue. While the eastern part of Nannie Avenue originally extended northwest before its intersection with New Garden Road, they realigned Nannie Avenue to extend northward in a straighter course before it reconnected with New Garden Road. Another change during this period included the GBGC realigning the portion of Nannie Avenue along the southwestern edge of Lake Wilfong, so that Nannie Avenue and Holt Avenue no longer intersected.

By 1916, the public highway linking the Guilford Battle Ground Park with Greensboro had begun to deteriorate. The previous year, the Division of Road Economics of the United States Office of Public Roads and Rural Engineering reported that the number of motor cars, including commercial vehicles, had increased by 5,000 percent since 1905.[85] Such increased traffic contributed to the deterioration of the public highway crossing through Guilford, as well as others across the state. Morehead explained, "It is much to be desired that the road to the Battle Ground from Greensboro may at some dearly date be constructed of

84 The USGS map is not entirely accurate as it omits known roads, such as Holt Avenue, along the southern boundary of the park.

85 In 1905, there were 48,000 registered motor cars and by 1915 there were 2,445,664."Big Increase in Motor Traffic," *Southern Good Roads* (1916), 10.

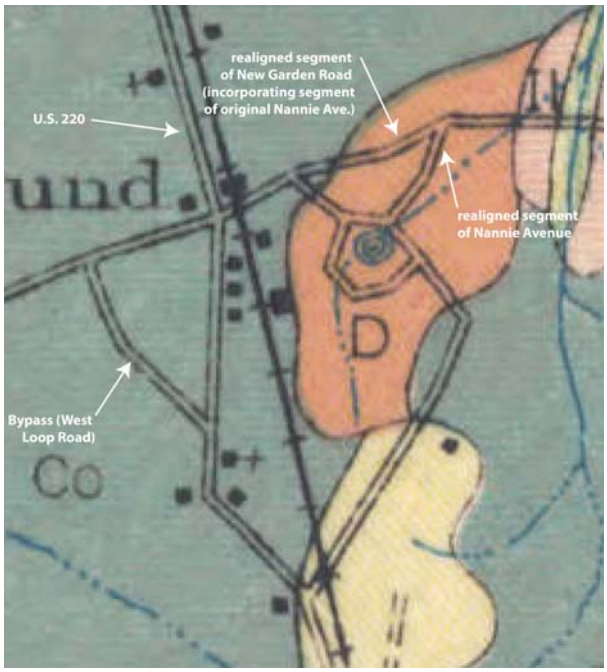


Figure 19: Detail of a "USGS Soil Survey of North Carolina," (1920). (Red annotations and arrows added by The Jaeger Company, July 15, 2015).

concrete. The present road is beginning to wear, and the new concrete road would make the Battle Ground the most popular drive in the County."[86]

In 1916, the Federal Aid Road Act allocated $75 million for building roads.[87] That same year, Guilford County commissioners voted to appropriate $125,000 for the construction of 15 miles of concrete road between Greensboro and High Point. An article suggested that "when the whole is completed it will be the finest road in the state."[88] Highway engineer D. Tucker Brown oversaw the concrete and bituminous road work occurring in Guilford County at the time.[89] By August 1916, Guilford County was planning "one of the biggest road celebrations ever held in that state on the occasion of the opening to the public of concrete road."[90]Another article explained the desire for further connectivity among neighboring counties, stating that "Randolph county wants to be linked to Guilford and Davidson, so a road has been completed to Denton, on the Davidson line, and a fine gravel road is now being finished to High Point."[91] The author also suggested the construction of "another fine road to Greensboro, by way of Randleman."[92]

By November 1916, Guilford was touted as "one of the leading counties in the state and South in the matter of improved highways. Since 1903, Guilford County had gained "approximately 120 miles of macadam, 150 miles of sand-clay and 20 miles of concrete-asphalt roads" (Figure 20 and Figure 21)[93] It is possible that these improvements in the county, as well as those that occurred across the state, contributed to Congress's favorable response in 1916 to a bill introduced by Charles M. Stedman requesting the establishment of Guilford Courthouse National Military Park. Indeed, with new modes of transportation and improved roadways, visitation to the park would increase further.

The Establishment of the Guilford Courthouse National Military Park and the Highway Era

The invention of the automobile and its widespread availability gave most Americans "a new sense of freedom, a sense of adventure, and a means of escape not previously known to the general public," which "translated into a greater use of roadways, suburbanization, shifts in economic and travel patterns, and a new demand

86 Jr. James T. Morehead, "Minutes of the Annual Meeting of the Directors of the Guilford Battle Ground Company," in *David Schenck Papers, 1849-1917, Folder 17: Volume 16: 1911-1917: Scan 72* (Southern Historical Collection, The Wilson Library, University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill, 1916).

87 P. J. Hugill, "Good Roads and the Automobile in the United States 1880-1929," *Geographical Review* 72, no. 3 (1982), 327-49.

88 E. E. Witherspoon, "Road Development in Piedmont Carolina," *Southern Good Roads* (1919), 7, 12.

89 "Office Instruction," *Southern Good Roads* 8, no. 2 (1916), 12.

90 "Celebrate Concrete Road Opening," *Southern Good Roads* 8, no. 8 (1916), 4.

91 "Piedmont Road Building," *Southern Good Roads* 8, no. 3 (1916), 16.

92 Ibid.

93 "A Million For Concrete: Guilford County, North Carolina, Plans to Follow Up Mileage Built With a County System of Permanent Roads," *Southern Good Roads* 8, no. 11 (1916), 12.

Figure 20: Photograph of a "Beautiful Macadam road, Guilford County, North Carolina," in State Library of North Carolina, Government & Heritage Library. Henry B. Varner, Southern Good Roads (Lexington, N.C.: Southern Good Roads Pub. Co.) May 1912 Issue, Vol. 5,. No. 2, 5.

Figure 21: Photograph of "A Stretch of Hard Surface Road Between Greensboro and High Point, Guilford County, North Carolina," in State Library of North Carolina, Government & Heritage Library. Henry B. Varner, Southern Good Roads (Lexington, N.C.: Southern Good Roads Pub. Co.) July 1919 Issue, 9.

for leisure travel."[94] These nationwide trends appear to correlate with the development of the Guilford Battle Ground Park into a National Military Park.

On March 2, 1917, Congress signed into law the Guilford Act (39 Stat. 996) establishing the Guilford Courthouse National Military Park (GUCO NMP) and transferring ownership from the Guilford Battle Ground Company to the War Department. That year, Paul Schenck, who continued to serve as the GBGC president, advocated for more road improvements, suggesting that "the construction by the county of…a handsome boulevard leading from Greensboro to the National Military Park would make it one of the most attractive and interesting places to visitors in the south."[95] Certainly, Schenck saw the new military park as providing Americans, particularly Southerners, with a destination for leisure travel.

The period in which the War Department oversaw Guilford occurred at a time of increased highway development throughout North Carolina and other states. Unlike earlier eras, when roads were essentially overlaid onto the existing landforms, roads of this period more often incorporated cut-and-fill construction and thus were more highly engineered.[96] In 1919, construction of the North Carolina state highway progressed and an article explained: "There is almost unprecedented activity in many counties in every section of the state. … Stokes and Guilford… are very active in road building efforts.[97] Two years later, the NCGRA spearheaded a successful lobbying campaign for the General Assembly's passage of a $50 million road-building bond issue, which resulted in the modern state highway system.[98] Subsequently, the Federal Aid Highway Act of 1921 provided additional funding for road construction.[99]

During this period of highway development, the City of Greensboro more than quadrupled in size. It expanded from a mere four square miles to over seventeen in1923, which pushed the city limits to within three miles of GUCO NMP. On May 31, 1924, the Committee on Military Affairs submitted a report recommending Congress pass a bill (S. 2475) "to authorize the Secretary of War to convey to the States in which located Government owned or controlled approach roads to national cemeteries and national military parks, and for

94 KSK Architects, "New Jersey Historic Roadway Study," 79.

95 Paul W. Schenck, "To the Stockholders and Directors of the Guilford Battle Ground Co.," in *David Schenck Papers, 1849-1917, Folder 17: Volume 16: 1911-1917: Scan 91-92* (Southern Historical Collection, The Wilson Library, University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill).

96 KSK Architects, "New Jersey Historic Roadway Study," 81.

97 "Good Roads Notes Gathered Here and There," *Southern Good Roads* (1919), 18.

98 Ireland and Williams, "Good Roads Campaign."

99 Hugill, "Good Roads and the Automobile in the United States 1880-1929," 327-49.

other purposes."[100] This measure was intended to address increasing local traffic on such roads as transfer would "bring the whole road system in such particular localities under one head and… bring about economies of management and upkeep."[101] Subsequently, in 1925, the state paved present-day Old Battleground Road (formerly Battleground Avenue and Battle Field Road). Soon thereafter, officials in Washington incorporated the thoroughfare into the federal highway system, designating it Highway 220.[102]

While the War Department oversaw the management of GUCO NMP from 1917 to 1933, Edward E. Mendenhall served as resident commissioner of the park for 11 years. During his tenure, Mendenhall sought to improve circulation for visitors through the park by constructing concrete walks around features, such as in the landscape surrounding the Nathanael Greene Monument (Figure 22). With increased automobile travel, Mendenhall also brought about the paving of park roads with a top course of asphalt and aggregate (Figure 23). A map from 1930 shows the addition of a "Local Loop Road" (or North Loop Road), which traversed a field that the War Department interpreted as the site of the action at the third line of battle.

The year 1930 marked many changes to the road networks in areas of the former battlefield outside of the boundary of the national military park. At this time, the city of Greensboro established Forest Lawn Cemetery on the property south of Holt Avenue. Subsequently, in 1933, the Civil Work's Administration (CWA), an offshoot of President Franklin D. Roosevelt's New Deal, began constructing Greensboro Country Park, a 79-acre recreational area that adjoined both the cemetery and GUCO NMP. Among the many features the CWA constructed at Greensboro Country Park

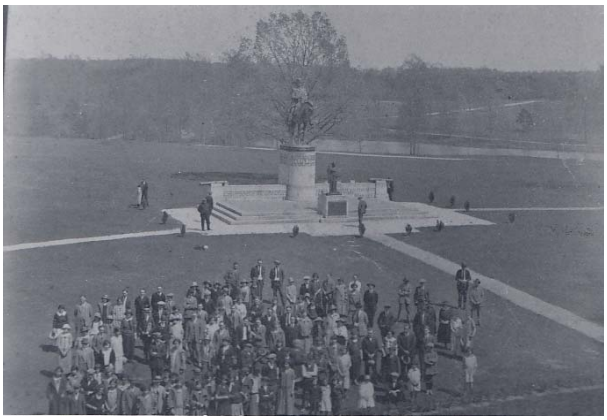


Figure 22: Photograph of the "Nathanael Greene Monument," (April 21, 1924) in National Park Service, Guilford Courthouse National Military Park Archives, Photograph Collection, File No. GUCO 1763.

were three man-made lakes, an "all weather sand clay" road circumscribing the lakes, and several recreational and maintenance facilities.[103] Following the 1934 completion of Greensboro Country Park, improvements on the former battlefield shifted back to areas within the national military park.

Road Improvements at Guilford Courthouse National Military Park and the Great Depression

The New Deal was a series of domestic programs enacted in the United States between 1933 and 1938, in addition to several that occurred later. The New Deal included both laws passed by Congress as well as presidential executive orders during Franklin D. Roosevelt's first term as president (1933–37). Among the programs started by the New Deal was the Public Works Administration (PWA), established on June 16, 1933, by Title II of the National Industrial Recovery Act (NIRA). The PWA was an expansive, Federal government spending program that aimed to create jobs while improving the nation's infrastructure. The PWA budgeted several billion dollars for the construction of public works as a means of providing employment, stabilizing purchasing power, improving public welfare, and contributing

100 U.S. Congress. House, Committee on Military Affairs, and Joseph Lister Hill, "Approach roads to national cemeteries and national military parks," in *U.S. Congressional Serial Set* U.S. Congress. House. Committee on Military Affairs (1924).

101 Ibid.

102 Hiatt, *Guilford Courthouse National Military Park Cultural Landscape Report*: 48; Thomas E. Baker, "Redeemed from Oblivion: An Administrative History of Guilford Courthouse National Military Park," (National Park Service, U.S. Department of the Interior, 1995), 22, 24.

103 C. W. Smedburg, "Description of Greensboro Country Park as Developed by the Civil Works Administration, 1933-1934," (Greensboro Country Park, Greensboro, NC, 1934).

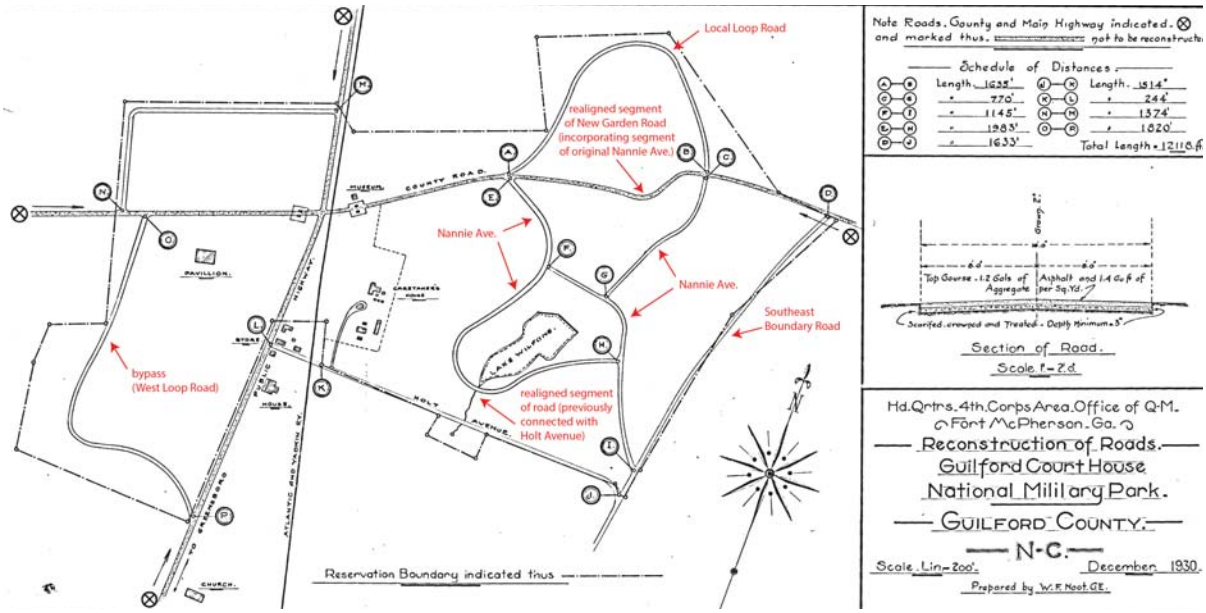


Figure 23: "Reconstruction of Roads Guilford Courthouse National Military Park," (December 1930, prepared by W.F. Noot, General Engineer) in National Park Service, Guilford Courthouse National Military Park Archives, Map Collection (Red annotations and arrows added by The Jaeger Company, July 14, 2015).

to a revival of American industry.[104]

Between July 1933 and March 1939, the PWA funded the construction of more than 34,000 projects, including airports, schools, hospitals, sewage disposal plants, electricity-generating dams, aircraft carriers, as well as thousands of miles of roads. Among some of the well-known buildings and structures that resulted from PWA workers are the following: the state capitol building in Oregon; the highway linking the Florida Keys to the mainland United States; the Bay Bridge in San Francisco; the Federal Trade Commission Building in Washington, D.C.; the city hall in Kansas City; Outer Drive Bridge in Chicago; the Ellis Island Ferry Building; Washington National Airport; and the Grand Coulee Dam in Washington state. While the federal government solely built some of the PWA projects, others were completed in partnership with local governments. The PWA's main purpose was to help the country come out of the Great Depression and to provide work for the unemployed. However, many of the PWA projects also created a useful and sometimes beautiful infrastructure for Americans, much of which remains in use today.[105]

In the summer of 1933, President Franklin Delano Roosevelt signed Executive Order 6166, thereby transferring all national military parks, including Guilford Courthouse, to the National Park Service (NPS).[106] While tight budgets during the War Department-era restricted improvements to the park, NPS officials were able to oversee new projects in the midst of the Great Depression as the PWA awarded $97,000 for internal improvements at GUCO NMP.[107] While the PWA was part of a greater initiative designed to speed up the nation's

104 J. Hanson, "Public Works Administration: 1933-1941," The Social Welfare History Project, http://www.socialwelfarehistory.com/eras/public-works-administration-2/; Catherine Winter, "Bridge to Somewhere: Public Works Administration," PBS, American RadioWorks, http://www.pbs.org/wnet/blueprintamerica/reports/profiles-from-the-recession/report-bridge-to-somewhere-public-works-administration/693/; Jonathon Murray, "Public Works Administration," North Carolina History Project, http://www.northcarolinahistory.org/commentary/286/entry.

105 Hanson, "Public Works Administration: 1933-1941"; Winter, "Bridge to Somewhere: Public Works Administration"; Murray, "Public Works Administration".

106 Thomas A. Sullivan, *Laws Relating to the National Park Service, Supplement I* (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1944), 203-07. For more on the transfer and significance of Executive Order 6166, see , Harlan D. Unrau and G. Frank Williss, *Administrative History: Expansion of the National Park Service in the 1930s* (Denver: National Park Service, Denver Service Center, 1983).

107 Hiatt, *Guilford Courthouse National Military Park Cultural Landscape Report*, 49.; "Guilford's Historic Site Will Be Brought Up to National Level," Greensboro Daily news, October 19, 1933; "Program at Battleground Is To Start in Next Few Days," Greensboro Daily news, March 15, 1934).

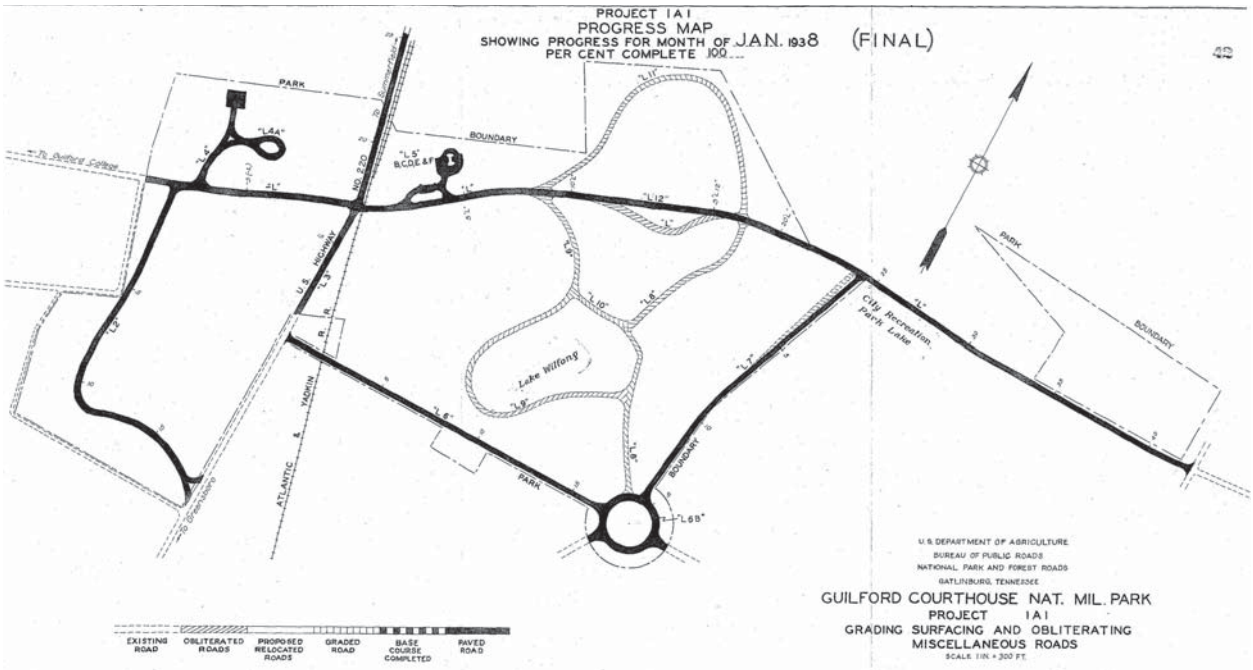


Figure 24: "Grading Surfacing and Obliterating Miscellaneous Roads" (Progress Map showing progress for Month of January 1938 with 100% complete) in National Park Service, Guilford Courthouse National Military Park Archives, Map Collection.

economic recovery, it also encompassed extensive projects aimed to improve various other national parks at the time.

In 1934, the NPS began constructing a superintendent's residence and a group of utility buildings in the northwest section of GUCO NMP, which entailed adding access drives. Subsequently the NPS began a series of additional projects, such as Project LD 14 to construct an outdoor amphitheater near the Nathanael Greene Monument and Project 1A1 to implement a "park highway system."[108] At the time of Project 1A1, New Garden Road (locally known as East West Road) extended west over a paved highway to Guilford College and east over a graded road to local farms and carried the majority of tourist and local traffic.[109] US 220 (now Old Battleground Avenue) carried heavy interstate traffic and drivers traveling between Greensboro and towns north of the park (Figure 24). The East West Road (not shown on the map) was the bypass that primarily served local traffic and was considered "a scenic road in the park."[110] Holt Avenue also carried local and scenic traffic while a circle intersection around the Winston monument added to its eastern end provided connections to the adjacent city-owned recreational park and cemetery.[111]

The description for Project 1A1 stated the work "consisted of grading, draining, the construction of water-bound macadam base, course and of Type H-1 cold asphalt concrete pavement, the removal of the dam at Lake Wilfong, the obliteration of designated existing roads and the removal of two stone arches" commemorating Davidson and Nash because their narrow passageways did not allow for two-way traffic.[112] The obliteration of roads for Project 1A1 included those associated with the GBGC that the NPS believed had "no historical significance and…considered superfluous in the limited park area."[113] While the NPS completely obliterated North Loop Road and Nannie Avenue, it retained Holt Avenue, Southeast Boundary Road (which connected Holt Avenue to New Garden Road, and West Loop Road), and Winston Circle

108 U.S. Department of Agriculture and Bureau of Public Roads, "Final Construction Report Project 1A1 Guilford Courthouse National Military Park Network of Roads within the Park," (1938), 23.

109 Ibid.

110 Ibid.

111 Ibid., 24.

112 Ibid., 23.

113 Ibid., 24.

Figure 25: Photograph of "Workers rolling in macadam base course along US 220," (1937) in National Park Service, Guilford Courthouse National Military Park Archives, Photograph Collection, File No. 2340.

Figure 26: Photograph of "Workers constructing a grouted rubble gutter along New Garden Road," (1937) in National Park Service, Guilford Courthouse National Military Park Archives, Photograph Collection, GUCO File No. 2347.

(Figure 24 and Figure 18).[114]

Paving of the existing roads retained at GUCO NMP incorporated improved techniques and high quality materials of the time that were sourced from a variety of locations. The water-bound macadam roads included a base course of crushed stone from the Stokesdale Quarry of the Raleigh Granite Company.[115] Workers used tar for the prime coat, which came from the Barrett Company of Philadelphia, Pennsylvania. Stone for the "type H-1 cold asphalt concrete pavement liquefier type" derived from a quarry near Eastgate Virginia, owned by the Rockydale Quarries Corporation of Roanoke, Virginia. The Atlantic Refining Company of Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, produced the asphalt liquefier. The Standard Oil Company of New Jersey provided the majority of asphalt cement for the project and the James River Hydrating Supply Company of Buchanan, Virginia, sourced the hydrated lime. The Barrett Company produced the mix at their plant near Roanoke, Virginia.[116]

In addition to the improved roadbeds, Project 1A1 also included the creation of a series of various sized box culverts to assist in drainage (Figure 26 and Figure 27). The box culverts were constructed of "class B masonry side walls, class A masonry headwalls, class D concrete cover slabs and grouted rubble gutter culvert pavement."[117] The granite for the culverts came from the Wolf Island Quarry of the Raleigh Granite Co., located near Reidsville, North Carolina. However, the granite quarry near Mt. Airy, North Carolina, which had a long standing relationship with the park after providing much of the stone for its monuments, sourced the coping stones used over the culvert openings. Workers used "Lehigh Portland" cement for the culverts, which came from Fordwick, Virginia, as well as steel reinforcements supplied by the Truscon Steel Company of Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania. In addition, workers used concrete and mortar sand that came from the Aberdeen Sandy Company of Aberdeen, North Carolina, as well as a concrete coarse aggregate (stone) from the Raleigh Granite Company's quarry at Stokesdale, North Carolina.[118]

The box culverts at GUCO NMP also incorporated reinforced concrete pipes from the Gray Concrete Pipe Co., Thomasville, North Carolina, as well as cast iron frames and gratings from the Greensboro Foundry Company of Greensboro, North Carolina. Other pipes installed at the park in conjunction with Project 1A1 included vitrified clay pipes from the Pomona Terra-Cotta Company of Pomona, North Carolina, and cast iron culvert pipes manufactured by the Lynchburg Foundry Company of Radford, Virginia.[119] Aside from the box culverts, PWA workers also improved the roads and drainage systems at GUCO NMP by constructing concrete shoulder curbs, in addition to integrating rustic guard rails from local red cedar timbers for some sections.[120] Figure 28 and Figure 29 show New Garden Road during and after its

114 Ibid.

115 Ibid., 30.

116 Ibid., 31.

117 Ibid., 29.

118 Ibid.

119 Ibid., 47.

120 Ibid., 33.

Figure 27: Photograph of "Culvert construction under New Garden Road in front of third line positions," (1937) in National Park Service, Guilford Courthouse National Military Park Archives, Photograph Collection, File No. 2347.

Figure 28: Photograph of "Work along New Garden Road," (undated) in National Park Service, Guilford Courthouse National Military Park Archives, Photograph Collection, File No. 2194. Note the Administration Building in the background on the left side of the picture.

Figure 29: Photograph of "Improved roadbed and a pipe headwall along New Garden Road near the Administration Building," (1938) in National Park Service, Guilford Courthouse National Military Park Archives, Photograph Collection, File No. 1987. The view is captured from a point similar to the previous picture.

improvements by the PWA.

Changes at Guilford Courthouse National Military Park and World War II

Following the New Deal-era improvements at GUCO NMP, it appears that the NPS focused on acquiring additional lands to preserve more of the core battlefield as suburban development encroached on the park's boundary. This land acquisition program began in 1940 under the direction of GUCO NMP Superintendent William P. Brandon. America's involvement in World War II, however, halted Brandon's plans to expand the park. It appears that the only major improvement to the park's road systems during this period was the realignment of the stretch of US 220 that bisected the park to its current, more western location (Battleground Avenue) (Figure 30). As attempts by the NPS in the mid-1930s to secure this road's right-of-way were unsuccessful, this change came under the direction of the North Carolina State Highway and Public Works Commission. Following the realignment, the old course was downgraded from a federal highway to become State Road 2340, which locals dubbed "Old Battleground Road."[121] This change occurred at a time when motor touring had decreased and automobile travel primarily served more functional purposes like commuting to and from work rather than for recreation.[122]

Following the end of World War II, the influx of soldier's returning home resulted in increased suburbanization. This situation affected the road

121 Hiatt, *Guilford Courthouse National Military Park Cultural Landscape Report*, 57.

122 KSK Architects, "New Jersey Historic Roadway Study," 82.

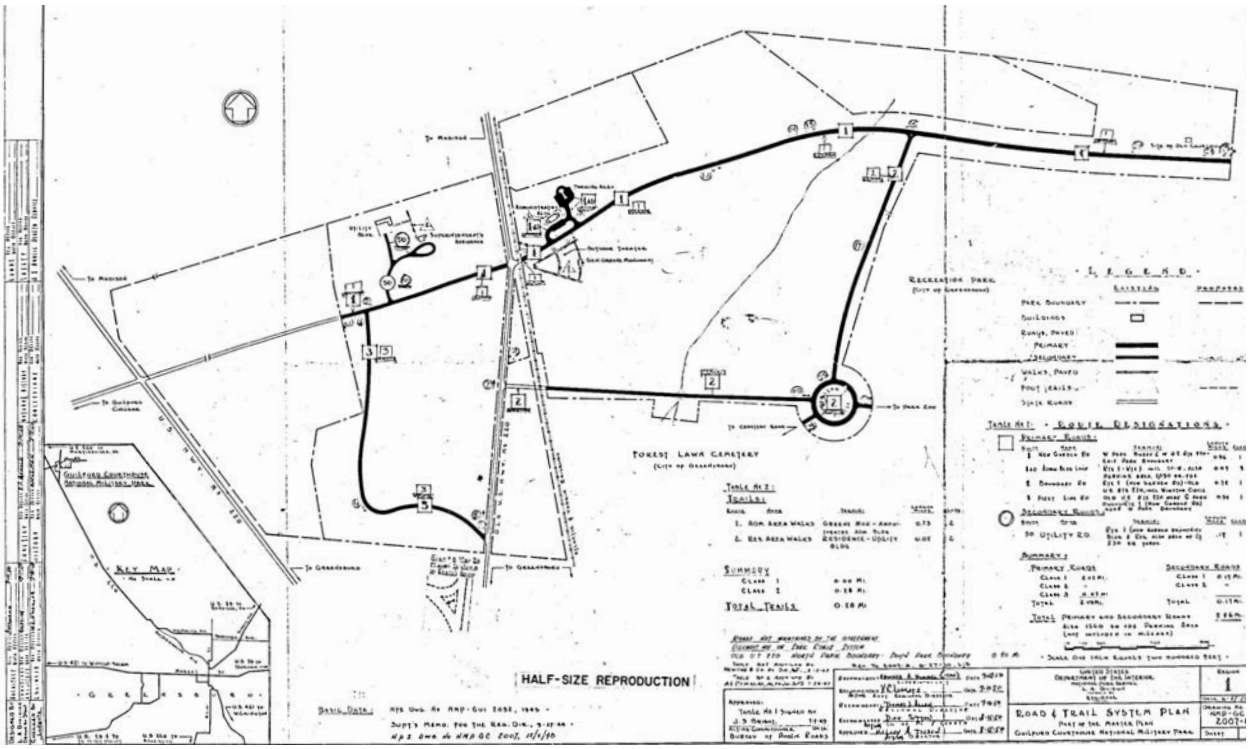


Figure 30: A "Road and Trail System Plan" (1950) in National Park Service, Guilford Courthouse National Military Park Archives, Map Collection. The plan shows many of the overarching changes made to the roads under the Public Works Administration, as well as the subsequent relocation of US 220.

systems surrounding GUCO NMP as residential development brought about increased traffic. Charles O. Martin, who owned a large tract south of New Garden Road planned to develop his land and in 1949 cut a "trespass" road from his holdings through the federally-owned right-of-way bordering New Garden Road (Figure 31). The trespass road was essentially an extension of Nathanael Greene Road, a north-south route located in neighboring Country Park. Raleigh C. Taylor, who had become the superintendent at GUCO NMP in 1945, reacted to Martin's trespass by barricading the connector with concrete bollards to deny access to New Garden Road. Martin, in turn, destroyed the barrier and reopened his illegal road, which sparked a decade-long legal battle over the road's legitimacy. Martin ultimately prevailed and his road remained opened until 1967 when the park finally acquired his property.[123]

In addition to the trespass road, Martin was responsible for other significant changes to areas of the battlefield outside GUCO NMP's boundary. On his land, in a portion of the area of the former town of Martinville, Martin constructed an entertainment complex, which included a drive-in movie theatre, a barbecue restaurant, and a figure-eight go-cart track (Figure 32 and Figure 33). Martin's development reflects the many changes that had occurred in transportation since the late 1800s, including the following: the introduction of labor laws, which created leisure time for the working classes; the popularization of the automobile, which instigated leisure travel; and the development of improved roadways and highway systems that facilitated travel. These factors would also continue to instigate changes in the park throughout the 1950s and in subsequent decades.

In October 1959, a natural disaster brought about changes to GUCO NMP and its surrounding properties. At the time, Hurricane Gracie surged inland and saturated the North Carolina piedmont with violent downpours, which caused Hunting Creek to flood and thus ruptured Lake Caldwell's dam. Along the impoundment's spine, a 26-foot section of New Garden Road was washed-out (Figure 34). Following the damage, city officials elected not to refill the lake and so the land reverted back to its owner, Charles O. Martin, as

123 Hiatt, *Guilford Courthouse National Military Park Cultural Landscape Report*, 58.

Figure 31: Photograph of "Martin's trespass from its intersection with New Garden Road," (1951) in National Park Service, Guilford Courthouse National Military Park Archives, Photograph Collection, File No. 2049.

Figure 34: A photograph showing "Wash-out along New Garden Road following Hurricane Gracie," (1959) in National Park Service, Guilford Courthouse National Military Park Archives, Photograph Collection, File No. 2362.

Figure 32: Photograph of the drive-in theatre at the location of the former town of Martinville, (1957) in National Park Service, Guilford Courthouse National Military Park Archives, Photograph Collection, File No. GUCO 2064.

Figure 33: Aerial view of Guilford Courthouse National Military Park and its surrounding area, (1959) in National Park Service, Guilford Courthouse National Military Park Archives, Map Collection.

he had granted an easement to the municipality for recreational usage of the land. In 1960, the NPS reacted to the demand of inconvenienced local residents by building a temporary bridge over the gap in the dam that had become obsolete. The NPS later used earth to fill the washed-out section and repaved the road above it. While managers at GUCO NMP sought to use the storm damage as an excuse to fulfill its intentions to close New Garden Road in the park, they acquiesced to the general public, which opposed the plan.[124]

Mission 66 and the Bicentennial to the Present

As the automobile had become the primary mode of transportation for reaching national parks by the 1950s, only 1-2% of visitors used alternate methods. With the increase in visitation due to higher automobile usage, many park facilities deteriorated. The outbreak of the Korean War in 1950 further compounded the situation when congress reduced appropriations to the parks. To address the problem, Conrad Wirth, who had been appointed director of the NPS in 1951, devised a program called Mission 66, which he targeted for completion in 1966 to correlate with the 50th anniversary of the NPS. Mission 66 was a 10-year restoration and development plan that included improvements to all types of national parks, such as Yellowstone, Glacier, Acadia, and the Blue Ridge Parkway, as well as national military parks like Guilford Courthouse. Mission 66 also entailed every type of park facility from employee housing

124 Ibid., 60.

to visitor centers to roads.[125]

Wirth justified Mission 66's proposed investment in national parks as several key factors indicated that park visitation would continue to grow. These factors included the rise of per capita income, the increase of highway travel, and the increase in length of vacation time for Americans. By 1955, the national park system had to accommodate more than 50 million visitors although the parks were designed to carry less than half that number. Wirth believed Mission 66 would help meet that demand by improving access to national parks and thereby accommodating visitors. Some of the new developments that Mission 66 brought to national parks included widening some roads, changing other roads to one-way traffic to reduce traffic congestion, and by constructing additional parking spaces.[126]

In 1957, Dudley Bayliss, the Chief of Parkways for the National Park Service, wrote an article in the July, 1957 edition of *Traffic Quarterly* that the NPS reprinted and distributed throughout the agency. Some of Bayliss's guidelines about park roads included the planning of park roads to provide access to principal features rather than to serve as a direct route between two points. In addition, Bayliss advocated that the NPS should design roads to present parks in the best chronological or interpretive order. Bayliss also suggested that the NPS prepare master plans to guide all park development, which would include road system plans developed with the expertise of a variety of disciplines such as landscape architects, engineers, biologists, and administrative representatives.[127] By 1966, the functions of the Bureau of Public Roads were transferred to the Department of Transportation and assigned to the Federal Highway Administration. Around this time, the NPS produced a publication entitled *Park Road Standards*, which outlined a set of standards for designing park roads in a consistent aesthetic that would unify all types of national parks.

In the mid-1950s, the NPS staff at GUCO NMP began planning for Mission 66. Staff planners noted the suburbanization of the battlefield's immediate environs and recognized how the increase in the volume of local traffic on the park's roads negatively impacted the visitor's experience.[128] By 1966, the park acquired a 30-acre tract situated along its north central boundary. The following year, additional purchases included 24.4 acres of Charles O. Martin's landholdings, Raymond Farrar's 12-acre parcel that encompassed the site of the drive-in theatre, and a property owned by the Webb family that adjoined the west side of the traditional courthouse site. In 1969, the city agreed to exchange its 11.76-acre zoo property, located in County Park between GUCO NMP's Southeast Boundary Road and the drained lakebed, for a 16.84-acre parcel of the recently acquired Martin tract.[129]

Despite the extensive planning at GUCO NMP during Mission 66, many of the proposed changes did not occur until around the bicentennial after the NPS had completed its land acquisition program and the park reached its current size of over 250 acres. According to the 1974 Development Concept Plan, the NPS proposed a "one-way loop tour road around the periphery of the park, a visitor center located at the interpretive site of the American first line, an expanded pedestrian circulation system, a bicycle circulation system, eliminating traffic from New Garden Road, and restoring historic road traces and fields."[130] The plan also stated how the new tour road and visitor center accommodate more visitors and allow for them to sequentially interpret the park's history.[131]

After its completion, the one-way tour route was 12,800 feet long, which included 7,900 feet of new road and 4,900 feet of resurfaced or widened

125 Laura E. Soulliere, *Historic Roads in the National Park System* (Washington, D.C.: National Park Service, U.S. Department of the Interior, 1995).

126 *Historic Roads in the National Park System* (Washington, D.C.: National Park Service, U.S. Department of the Interior).

127 Ibid.

128 Hiatt, *Guilford Courthouse National Military Park Cultural Landscape Report*, 61.

129 Ibid., 60.

130 Raymond Freeman, "Final Environmental Statement FES 74-22," in *Development Concept Plan GUCO* (Washington, D.C.1974), iv.

131 Ibid.

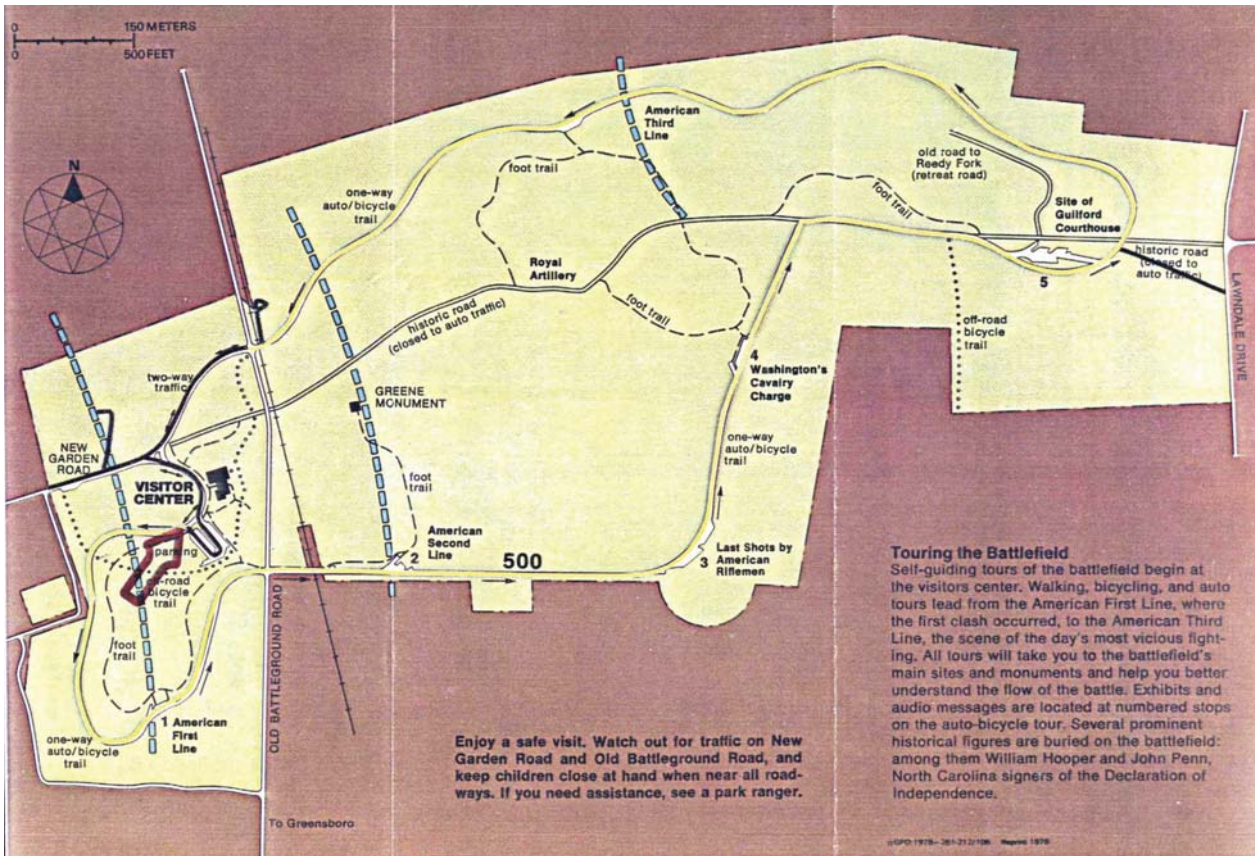


Figure 35: Tour map, (undated) in National Park Service, Guilford Courthouse National Military Park Archives, Map Collection.

existing roads (Figure 35). Workers obliterated about 2,400 feet of road in the park, including portions of Holt Avenue and the circle drive around the Winston Monument, all of Nathanael Greene Drive, and portions of First Line Road. The new one-way loop originated at the visitor center, crossed Old Battleground Road near the southern park boundary, and continued around the park until it intersected again with Old Battleground Road near the northern park boundary. Old Battleground Road and sections of the tour road (from New Garden Road north to Old Battleground Road and from New Garden Road south to the visitor center) allowed two-way access into and out of the park. The plan limited driving speeds to 30 miles per hour and integrated five interpretive stops along the road (later expanded to eight).[132]

The tour road was 20 feet wide with a 2-1/2 inch crown and a 2-foot-wide stabilized turf shoulder on each side. The new loop road and pull-off areas contained an 8-inch crusher-run stone base, a prime coat, and a 2-inch surface course of bituminous asphalt plant-mix with a matte finish. According to the plan, workers installed a 72-inch corrugated metal pipe arch culvert where the westbound portion of the loop road crossed Hunting Creek, as well as smaller arch culverts in areas to convey surface water under the road. Stone paved ditches, similar to earlier ones constructed by the PWA, were integrated where necessary on either side of the road.[133]

In conjunction with the construction of the loop road, the 1974 Development Concept Plan recognized that New Garden Road merited preservation as a historic trace.134

Accordingly, the NPS closed the segment of New Garden Road in the park to vehicular traffic. The restoration of the historic road trace in the park entailed removing approximately 3,800 feet of existing bituminous pavement and paved ditches and then scarifying, grading, and seeding. The NPS intended for the restored dirt road to better resemble its appearance at the time of the battle. In general, the restored route followed the course

132 Ibid.

133 Ibid.

134 Ibid.

of the previous paved route except in the area between the Maryland and Stuart Monuments where engineers realigned a short section of the road in favor of an alternate bend in its course that existed from about the 1920s through the mid-1930s (Figure 23).

In addition to the changes affecting GUCO NMP's vehicular circulation, the development plan also entailed a restructuring of pedestrian circulation. Because automobiles greatly facilitated travel to the site, visitors were able to spend more time on foot exploring the battlefield. Accordingly, the plan proposed a total of 10,250 feet of new foot trails, most of which were accessible from the visitor center and the interpretive stops along the tour road. In addition to foot trails, the plan incorporated a bicycle path into the tour road "because of the increasing popularity and the ecological compatibility of bicycling." The NPS also created additional bicycle paths from existing roads no longer needed for automobile circulation. These connected cyclists traveling from adjacent city streets outside the parks boundary to the tour road.[135]

Many of the Mission 66 and bicentennial changes at GUCO NMP occurred at a time when northwest Greensboro experienced increased development. On December 1, 1974, the *Greensboro Daily News* published an article describing changes in the park community. Developers began building subdivisions with single-family homes, townhouses, apartment complexes, and businesses along the park's boundaries thereby affecting the integrity of the battlefield's historically rural setting as well as parts of the original battlefield beyond the park's boundaries. By the end of the 1970s, the pace of urban development further accelerated and necessitated the widening of US 220 from two to five lanes in the section between Old Battleground Road and New Garden Road.[136]

By 1984, the City of Greensboro annexed a region on its northwest boundary that encompassed GUCO NMP, which left the park surrounded by a bustling suburban landscape.[137] Around this time, the NPS removed the tracks of the obsolete CF&YVRR that had provided the primary means of transportation for park visitors in the late 1800s. After the NPS leveled and regraded the route, it created an overflow parking lot along a section of the railroad bed near the juncture of the tour loop's northern course and Old Battleground Road. In the 1990s, the old railroad bed was incorporated into the Bicentennial Greenway, a recreational corridor that extends through northwestern Greensboro.[138]

The various changes to the circulation routes at GUCO NMP in the latter half of the 1900s coupled with the increased suburban development surrounding the park have impacted recent visitation trends. The *2015 State of the Park Report* indicates that 90% of visitors now primarily use the park for recreation and exercise. This statistic suggests that local residents comprise the vast majority of visitors, many of whom bike or walk to the park. The NPS presently faces the challenge of "how to maintain a commemorative ambience to the park that pays tribute to the significance of the battle and its participants while recognizing the local community importance for the green space."[139]

135 Ibid., 7.

136 Thomas E. Baker"Redeemed from Oblivion: An Administrative History of Guilford Courthouse National Military Park." Chap. 13: The Pace of Urban Development Quickens (Washington, D.C.: National Park Service, U.S. Department of the Interior, 1995).

137 Ibid.

138 Willard Danielson, Annual Narrative Reports for 1981, 1982, 1983, 1984; Mark H. Woods, Annual Narrative Report for 1995-1996, Superintendent's Annual Narrative Reports File, A2621, GUCO NMP Files.

139 National Park Service, *State of the Park Report for Guilford Courthouse National Military Park*, State of the Park Series No. 22. (Washington, D.C.: National Park Service, U.S. Department of the Interior, 2015), 36.

Chapter 3: A 'Mecca of Patriotism': The Commemorative Monuments of the Guilford Battle Ground Park

In 1887, under the direction of Judge David Schenck, the Guilford Battle Ground Company (GBGC) was chartered for the purpose of preserving and adorning the American Revolution battlefield at Guilford Courthouse in North Carolina. Motivated foremost by patriotism, the GBGC erected approximately 30 monuments between 1888 and 1917 at the Guilford Battle Ground Park, of which seven marked gravesites. The history of commemoration at Guilford reflects the developing national commemorative movement that emerged in America in the late 1800s and early 1900s

While the GBGC erected the majority of monuments at the battlefield, the War Department continued the tradition from 1917 through 1933 by adding five monuments at the newly established Guilford Courthouse National Military Park (GUCO NMP). Since the National Park Service (NPS) began managing GUCO NMP in 1933, it has removed six monuments from the battlefield and relocated others. In 2015, GUCO NMP will gain a new monument sponsored by the reinstated Guilford Battle Ground Company with assistance from several British Regimental Associations to recognize the British Regiments associated with the battle.[1] This monument will be the first erected at Guilford in nearly 83 years, as well as the first associated with the NPS's management period.

This chapter places the early monuments at Guilford in the context of other American Revolution battlefields where commemorative efforts that began in the antebellum period were disrupted by the Civil War and eventually regained momentum in the 1880s with centennial celebrations. In addition, the chapter examines how the development of the Guilford Battle Ground Park in the late 1800s paralleled the rapid growth of the city of Greensboro. As the incorporators and stockholders of the GBGC included many prominent local businessmen and civic leaders, these individuals influenced Guilford's development into a park that combined commemoration with recreation. The chapter concludes by identifying patterns in the monuments at Guilford—ranging from the individuals and groups who sponsored the monuments to the subjects they honored, their materials, artistic styles, and distinct placement in the landscape.

Early Preservation Efforts and Commemorative Monuments in America

In 1776, the Continental Congress adopted the Declaration of Independence, which announced that the 13 American colonies, then at war with Great Britain, recognized themselves as newly independent sovereign states. The unification of these formerly disparate colonies into one nation opened a new chapter in the history of America and so citizens began to recognize and commemorate significant persons and events toward the end of the Revolution. A few days after the defeat of the British Army at Yorktown in October 1781, the Continental Congress passed a motion to construct a monument at the battle site to memorialize the American victory over the British. However, in this instance, as in others, Congress focused on addressing post-war economic issues rather than appropriating monies for the monument. It was not until a century later when an 1881 centennial celebration

1 Franck Mascia, President of the Guilford Battleground Company, Letter to Charles E. Cranfield, Superintendent of Guilford Courthouse National Military Park; Richard West Sellars, "Pilgrim Places: Civil War Battlefields, Historic Preservation, and America's First National Military Parks, 1863-1900," *CRM Journal* (2005), 28.

revived interest in the project and the tall, ornate granite Yorktown Victory Monument was finally completed in a few years.[2]

Immediately following the American Revolution, most commemorative efforts were associated primarily with veterans' associations and hereditary societies. In 1783, the Society of Cincinnati became the first private patriotic organization formed in America and consisted of officers of the Continental Army, who had served at least three years or were actively soldiering at the war's end in 1781. Gen. George Washington served as the Cincinnati's first leader. As the Cincinnati represented a small group of elite veterans, it never gained widespread popularity or recognition, even among those eligible. Despite the efforts of veterans' groups in this postwar period, the government failed to erect any publicly sponsored memorials honoring American Revolution efforts.[3] Successful instances of erecting monuments in this period, however, often were due to individuals, such as war veteran Dr. William McLean of Lincoln County, North Carolina, who erected the Chronicle Marker at Kings Mountain in Blacksburg, South Carolina, at his own expense on July 4, 1815 (Figure 36).[4]

In addition to financial restraints, other factors likely played a role in thwarting efforts initiated in the late 1800s to commemorate notable personages or heroes, as well as places and events of historical significance. In the founding years of the United States, many of the country's most influential minds viewed memorialization with suspicion and disdain.[5] Such thinkers argued that democracy and the spread of literacy had made commemorative rituals and monuments

Figure 36: The Kings Mountain 1815 Chronicle Marker, indicating the graves of Maj. William Chronicle Capt. John Mattocks, William Rabb, and John Boyd; patriots killed in the battle. Source: http://www.nps.gov/parkhistory/online_books/hh/22/hh22n.htm

obsolete.[6] They believed that building monuments was a pursuit incompatible with republican ideals and maintained that memorializing acts were the province of a backward-looking monarchy rather than a forward-looking democracy.[7] Instead of viewing the United States as a country with a glorious past worth commemorating, many Americans focused on the country's future. Accordingly, adherence to republican values in the early 1800s produced tensions between democracy and tradition.[8]

In 1800, North Carolina Congressman Nathaniel Macon responded to a proposed memorial tomb

2 Ibid.

3 Robert W. Blythe, Maureen A. Carroll, and Steven H. Moffson, "King's Mountain National Military Park Historic Resource Study," (Cultural Resources Planning Division, Southeast Regional Office, National Park Service, U.S. Department of the Interior, May 1995), 47-48.

4 Institute of Museum and Library Services, "Kings Mountain 1815 Chronicle Marker, Kings Mountain National Military Park, Blacksburg (SC)," DocSouth, http://docsouth.unc.edu/commland/monument/452/.

5 John Hiatt, *Guilford Courthouse National Military Park Cultural Landscape Report* (U.S. Department of the Interior, National Park Service, Southeast Regional Office, Cultural Resources Division, 2003), 32.

6 Kirk Savage, "History, Memory, and Monuments: An Overview of the Scholarly Literature on Commemoration " Online essay commissioned by the Organization of American Historians and the National Park Service, http://www.nps.gov/parkhistory/hisnps/npsthinking/savage.pdf.

7 Hiatt, *Guilford Courthouse National Military Park Cultural Landscape Report*, 32. Michael G. Kammen, *Mystic Chords of Memory: The Transformation of Tradition in American Culture* (New York: Knopf, 1991), 19, 35. David Lowenthal, *The Past is a Foreign Country* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1985; reprint 1995), 105-14.

8 Paul A. Shackel, *Myth, Memory, and the Making of the American Landscape* (Gainesville, FL: University Press of Florida, 2001), 9.

for George Washington, declaring that "Since the invention of types [printing], monuments are good for nothing."[9] Macon further explained that words, not stones or statues, preserved the memory of great men.[10] He also went so far as labeling monuments as "pernicious acts of ostentation."[11] Yet, by the late 1810s, Macon had changed his view dramatically as he helped his home state procure an elaborate monument to Washington for the State House in Raleigh.[12] Macon's shift in ideology was not an isolated incident as a general upsurge in patriotism unleashed a new spirit toward veneration of the past across the United States in the early 1800s.[13]

The original George Washington statue in Raleigh, which Macon helped to procure, depicted Washington as seated and dressed in Roman military garb (Figure 37). The Italian sculptor Antonio Canova created this commissioned piece, which he completed in 1821.[14] At this time, Americans frequently awarded renowned foreign artists with commissions for sculptural monuments. Their work often carried forth a neoclassical aesthetic popular in Europe that occasionally generated criticism in America.[15] In the case of Canova's statue of Washington, some Americans "criticized the sculptor for Romanizing the American general, declaring it to be a better statue of Julius Caesar than of George Washington."[16] Still, throughout the mid-1800s, the neoclassical aesthetic prevailed as many American sculptors strove to emulate their European counterparts.[17]

Figure 37: "George Washington, wearing Roman attire, with armor, seated on pedestal, holding tablet, facing right," (E.J. Pinkerton, 1840) in the Library of Congress Prints and Photographs Division Washington, D.C. 20540 USA.

In addition to the George Washington Statue in Raleigh sculpted by Canova, only two other monuments commemorating the American Revolution were erected in North Carolina in the antebellum period. One of these, however, was a replacement for Canova's statue, which was destroyed after the structure of the Capitol burned and collapsed in the fire of 1831 (Figure 38).[18] The other was the Patriot Monument, dedicated in 1857 at the Moores Creek battlefield in Currie, North Carolina (Figure 39). While the Federal Government restricted its involvement in erecting monuments during this period, it left

9 Kirk Savage, "The Self-Made Monument: George Washington and the Fight to Erect a National Memorial," *Winterthur Portfolio* 22, no. 4 (1987), 231; Carolyn Butler, "Protest Highlights History of Washington Monument Politics," National Geographic; Lew Powell, "Nathaniel Macon's big flip-flop on monuments," UNC University Library, http://blogs.lib.unc.edu/ncm/index.php/2014/01/29/jan-29/#sthash.MxKqoZmE.dpuf.

10 Powell, "Nathaniel Macon's big flip-flop on monuments."

11 Butler, "Protest Highlights History of Washington Monument Politics."

12 Powell, "Nathaniel Macon's big flip-flop on monuments".

13 Hiatt, *Guilford Courthouse National Military Park Cultural Landscape Report*:, 32.

14 Powell, "Nathaniel Macon's big flip-flop on monuments".

15 Thayer Tolles, "From Model to Monument: American Public Sculpture, 1865–1915," *Heilbrunn Timeline of Art History*(2004), http://www.metmuseum.org/toah/hd/modl/hd_modl.htm.

16 Robert Diggs Wimberly Connor, "Canova's Statue of Washington," no. 8 (1910), https://ia601406.us.archive.org/12/items/canovasstatueofw00conn/canovasstatueofw00conn.pdf.

17 Tolles, "From Model to Monument: American Public Sculpture, 1865–1915."

18 Institute of Museum and Library Services, "George Washington Statue, State Capitol, Raleigh," DocSouth, http://docsouth.unc.edu/commland/monument/107/.

Figure 38: "George Washington Statue, State Capitol, Raleigh"(detail) in Durwood Barbour Collection of North Carolina Postcards (P077), North Carolina Collection Photographic Archives, Wilson Library, UNC-Chapel Hill.

Figure 39: "Moores Creek National Military Park, Currie, N.C." (detail) in Durwood Barbour Collection of North Carolina Postcards (P077), North Carolina Collection Photographic Archives, Wilson Library, UNC-Chapel Hill.

most proposals to state or local entities, whether public or private.[19] This trend is evident not only in the George Washington Statue, sponsored by the State of North Carolina, but also with the Patriot Monument, sponsored by the Moores Creek Monumental Association.[20]

By the mid-1800s, many Americans viewed the act of erecting monuments to honor and preserve the memory of important historical events and notable figures as a more suitable alternative than acquiring and maintaining a historic building or landscape, such as a battlefield.[21] Consequently, the creation of monuments not only became an integral part of numerous preservation endeavors, it was often an end in itself.[22] Despite the increasing acceptance of commemorative monuments, some individuals, such as artist David Hunter Strother, objected to the use of monuments at battlefield sites. In an 1857 *Harper's Magazine* article, he described the Guilford Courthouse battle site in North Carolina as "[u]nmarred by monuments" and "uncontaminated by improvements."[23]

The same year Strother visited Guilford, a group of prominent Greensboro citizens formed the Greene Monument Association to erect a monument at the site in memory of American Maj. Gen. Nathanael Greene.[24] The outbreak of the Civil War, however, disrupted the Greene Monument Association's plans, in addition to the efforts of other like-minded individuals and groups throughout the country. Accordingly, it was not until the end of Reconstruction that the American population would regain interest in commemorating such American Revolution sites and the Guilford Courthouse battlefield would finally achieve national recognition.[25]

While Patriots were united under a common cause in the American Revolution, there was a strong divisiveness among Americans during and immediately following the Civil War. The 1876 national Centennial of the American Revolution provided Federal and Confederate supporters with an opportunity to celebrate a shared past. The American public thus responded to the enormous

19 Sellars, "Pilgrim Places: Civil War Battlefields, Historic Preservation, and America's First National Military Parks, 1863-1900," 27.

20 Institute of Museum and Library Services, "Moores Creek Patriot Monument, Moores Creek National Battlefield," DocSouth, http://docsouth.unc.edu/commland/monument/306/; Services, "Kings Mountain 1815 Chronicle Marker, Kings Mountain National Military Park, Blacksburg (SC)."

21 Sellars, "Pilgrim Places: Civil War Battlefields, Historic Preservation, and America's First National Military Parks, 1863-1900," 28.

22 Hiatt, *Guilford Courthouse National Military Park Cultural Landscape Report,* 32.

23 Ibid.

24 Ibid., 31.

25 Ibid., 32.

physical, emotional, economic, and social impacts wrought by the Civil War by participating in widespread commemorative activities.[26] As patriotism and nationalism escalated throughout this period, the establishment of memorials to American Revolution participants and the principles for which they fought greatly increased.[27]

In the centennial year of 1876, Congress appropriated $224,000 to erect monuments at Yorktown (VA), Bennington (NY), Saratoga (NY), Newburgh (NY), Cowpens (SC), Monmouth (NJ), Groton (CT), and Oriskany (NY). Although never enacted, similar bills were introduced for Brandywine (PN), Bemis Heights (NY), Kings Mountain (SC), and Guilford Courthouse (NC). Still, a few years later, the state of North Carolina gained a memorial for the American Revolution when the citizens of Alamance County erected a granite monument, consisting of a small obelisk placed atop four rectangular bases, on the battle ground site in Burlington, North Carolina (Figure 40). Dedicated on January 1, 1880, the Battle Monument of Alamance also marked a New Year's celebration.[28]

Only a few months following the dedication of the Alamance monument, Senator Justin Smith Morrill of Vermont introduced S. 1805, "A Bill Relative to Revolutionary Battlefields" on May 31, 1880. Through the bill, Morrill proposed a system of matching grants to help chartered historical societies and associations erect monuments on American Revolution battlefields not yet commemorated in this manner. The grants would assist "any monument association or historical society" which "shall have procured a charter from one of the United States..." and "commenced to raise money to carry out its patriotic object."[29]

Figure 40: "Battle Monument of Alamance, Burlington N.C." in Durwood Barbour Collection of North Carolina Postcards (P077), North Carolina Collection Photographic Archives, Wilson Library, UNC-Chapel Hill.

Although it does not appear that the bill aided in the erection of any monuments in North Carolina battlefields, the matching grants system may have helped the Kings Mountain Centennial Association to erect the Centennial Monument to commemorate the American patriots who defeated British Maj. Patrick Ferguson (Figure 41).[30]

Following Reconstruction, the nation's growing interest in commemoration of the American Revolution continued to grow. This is evidenced by the action of the House of Representatives' Committee on the Library to commission historian Benson J. Lossing to research various American Revolution sites and to recommend those worthy of commemorative monuments. Submitted on February 2, 1884, Lossing's report identified 15 battlefields, including the site where the Battle of Guilford Courthouse occurred. Although a bill

26 Blythe, Carroll, and Moffson, "King's Mountain National Military Park Historic Resource Study," 47.

27 Thomas E. Baker, "Redeemed from Oblivion: An Administrative History of Guilford Courthouse National Military Park," (National Park Service, U.S. Department of the Interior, 1995).

28 Gary L. McCullough, *North Carolina's State Historic Sites* (John F. Blair, 2001).

29 Ronald F. Lee, "The First Battlefield Parks, 1890-1899," in *The Origin and Evolution of the National Military Park Idea* (Washington, D.C.: National Park Service, 1973); *Dictionary of American Biography, published under the auspices of the American Council of Learned Societies* vol. XIII (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons 1928). 198-99.

30 Institute of Museum and Library Services, "Kings Mountain Centennial Monument, Kings Mountain National Military Park, Blacksburg (SC)," DocSouth, http://docsouth.unc.edu/commland/monument/361/.

Figure 41: "Old Monument of Kings Mountain Battlefield" in Durwood Barbour Collection of North Carolina Postcards (P077), North Carolina Collection Photographic Archives, Wilson Library, UNC-Chapel Hill.

(H.R. 2475) was introduced to erect monuments on the recommended sites, it was never enacted.[31] In the next few decades, however, American Revolution sites like Guilford would soon gain national recognition through passionate individuals and groups.

Judge David Schenck and the Guilford Battle Ground Company

In the immediate post-Civil War period, David Schenck (1835-1902) of Lincolnton, North Carolina, led an active public life in his home town, serving as alderman and mayor; in the life of his church, as a Presbyterian elder; and in educational matters, as a trustee of Davidson College and a supporter of better public schools. In 1874, he became a judge for the Ninth Judicial District, although the following year he resigned from the bench to accept a position in Greensboro as general council with the Richmond and Danville Railroad (later Southern Railway). Consequently, Schenck and his family relocated to the steadily growing city.[32]

As Schenck possessed a strong interest in history, he became intrigued with the Guilford Courthouse battle and sought out the former battlefield approximately six miles northwest of Greensboro. Schenck visited the site on numerous occasions and in 1886 conceived of the idea "to purchase the grounds and 'redeem them from oblivion.'"[33] Subsequently, Schenck began acquiring parcels that encompassed parts of the original battlefield from local farmers and residents. Schenck then decided to form a non-profit stock corporation, called the Guilford Battle Ground Company (GBGC), and secured the support of four of Greensboro's leading businessmen: J. W. Scott, owner of J. W. Scott & Company, the state's largest wholesale dealers in dry goods and notions;[34] Julius A. Gray, president of the Bank of Greensboro;[35] Dr. D. W. C. Benbow, owner of the Benbow House, a four-story hotel with seventy-four rooms;[36] and Thomas B. Keogh, who had previously served as a member of the republican national committee from the state (Figure 42).[37] These men solicited the sanction of the state legislature, which officially chartered their new company in March 1887.[38]

According to the GBGC's charter, Judge Schenck and his business partners founded their corporation expressly for

31 Baker, "Redeemed from Oblivion: An Administrative History of Guilford Courthouse National Military Park."; Lee, "The First Battlefield Parks, 1890-1899," 4-10; Edward T. Linenthal, *Sacred Ground: Americans and Their Battlefields* (Urbana and Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 1991).

32 James R. Leutze, "David Schenck," University of North Carolina Press, http://ncpedia.org/biography/schenck-david.

33 Guilford Battleground Co., *A Memorial Volume of the Guilford Battle Ground Company* (Greensboro, NC: Reece & Elam Power Job Printers, 1893), 8.

34 James W. Albright, *Greensboro, 1808-1904: Facts, Figures, Traditions, and Reminiscences* (Greensboro, NC: Jos. J. Stone & Company, 1904), 88.

35 John L. Bell, "Julius Alexander Gray," University of North Carolina Press, http://ncpedia.org/biography/gray-julius-alexander.

36 Stuart Noblin, "De Witt Clinton Benbow," University of North Carolina Press, http://ncpedia.org/biography/benbow-de-witt-clinton.

37 *Star Almanac* (1859), 158.

38 Hiatt, *Guilford Courthouse National Military Park Cultural Landscape Report*, 35-36.

Figure 42: Photograph of the "Five Original Directors of The G. B. C. Company" in Guilford Battle Ground Co, A Memorial Volume of the Guilford Battle Ground Company, (Greensboro, NC: Reece & Elam Power Job Printers, 1893), 2. Pictured from left to right are J. W. Scott, Julius A. Gray. D. Schenck (President), Thomas E. Keogh, and D. W. C. Benbow.

> "…the benevolent purpose of preserving and adorning the grounds on and over which the battle of 'Guilford Court House' was fought on the 15th day of March, 1781, and the 'erection thereon of monuments, tombstones, or other memorials to commemorate the heroic deeds of the American patriots who participated in this battle for liberty and independence.'"[39]

The charter also endowed the company with "the power to acquire … [battlefield] lands … not exceeding one hundred acres."[40] While this limit constrained re-creation of the entire battlefield, the GBGC was more committed to adorning and ornamenting the site rather than accurately restoring it to its Revolutionary period. In addition to erecting monuments, tombstones, or other memorials, the company gained the right "to erect houses thereon for use or ornament." The company also acquired the license to "adorn the grounds and walks; supply the grounds with water; plant trees, flowers and shrubs thereon, and do any other like things for the improvement and beautifying of the property."[41] Schenck's development of what became known as the Guilford Battle Ground Park became his most significant personal project after 1886 and he served as the company's president until his death in 1902. Schenck once explained, "My vigilance shall be sleepless and my labors incessant and unyielding until we have redeemed and beautified this spot and dotted it with historic monuments, and made every foot of it sacred in the eyes of our people."[42]

The history of commemoration at Guilford under the direction of David Schenck exemplifies the developing national commemorative movement that emerged in America in the late 1800s and early 1900s. Following the Civil War, centennial celebrations of the American Revolution had provided a commonality for both Federals and Confederates. The writings of Schenck and others associated with the GBGC reveal how Americans continued to seek a unified nation for decades following the centennial celebrations. Upon recommending that the company's board of directors petition Congress to appropriate money for a monument honoring Maj. Gen. Nathanael Greene, Schenck explained: "We may reasonably expect that our patriotic friends in the North will encourage us to consecrate a spot, where citizens from all sections of the country may meet and rejoice in the common glory of a struggle that gave us Independence and the Union."[43] This spirit of unity continued into the early 1900s, as is evident with the No North-No South Monument, which the GBGC erected to commemorate two heroes of the American Revolution: George Washington, from the South, and Nathanael Greene, from the North.[44]

Although it took the GBGC over 25 years following its incorporation to convince Congress to erect a monument solely to Greene, the company was successful in enlisting the help of

39 Guilford Battle Ground Co., *A Memorial Volume of the Guilford Battle Ground Company*, 138.

40 The 100-acre limit meant the Guilford Battle Ground Company was limited to acquiring roughly one-tenth of the actual battlefield. Ibid., 139.

41 Ibid.

42 David Schenck, "Annual Report of President Schenck, March 14, 1891, " in *David Schenck Papers, 1849-1917, Folder 16: Volume 15: 1887-1900: Scan 49* (Southern Historical Collection, The Wilson Library, University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill).

43 David Schenck, "Meeting of the Board of Directors, Greensboro, NC, November 14, 1888," in *David Schenck Papers, 1849-1917, Folder 16: Volume 15: 1887-1900: Scan 14* (Southern Historical Collection, The Wilson Library, University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill).

44 Institute of Museum and Library Services, "No North - No South Monument, Guilford Courthouse," DocSouth, http://docsouth.unc.edu/commland/monument/58/.

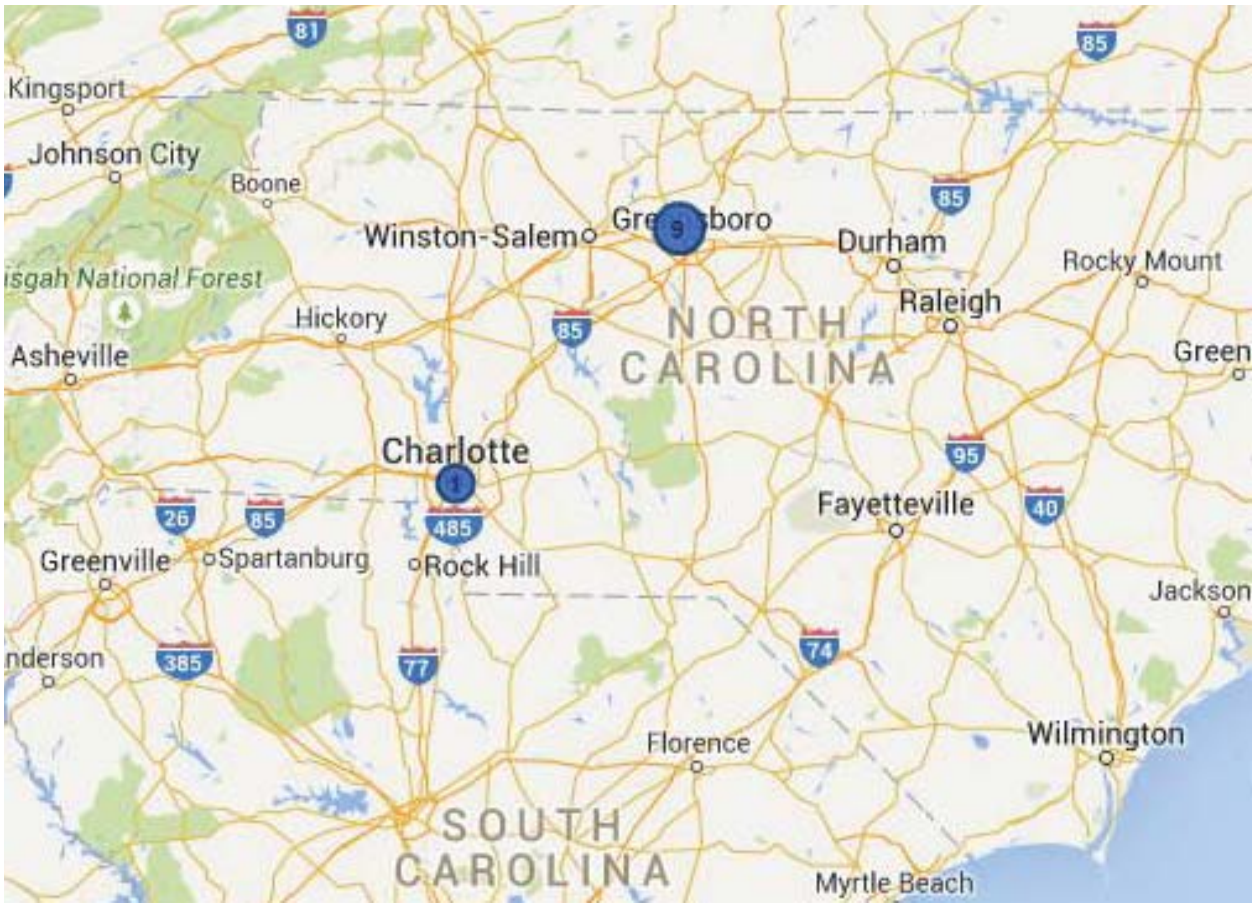


Figure 43: Map showing the concentrations of monuments commemorating the American Revolution erected in North Carolina in the 1890s. In this decade, the state gained 10 new monuments commemorating the American Revolution of which nine were erected at the Guilford Battle Ground Park. Map created through the "Monument Timemap" on the Commemorative Landscapes of North Carolina website.

numerous individuals and groups to erect many other monuments at Guilford that contributed to the park achieving statewide and national recognition. In the context of North Carolina, Guilford Courthouse by far contains the greatest concentration of monuments commemorating the American Revolution, most of which occurred at the turn of the century (Figure 43 and Figure 44). Indeed, the great quantity of monuments at Guilford indicates how the GBGC not only endeavored to preserve and adorn the Guilford battlefield site, but also to make it "a Mecca of Patriotism and a sacred shrine of the people of North Carolina."[45]

Influences on the Development of the Guilford Battle Ground Park

As some of Greensboro's most prominent businessmen formed the GBGC, these individuals greatly influenced the development of the Guilford Battle Ground Park through their professional and personal connections. Those who likely exerted the most influence in the beginning were the incorporators and board of directors, which included David Schenck, J. W. Scott, Julius A. Gray, Dr. D. W. C. Benbow, and Thomas B. Keogh. The GBGC, however, quickly grew into a larger enterprise consisting of additional individuals and groups.

About a year and a half after the company's incorporation, Schenck recorded a total of 44 stockholders and wrote: "I am pleased to report that we have stock holders in almost every prominent town in the State of North Carolina,

45 Prayer of Dr. Pritchard, from the "Programme Grand Celebration at the Guilford Battle Ground the Fourth Day of July, 1893" reprinted in Guilford Battle Ground Co., *A Memorial Volume of the Guilford Battle Ground Company*, 32.

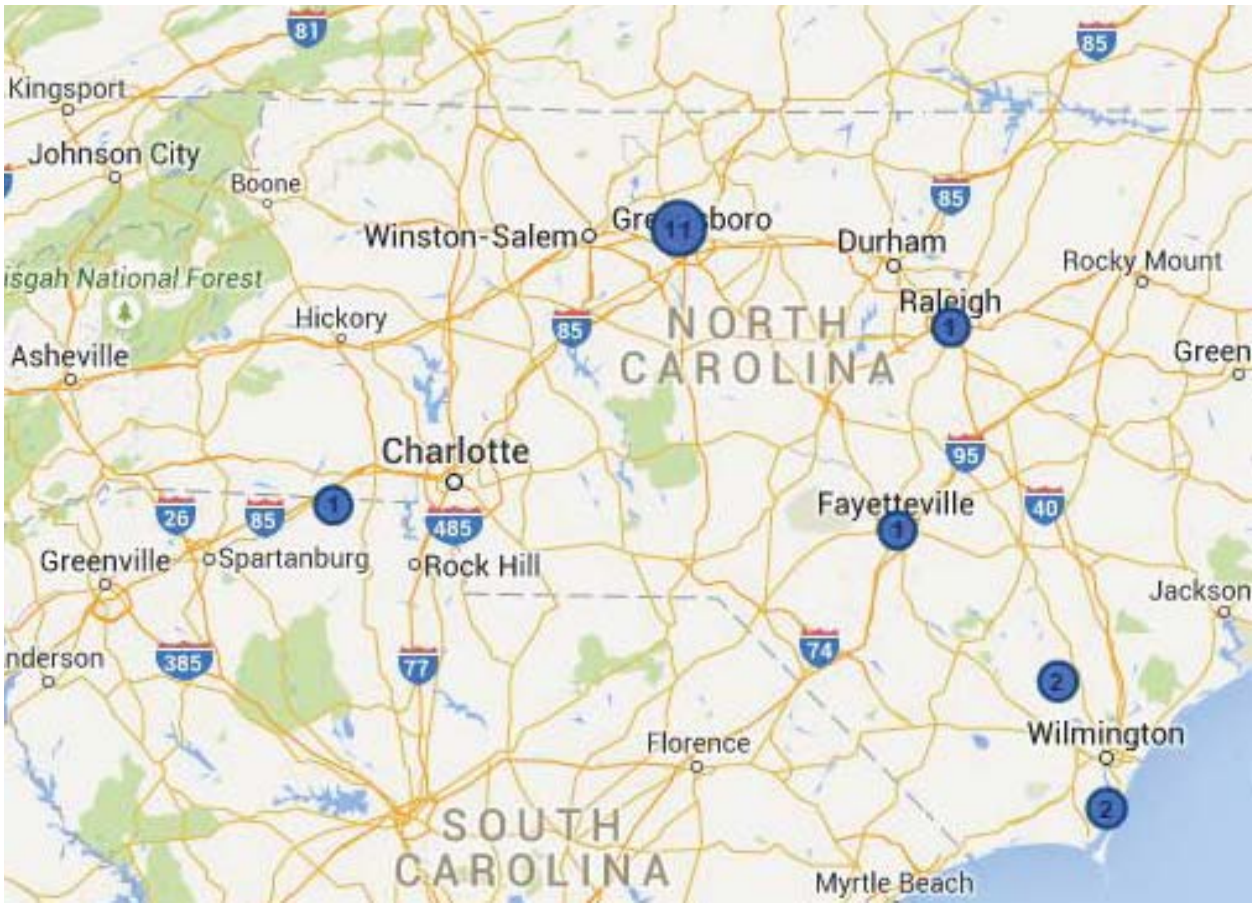


Figure 44: Map showing the concentrations of monumentscommemorating the American Revolution erected in North Carolina in the 1910s. In the decade, such efforts expanded to other areas across the state, such as near the cities of Raleigh and Fayetteville, and Wilmington. Of the 17 monuments erected in the state in this period to commemorate the American Revlution, over half were at the Guilford Battle Ground Park. Note that the map also shows one American Revolution monument erected near the border in Blacksburg, South Carolina where the battle of Kings Mountain occurred. Map created through the "Monument Timemap" on the Commemorative Landscapes of North Carolina website.

and in New York City, and Richmond, Virginia, and contributors from Baltimore, Maryland."[46] Accordingly, the common stockholders of the GBGC held significant associations that also contributed to the park's development. Additionally, the growth of transportation networks and industries, as well as increasing residential, institutional, and commercial development, influenced the Guilford Battle Ground Park.

As early as 1820, roads extended from Greensboro in all directions, connecting to other cities in North Carolina and Virginia. In 1849, the state legislature passed a bill calling for the construction of the North Carolina Railroad from Goldsboro to Charlotte. Largely due to the efforts of former governor John Motley Morehead, a Greensboro resident who was a leading figure in the railroad's construction, the line was brought north through Greensboro.[47] Prior to 1880, two other lines were added to what became a network of rails extending in all directions, similar to the earlier road network. In 1864, tracks were laid by the Piedmont Railroad north to Danville and, in 1873, a line was opened to Salem by the Northwestern Railroad Company (Figure 45).[48] Although these developments greatly facilitated transportation to Greensboro, visiting the former site of the Battle of Guilford Court House about six miles northwest of the city's downtown business district would have remained a difficult journey for out-of-state travelers at the time.

46 Schenck, "Meeting of the Board of Directors, Greensboro, NC, November 14, 1888."

47 Marvin A. Brown, "Historic and Architectural Resources of Greensboro, North Carolina, 1880-1941," *National Register of Historic Places Nomination Form*(1991), http://www.hpo.ncdcr.gov/nr/GF7565.pdf.

48 Ibid.

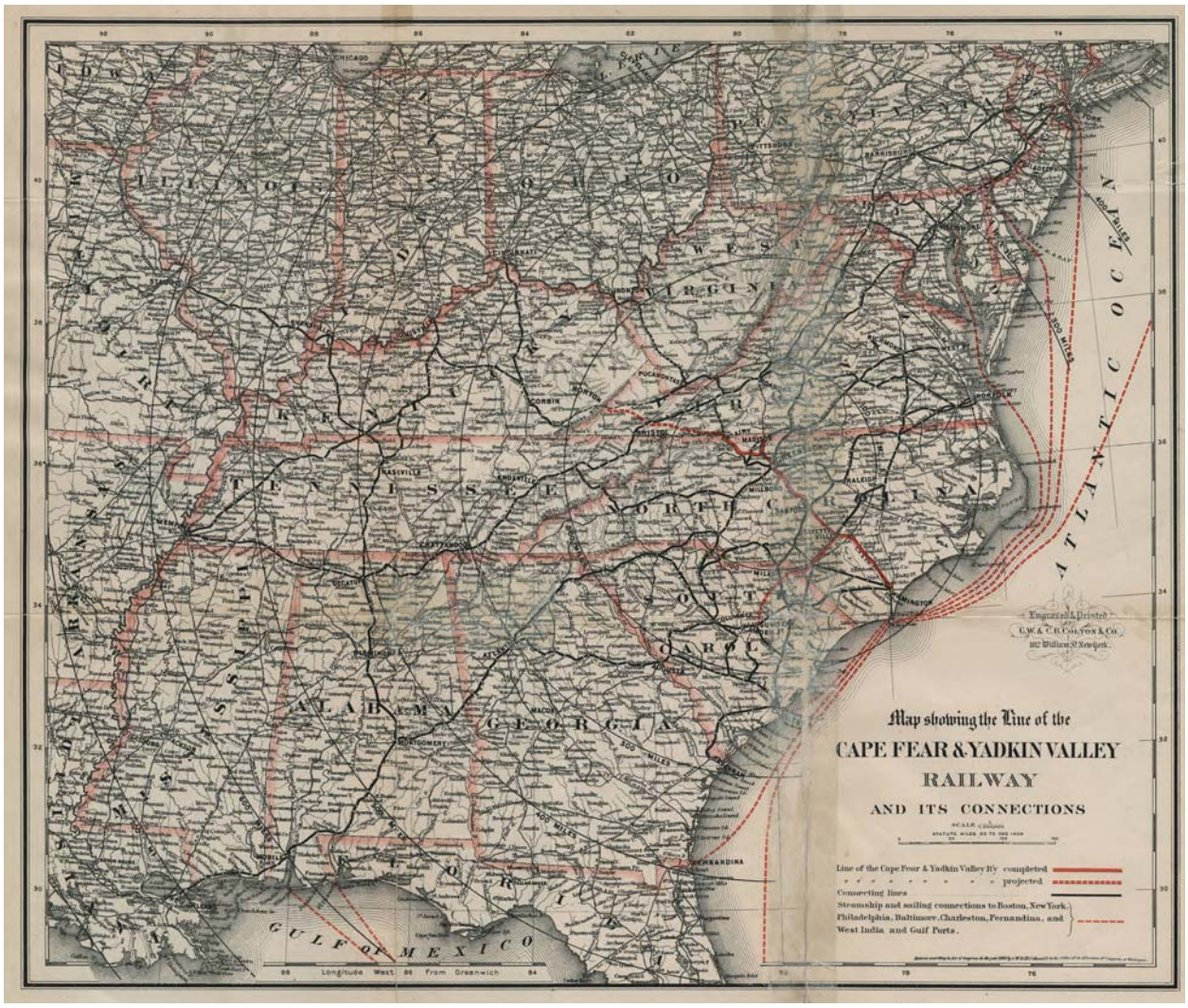


Figure 45: "Map showing the line of the Cape Fear & Yadkin Valley Railway and its connections," (1889 in University of North Carolina Chapel Hill, North Carolina Maps, Digital Collection. The development of the railroad in the latter half of the 1800s influenced the development of the Guilford Battle Ground Park as materials to build monuments became more accessible and visitors gain easier access to the site.

In the 1880s, transportation options to the Guilford battleground vastly improved. In 1879, prior to becoming a GBGC incorporator, Julius A. Gray was appointed president of the Cape Fear and Yadkin Valley Railroad Company (CF&YVRR). Gray continued to serve as the railroad company's president in 1886 when it completed sections of tracks (connecting Greensboro to the town of Madison) bisecting the positions held by the first and second American lines at Guilford (Figure 46 and Figure 47). In addition to Gray, other GBGC stockholders held significant connections with the railroad companies. Dr. D. W. C. Benbow, Col. John D. Williams, and James Turner Morehead were directors of the CF&YVRR Company while Maj. J. W. Fry was the general manager. David Schenck, who served as general counsel for the Richmond and Danville Railroad from 1882 until 1895, welcomed the railroad's presence at Guilford as it would provide a way for transporting both materials and visitors to the site.

Schenck, Gray, and the others likely played key roles in developing working relationships between the GBGC and these two railroad companies, which allowed "free transport of materials" for monuments to the battlefield and covered a portion of the passenger fares of those who attended the park's annual celebrations (Figure 48).[49] Accordingly, connections with railroad

49 Hiatt, *Guilford Courthouse National Military Park Cultural Landscape Report*, 38.

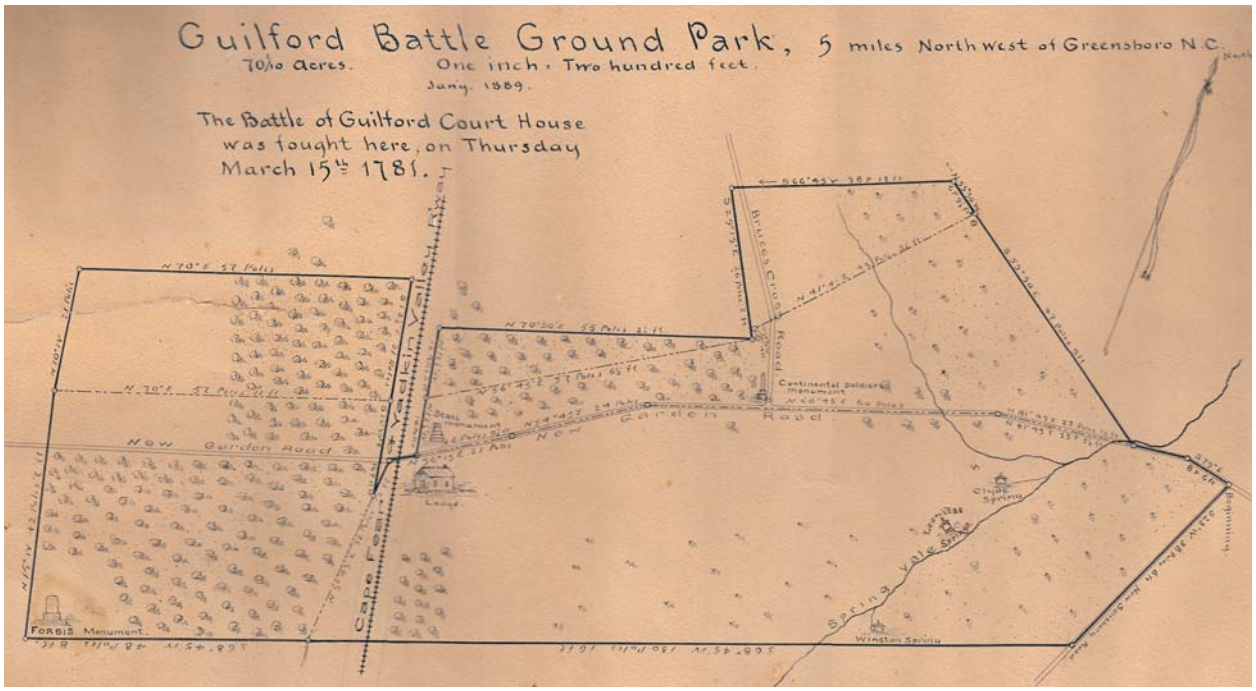


Figure 46: Map of the "Guilford Battle Ground Park," (June 1889) in National Park Service, Guilford Courthouse National Military Park Archives, Map Collection. The map shows the location of the Cape Fear and Yadkin Valley Railroad through the battlefield site.

companies perhaps provided one of the greatest influences on the quantity of monuments erected in the late1800s and early 1900s at the Guilford Battle Ground Park. The railroad also influenced the placement of many monuments erected at Guilford in this period as a large number of monuments formed a "Monument Row" along New Garden Road near its intersection with the train tracks (Figure 49). While this placement of the monuments certainly made it easier for visitors to reach the main points of interest by foot from the train station or to enjoy by carriage ride, certain monuments, such as the one to "Hal" Dixon," were placed "at a very conspicuous spot, visible from all the passing trains" so as to attract "the eye of all who pass."[50]

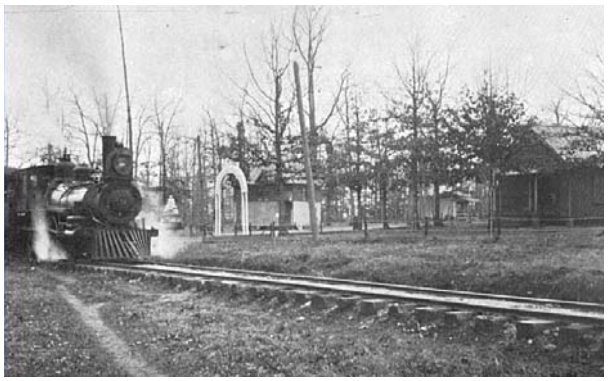
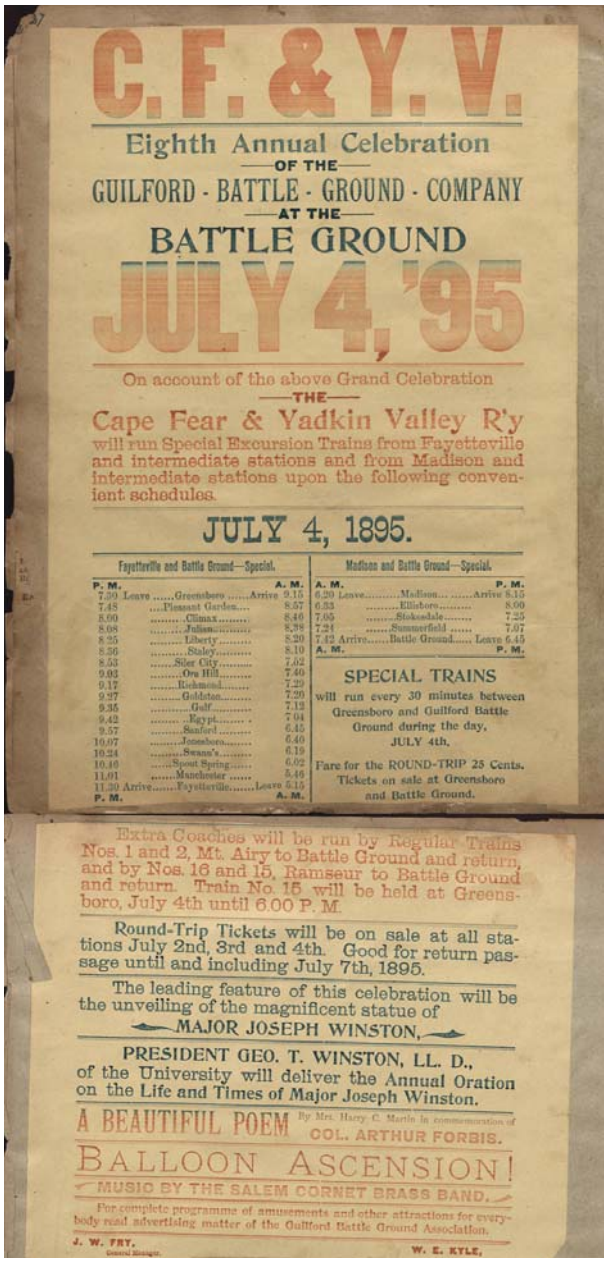


Figure 47: Photograph of the "Flag Station C. F. & Y. V. R. R.," (undated) in Guilford Battle Ground Co, A Memorial Volume of the Guilford Battle Ground Company, (Greensboro, NC: Reece & Elam Power Job Printers, 1893), 29. The battle monument, museum, cottage, and keepers lodge are in view, from left to right from the train.

While the railroad was a key factor that enabled the development of the Guilford Battle Ground Park, it also led to the prosperity and growth of Greensboro from a town to a city.[51] Between 1850 and 1880, the population had increased slightly from about 1,500 to 2,100. Yet between 1880 and 1890, the population grew more than fifty percent to 3,317. That figure, however, was deceptively low as the city's population, including its suburbs, was probably closer to 8,000 in 1890. The rapid

50 David Schenck, "President Schenck's Report, newspaper clipping from March 15, 1896," in *David Schenck Papers, 1849-1917, Folder 16: Volume 15: 1887-1900: Scan 129* (Southern Historical Collection, The Wilson Library, University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill).

51 "The North Carolina Railroad, Essay from the North Carolina Highway Historical Marker Program, marker J-102," North Carolina Department of Cultural Resources, Office of Archives and History, http://www.learnnc.org/lp/editions/nchist-antebellum/4887.



C. F. & Y. V.

Eighth Annual Celebration
OF THE
GUILFORD - BATTLE - GROUND - COMPANY
AT THE
BATTLE GROUND
JULY 4, '95

On account of the above Grand Celebration
THE
Cape Fear & Yadkin Valley R'y
will run Special Excursion Trains from Fayetteville and intermediate stations and from Madison and intermediate stations upon the following convenient schedules.

JULY 4, 1895.

Fayetteville and Battle Ground—Special.

P. M.		A. M.
7.30 Leave	Greensboro Arrive	9.15
7.48	Pleasant Garden	8.57
8.00	Climax	8.46
8.08	Julian	8.38
8.25	Liberty	8.20
8.36	Staley	8.10
8.53	Siler City	7.52
9.03	Ore Hill	7.40
9.17	Richmond	7.29
9.27	Goldston	7.20
9.35	Gulf	7.12
9.42	Egypt	7.04
9.57	Sanford	6.45
10.07	Jonesboro	6.40
10.24	Swann's	6.19
10.46	Spout Spring	6.02
11.01	Manchester	5.46
11.30 Arrive	Fayetteville Leave	5.15
P. M.		A. M.

Madison and Battle Ground—Special.

A. M.		P. M.
6.20 Leave	Madison Arrive	8.15
6.33	Ellisboro	8.00
7.05	Stokesdale	7.25
7.24	Summerfield	7.07
7.42 Arrive	Battle Ground Leave	6.45
A. M.		P. M.

SPECIAL TRAINS
will run every 30 minutes between Greensboro and Guilford Battle Ground during the day, JULY 4th.

Fare for the ROUND-TRIP 25 Cents. Tickets on sale at Greensboro and Battle Ground.

Extra Coaches will be run by Regular Trains Nos. 1 and 2, Mt. Airy to Battle Ground and return, and by Nos. 16 and 15, Ramseur to Battle Ground and return. Train No. 15 will be held at Greensboro, July 4th until 6.00 P. M.

Round-Trip Tickets will be on sale at all stations July 2nd, 3rd and 4th. Good for return passage until and including July 7th, 1895.

The leading feature of this celebration will be the unveiling of the magnificent statue of
MAJOR JOSEPH WINSTON,

PRESIDENT GEO. T. WINSTON, LL. D., of the University will deliver the Annual Oration on the Life and Times of Major Joseph Winston.

A BEAUTIFUL POEM By Mrs. Harry C. Martin in commemoration of COL. ARTHUR FORBIS.

BALLOON ASCENSION!

MUSIC BY THE SALEM CORNET BRASS BAND.

For complete programme of amusements and other attractions for everybody read advertising matter of the Guilford Battle Ground Association.

J. W. FRY, General Manager. W. E. KYLE,

Figure 48: "Advertisement for July 4, 1895," in the David Schenck Papers #652, Southern Historical Collection, The Wilson Library, University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill.

growth of the city was reflected in the annexation of 1891, which expanded it from one to four square miles. Accordingly, the city extended outward by a half-mile in each direction, pulling developed areas at its edges and, particularly, the communities to the south, into its borders. By 1900, Greensboro's population had eclipsed 10,000.[52]

52 Brown, "Historic and Architectural Resources of Greensboro, North Carolina, 1880-1941."

Figure 49: "Monuments," (undated) in National Park Service, Guilford Courthouse National Military Park Archives, File No. GUCO 1838. These monuments form part of "Monument Row," on the south side of Old Salisbury/New Garden Road (facing southwest). The visible monuments (from foreground to background) include the David Caldwell Monument, the Joseph Morehead Monument, the David Schenck Monument, and the Alamance (or James Hunter) Monument. Although, the Kings Mountain Monument was placed between the David Schenck and Alamance Monuments, it is not visible.

Many of the GBGC stockholders were civic leaders, who actively promoted and contributed to the city's growth. From the late 1880s through the early 1900s, the GBGC stockholders included current and former town commissioners and aldermen,[53] as well as mayors,[54] governors,[55] and justices of the Superior Court. Numerous GBGC stockholders were involved the creation of new educational facilities, such as the Agricultural and Mechanical College for the Colored Race, as well as religious institutions like the West Market Street Church.[56] In addition, GBGC stockholders

53 Among these were the following: W. D. McAdoo from 1874 to 1875; Dr. D. W. C. Benbow in 1876; Thomas McMahon in 1876 and 1903; Julius A. Gray in 1876; W. E. Bevill, from 1883 through 1884, and from 1888 through 1889; James T. Morehead, in 1884 and from 1888 through 1889; C. P. Vanstory in 1885 and 1890; David Schenck, in 1886 and 1888; P. D. Price, from 1888 through 1890, 1893, 1895 through 1896, and in 1899; J. W. Scott, from 1888 through1891 and in 1900; John L. King, from 1889 through1891; J. A. Odell, from 1888 through1889; J. F. Jordan in 1890; James E. Boyd in 1893; and Hon. A. S. Merrimon, from 1893 through 1900. Albright, *Greensboro, 1808-1904: Facts, Figures, Traditions, and Reminiscences*, 39-41.

54 Among these were the following: Robert M. Sloan, from 1870 through 1873; R. R. King, from 1883 through 1885; J. A. Barringer, from 1887 through 1888; and James E. Boyd in 1894. Ibid.

55 Among these were the following: Thomas M. Holt from 1891 to 1893 and A. M. Scales from 1887 to 1889. Ibid.

56 Ibid.

held prominent positions with the Greensboro National Bank,[57] the City National Bank,[58] and the Piedmont Bank.[59] These banks promoted and benefited from the surge in real estate development as residences were constructed in the suburbs for people who chose to live outside Greensboro's congested business district.[60] Therefore, many GBGC members saw the Guilford Battle Ground Park as an asset to the city, providing numerous amenities to both residents and visitors.[61]

As early as 1888, the GBGC gained support from the City of Greensboro as Schenck explained that the municipality had provided "a liberal and patriotic subscription . . . of Eight shares - $200."[62] Two years later, Schenck wrote:

> "Now that Greensboro has the certain prospect of becoming a large city and extending northward towards the Battle Ground, it is easy to foresee that so interesting and beautiful a place as this, abounding in shade, and supplied with abundance of the purest water, must in the near future, become the park of the city, where its citizens can go for rest and recreation; and that summer cottages will be built up around it where the families of the city can escape the heat and dust and enjoy the fresh air of a delightful country resort."[63]

As Greensboro's first suburbs had developed south of the city from the end of the Civil War to1880, suburban growth began to occur north of the city in the century's last two decades. This coincided with the development of the textile mills and villages by the Cone and Sternberger families. At this time, Schenck attempted to found "Greenwood, as a beautiful little summer villa at the Battle Ground" by delineating seven 100 x 200-foot lots along New Salisbury Road.[64] Schenck described the amenities:

> "The passenger trains on the C. F. & Y. V. go out at 5 o'clock p.m. daily and a freight with passenger caboose attached returns to Greensboro at 7:30 a.m. next day so that men of business who have cottages on these lots can go out every evening and spend the night with their families, take exercise rowing on the lake, escape water works' beverage and drink from the Clyde and Cold Springs, be fanned by the country breezes, sleep the sleep of the blessed and return next morning refrsded [sic] for the labors of the day."[65]

Although the success of Schenck's suburban development venture at Guilford is unknown, it is clear that decades later many individuals still viewed the Guilford Courthouse Battle Ground

57 Among these were the following: A. M. Scales, first president, and board of directors Julius H. Gray, W. E. Bevill, R. R. King, and W. J. Armfield. Ibid., 39-41.

58 A. M. Scales was president while J. Van Lindley was vice president, and J. Allen Holt served as a director. Ibid.

59 A. M. Scales was president. Jerry L. Cross, "Alfred Moore Scales," University of North Carolina Press, http://ncpedia.org/biography/governors/scales.

60 Gayle Hicks Fripp, "History of Greensboro," City of Greensboro, http://www.greensboro-nc.gov/index.aspx?page=142.

61 David Schenck, "Meeting of the Board of Directors, Greensboro, NC, November 14, 1888 " in *David Schenck Papers, 1849-1917, Folder 16: Volume 15: 1887-1900: Scans 15-16* (Southern Historical Collection, The Wilson Library, University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill).

62 David Schenck, "To the Stockholders of the Guilford Battle Ground Company, Greensboro, NC, March 15, 1888," in *David Schenck Papers, 1849-1917, Folder 16: Volume 15: 1887-1900: Scan 25* (Southern Historical Collection, The Wilson Library, University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill).

63 David Schenck, "To the Stockholders of the Guilford Battle Ground Company, Greensboro, NC, March 15, 1890," in *David Schenck Papers, 1849-1917, Folder 16: Volume 15: 1887-1900: Scan 36* (Southern Historical Collection, The Wilson Library, University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill).

64 David Schenck, "'Ho, For Greenwood!', newspaper clipping from the The Greensboro Record, July 17, 1895," in *David Schenck Papers, 1849-1917, Folder 19: Volume 18: 1893-1897: Scan 234* (Southern Historical Collection, The Wilson Library, University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill).

65 Ibid.

Park as "an asset to the City of Greensboro."[66] In 1914, over a decade after Schenck's death, his son, Paul W. Schenck, who also served as the company's president, wrote:

> "The Battle Ground is of decided value. I think that these annual celebrations, aside from the pleasure and instruction which they afford to those who attend, advertise in a large measure of our City of Greensboro, and gives to Greensboro a special and unusual significance which other towns cannot possibly procure for any amount of effort."[67]

While David Schenck embraced the recreational value of the Guilford Battle Ground Park, he certainly also acknowledged its purpose in teaching and memorializing history. In 1898, Schenck published an article in the *Greensboro Recorder* stating, "Let us gather the monuments of the heroes of 1776 together as a practical historical leson [sic] to this generation and to those who will succeed us."[68] Public sculptures have served as didactic tools throughout the ages offering moral, patriotic, and cultural instruction, and the monuments of the Guilford Battle Ground Park exemplify this general trend.[69]

In the early 1900s, when U.S. Vice President Charles Fairbanks visited Guilford, he explained that "he was so impressed with the historical value of the spot and the strolling lecture by the president of the commission, Maj. J. M. Morehead, he suggested this object lesson from teaching history to the State Normal and Industrial College here."[70] The GBGC adopted Fairbanks's suggestion and 300 female history students visited the battlefield with "most of the time being devoted to following Maj. Morehead to the different battle lines, monuments and museums, and hearing his informal lecture on Revolutionary history and the significance of many of the monuments."[71]

To further promote the educational value of the Guilford Battle Ground Park, the GBGC's second president, James M. Morehead, published a newspaper article calling for a "Young People's Day" when students of schools and colleges would visit Guilford. Morehead explained, "Though trite it is true, that school boys often have no particular 'hankering' for schoolbooks, but the stories of the great, the good and the brave, perpetuated and enforced through statues and monuments strike the boy's immaginations [sic] and enlist his interest and sympathy at once."[72] As a reminder of the importance of history, the GBGC erected a monument with a bronze stature of Clio, the Muse of History, in 1909 (Figure 50). Joseph M. Morehead explained, "We hope it wil [sic] inspire a dutiful and inteligent [sic] love of the country's and the state's history in young Americans forever."[73] In addition, Morehead stated, "The Battle Ground enterprise has proven not only a Mecca wither the patriotic assemble, but also a source whence a tremendous influence has gone forth arousing our people to study of and pride in the State's Revolutionary history."[74]

By 1917, the Guilford Battle Ground Park had

66 Research for this historic resource study did not reveal if anyone bought these lots and if any cottages were erected on the land. As Hiatt pointed out in the cultural landscape report, Schenck's vision was at least partially realized later in the mid-1900s when many permanent single-family residences and multiple-occupancy apartment complexes were constructed in the area surrounding the park. Paul W. Schenck, "Minutes of the Annual Meeting of the Directors of the Guilford Battle Ground Company, March 14, 1914," in *David Schenck Papers, 1849-1917, Folder 17: Volume 16: 1911-1917: Scan 57* (Southern Historical Collection, The Wilson Library, University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill).

67 Ibid.

68 David Schenck, "'Two other Monuments to be Erected on Guilford Battle Ground to Generals Nash and Davidson,' newspaper clipping from the Greensboro Record, February 25, 1898 " in *David Schenck Papers, 1849-1917, Folder 20: Volume 19: 1898-1901: Scans 13-14* (Southern Historical Collection, The Wilson Library, University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill).

69 Tolles, "From Model to Monument: American Public Sculpture, 1865–1915."

70 "'Fairbanks Made It,' newspaper clipping reprinted from the Times-Dispatch ", in *Joseph M. Morehead Papers, 1753-1919 and undated, Folder 83a: Undated: Scans 1-2* (Southern Historical Collection, The Wilson Library, University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill).

71 Ibid.

72 Ibid.

73 Joseph M. Morehead, "'The Statue of Clio,' newspaper clipping from the Greensboro Record, November 27, 1907," in *David Schenck Papers, 1849-1917, Folder 20: Volume 19: 1898-1901: Scan 195* (Southern Historical Collection, The Wilson Library, University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill).

74 "Letter from Joseph M. Morehead to Dr. Smith, June 7, 1909," in *Joseph M. Morehead Papers, 1753-1919 and undated. Folder 62a: January-June 1909: Scan 48* (Southern Historical Collection, The Wilson Library, University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill).

Figure 50: "Clio, the Muse of History," (July 3, 1909) in C. Alphonso Smith, The Significance of History in a Democracy (The Guilford Battle Ground Company and The North Carolina Historical Commission, 1909).

gained approximately 30 monuments to not only commemorate the state's history, but it also wanted to encourage the study of its history. In 1916, around the time when negotiations were underway for Guilford to become a national military park under the direction of the War Department, James T. Morehead, Jr., the GBGC's acting secretary, described "a dual purpose and value" that the park fulfilled. He wrote:

> "(1) By the preservation of the grounds; by the marking of historical points on the field; by the erection of monuments; by the historical addresses delivered at the celebrations, it serves as, perhaps, the chief inspiration in North Carolina for the preservation and study of history; and
>
> (2) The Battle Ground as a park, is today an asset of no mean value to the City of Greensboro, Guilford County and North Carolina. Whoever comes to Greensboro as a stranger is interested in and visits the Battle Ground; every convention or other gathering in Greensboro has as a part of its program a visit to Guilford Battle Ground; thousands of picnickers and automobilists use it as a playground each year. Our company has well carried out its dual purpose of encouraging historical research and the preservation of historical grounds; as well as of providing a park of all of North Carolina and of joining in with every civic movement for the upbuilding of Greensboro and our entire State."[75]

Patterns in the Monuments of the Guilford Battle Ground Park

Monuments Honoring 'Successful Heroes and Statesmen'

Influenced by the "rural" cemetery movement of the 1830s, Schenck wanted the Guilford Battle Ground Park to become a pastoral retreat for the citizens of Greensboro where they could also learn about history. The "rural" cemetery movement was characterized by the creation of elaborately designed burial grounds on the outskirts of cities that functioned as parks and counterbalanced "the social, psychological, and visual tensions engendered by urban life" (Figure 51 and Figure 52).[76] Accordingly, Schenck, a chair of Greensboro's city cemetery committee, advocated for the Guilford Battle Ground Park to not only become a "park of the city" but also the state's common burial ground for the American Revolution.[77] It is likely that Schenk also was influenced by the numerous national military

75 Paul W. Schenck, "Minutes of the Annual Meeting of the Directors of the Guilford Battle Ground Company, April 5, 1916," in *David Schenck Papers, 1849-1917, Folder 17: Volume 16: 1911-1917: Scan 70* (Southern Historical Collection, The Wilson Library, University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill).

76 Hiatt, *Guilford Courthouse National Military Park Cultural Landscape Report*: 45; David Schenck, "Diary," in *David Schenck Papers, 1849-1917, Folder 12: Volume 11: 5 March 1887-3 January 1890: Scans 23, 27, 33* (Southern Historical Collection, The Wilson Library, University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill); Thomas Bender, "The 'Rural' Cemetery Movement: Urban Travails and the Appeal of Nature," *Material Life in America*, no. S16.

77 Hiatt, *Guilford Courthouse National Military Park Cultural Landscape Report*: 41; David Schenck, "'Report of the President of the Guilford Battle Ground Company, March 15, 1895,' newspaper clipping from The Greensboro Record," in *David Schenck Papers, 1849-1917, Folder 16: Volume 15: 1887-1900: Scan 120* (Southern Historical Collection, The Wilson Library, University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill).

Figure 51: "Gossler Lot, Mount Auburn Cemetery," (engraving, 1847) in James Smillie's Mount Auburn Illustrated in Finely Drawn Line Engravings. Courtesy of Mount Auburn Cemetery.

Figure 52: "Monument of Gen. Jethro Sumner," in Guilford Battle Ground Co., A Memorial Volume of the Guilford Battle Ground,"(Reece & Elam, Power Job Printers, Greensboro, North Carolina, 1893),112.

cemeteries established during the Civil War, which made him recognize the absence of any American Revolution cemeteries.[78]

In 1891, Schenck explained:

> "If we could gather McDowell and Cleveland and Lenoir and Chronicle from King's Mountain, and Ashe and Blount and Armstrong from Eutaw Springs, and Nash from Germantown, and Forbis of Guilford, and Davie from a score of bloody encounters, and Armstrong and Winston from here, and many other of these faithful comrades to one common State Revolutionary Cemetery."[79]

This goal continued for over a decade as the GBGC's second president, Joseph M. Morehead, wrote in 1903: "It has been the policy and the earnest effort of the Guilford Battle Ground Association to assemble here every worthy hero of the Revolutionary period possible, and re-inter his remains among his comrades of '76. Thus, pilgrims to the tomb of one will honor all."[80] Although the GBGC never fully realized this scheme, it succeeded in having the remains of 10 veterans of the American Revolution and statesmen reinterred in the battlefield park between 1888 and 1906.[81]

Among the 10 notable persons buried at Guilford are the following: (1-3) Privates Cornelius Hagney, John Toland, and William Drew of Captain Robert Kirkwood's Delaware Company, whose remains were discovered near the battleground and reinterred in 1888; (4) Continental Brig. Gen. Jethro Sumner, whose remains were removed "from their neglected abode in Warren County" in 1891;[82] (5) Capt. James Tate, commander of a company of Virginia Militia, whose remains were exhumed in 1891 from the site near the New Garden Meetinghouse, where he died in a pre-battle skirmish; (6) Captain John Daves, quartermaster of the 2nd North Carolina Regiment, whose remains were exhumed from New Bern in 1893; (7-8) John Penn and William Hooper, two of the three North Carolina Signers of the Declaration of Independence, whose remains were reinterred

78 No cemeteries specifically created for American Revolution casualties exist because most soldiers were buried in existing cemeteries located near battlefields. The need to create national military cemeteries only emerged during the Civil War because of the enormous amount of casualties and the lack of existing burial spaces. Elisabeth Walton Potter and Beth M. Boland, "Burial Customs and Cemeteries in American History," National Park Service, U.S. Department of the Interior, http://www.nps.gov/nr/publications/bulletins/nrb41/nrb41_5.htm.

79 David Schenck, "Annual Meeting of Stockholders of the Guilford Battle Ground Company, March 14, 1891," in *David Schenck Papers, 1849-1917, Folder 16: Volume 15: 1887-1900: Scan 48* (Southern Historical Collection, The Wilson Library, University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill).

80 "Letter from Joseph M. Morehead to Captain E. E. Winslow, April 4, 1903," in *Joseph M. Morehead Papers, 1753-1919 and undated, Folder 44d: April 1903: Scan 17* (Southern Historical Collection, The Wilson Library, University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill).

81 The procedure for reinterring remains to the Guilford Battle Ground Park often entailed the president of the company contacting the family of the deceased person in order to obtain their permission and assistance. Hiatt, *Guilford Courthouse National Military Park Cultural Landscape Report*, 26.

82 Guilford Battle Ground Co., *A Memorial Volume of the Guilford Battle Ground Company*, 14.

Figure 53: "Monument of the Maryland Line," in Guilford Battle Ground Co., A Memorial Volume of the Guilford Battle Ground,"(Reece & Elam, Power Job Printers, Greensboro, North Carolina, 1893),143.

at Guilford in 1894; (9) Joseph Winston, colonel in the North Carolina Militia, who led a company of riflemen at Guilford and later represented North Carolina as both a Representative and a Senator in the United States Congress, reinterred in 1906; and (10) Jesse Franklin, a major who fought at Guilford and later served as governor of North Carolina, also reinterred in 1906.[83]

The GBGC erected seven monuments to mark the locations of these burial sites and to commemorate the lives of those individuals. As Schenck pointed out, "It is the reverence and honor paid to the memorieso [sic] of the dead, who are worthy of it, that incites the living to deeds of honor and glory, that they too might not be forgotten by those who shall come after them."[84] The commemorative monuments associated with burial sites at the Guilford Battle Ground Park comprise nearly a quarter of all the monuments erected in the period from 1886 through 1917 when the GBGC owned and managed the site.[85] The monuments marking graves at Guilford range in type from the large, rough granite block of the Maryland Monument to the bronze, sculptural Hooper Penn Monument

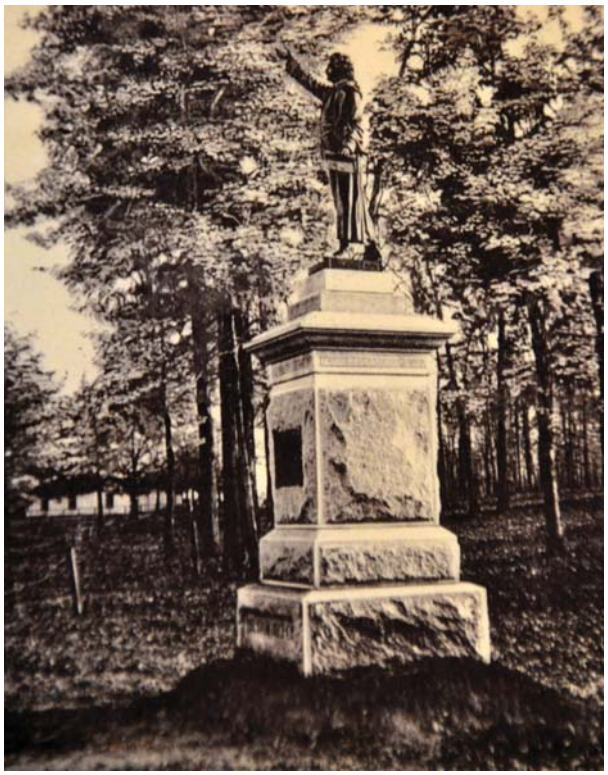


Figure 54: "The Hooper Penn Monument," (undated) in National Park Service, Guilford Courthouse National Military Park Archives.

Figure 55: "Franklin and Winston grave markers," (undated) in National Park Service, Guilford Courthouse National Military Park Archives, File No. GUCO 1907.

and the simple stone markers of the Winston and Franklin graves (Figure 53, Figure 54, and Figure 55). The variety of monuments marking the graves at Guilford differed greatly from the simple, standardized commemorative plaques placed uniformly throughout the landscapes of the perpetual care lawn cemeteries or memorial parks that had gained popularity in the 1880s and 1890s.[86]

83 The unmarked grave of the third signer, Joseph Hewes, could not be found. "'The Illustrous Signers,' newspaper clipping from The Greensboro Record, May 11, 1894," in *David Schenck Papers, 1849-1917, Folder 19: Volume 18: 1893-1897: Scan 64* (Southern Historical Collection, The Wilson Library, University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill).

84 Schenck, "Annual Report of President Schenck, March 14, 1891."

85 The GBGC erected seven monuments to mark gravesites. The Continental (or the Delaware) Monument marked three adjacent burials while the Hooper Penn (or Signers) Monument marked two neighboring graves.

86 Potter and Boland, "Burial Customs and Cemeteries in American History."

It is clear that by 1892 a growing number of individuals and groups subscribed to Schenck's ideas of Guilford serving as a "park of the city" and as "one common State Revolutionary Cemetery" as the list of GBGC stockholders nearly tripled. Still, Schenck continued to enlist the support of as many individuals and groups as possible, as he wrote to the *Greensboro Record* on March 15, 1895:

> "I want the time to come when no respectable man in Greensboro, who is able to become a Stockholder shall longer neglect his duty. . . . To those who are not able to take a share of stock, but whose hearts are in the great work we have undertaken, we bid a hearty welcome to our meeting. We take the wish for the deed, his mite, his word of encouragement and blessing is worth more to us than those who are able to help pecuniarily, but withhold what they ought to give."[87]

The steadily increasing interest in Guilford greatly contributed to the erection of many additional monuments at the Guilford Battle Ground Park. In 1896, Schenck explained: "Every year we have added to our monuments, until the grounds are dotted with them."[88] Similar to the graves, many of these additional monuments commemorated "the successful heroes and statesmen who broke the chains of a monarchal government that bound them in slavery, and established an everlasting foundation the right of man to self government. . . ."[89] From 1886 until his death in 1902, Schenck was "unceasing in his efforts to place upon the Battleground monuments to perpetuate the renown of its heroes and of others who had contributed to the glory" of North Carolina, which indicates that he did not intend to preserve the battlefield in a way that authentically represented its Revolutionary period.[90]

Among these monuments were the following: (1) the Arthur Forbis Monument, dedicated in 1887 to the colonel of the North Carolina troops, who was mortally wounded in the battle at Guilford Courthouse; (2) the Joseph Winston Monument, dedicated in 1893 and 1895 to commemorate the colonel of the North Carolina Militia, who fought at the Guilford battle and later served three terms in the U.S. House of Representatives; (3) the Henry "Hal" Dixon Monument, dedicated in 1896 to an American Revolution officer from present-day Caswell County; (4) the James Gillies Monument, dedicated in 1898 to an American bugle boy killed in Guilford County on February 13, 1781; (5) the James Morehead Monument, dedicated in 1901 to honor his service as an officer in the North Carolina Continental Line; (6) the Nathaniel Macon Monument, dedicated in 1902 to the officer in Greene's army who left before the battle to fill an elected seat in the North Carolina Assembly and later became a Speaker of the U.S. House of Representatives; (7) the David Caldwell Monument, dedicated in 1909 to the educator and preacher, who was a member of the convention that formed the Constitution of the state of North Carolina in 1776; (8-9) the Davidson and Nash Arches, dedicated in 1906 to honor William Lee Davidson, a North Carolina militia general in the American Revolution, and Brig. Gen. Francis Nash, who was fatally wounded in the 1777 Battle of Germantown; (10) the Cavalry (or Francisco) Monument, intended to mark the point from where the American cavalry charged the British Guards and dedicated in 1910 to Peter Francisco, an American Revolution patriot and soldier, who fought with Washington's cavalry; (11) the Third Line (or Regulars) Monument, dedicated in 1910 to commemorate the entire American Third Line rather than an individual hero; and, finally, (12) the Nathanael Greene Monument, in honor of the general who led troops in Southern Campaign

87 David Schenck, "Report of the President of the Guilford Battle Ground Company, March 15, 1895, newspaper clipping from the Greensboro Record," in *David Schenck Papers, 1849-1917, Folder 16: Volume 15: 1887-1900: Scan 120* (Southern Historical Collection, The Wilson Library, University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill).

88 David Schenck, "President Schenck's Report, newspaper clipping from the Greensboro Record, March 15, 1896," in *David Schenck Papers, 1849-1917, Folder 16: Volume 15: 1887-1900: Scan 128* (Southern Historical Collection, The Wilson Library, University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill).

89 Schenck, "Report of the President of the Guilford Battle Ground Company, March 15, 1895, newspaper clipping from the Greensboro Record."

90 Jr. James T. Morehead, "Minutes of Meeting (Called) of the Directors of the Guilford Battle Ground Company, February 14, 1911," in *David Schenck Papers, 1849-1917, Folder 17: Volume 16: 1911-1917: Scan 9* (Southern Historical Collection, The Wilson Library, University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill).

Figure 56: "James Stuart Monument," (undated) in National Park Service, Guilford Courthouse National Military Park Archives, File No. GUCO 1833.

Figure 57: "David Schenck Monument," (undated) in National Park Service, Guilford Courthouse National Military Park Archives, File No. GUCO 1847.

battles, such as the Battle at Guilford Courthouse, which did not result in a victory, but did weaken the British military.

Interestingly, not all of the GBGC's monuments honored those who fought on the American side. In 1895, the GBGC approved the erection of the James Stuart Monument to honor the British soldier who died in the Guilford battle (Figure 56). Although the monument was a simple, white marble shaft with a granite base, the GBGC was perhaps influenced by a statewide trend to erect "costly and Magnificent piles of granite, adorned with statues of bronze to the heroes of the 'Lost Cause' because they fought and died for what they believed to be right though they failed, and the Government they served crumbled beneath their feet and falling ruins around them."[91] Schenck explained, "...honor and reverence is due them for their manhood and heroism and love of home ..."[92] The GBGC placed the monument where they believed Stuart's sword was discovered protruding from the ground.

As Schenck dedicated his "untiring energy" to developing the Guilford Battle Ground Park and erecting monuments on its grounds, it is not surprising that the GBGC soon began to feel that "every inch" of the park should one day become "a monument to his memory."[93] After Schenck's death in 1902, newspaper articles donned him "the greatest man in the state" for his unwavering patriotism.[94] In 1904, the GBGC proceeded in erecting the Schenck Monument, a granite pylon with an inset bronze plaque, to the memory of their first president (Figure 57). Maj. Joseph Motley Morehead, a stockholder in the GBGC and former North Carolina Governor, succeeded Schenck as president of the GBGC. Morehead, a steadfast fundraiser, supervised the GBGC's successful efforts to erect monuments to Gen. Davidson and Gen. Nash, as well as to Maj. Gen. Nathanael Greene, on its grounds. In 1913, two years after his death, the GBGC erected a monument in Morehead's honor (Figure 58). The monuments to Schenck and Morehead suggest how their contemporaries viewed them as "successful heroes and statesmen," not dissimilar to those who fought in the American Revolution.

91 Schenck, "'Report of the President of the Guilford Battle Ground Company, March 15, 1895,' newspaper clipping from The Greensboro Record."

92 Ibid.

93 David Schenck, "Annual Meeting of the Guilford Battle Ground Stockholders, March 16, 1892," in *David Schenck Papers, 1849-1917, Folder 16: Volume 15: 1887-1900: Scan 58* (Southern Historical Collection, The Wilson Library, University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill).

94 "'The Greatest Man in the State,' newspaper clipping from The News and Observer, August 28, 1902," in *David Schenck Papers, 1849-1917, Folder 20: Volume 19: 1898-1901: Scan 163* (Southern Historical Collection, The Wilson Library, University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill).

Figure 58: "Joseph M. Morehead Monument," (undated) in National Park Service, Guilford Courthouse National Military Park Archives, File No. GUCO 1881.

Figure 59: "Arthur Forbis Monument," (undated) in National Park Service, Guilford Courthouse National Military Park Archives, File No. GUCO 1828.

The numerous monuments at Guilford honoring "successful heroes and statesmen" varied greatly in style and size.[95] The Arthur Forbis Monument assumed the form of a traditional tombstone carved of granite (Figure 59), although his remains are located at Alamance Presbyterian Church. Monuments like the ones dedicated to Joseph Morehead and Joseph Winston (Figure 58 and Figure 60), however, were embellished with statues mounted atop granite bases. Schenck commented on the aesthetics of the Winston monument, designed by Greensboro architect Orlo Epps, stating "I do not hesitate to say that for a single figure in statuary, it is not excelled in beauty and artistic excellence anywhere in the Union."[96] The majority of these monuments, however, consisted of rough granite slabs with bronze tablets bearing inscriptions, such as the diamond-shaped James Gillies Monument (Figure 61). As for the Nathanael Macon Monument, the "rude stone" was symbolic of his political and social philosophy of simplicity and rigid economy.[97]

Other monuments, such as the Cavalry (or Francisco) Monument, assumed the form of an obelisk, drawing inspiration from Ancient Egypt (Figure 62). Ancient Egyptians placed obelisks in pairs at temple entrances to symbolize petrified rays of light and the Egyptian sun god, Ra. From the 1800s through the 1920s, an Egyptian Revival movement became popular in America as architects and artists used major motifs of Egyptian art in their works to provide an exotic alternative to the more traditional styles of the day.[98] While authentic Egyptian obelisks were created from one piece of quarried stone, the Cavalry Monument

95 The monuments associated with graves discussed in the previous subsection also fit in this category of monuments honoring heroes and statesmen. The subject of heroes and statesmen thus composes the vast majority of all monuments at Guilford.

96 David Schenck, "'Report of the President of the Guilford Battle Ground Company, March 15, 1895,' newspaper clipping from The Greensboro Record," in *David Schenck Papers, 1849-1917, Folder 16: Volume 15: 1887-1900: Scan 121* (Southern Historical Collection, The Wilson Library, University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill).

97 Quote from the monument's inscription.

98 Sara Ickow, "Egyptian Revival," *Heilbrunn Timeline of Art History*(2012), http://www.metmuseum.org/toah/hd/erev/hd_erev.htm.

Figure 60: "Winston Monument",(undated) in National Park Service, Guilford Courthouse National Military Park Archives, File No. GUCO 1904. The base of the sculpture was dedicated in 1893, while the sculpture was added in 1895 after the Guilford Battle Ground Company raised additional funds. The monument also has been referred to as the Holt Monument because of its main benefactor, Governor Thomas Holt.

Figure 61: "Gillies Monument," (undated) in National Park Service, Guilford Courthouse National Military Park Archives, Photograph Collection, File No. GUCO 1832.

at Guilford was created from many pieces of cut granite. In addition, the Cavalry Monument reflects a much different meaning than the ones in Ancient Egypt as its size and form was intended to symbolize Revolutionary soldier Peter Francisco, who was "a giant in stature, / might and courage" (Figure 62).[99]

Early in the development of the Guilford Battle Ground Park, Schenck noted, "Monuments, not costly, but simple, expressive, and durable, mark the consecrated localities, which were fast fading

Figure 62: "Francisco Monument," (undated) in National Park Service, Guilford Courthouse National Military Park Archives, File No. 1894.

99 Quote from the monument's inscription.

from the memory of man."[100] Over time, however, the GBGC's monuments became increasingly elaborate as funding from the U.S. Government provided much greater budgets for projects, such as the Davidson and Nash Monuments. As compared with the many privately-funded monuments that cost several hundred dollars, the large triumphal arches carved from local Mount Airy granite cost approximately $10,000 to erect after the turn of the century (Figure 63).[101] Thomas Woodroffe, Jr. of Mount Airy Quarries explained, "Our idea would be to erect something comparatively plain, but massive and monumental, something that would stand for ages."[102] While the tradition of constructing triumphal arches dates back to Roman times, more recent examples, such as the Washington Square Arch constructed in New York in 1892, may have inspired the ones at Guilford (Figure 64).[103]

Figure 63: "Davidson and Nash Monuments," (undated) in National Park Service, Guilford Courthouse National Military Park Archives, Photograph Collection, File No. GUCO 1856.

Figure 64: A print of the monumental arch at Washington Square Park in the Greenwich Village neighborhood of Lower Manhattan in New York City.

In the 1910s, the U.S. Government appropriated $30,000 for the construction of the Greene Monument—by far the most costly of all the monuments at Guilford (Figure 65).[104] The monument also differed from the others at Guilford as it involved a design competition and involved collaboration between the Fine Arts Commission and the War Department, which limited the input of the GBGC. The final design consisted of two bronze statues—one of Nathanael Greene mounted on his horse and the other of a classically-garbed Athena with a shield and laurels—set on a granite base. James T. Morehead, Jr., the GBGC acting secretary, wrote: "It is not necessary for me to mention that the Monument is regarded by all who see it one of the handsomest

100 David Schenck, "Guilford Battle Ground Annual Meeting of Stockholders, newspaper clipping, March 15, 1889," in *David Schenck Papers, 1849-1917, Folder 16: Volume 15: 1887-1900: Scan 34* (Southern Historical Collection, The Wilson Library, University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill).

101 "'Dedication of the Washington Arch' from The Spirit of '76, May 1895," in *David Schenck Papers, 1849-1917, Folder 19: Volume 18: 1893-1897: Scan 216* (Southern Historical Collection, The Wilson Library, University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill).

102 Schenck, "To the Stockholders of the Guilford Battle Ground Company, Greensboro, NC, March 15, 1890."

103 "'Dedication of the Washington Arch' from The Spirit of '76, May 1895."; ibid.; "Public Resolution--No. 3," in *Collection Title: Joseph M. Morehead Papers, 1753-1919, Folder 44c: March 1903: Scan 4* (Southern Historical Collection, The Wilson Library, University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill)."

104 United States. Army. Office of the Chief of Engineers, *Erection of monument to commemorate the Battle of Guilford Courthouse, N.C., and in memory of Maj .Gen. Nathanael Greene and the officers and soldiers of the Continental Army who participated with him in the Battle of Guilford Courthouse* (Washington, D.C.: Washington : G.P.O., 1912).

Figure 65: "Nathanael Greene Monument," (undated) in the Charles Randolph Thomas Papers, #1814, Southern Historical Collection, The Wilson Library, University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill.

and most artistic in the nation."[105] While the Greene Monument was the last erected during the GBGC's era, it was perhaps the company's greatest achievement as it led to the U.S. Government's acquisition of the Guilford Battle Ground Park and establishment of the Guilford Courthouse National Military Park.

Monuments Honoring Women and Commemorating Other Battles

In the 1880s and early 1890s, women's rights reached a turning point when the nation experienced a surge of volunteerism among middle-class women. At this time, activists in progressive causes, members of women's clubs and professional societies, temperance advocates, and participants in local civic and charity organizations.[106]Although the GBGC did not erect any monuments to women in these last decades of the 1800s, Hon. Kemp P. Battle, a history professor at the University of North Carolina, gave "a few words in recognition of the deeds and services of the women of the Revolution" in his address at the July 4th celebration at Guilford in 1893. Battle explained,

105 James T. Morehead, "To the Directors of the Stockholders of the Guilford Battle Ground Company, April 5, 1916," in *David Schenck Papers, 1849-1917, Folder 17: Volume 16: 1911-1917: Scan 68* (Southern Historical Collection, The Wilson Library, University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill).

106 Art & Archives History, U.S. House of Representatives, and Office of the Historian, "The Women's Rights Movement, 1848–1920," U.S. Government Printing Office, http://history.house.gov/Exhibitions-and-Publications/WIC/Historical-Essays/No-Lady/Womens-Rights/.

Figure 66: "Karrenhappuch Turner Monument," (undated) National Park Service, Guilford Courthouse National Military Park Archives, Photograph Collection, File No. GUCO 1831.

> "Without the unselfish sacrifices and labors of the women, their husbands, fathers, brothers, and sons could not have won our freedom. They assisted in providing food and clothing and in moulding the bullets for them. They cared for the sick and wounded, furnished information of hostile movements, aye, and often with manlike bravery defended their homes from tories and robbers."[107]

In his address, Battle detailed the instance of individual heroism of Mrs. Martha McFarland McGhee Bell, although it was not until 1929, during the War Department's management of Guilford, that the Alexander Martin Chapter of the Daughters of the American Revolution in High Point, North Carolina, erected a monument in her honor.

In 1902, the GBGC erected its first monument honoring a woman—Mrs. Kerrenhappuch Norman Turner (Figure 31). Oral tradition indicates that upon news of her son's grave injury at the Guilford battle, Kerrenhappuch rode on horseback to his aid, where she supposedly nursed him back to health. The statue depicts her holding a cup of water and a towel, which represent the basic tools

107 Guilford Battle Ground Co., *A Memorial Volume of the Guilford Battle Ground Company*, 84-86.

of her nursing care. As Mrs. Turner was an ancestor of the Morehead family, James T. and Joseph M. Morehead sponsored the monument. GBGC president Joseph M. Morehead took great pride in having a monument to a woman and later cited it as proof of the relevance of Guilford, writing "Besides we have here the first monument to a Revolutionary heroine erected in the United States. This has been denied to me by some, who upon investigation had no more to say. There are groups of men and women, but this is to a woman."[108]

While the Kerrenhappuch-Turner Monument held a somewhat strong association with the Guilford battlefield, many of the other monuments memorializing the statesmen lacked direct association with the actual battle. Thus, it is not surprising that the GBGC erected monuments commemorating two other significant American Revolution battles: (1) the Battle of Alamance, fought in 1771, nearby Burlington, North Carolina (Figure 67); and (2) the Battle of Kings Mountain, fought on October 7, 1780, near Blacksburg, South Carolina (Figure 68). The GBGC perhaps decided to commemorate the Battle of the Alamance as it was considered the opening salvo of the American Revolution and the Battle of Kings Mountain because it represented the first major patriot victory that occurred after the British invasion of Charleston, South Carolina. Although the GBGC's decision to erect these monuments may seem unusual given contemporary preservation standards, one can view the monuments in the context of the period as Schenck intended for the Guilford Battle Ground Park to serve as the state's common cemetery and park for the American Revolution.

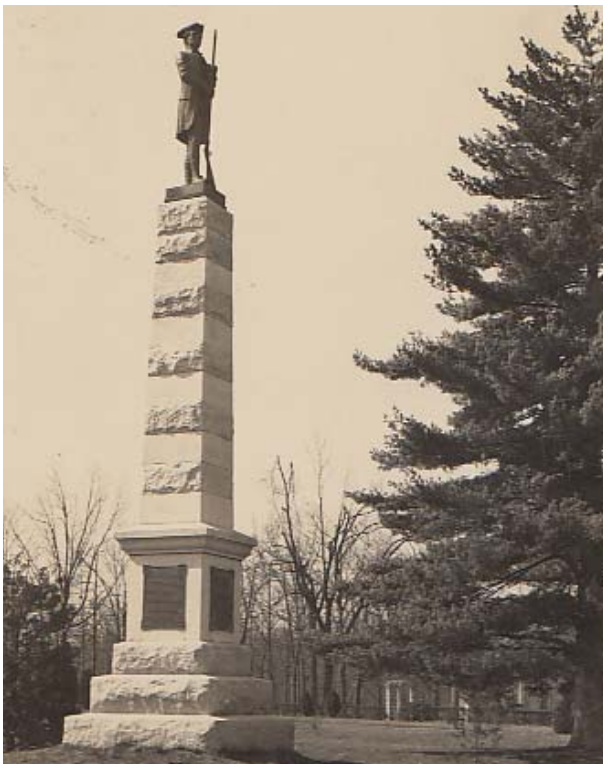


Figure 67: "Alamance Monument," (undated) National Park Service, Guilford Courthouse National Military Park Archives, Photograph Collection, File No. GUCO 1910.

Figure 68: "Kings Mountain Monument", (undated) National Park Service, Guilford Courthouse National Military Park Archives, Photograph Collection, File No. GUCO 1822.

Sources, Materials, and Design Techniques of the Guilford Monuments

Quarries and Metal Foundries

The vast majority of the monuments at Guilford were carved from granite, with the exception of a few that were marble. McGalliard and Huske of Kernersville Granite Works, located about 20 miles west of Greensboro, provided granite for the Arthur Forbis Monument, the first erected by the GBGC. In 1887, Hubert Lindsay, editor of the *News & Farm* described the company:

> The granite monumental and building works situated at the depot has a very promising outlook. About two years ago the quarry was leased by Messrs. McGalliard & Huske, who determined to make a successful business out of it. They are well fixed with derrick, polishing

108 "Letter from Joseph M. Morehead to Dr. Smith, June 7, 1909."

> engine and other modern appliances for having the heaviest metal and doing the finest work … McGalliard & Huske are the only men in North Carolina, in the business, who make a specialty of fine work, and Mr. C. A. McGalliard was the first man in the State to polish granite. There [sic] orders in the last two years have come from all over the state.[109]

Despite the growing reputation and acknowledgment of its superior materials, the company went out of business on June 22, 1888.[110] That year, however, the Atlantic & Yadkin Railroad was extended to Mount Airy, North Carolina, to provide access to its abundant granite outcrops. At this time, Thomas Woodroffe, Sr., an English businessman from Greensboro and GBGC stockholder, purchased land in Mount Airy for $5,000, sold stock for a new granite quarrying business called the North Carolina Granite Corporation, and subsequently began commercial operations. In 1890, the shipment of granite from the quarries in Mount Airy totaled 135 carloads. With orders from across the nation, the business grew considerably and shipped 1,282 carloads in 1904 (Figure 69).[111]

It is likely that Thomas Woodroffe, Sr., as well as Julius A. Gray, who served as president of the Mount Airy Granite Company, both played key roles in developing working relationships between the GBGC and the Mount Airy quarries.[112] The Mount Airy Granite Company provided materials for numerous monuments at Guilford, including

Figure 69: "General Quarry View, N.C. Granite Corp, Mt. Airy, NC" in Durwood Barbour Collection of North Carolina Postcards (P077), North Carolina Collection Photographic Archives, Wilson Library, UNC-Chapel Hill.

the Winston (or Holt), the "Hal" Dixon, the Colonial (or Alamance), the Hooper Penn, the Gillies, and the Schenck monuments, and the Davidson and Nash Arches, as well as for the base of the Greene Monument.[113] The GBGC "President's Report for the year 1904" explained the monuments erected since 1901 cost "about two-thirds of their value because of the great liberality to the grounds of the Messrs. Wodroffe, Lessees, of the wonderful Mount Airy Granite Quarry."[114]

109 The article continued to state that "Among the orders filled have been the following:—granite for the new Methodist Church at Winston; for the Jewish Synagogue at Goldsboro; a fine monument to R.J. Reynolds in Winston, N.C.; granite for Y.H. Pegram's residence at Winston; granite for J.A. Gray's fine residence, Winston; monument to W.D. Stockton, Kernersville; polished cornerstone for Greensboro's Graded School building; monument to Thomas Crumpler, and O.G. Parsley, of Wilmington; a monument for the grave of W.P. Mast, Suffner, Fla.; and an order for a memorial tablet for the mother of Thomas Crews." Michael Lee Marshall and Jerry Lee Taylor, *Remembering Kernersville*, American Chronicles (Charleston, SC: The History Press, 2010), 70-71.

110 Ibid.

111 Between 1890 and 1904, the Atlantic & Yadkin Railroad transported 13,232 carloads of granite across the country. "Granites of Southeastern Atlantic States," *Bulletin – United States Geological Survey*, no. 426 (1910).

112 Bell, "Julius Alexander Gray."

113 David Schenck, "'Hooper Monument,' newspaper clipping from the *Greensboro Record*, May 16, 1894," in *David Schenck Papers, 1849-1917, Folder 19: Volume 18: 1893-1897: Scan 61* (Southern Historical Collection, The Wilson Library, University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill); Schenck, "'Report of the President of the Guilford Battle Ground Company, March 15, 1895,' newspaper clipping from The Greensboro Record."; David Schenck, "'Cenotaph to Gillies,' undated newspaper article clipping," in *David Schenck Papers, 1849-1917, Folder 20: Volume 19: 1898-1901: Scan 26* (Southern Historical Collection, The Wilson Library, University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill); David Schenck, "Annual Report to the Stock Holders and Directors of the Guilford Battle Ground Company, 1914," in *David Schenck Papers, 1849-1917, Folder 17: Volume 16: 1911-1917: Scan 62* (Southern Historical Collection, The Wilson Library, University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill). Joseph M. Morehead, "'Judge Schenck Monument,' undated newspaper clipping," in *David Schenck Papers, 1849-1917, Folder 20: Volume 19: 1898-1901: Scan 182* (Southern Historical Collection, The Wilson Library, University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill); "Letter from Thomas Woodroffe of Mount Airy Granite Quarries to Joseph M. Morehead, May 16, 1901," in *Joseph M. Morehead Papers, 1753-1919 and undated, Folder 38a: April-May 1901: Scan 52* (Southern Historical Collection, The Wilson Library, University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill); "Letter from Joseph M. Morehead to Hon. W. W. Kitchin, February 15, 1904," in *Joseph M. Morehead Papers, 1753-1919 and undated, Folder 48a: January-March 1904: Scan 35* (Southern Historical Collection, The Wilson Library, University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill).

114 Schenck, "Annual Report of President Schenck, March 14, 1891."

A newspaper article described the process for the creation of the Hooper Penn Monument, explaining "Mr. Sam Brown assisted by Robert Woodward did the work…. Mr. Hackett [a Greensboro architect] made the drawing for the base rock and it is now in the hands of the Mt. Airy Granite Company, which will dress the stone and letter."[115] The GBGC often were quite pleased with the company's work as is evident in a letter from Schenck stating that the granite used for the Winston Monument " … is of very superior quality and so fair that at a distance it is difficult for one to distinguish it from marble. Its fine grain and lively appearance at a nearer view lend it great beauty, and upon the whole I think it is one of the most lovely monuments that I have ever seen."[116]

While granite was the most popular material for monument making due to its abundance in the area and accessibility, several monuments at Guilford were composed of marble. For example, the J. H. Neese Marble Yard in Greensboro provided "a polished Italian marble tablet" for the panel of the Sumner Monument.[117] Schenck explained, "It is quite an artistic piece of marble work. For this handsome present we are indebted to our townman, Mr. J. H. Neese, an enterprising marble dealer…."[118] Neese also provided the "polished, round, marble shaft…supported by base and die" for the Stuart Monument. For a period, the monument was on exhibition at the marble yard and Schenck explained, "It is a unique and striking design, one much admired."[119]

Several of the granite monuments at Guilford incorporated cast bronze sculptures atop the bases, while many others contained bronze tablets or plaques set into the stone. While casting bronze into sculptural form was a centuries-old tradition, Americans did not possess the technology to cast bronze sculpture in this country before the mid-1800s and thus either relied on European foundries or had their works carved in marble. By 1850, however, bronze casting in the United States became symbolic because it "reflected America's growing confidence and ambition as a world power while at the same time proclaiming its artistic independence from European sculptural models and materials."[120]

Between 1850 and 1900, the remarkable development of specialized foundries and the proliferation of trained labor and equipment enabled sculptors to work in their homeland rather than abroad. In the late 1800s, bronze eclipsed marble as the medium of choice as Americans viewed the medium as stronger and more practical for public monuments.[121] The bronze-casting movement lasted for several decades, with major sculptors such as John Quincy Adams Ward and Augustus Saint-Gaudens producing monuments that addressed themes of war, slavery, and Reconstruction. A Beaux-Arts aesthetic that emphasized naturalism and dynamic treatment of form and surface characterized most of these monuments.[122]

The bronze work associated with the monuments at Guilford can be viewed in light of industrialization and the national trend in sculpture at the time. In 1893, John M. Morehead

115 David Schenck, "'William Hooper,' newspaper clipping from The Charlotte Observer, May 16, 1894," in *David Schenck Papers, 1849-1917, Folder 19: Volume 18: 1893-1897: Scan 61* (Southern Historical Collection, The Wilson Library, University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill).

116 David Schenck, "'Mt. Airy Granite," newspaper clipping from The Greensboro Record, August 25, 1893," in *David Schenck Papers, 1849-1917, Folder 19: Volume 18: 1893-1897: Scan 28* (Southern Historical Collection, The Wilson Library, University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill).

117 David Schenck, "'G.B.G. Company, Annual Meeting of the Stockholders Held Yesterday,' newspaper clipping from The Greensboro Record, March 15, 1896," in *David Schenck Papers, 1849-1917, Folder 16: Volume 15: 1887-1900: Scan 129* (Southern Historical Collection, The Wilson Library, University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill).

118 Ibid.

119 "'Monument,' newspaper clipping from The Greensboro Record, December 6, 1895," in *David Schenck Papers, 1849-1917, Folder 19: Volume 18: 1893-1897: Scan 251* (Southern Historical Collection, The Wilson Library, University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill).

120 Thayer Tolles, "American Bronze Casting," *Heilbrunn Timeline of Art History*(2004), http://www.metmuseum.org/toah/hd/abrc/hd_abrc.htm.

121 Ibid.

122 Tolles, "From Model to Monument: American Public Sculpture, 1865–1915."

stated "It is a melancholy fact, known to us all, that within this State there is not one North Carolinian whose form has been moulded in bronze. . . ."[123] Soon after, the GBGC began incorporating bronze plaques and sculptures into its monuments. Much of this work can be traced to two foundries: the Bureau Brothers of Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, and W. H. Mullins, Manufacturer of Architectural Sheet Metal Work and Statuary, of Salem, Ohio.

In the 1870s, two French immigrants, Achille and Edouard Bureau, established the Bureau Brothers Foundry. For many years, it was one of America's premier art foundries producing cast works by some of the nation's leading sculptors.[124] A book on the *Metal Industry* published in 1919 explained, "Many of the beautiful statues and monuments all over the country are their productions."[125] While the Bureau Brothers perhaps were most known for their bronze statues, one of their advertisements explained, "We have an increasing demand for our Memorial and Inscription Tablets."[126] The Bureau Brothers were responsible for producing the militiaman sculpture for the Colonial (or Alamance) Monument, in addition to tablets for the Winston (or Holt), James Morehead and Clio monuments, among others.[127]

While it appears that the GBGC most often worked with Bureau Brothers to create bronze tablets, they contracted W. H. Mullins for much of the statuary at Guilford, which appears on the Winston (or Holt), the Hooper Penn, the Kerrenhappuch Turner, the Clio, and the Joseph Morehead monuments.[128] W. H. Mullins was established in 1890 although its antecedents dated to 1872.[129] The company was responsible for producing important statues by well-known sculptors that were placed in prominent locations throughout major cities. Among these statues are: the 18-foot-high *Diana* by Augustus Saint-Gaudens, which stood atop the old Madison Square Garden in New York and is now at the Philadelphia Museum of Art; the 32- foot-high *Hermann* at New Ulm, Minnesota; Philip Martiny's *Progress* atop the New York Life Building in New York; and *Progress* on the Montgomery Ward Building in Chicago. The company also sent statues abroad, including figures for the Juarez Theatre in Guanajuato, Mexico, and several monuments in Guatemala City. In addition they produced copper roofing and metalwork for the Library of Congress and Corcoran Art Gallery in Washington D.C.; the Naval Academy Buildings in Annapolis, Maryland; and Stanford University.

Until 1899 the principal sculptors at the company were the German-born brothers Hubert and Alphons Pelzer (d. 1904). The Swiss-born John Segesman (1865-1953) joined the company as a modeler in 1896 and became the lead sculptor after the Pelzer's retirements, ultimately working

123 Guilford Battle Ground Co., *A Memorial Volume of the Guilford Battle Ground Company,* 61.

124 *American Architect and Architecture*, vol. XXXV (Boston: Ticknor and Co. Publishers, 1892), 92.

125 *Metal Industry*, vol. 17 (New York: Metal Industry Publishing Company, 1919), 407-08.

126 Ibid.

127 Guilford Battle Ground Co., *A Memorial Volume of the Guilford Battle Ground Company*: 20; Joseph M. Morehead, "'The Battle of Elizabeth Town, Tablet at the Guilford Battle,' undated newspaper clipping," in *David Schenck Papers, 1849-1917, Folder 20: Volume 19: 1898-1901: Scan 144* (Southern Historical Collection, The Wilson Library, University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill); "Letter from W. H. Mullins to Joseph M. Morehead, April 1, 1901," in *Joseph M. Morehead Papers, 1753-1919 and undated, Folder 38a: April-May 1901: Scan 1* (Southern Historical Collection, The Wilson Library, University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill); "Letter from Bureau Brothers to Joseph M. Morehead, July 26, 1900," in *Joseph M. Morehead Papers, 1753-1919 and undated, Folder 35b: July-August 1900: Scan 51* (Southern Historical Collection, The Wilson Library, University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill); "Letter from Bureau Brothers to Joseph M. Morehead, August 29, 1901," in *Joseph M. Morehead Papers, 1753-1919 and undated, Folder 39a: August-September 1901: Scan 15* (Southern Historical Collection, The Wilson Library, University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill).

128 "Letter from W. H. Mullins to David Schenck, September 22, 1896," in *David Schenck Papers, 1849-1917, Folder 19: Volume 18: 1893-1897: Scan 352* (Southern Historical Collection, The Wilson Library, University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill); "Letter from W. H. Mullins to David Schenck, August 11, 1894," in *David Schenck Papers, 1849-1917, Folder 19: Volume 18: 1893-1897: Scan 125* (Southern Historical Collection, The Wilson Library, University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill); "Letter from W. H. Mullins to Joseph M. Morehead, August 21, 1900," in *Joseph M. Morehead Papers, 1753-1919 and undated, Folder 35b: July-August 1900: Scan 104* (Southern Historical Collection, The Wilson Library, University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill).

129 The history of the company is as follows: 1872 – Kittredge, Clark & Co., Salem, Ohio, and National Ornament Co., Toledo, Ohio; 1874 – Kittrede Cornice & Ornament Co., Salem, and Thompson, Boyle & Co.; circa 1879 – Thompson & Bakewell (Thomas H. Bakewell was owner of the Duquesne Foundry in Pittsburgh); 1882 – Bakewell & Mullins; 1892 – W. H. Mullins; and 1939 – Mullins Manufacturing Co. Carol A. Grissom, *Zinc Sculpture in America, 1850-1950* (New Jersey: Rosemont Publishing & Printing Corp., 2009).

at Mullins for 25 years.[130] Alphons Pelzer was responsible for sculpting the Winston (or Holt) Monument at Guilford while the Kerrenhappuch Turner Monument is attributed to John Segesman.[131] At this time, it was common for these artists to create preparatory models, or maquettes, to represent their vision for the final monument before they translated it into permanent media.[132]

A letter from W.H. Mullins to Joseph M. Morehead lends insight into the process of creating preparatory models in order to achieve a satisfactory design. With regards to the Colonial (or Alamance) Monument, W. H. Mullins explained how his modeler began work on the figure to carry out Morehead's "general idea," but in order to give the monument enough "action and life" he had one of his "young men dress up in modern uniform . . . and pose in different positions." (Figure 70 and Figure 71)[133] A letter from J. Bryan Grimes, Secretary of the State of North Carolina, reveals how the GBGC sought historical accuracy in the details of its sculptures. In response to an inquiry from Joseph M. Morehead regarding Generals Davidson and Nash, Grimes wrote, "I am sorry I can not tell you the difference in the uniforms you inquire about. I am informed that the War Department probably has colored plates of all the various Revolutionary uniforms of the States and the Continental Army and those worn since that time and am quite sure they can give you the information you desire."[134]

The process of creating small and full-sized models for a sculpture was often a long and tedious process as can be seen with the Nathanael Greene Monument, sculpted by Francis H. Packer (Figure 72, Figure 73, and Figure 74).[135] In a letter, the GBGC president explained that Packer "thinks that he can probably complete his [wax] model within the next five or six months. After this the bronze moulders take it in hand and their work requires from six to seven months. . . . I am informed that from three to fifteen years is usually required for the completion and erection of a monument of this kind."[136] After Packer completed a second model, it was "removed from the Sculptor's Studio to the Studio of Mr. Daniel C. French [Chairman of the National Fine Arts Commission], in New York City," who was in charge of "inspecting, supervising, criticizing, and final approving the monuments which are erected by National appropriation."[137] With many of the other monuments, however, the GBGC had more input, as evidenced by a letter from W. H. Mullins explaining to Joseph M. Morehead, "We have the order [for the Kerenhappuch Turner Monument]

130 Ibid.

131 Because of the dates, it is likely that the Pelzer brothers may have worked on the Hooper Penn Monument (dedicated in 1897) while John Segesman probably helped produce the Clio Monument (dedicated in 1909) and the Joseph Morehead Monument (dedicated in 1913).

132 Tolles, "From Model to Monument: American Public Sculpture, 1865–1915."

133 "Letter from W. H. Mullins to Joseph M. Morehead, September 27, 1901," in *Collection Title: Joseph M. Morehead Papers, 1753-1919, Folder 39a: August-September 1901: Scan 29* (Southern Historical Collection, The Wilson Library, University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill).

134 "Letter from J. Bryan Grimes, Secretary of the State, to Col. Joseph M. Morehead, April 24, 1903," in *Joseph M. Morehead Papers, 1753-1919 and undated, Folder 44d: April 1903: Scan 54* (Southern Historical Collection, The Wilson Library, University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill).

135 Francis H. Packer was born in Munich, Germany in 1873 and lived in New York. Among the four other monuments he helped produce in North Carolina are the following: the Thomas Ruffin Monument dedicated in 1915 in Raleigh; the Wilmington Confederate Monument, dedicated in 1924 in Wilmington; the George Davis Monument, dedicated in 1911 in Wilmington; the Worth Bagley Monument dedicated in 1907 in Raleigh. Packer produced sculptures for other states, such as an equestrian statue of Brig. Gen. Erastus B. Wolcott located in Milwaukee, Wisconsin. "Francis H. Packer," Smithsonian American Art Museum and the Renwick Gallery, http://americanart.si.edu/collections/search/artist/?id=6934; Institute of Museum and Library Services, "Thomas Ruffin Monument, Raleigh," DocSouth, http://docsouth.unc.edu/commland/monument/152/ ; Institute of Museum and Library Services, "Confederate Monument, Wilmington," DocSouth, http://docsouth.unc.edu/commland/monument/116/; "Wisconsin's Civil War Memorials, Lake Park, Milwaukee," Sons of Union Veterans of the Civil War, Department of Wisconsin, http://www.suvcw-wi.org/memorials/milwaukee_wolcott.html.

136 Paul W. Schenck, "To the Stockholders and Directors of the Guilford Battle Ground Company, March 15, 1915," in *David Schenck Papers, 1849-1917, Folder 17: Volume 16: 1911-1917: Scan 50-51* (Southern Historical Collection, The Wilson Library, University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill).

137 Ibid.

Figure 70 and Figure 71: "Photographs from W. H. Mullins of a model presenting different poses for the Colonial (or Alamance) Monument, in Joseph M. Morehead Papers, 1753-1919 and undated, Folder 83a: Undated: Scans 33 and 36 (Southern Historical Collection, The Wilson Library, University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill).

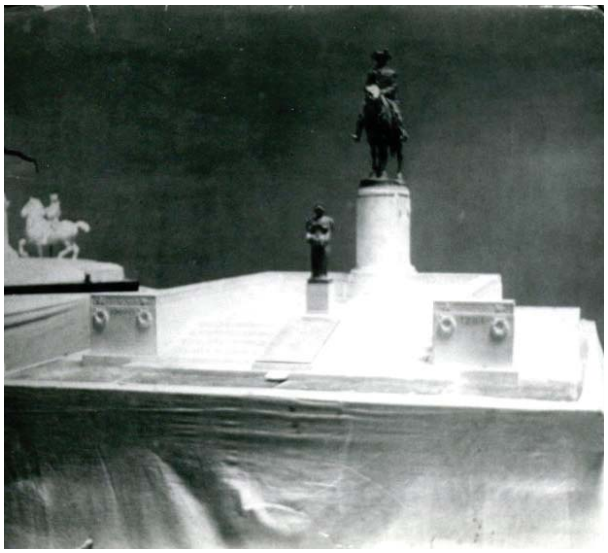


Figure 72: "Francis H. Packer's conceptual model of Greene Monument" in National Park Service, Guilford Courthouse National Military Park Archives, Photograph Collection.

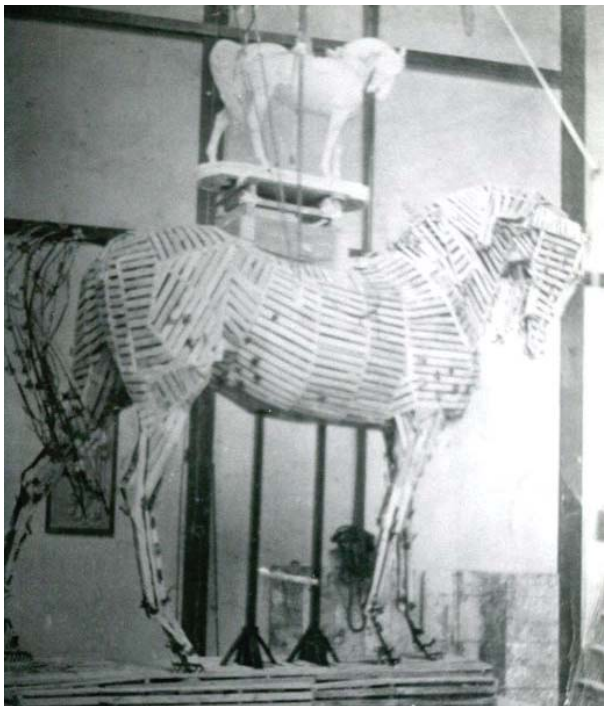


Figure 73: "Francis H. Packer's mold of horse for Greene Monument" in National Park Service, Guilford Courthouse National Military Park Archives, Photograph Collection.

Figure 74: "Greene Monument in the artist's studio of Francis Packer" in National Park Service, Guilford Courthouse National Military Park Archives, Photograph Collection.

now under way and will have a photograph taken of the front view of the model and send it on to you for criticism and approval."[138]

While the act of modeling a sculpture was the creative decision of the artist, he or she usually worked closely with foundry workers, ranging from mold makers to casters, chasers, and patineurs.[139] The sculptor thus made joint decisions with these individuals regarding the surface, color, texture, scale, and form of the final bronze. Before 1900, American foundries produced bronzes in the French sand-casting method, which used a firm sand mold to produce a sculpture. This method was simpler than the ancient process of lost-wax casting and was particularly efficient for producing utilitarian objects. In the 1900s, however, companies, such as Roman Bronze Works, specialized in the lost-wax casting process, which used a gelatin mold. This method was advantageous for artists as it more precisely replicated textural detail, enabled greater experimentation with complex compositions, and offered the ability to cast works in single pieces rather than parts that required assembly.[140]

W. H. Mullins, however, used a different technique in the late 1800s to produce the sculpture for the Winston (or Holt) Monument. Instead of casting the sculpture in composition metal, the company stamped the figure in heavy sheet copper in the same general way as the Bartholdi Statue of Liberty in the New York harbor and the statue of Diana on Madison Square Garden tower in New York. Mullins explained:

> "This latter I made here and the former, as you know, was cast in France, the only difference being that instead of hammering the statue into form as in the Bartholdi statue, I take casts of the figure and stamp the copper in dies, by my process being able to carry out accurately every detail of the model, while in the old way of hammering much of the artistic effect and the finer lines of the work are lost in hammering out the statue. …The sculptors and artists of the country have been very much surprised at the work we are doing. It is different from anything made abroad and finer than anything made elsewhere in the world. It is fully equal we think, to the cast bronze for large statuary work, it being fully as artistic and equally as durable. … The name of the modeler is Alphons Pelzer, and, as you state, he has few equals in this country. I believe the work he is now doing is equal to anything made in the United States as to artistic modeling—mechanically we claim that it is ahead of anything in the world in this line. I believe that the statue of Maj. Winston is the finest that we have made yet and I have spared

138 "Letter from W. H. Mullins to Joseph M. Morehead, August 19, 1903," in *Joseph M. Morehead Papers, 1753-1919 and undated, Folder 46a: August 1903: Scan 54* (Southern Historical Collection, The Wilson Library, University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill).

139 A foundry's mold maker is responsible for creating a mold of the original piece of artwork. The caster, however, is responsible for heating the mold to a specific temperature, pulling it out of the oven, and pouring the molten bronze into the hot shell as quickly and accurately as possible. The chaser was responsible for cleaning up the seams or parting lines on the mold, in addition to removing any air bubbles. A patineur, or patina artist, added color to the raw bronze by using heat to drive the oxidation of the salts and acids used to create different color effects. Tolles, "American Bronze Casting"; "Stan Winston in Bronze - 'Lost Wax' Bronzing at the American Fine Arts Foundry," (2012), https://www.stanwinstonschool.com/blog/bronze-sculpture-lost-wax-bronzing-afa-foundry#.

140 Tolles, "American Bronze Casting."

> no pains to make it work that will be a credit to you and to Gov. Holt, and I am delighted to learn from the article sent to me that it has been so much admired."[141]

When sculptures were completed, however, they did not necessarily go straight to their permanent locations. Companies like W. H. Mullins often displayed their work at industrial exhibitions, such as at the Centennial Exposition and at the World's Fair. In addition, the company showcased their work at smaller, local venues. For example, Joseph M. Morehead explained, "We have this day received…a very unique and beautiful statue of Clio. For the present it rests in the large and spacious show window of the Odell Hardware establishment upon Main street where it can and will be seen and admired by a great many people."[142] It is likely that this strategy was not only intended to advertise the foundry's fine products but also to promote the work of the GBGC and entice more visitors to its park.

The Establishment of the Guilford Courthouse National Military Park and the War Department Era (1917-1933)

Thirty years after the GBGC's chartering, U.S. Congress signed the Guilford Act (39 Stat. 996) into law on March 2, 1917, thereby creating the Guilford Courthouse National Military Park (GUCO NMP) and placing it under stewardship of the War Department. Prior to this change, a writer named Ernest Peixotto visited the battlefield and wrote about the experience in his book *A Revolutionary Pilgrimage*, published in 1917. Peixotto explained, "[a] group of patriotic citizens, animated by the very best intentions, acquired the [Guilford] battleground some years ago. … They have since decorated it lavishly with granite tents, boulders, pyramids and triumphal arches until it now resembles a suburban cemetery." He further stated, "[b]ronze figures of Clio and statues of former presidents of the Battle Ground Company—no matter how public spirited these citizens may have been—seem sadly out of place upon this historic field."[143]

Peixotto's unfavorable impression of the GBGC's treatment philosophy reflected general changes that were occurring in the historic preservation movement in the early 1900s. While the GBGC was motivated to preserve the Guilford battleground foremost by patriotism, the War Department's congressional mandate stated that the Guilford battlefield would be preserved primarily "for professional and military study."[144] Despite the War Department's intent, managers of this period tended to maintain the *status quo* rather than raising the battlefield to a new standard.[145]

Soon after the establishment of GUCO NMP, the War Department elected to place the battlefield's administration in the hands of a tripartite commission. A Guilford County resident would serve as the commission's chairman, while representatives from the states of Maryland and Delaware would fill the two remaining slots. Along with overseeing the park's routine operations, the commission's major responsibilities included accurately identifying and marking the battle lines and other points of historic significance "with historic tablets or otherwise."[146] Additionally, the War Department authorized the commission to allow any state, whose troops had participated in the battle, to permanently mark their positions in the park.

The tripartite commission, however, proved impractical and thus never coalesced into a functioning directorial body. The chairman, or

141 "'The New Statue of Winston,' newspaper clipping from The Greensboro Record," in *David Schenck Papers, 1849-1917, Folder 19: Volume 18: 1893-1897: Scan 152* (Southern Historical Collection, The Wilson Library, University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill).

142 Morehead, "'The Statue of Clio,' newspaper clipping from the Greensboro Record, November 27, 1907."

143 Hiatt, *Guilford Courthouse National Military Park Cultural Landscape Report*: 44-45; Ernest Peixotto, *A Revolutionary Pilgrimage* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1917), 309.

144 Hiatt, *Guilford Courthouse National Military Park Cultural Landscape Report*: 44. Original source: Tolson, camp., Laws Relating to the National Park Service, Supplement II, 265.

145 Ibid., 46.

146 Ibid.; *National Military Park, National Park, Battlefield Site and National Monument Regulations* (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1931), 62-63.

Figure 75: "View of the Nathanael Greene Monument," (circa 1920) in National Park Service, Guilford Courthouse National Military Park Archives, Photograph Collection, File No. GUCO 1787.

resident commissioner, therefore, functioned as the site's foremost administrator and the first person to serve in that capacity was Paul W. Schenck, former GBGC president. After Schenck's first term ended in 1922, the Harding administration replaced him with Edward E. Mendenhall, a traveling salesman and active local member of the Republican Party.[147] Although Mendenhall had no prior connection to the GBGC, his management approach seemed to derive directly from that organization's previous mode of operation rather than from the War Department's protocols. The second resident commissioner essentially summed up his philosophy in a letter written to Congressman Stedman: "[w]hile this is a military park and the War Department could use it for military activities at any time it is hardly necessary or likely for several generations; hence, it can be made a place of beauty for the on-coming generations."[148]

Rather than permanently marking the battle lines, Mendenhall put great effort toward augmenting the park's manicured appearance. He applied a formal design treatment to the area immediately surrounding the Greene Monument, where laborers put in a system of concrete walks lined with sheared arborvitae and partially covered with rose trellises, while also planting both privet hedge and rows of Deodar cedars behind the equestrian memorial (Figure 75).[149] In addition, Mendenhall changed the appearance of many of the site's weatherworn monuments, such as by gilding the Greene Monument, covering the park's remaining bronze statues in a black veneer, and painting white and black stripes on one of the granite monuments.[150] On August 20, 1930, Quartermaster Gen. J. L. DeWitt criticized Mendenhall's tendency "to do too much in the way of ornamentation and too little in the way of marking [the] historical sites of the park, the points of battle, et cetera." DeWitt also suggested that Mendenhall required close supervision as he might "destroy features of the landscape connected with the battle with a view of attempting to turn the park into a merely beautiful site, in other words he is inclined to look upon the park as a picnic ground, not as a historical monument."[151]

During Mendenhall's eleven-year tenure, he oversaw the addition of five new monuments at Guilford through the contributions of private citizens, as well as groups such as the Daughters

147 Hiatt, *Guilford Courthouse National Military Park Cultural Landscape Report*, 46.

148 Ibid.; "Letter from Edward E. Mendenhall to the Honorable Charles M. Stedman, January 10, 1930," (War Department Records, Guilford Courthouse National Military Park Files).

149 Hiatt, *Guilford Courthouse National Military Park Cultural Landscape Report*, 46. Frederic A. Fay, "Final Report to Chief Architect, Project FP-441: Improvement of Grounds and Forests"," (Guilford Courthouse National Military Park Files, 1937), 2, 10; "Letter from Virginia B. Douglas to E. E. Mendenhall, September 26, 1926," (War Department Records, Guilford Courthouse National Military Park Files).

150 Hiatt, *Guilford Courthouse National Military Park Cultural Landscape Report*: 46; "Letter from R. D. Douglas to Captain Gwynne Conrad, January 12, 1930," (Records of the National Park Service (Record Group 79), War Department Records, Guilford Courthouse National Military Park, National Archives, microfilm, frames 709-710 in "Selected Documents Related to Guilford Courthouse National Military Park," Roll 2, Guilford Courthouse National Military Park Files).

151 Hiatt, *Guilford Courthouse National Military Park Cultural Landscape Report*: 46; "Letter from J.L. Dewett, Quartermaster General, to Adjutant General, August 20, 1930," (Records of the National Park Service (Record Group 79), War Department Records, Guilford Courthouse National Military Park, National Archives, microfilm, frame 680 in "Selected Docs", Roll 2, Guilford Courthouse National Military Park Files).

of the American Revolution. Among these new monuments were the following: (1) the Washington's Visit Monument, erected in 1925 to commemorate President George Washington's visit to the battlefield in his southern tour of 1791; (2) the George Reynolds Monument, erected in 1928 to honor the Continental cavalry captain who was mortally wounded at Guilford; (3) Martha McFarland McGee-Bell Monument, erected in 1929 to celebrate the heroism of its namesake; (4) the Edward Stevens Monument, erected in 1931 to honor the brigadier in the Virginia militia who fought at Guilford (Figure 76); and the Griffin Fauntleroy Monument, erected in 1932 to honor the lieutenant in the Seventh Virginia Continental Infantry mortally wounded at Guilford. Although the monuments of this period retained a similar aesthetic to earlier periods with rough slabs of granite and bronze plaques (Figure 76 and Figure 77), the output of monuments at Guilford and other American Revolution sites in North Carolina was dwindling (Figure 78 and Figure 79).

Figure 76: "George Reynolds Monument," (undated) in National Park Service, Guilford Courthouse National Military Park Archives, Photograph Collection, File No. GUCO 1942.

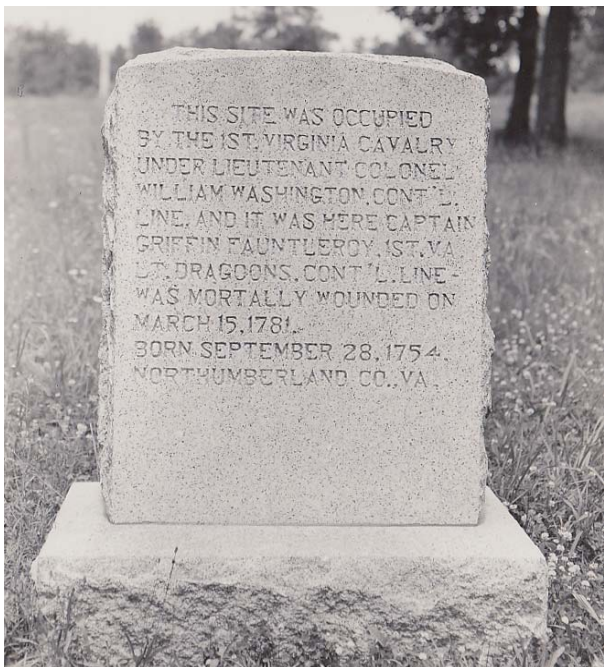


Figure 77: "Griffin Fauntleroy Monument," (undated) in National Park Service, Guilford Courthouse National Military Park Archives, Photograph Collection, File No. GUCO 1861.

Treatment of the Monuments at the Guilford National Military Park during the National Park Service Period (1933-Present)

In 1933, stewardship of the GUCO NMP transferred from the War Department to the National Park Service (NPS), Department of the Interior. In October that year, James H. Roane, a Greensboro stockbroker, became the resident commissioner at GUCO NMP. While budgets remained tight during the War Department's tenure, an increase in funding during the Great Depression brought about significant changes to the Guilford landscape.[152] Around this time, the NPS hired Landscape Architect Frederic A. Fay to direct a landscaping project known as Project FP-441 aimed "to restore the area as much to its original condition at the time of the battle as possible."[153] In order to restore the 1781 landscape, the NPS made it their fundamental priority to remove many of the GBGC's improvements of the late 1800s and early 1900s that they deemed inappropriate to the historic site.[154]

152 Hiatt, *Guilford Courthouse National Military Park Cultural Landscape Report*, 51. Original source: "Guilford's Historic Site Will be Brought Up To National Level," *Greensboro Daily News,* October 19, 1933.

153 Ibid.; Fay, "Final Report to Chief Architect, Project FP-441: Improvement of Grounds and Forests," 2.

154 Fay, "Final Report to Chief Architect, Project FP-441: Improvement of Grounds and Forests", 51; James H. Roane, "Narrative Report for March 1936; Roane Narrative Report for June 1937; Roane, Narrative Report for September 1937," (Narrative Report File, Nov. 1935-Dec. 1940, Guilford Courthouse National Military Park Files, 1937).

Figure 78: Map showing the concentrations of monuments commemorating the American Revolution erected in North Carolina in the 1920s. Map created through the "Monument Timemap" on the Commemorative Landscapes of North Carolina website.

In 1937, laborers under Frederic Fay's direction dismantled five monuments at Guilford: (1) the Battle (or Cannonball) Monument; (2) the Kings Mountain Monument; (3) the Clio Monument; and (4-5) the Davidson and Nash Arches (Figure 81). While the NPS removed most of these monuments because they lacked a direct association with the Battle of Guilford Court House, the realignment of a 350-foot segment of New Garden Road to its "original roadbed" instigated the dismantling of the Davidson and Nash Arches. Other changes included the relocation of some monuments, such as those to Schenck and Morehead.[155] The NPS also was responsible for relocating the Colonial (or Alamance) Monument to the Alamance Battleground State Historic Site in 1962.[156]

It is clear that from the late 1930s onward commemoration of the American Revolution greatly waned in North Carolina, as well as in other states as preservation values shifted (Figure 82). In 1989, the NPS restored several of the monuments that experienced vandalism, including the Captain George Reynolds Monument, the "Hal" Dixon Monument, the Hooper Penn Monument, and the

155 Hiatt, *Guilford Courthouse National Military Park Cultural Landscape Report*: 51; Roane, "Narrative Report for March 1936; Roane Narrative Report for June 1937; Roane, Narrative Report for September 1937."

156 Institute of Museum and Library Services, "James Hunter Monument, Burlington," DocSouth, http://docsouth.unc.edu/commland/monument/25/.

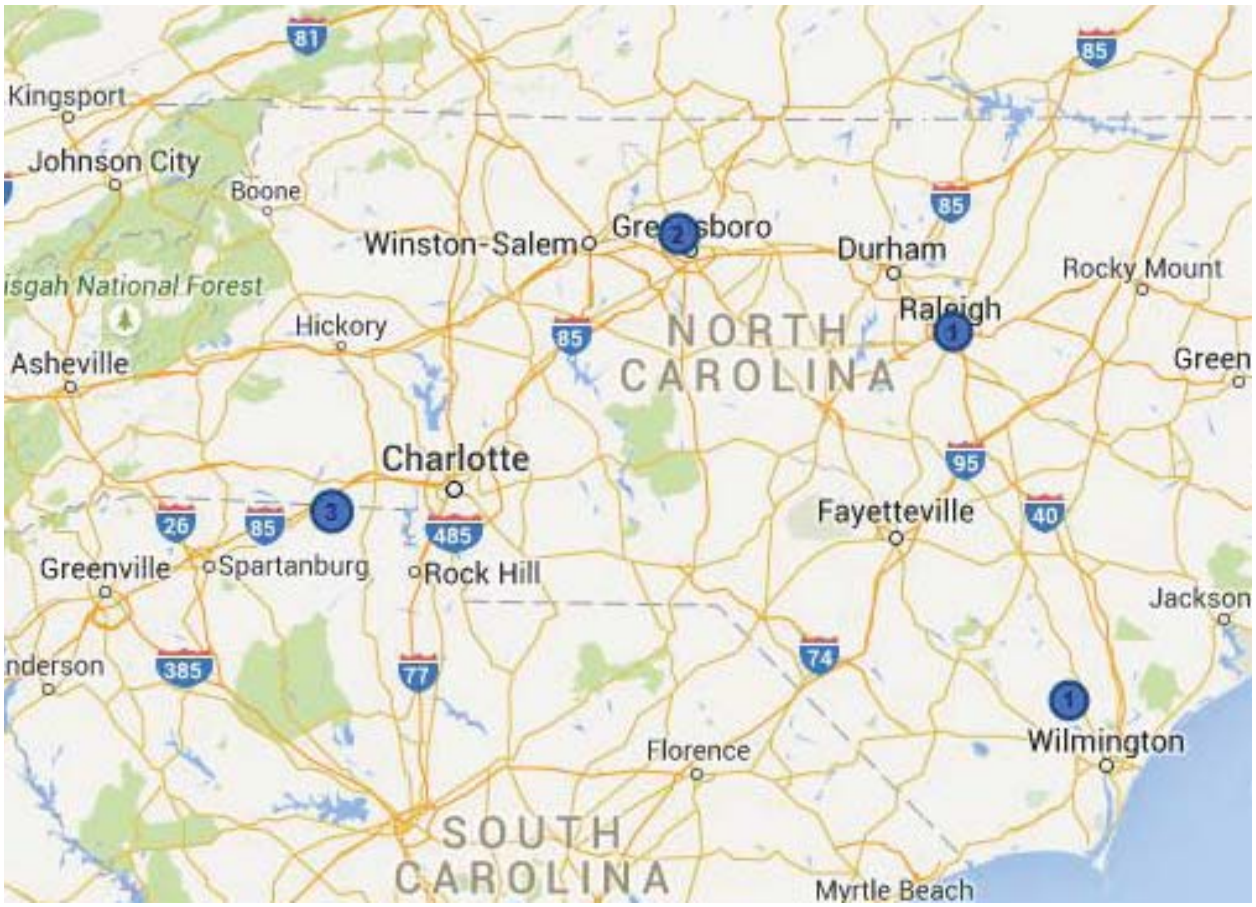


Figure 79: Map showing the concentrations of monuments commemorating the American Revolution erected in North Carolina in the 1930s. Map created through the "Monument Timemap" on the Commemorative Landscapes of North Carolina website.

Figure 80: "Early Courthouse Site Sign," in National Park Service, Guilford Courthouse National Military Park Archives, Photograph Collection.

Figure 81: "Dismantling of Davidson and Nash Arches," in National Park Service, Guilford Courthouse National Military Park Archives, Photograph Collection, File No. GUCO 1861.

Figure 82 "Map showing the concentrations of monuments commemorating the American Revolution erected in North Carolina in the 1940s. Map created through the "Monument Timemap" on the Commemorative Landscapes of North Carolina website.

the Joseph Morehead Monument. In general, the NPS has focused its efforts on interpretation rather than commemoration, with the 1970s development of the loop road, which incorporated interpretive stops with wayside exhibits. However, in 2010, the NPS approved the erection of a new monument sponsored by the reinstated Guilford Battleground Company to commemorate those who fought for the Crown Forces. This monument, to be constructed in 2015, will be the first erected at GUCO NMP in nearly 83 years, as well as the first associated with the NPS's management period. Its presence and location are aimed at enhancing park visitors' knowledge and understanding of the battle.

Chapter 4: Management Recommendations

Based on the current study, the following recommendations are offered to provide a guide for resource managers at Guilford Courthouse National Military Park in protecting and interpreting the park's cultural resources. These recommendations include: identifying and mapping resources in the park, with an emphasis on historic structures, objects, features, and landscapes. There is an archeological component to the park that is rich for additional research. It also recommends that additional research may provide the basis for additional documentation to its National Register of Historic Places Nomination.

In 1966, the Guilford Courthouse National Military Park was listed on the National Register of Historic Places. A more complete Nomination Form was approved by the National Register in 1978. [1] According to this document, the park's period of significance is "18th Century" and the statement of significance exclusively focuses on the March 1781 battle. The 1978 Nomination Form lists 31 historic resources, including three historic roads (Reddy (sic) Fork Road, New Garden Road, and Old Bruce Road), 26 monuments, two graves, and the Guilford Courthouse site. In 1996, the National Register accepted additional documentation on the park that makes the case for an additional period of significance of 1935-1940 to coincide with the NPS's earliest development of the Guilford Courthouse National Military Park.[2] This documentation added six contributing and four noncontributing resources to the count. The contributing resources are buildings and structures that the NPS added to the site in the 1930s. This 1996 documentation comments upon the three roads listed as contributing in the 1978 Nomination Form, concluding that the reconstructed New Garden Road was a contributing feature whereas Old Bruce Road and Reedy Fork Road were ineligible resources because their locations were unknown.

The park should complete GIS mapping for all identifiable historic resources, including historic resources related to the Revolutionary War battle and subsequent commemorative periods of development, including the GBGC, War Department, and NPS.

Because the Revolutionary War battle is of primary historic significance for the site, research into and identification of historic resources from that period should be the park's primary focus. The park retains significant features that help convey the historic character of the site at the time of the battle in March 1781. These features include topography, vegetation, and the route of historic New Garden Road. Additional historic resources related to the battle include un-located historic roads, buildings, fence lines, creeks, and the field/wood patterns present at time of the battle. Research into these resources and the preservation of these resources should be among the park's top cultural resource priorities. Archeological investigations, while not the subject of this study, should continue in order to confirm the location of known historic resources (e.g. New Garden Road) and to locate presently unidentified features central to the events of the March 1781 battle (e.g. fields and fence lines).

For example, the park should continue efforts to locate the Guilford Courthouse. Previous archeological investigations for the site appear inconclusive. Recent (circa November 17, 2015) research led by Guy Prentice pieces together the history of land ownership around the park in an effort to locate the original tract upon which stood

1 William F. Hubbard, "National Register of Historic Places Inventory--Nomination Form, Guilford Courthouse National Military Park," (Washington, D.C.1978).

2 Thomas E. Baker and Jill Hanson, "National Register of Historic Places Inventory--Registration Form, Guilford Courthouse National Military Park (Additional Documentation," (Washington, D.C.1996).

the Guilford Courthouse.[3] New Garden Road is among the most important resources from the Revolutionary War era. The park should pursue future research to confirm the accuracy of its alignment and to better understand its dimensions at the time of the battle. An analysis similar to the Prentice study of land ownership, referenced above, would be a logical first step. Additional archeological investigations may provide additional information about its width and construction at the time of the battle. The park should also pursue identification of the other historic roads present at the time of the battle, including Reedy Fork Road and Bruce Road.

In addition to researching know, but currently unidentified historic roads, the park should also recognize that existing park roads and road features contribute to its national significance for their association with the commemorative development of the park. Much of the road alignment dates to the Guilford Battle Ground Company era with later National Park Service additions and modifications. The stone drains and culverts along the road installed by NPS are listed as contributing resources on the 1996 National Register additional documentation.

Non-historic roads, however, are detrimental to the historic integrity of the park. Old Battleground Road bisects the park between the first and second American lines. The high amount of traffic distracts from the historic setting and poses a safety risk to visitors who must cross the Old Battleground Road on the tour road. The North Carolina Department of Transportation is currently developing an urban loop that will travel north of the park, potentially creating circumstances favorable to abandoning the section of Old Battleground Road in the park. Park managers should explore opportunities to acquire and remove this intrusion into the historic setting.

The methodology of Dr. Prentice's research into land ownership around the park may also be applied to better understand the general character of the historic setting of the Revolutionary War battlefield. For example, an analysis of historic vegetation patterns and land-use patterns may begin with overlaying historic maps and photographs onto existing site conditions to determine if existing vegetation patterns can inform park managers about historic agricultural field/woodland patterns. The Tarleton map shows other buildings in addition to the Courthouse that may be generally located using this methodology. A comparison of historic documents, GIS mapping, and archeology may be able to identify the location of these resources that played a role in the events of the battle. Building on Dr. Prentice's work, an enhanced understanding of settlement and land use at the time of the battle would inform an evaluation of the eligibility of historic features not currently listed on the National Register or deemed ineligible in the 1996 additional documentation.

Increased noise, traffic, and visual intrusions associated with commercial and residential development adjacent to the park has a detrimental impact on the historic setting. The park should monitor changes and proposed construction along its perimeter as future development could further undermine the park's integrity by destroying historic resources or compromising the setting that is essential to interpreting the battle. Additionally, recreational use of the park will continue to influence resource management decisions. Because of the park's location in a suburban environment and its popularity as a recreational resource, the park should continually monitor how recreational use may impact known and unknown historic resources.

The park should consider additional research into the period of development from 1887 to 1917, the Guilford Battle Ground Company (GBGC) era, to confirm the 2003 *Cultural Landscape Report's* conclusions that it lacks sufficient historic integrity, as it calls into question the current listing of the monuments as contributing resources in the National Register. The park should also consider providing Additional Documentation to their existing National Register Nomination Form attempting to list the monuments from the GBGC era either as individual objects or as a collection of potentially eligible objects.

As mentioned above, the 1978 National Register Nomination lists the Guilford Battle Ground Company era monuments as historic resources and additional documentation from 1996 adds a commemorative period associated with NPS but not with GBGC. The monuments are also

3 Guy Prentice, Ph D, "Reconstructing the History of Land Ownership at Guilford Courthouse," accessed online: http://www.arcgis.com/home/item.html?id=0f8b35bb1524463c817eb06f8c18ecab.

considered non-contributing resources to the Guilford Courthouse Battlefield National Historic Landmark, which was established in 2001.A *Cultural Landscape Report* developed for Guilford Courthouse National Military Park in 2003 suggests that the GBGC-era landscape fails to satisfy the requirements necessary as a National Register period of significance. The 2003 *Cultural Landscape Report* furthermore makes treatment recommendations that specifically provide for the future deterioration or removal of existing landscape features from this seminal period of the park's history.

It is accurate, as reported in the 2003 *Cultural Landscape Report*, that NPS purposefully altered or obliterated many of the design features from the GBGC period in an effort to interpret more accurately the battle and the battlefield. The design approach of the GBGC, which included the creation of ornamental Lake Wilfong, the addition of sugar-maple-lined roads that had no relation to the historic road network, the addition of numerous ornamental structures across the site, the addition of formal plantings and manicured open spaces, and the erection of numerous monuments, did not attempt to restore the site to its historic appearance.

The fact remains that 23 of the 30 monuments and gravesites that are central to a visitor's experience of the site today date from the GBGC era and merit further consideration as contributing historic resources. The question remains how to treat historic resources that date from a period of development not listed as a period of significance with the National Register. Appendix Q of the NPS Cultural Resource Management Guidelines makes it possible to list the monuments either individually or as a collection.

A "List of Classified Structures" indicates all of the remaining monuments from both the GBGC and War Department periods are significant at the state level under National Register criterion A. These monuments thus bear an "association with events that have made a significant contribution to the broad patterns of our history."[4]

Additionally, a case can be made that several of the monuments are also significant at a State and Local, and potentially at the National level under the area of significance of Art and Criterion C because they "embody the distinctive characteristics of a type, period, or method of construction, or that represent the work of a master, or that possess high artistic values, or that represent a significant and distinguishable entity whose components may lack individual distinction."[5] These monuments include:

- Winston Monument (association w/ W. H. Mullins + sculptor Alphons Pelzer)
- Hooper Penn Monument (association w/ W. H. Mullins)
- Kerrenhappuch Turner Monument (association w/ W. H. Mullins + sculptor J. Segesman)
- Joseph Morehead (association w/ W. H. Mullins)
- Greene Monument (association w/ sculptor Francis Packer)
- Various monuments bearing bronze tablets (association w/ Bureau Brothers)

If the park concludes that insufficient integrity remains from the GBGC era to merit its addition as an additional commemorative period of significance, an opportunity still exists to interpret the GBGC era as an important and early effort of "preserving" a Revolutionary War battlefield. A thorough history of the GBGC period and identification of features that remain from that period of development would benefit the park's efforts to interpret the efforts of local citizenry to commemorate the events of the Revolutionary War. The GBGC era represents an approach to preservation and historic site interpretation that reflects that period in our national history. Their efforts led directly to the creation of a National Military Park in 1917. These efforts merit additional study and interpretation at the site today. Therefore, the park should identify and map remnants of the Guilford Battle Ground Company site, including the original location of monuments, remnants of former features that remain legible

4 "List of Classified Structures."

5 http://www.nps.gov/nr/publications/bulletins/nrb15/nrb15_2.htm

on the site, and existing and abandoned road circulation from that period.

Additionally, the park may identify ways to preserve features from the period that do not undermine its primary mission of interpreting the Revolutionary War battle. For example, portions of the former circulation system, if accurately identified and mapped, may be incorporated into a future network of pedestrian trails if the park decides to expand its current system.

Finally, the park has numerous planning documents from which to develop long-range and short-range management objectives, including a 1998 General Management Plan, a 2004 Cultural Landscape Report, A 2014 Foundation Document, and a 2015 State of the Park Report. Park managers should develop a list of PMIS statements and cost estimates that relate to cultural resource protection from these planning documents. Having prepared PMIS statements will help the park secure available funding for these important projects.

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APPENDIX A: A Brief Comparative Study of Guilford Courthouse National Military Park

The First Five National Military Parks

Between 1890 and 1899, the Congress of the United States surpassed the concept of monuments and authorized the establishment of four major Civil War battlefields as national military parks. These four battlefields were Chickamauga and Chattanooga authorized in 1890, Shiloh in 1894, Gettysburg in 1895, and Vicksburg in 1899.[1] As the Army War College pointed out, Congress intended for these national parks to preserve the major battlefields for historical and professional study and to serve as lasting memorials to the great armies of the war on both sides.[2]

The first national military parks grew from national cemeteries established soon after the Civil War. After the completion of Gettysburg National Cemetery, work commenced on preserving and marking key locations on the battlefield. The State of Pennsylvania chartered the Gettysburg Battlefield Memorial Association on April 30, 1864, headed by the Governor and composed of public spirited citizens of Pennsylvania, to commemorate "the great deeds of valor...and the signal events which render these battlegrounds illustrious."[3] By 1890, the Association had acquired several hundred acres of land on the battlefield with the help of many Northern states. In addition, the association had opened roads along the Union battle lines and supervised the erection by States and regiments of more than 300 monuments (Figure 1). Congressman Byron M. Cutcheon reported that numerous northern states had "contributed liberally to illustrate and adorn this great battlefield of the Republic."[4]

Figure 1: Monuments to Union regiments aligned on Slocum Avenue, Culp's Hill, Gettysburg. (NPS: http://www.nps.gov/media/photo/gallery.htm?id=F0397BDD-155D-451F-67EA7255C0E26229) The placement of the monuments recalls the "Monument Row," which the Guilford Battle Ground Company developed at Guilford in the late 1800s and early 1900s. In the decades following the GBGC's development of the Guilford Battle Ground Park, groups began to preserve and commemorate two additional American Revolution battlefields in the region. These sites include Moores Creek in Currie, North Carolina (1926) and Kings Mountain in Blacksburg, South Carolina (1931). The erection of monuments on these sites mostly occurred in the early 1900s when the Guilford Battle Ground Park was already well developed and established. Still, these two sites provide case studies as many of their monuments bear similarities in materials, aesthetics, and subject matter to those at Guilford.

In order to achieve historical accuracy, the work of land acquisition, preservation, marking, and commemoration required serious historical research. For Gettysburg, John B. Bachelder of Massachusetts served as the lead researcher as he had the advantage of a military education, possessed a strong interest in history, and even went to the front early in 1862, more than a year

1 Lee, "The First Battlefield Parks, 1890-1899."

2 Ibid.

3 Quoted in ibid. Original source: New York Monuments Commission, *Final Report,* 1374. See also Frederick Tilberg, *Gettysburg National Military Park, Pennsylvania,* National Park Service Historical Handbook Series No. 9 (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1954, rev. 1962), 47.

4 Quoted in ibid. Original source: U.S., Congress, House, Committee on Military Affairs, *Battle Lines at Gettysburgh,* Report No. 3024, 51st Cong., 1st Sess., 1890, p. 4. Cited hereafter as House Committee on Military Affairs, *Battle Lines at Gettysburgh.*

before the battle of Gettysburg, to be in a position to collect data when the most important battle of the Civil War was fought. After working up the details of several engagements, Bachelder reached the Gettysburg battlefield before the dead were buried and remained there for 84 days to create post-battle maps, visit the wounded in hospital, and to take convalescent officers over the field to determine their positions and movements. Bachelder continued his research by visiting the Army of the Potomac in the winter of 1863-64 and consulting with the officers of every regiment and battery.[5]

The research methods Bachelder set at Gettysburg influenced the marking of other military parks and affected the kind of interpretation presented to visitors, which strongly emphasized professional military study for many years. General H.V.N. Boynton performed work of somewhat comparable character for Chickamauga-Chattanooga as Major D.W. Reed did for Shiloh and Capt. W.T. Rigby for Vicksburg. Despite the close attention accorded Gettysburg from 1863 onward, the preservation and commemoration of the battlefield remained largely one-sided as none of the Southern states had participated in this work and the part of the battlefield on which the Army of Northern Virginia had formed its lines remained unmarked in private ownership. Congress thus undertook to correct these deficiencies for eight years, from 1887 to 1895.[6]

Representative Byron M. Cutcheon of Michigan, a lawyer who had served in the Army of the Potomac with distinction throughout the Civil War, made the first major effort in 1890 to get a bill through Congress to create Gettysburg National Park. Reporting to the House on August 27 for the Military Affairs Committee, he described all that had been accomplished by the Memorial Association and by others to mark the battlefield. "It has been," he said, "a work of love and grateful pride to the loyal States. But there is something due to history as well as to patriotism. There were two armies at Gettysburgh." He then described the general plan for a park that would include the positions of both armies and that would be guided by a commission of three members, "each of whom shall have been participants in the battle of Gettysburgh, and one of whom shall have been an Officer of the Army of Northern Virginia."[7] He recommended the enactment of H.R. 1868 and concluded with this significant statement:

> "If this work is to be done, it must be done by the Government. It is equally impracticable for either the Northern or the Southern States to undertake it, and it is too great a work for the memorial association to undertake, and foreign to the object of its organization. It must be done by the National Government or remain undone."[8]

As Civil War veterans and the U.S. Government were heavily involved in the historiography of these first national military parks, preservation and commemoration differed greatly in the late 1800s at American Revolution battlefields like Guilford. As Schenck's work at Guilford did not begin until over a century after the battle had occurred, the landscape had inevitably undergone significant changes, making it more challenging to mark specific actions or events in the battle. In addition, Schenck had to rely largely on knowledge that had been passed down through several generations as opposed to firsthand accounts. These factors likely influenced the types of monuments at Guilford, which often were sponsored by descendants in honor of their family members and were not always directly associated with the battle itself.

Moores Creek Battlefield

The GBGC inspired the formation of other likeminded groups, such as the Moores Creek Monumental Association (MCMA), chartered in March 1899 as a private organization of Pender County residents and funded in part by state appropriations. Similar to the GBGC's charter, the act to create the MCMA authorized the organization to improve the battleground, protect the site, and "do such other things as tend to inspire among our people state and national pride and a higher appreciation of patriotic manhood." Following its incorporation, the MCMA began

5 Ibid.

6 Ibid.

7 Quoted in ibid. Original source: House Committee on Military Affairs, *Battle Lines at Gettysburgh,* 4.

8 Quoted in ibid. Original source: House Committee on Military Affairs, *Battle Lines at Gettysburgh,* 6.

managing two tracts of land at Moores Creek that the State of North Carolina had acquired several years earlier.[9]

Throughout the early 1900s, the MCMA virtually duplicated the GBGC's development and use of the Guilford battleground on a much smaller scale in eastern North Carolina. The MCMA was responsible for erecting four monuments at the Moores Creek battlefield in the early 1900s and 1910s. These monuments present similar patterns and influences to those at Guilford. For example, the Heroic Women Monument, erected in 1907, depicted a pensive young woman in a classic *contrapposto* stance (Figure 2). This monument, carved from granite "white and pure and stainless as the good women it commemorates," came only five years after the GBGC had erected its first monument to a woman. Similar to the practices of the GBGC, the MCMA reinterred the bodies of Mary and Ezekiel Slocumb at the base of the Women's Monument.[10]

In 1909, around the same time the GBGC erected the Cavalry Monument, the MCMA erected its own granite obelisk that commemorated Gen. Donald MacDonald, who had led 1,600 loyalists, many of whom were Scottish Highlanders, against the patriots in the battle of Moores Creek. Two years later, the MCMA erected the State Road Monument, a granite boulder, to mark the location of a historic road traveled by both loyalist and patriot forces.[11] Finally, following suit of the GBGC's commemoration of its presidents, Schenck and Morehead, the MCMA erected the Moore Monument to honor its own

Figure 2: "Moore's Creek Battleground - Patriot Women's Monument - Erected 1907" in New Hanover County Public Library, Louis T. Moore Collection 430.

president, James Fulton Moore.[12] When the Moores Creek battlefield became a national military park in 1926 and the property transferred to the War Department, the new administration sought to move away from the MCMA's emphasis on commemoration and instead focus on specifics of the actual battle.[13]

Kings Mountain Battlefield

Despite the fact that trains provided connections to the Kings Mountain battlefield in Blacksburg, South Carolina, by 1852, a traveling journalist for the *Magazine of American History* noted nearly four decades later that the Kings Mountain battlefield was seldom visited.[14] While the Kings Mountain Centennial Association (KMCA) had formed in 1879 and subsequently succeeded in erecting the Centennial Monument, interest in the battlefield waned. Accordingly, the battlefield lay neglected until 1898 when the King's Mountain Chapter of the Daughters of the American Revolution (DAR) helped to organize the King's Mountain Centennial Battlefield Association

9 Michael A. Capps and Steven A. Davis, "Preservation and Development of the Moores Creek Battleground Prior to National Park Service Control," in *Moores Creek National Battlefield: An Administrative History* (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Department of the Interior National Park Service, 1999).

10 Ibid. Institute of Museum and Library Services, "Moores Creek Women's Monument, Moores Creek National Battlefield," DocSouth, http://docsouth.unc.edu/commland/monument/305/.

11 Institute of Museum and Library Services, "Moores Creek Stage Road Monument, Moores Creek National Battlefield," DocSouth, http://docsouth.unc.edu/commland/monument/307/.

12 Institute of Museum and Library Services, "Moores Creek Moore Monument, Moores Creek National Battlefield," DocSouth, http://docsouth.unc.edu/commland/monument/308/.

13 Institute of Museum and Library Services, "Moores Creek Bridge Monument, Moores Creek National Battlefield," DocSouth, http://docsouth.unc.edu/commland/monument/309/.

14 Blythe, Carroll, and Moffson, "King's Mountain National Military Park Historic Resource Study," 55-57.

(KMCBA). As the Kings Mountain Chapter of the DAR gained ownership of the battlefield, they began to pursue national recognition for the site.

Beginning in 1909, the Kings Mountain Chapter of the DAR worked vigorously to erect monuments and mark important sites at the battlefield, in addition to other places in York, South Carolina, where the group was based. In 1906, U.S. Congress agreed to appropriate $30,000 to erect the U.S. Monument on the battlefield (Figure 3). Similar to many of the monuments at Guilford, the Kings Mountain U.S. Monument was constructed of white granite from the Mount Airy quarry in North Carolina. The obelisk, however, stood at a towering height of 83 feet—well over twice the height of Guilford's 33'-tall Davidson and Nash Arches.[15] In a letter referencing U.S. Monument, GBGC president, Joseph M. Morehead wrote to North Carolina Congressman, W. W. Kitchin that "…our successful labors at Guilford have been of incalculable benefit to the State and country by arousing the historic spirit of everybody everywhere."[16] However, the letter also reveals a sense of competition, as Morehead also stated, "Guilford is of national character and interest, whereas Kings Mountain is of local interest so far as the troops to be commemorated are concerned."[17]

Believing that the Kings Mountain battlefield was of national significance, the Kings Mountain Chapter of the DAR petitioned for Congress to establish it as a national military park. Meanwhile, its members continued to manage the battleground and erect markers on the site. In 1914, the group erected a new Chronicle Marker adjacent to the tablet placed in 1815 by Dr. William McLean of Lincoln County, North Carolina. In 1925, the Major William Chronicle Chapter of the DAR erected the Chronicle Fell Marker, an uncut granite boulder with a small bronze plaque, opposite the trail from the McLean tablet. After President Herbert Hoover visited the battlefield to commemorate the 150th anniversary of the battle, the Kings Mountain Chapter of the DAR erected the Hoover Monument to memorialize the location of the president's address. Although Kings Mountain became a national military park in March 1931, commemorative activity continued several months later as the Kings Mountain Chapter of the DAR erected the Col. Asbury Coward Marker, who had served as president of the KMCA.[18] This action recalled the Schenck and Morehead monuments at Guilford, as well as the Moore Monument at Moores Creek.

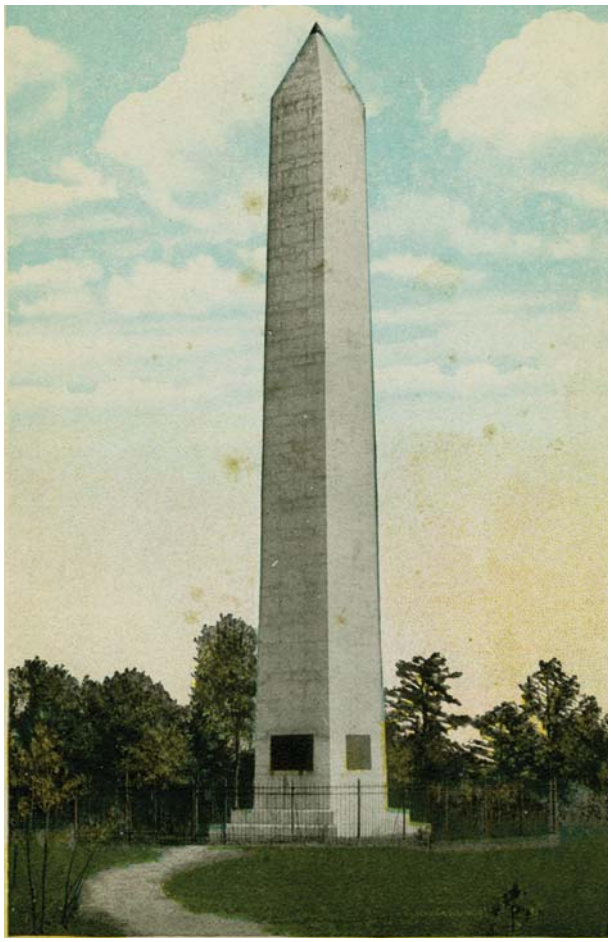


Figure 3: "Kings Mountain Monument, Kings Mountain, N.C" in Durwood Barbour Collection of North Carolina Postcards (P077), North Carolina Collection Photographic Archives, Wilson Library, UNC-Chapel Hill.

15 Ibid., 58-59. Institute of Museum and Library Services, "Kings Mountain U.S. Monument, Kings Mountain National Military Park, Blacksburg (SC)," DocSouth, http://docsouth.unc.edu/commland/monument/450/.

16 "Letter from Joseph M. Morehead to Hon. W. W. Kitchin, February 15, 1904."

17 Ibid.

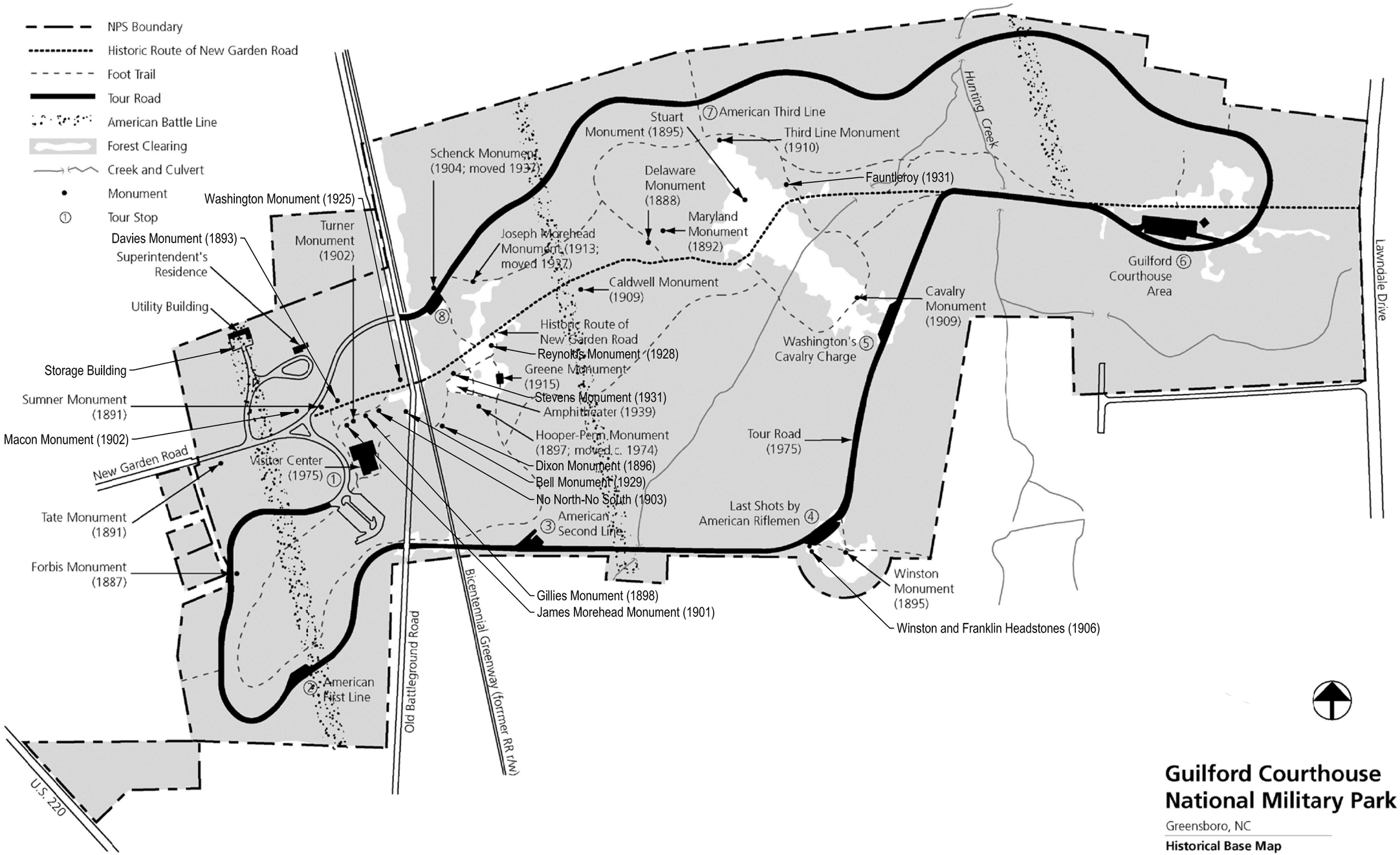
18 Blythe, Carroll, and Moffson, "King's Mountain National Military Park Historic Resource Study," 54, 59-63.

APPENDIX B:
Map of Historic Resources

List of Classified Structures

List of Classified Structures

	Park	Structure Number	Preferred Structure Name	Structure State	Significance Level
1.	GUCO	HS-02	Martha McFarland McGee Bell Monument	North Carolina	Contributing
2.	GUCO	HS-03	Dr. David Caldwell Monument	North Carolina	Contributing
3.	GUCO	HS-04	Continental Monument	North Carolina	Contributing
4.	GUCO	HS-05	Maj. John Daves Monument	North Carolina	Contributing
5.	GUCO	HS-06	Lt. Col. "Hal" Dixon Monument	North Carolina	Contributing
6.	GUCO	HS-07	Capt. Griffin Fauntleroy Monument	North Carolina	Contributing
7.	GUCO	HS-08	Col. Arthur Forbis Monument	North Carolina	Contributing
8.	GUCO	HS-09	James Gillies Monument	North Carolina	Contributing
9.	GUCO	HS-10	Maj. Gen. Nathanael Greene Monument	North Carolina	Contributing
10.	GUCO	HS-11	Hooper-Penn-Hewes Monument	North Carolina	Contributing
11.	GUCO	HS-12	Nathaniel Macon Monument	North Carolina	Contributing
12.	GUCO	HS-13	Maryland Monument	North Carolina	Contributing
13.	GUCO	HS-14	Capt. James Morehead Monument	North Carolina	Contributing
14.	GUCO	HS-15	Joseph Morehead Monument	North Carolina	Contributing
15.	GUCO	HS-16	No North-No South Monument	North Carolina	Contributing
16.	GUCO	HS-17	Capt. George Reynolds Monument	North Carolina	Contributing
17.	GUCO	HS-18	David Schenck Monument	North Carolina	Contributing
18.	GUCO	HS-19	Brig. Gen. Edward Stevens Monument	North Carolina	Contributing
19.	GUCO	HS-20	Lt. Col. James Stuart Monument	North Carolina	Contributing
20.	GUCO	HS-21	Brig. Gen. Jethro Sumner Monument	North Carolina	Contributing
21.	GUCO	HS-22	Capt. James Tate Monument	North Carolina	Contributing
22.	GUCO	HS-23	American Third Line Monument	North Carolina	Contributing
23.	GUCO	HS-24	Kerenhappuch Turner Monument	North Carolina	Contributing
24.	GUCO	HS-25	Cavalry Monument	North Carolina	Contributing
25.	GUCO	HS-26	George Washington's Visit Monument	North Carolina	Contributing
26.	GUCO	HS-27	Maj. Joseph Winston Monument	North Carolina	Contributing
27.	GUCO	HS-28	Maj. Joseph Winston and Jesse Franklin Headstones	North Carolina	Contributing
28.	GUCO	HS-30	New Garden Road	North Carolina	Contributing
29.	GUCO	HS-31	Residence #1	North Carolina	Local
30.	GUCO	HS-32	Utility Building	North Carolina	Local
31.	GUCO	HS-33	Inflammable Storage Building	North Carolina	Local
32.	GUCO	HS-34	Stone Drains and Culverts	North Carolina	Contributing



Guilford Courthouse National Military Park

Greensboro, NC

Historical Base Map
August 2003
Annotated 2017 (WLA Studio)

National Park Service
U.S. Department of the Interior

Guilford Courthouse National Military Park
2332 New Garden Road
Greensboro, NC 27410
www.nps.gov/guco

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