National Park Service
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Interior Region 1: North Atlantic-Appalachian

Thinking Beyond the "Surrender Grounds":



An Administrative History of Appomattox Court House National Historical Park from 1930 to 2015

Josh Howard

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By Josh Howard, Ph.D.

Presented to Appomattox Court House,
Interior Region 1: North Atlantic-Appalachian

Prepared under a cooperative agreement between
The Organization of American Historians and The National Park Service
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Cover Image:

Stacking of Arms Ceremony, 1990. APCO Historian's Office.

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CHAPTER ONE

Introduction

Appomattox Court House National Historical Park (APCO) is one of 61 National Historic Sites administered by the National Park Service out of an overall total of 423 units. The park is approximately 1,700 acres characterized by rolling hills, open fields, and wooded areas. The village of Appomattox Court House occupies about 30 of these acres, with 27 original and reconstructed nineteenth-century structures, including the reconstructed McLean House where Robert E. Lee surrendered to Ulysses S. Grant, the reconstructed courthouse building, and the original 1819 Clover Hill Tavern where paroles were printed for surrendered members of the Army of Northern Virginia.

Congress first authorized a park at Appomattox Court House in 1930 under the War Department's administration. It was then transferred to the Department of Interior in 1933 by President Franklin Roosevelt's administration and finally designated as Appomattox Court House National Historical Monument within the National Park Service in 1940. The final change of the park's name to date came in 1954 with a Congressional act to rename the site Appomattox Court House National Historical Park.

APCO demonstrates the power of place that can be harnessed within a small location with careful management. The reality of APCO is that many of its key historical structures are recreations or replicas. Regardless of this, visitors, NPS staff, and locals have spoken of the presence of the past at Appomattox Court House since 1865. Advertisements for park programming encourage visitors to feel the "power of place." Even the 2015 Foundation Document describes the park on its first page:

> The village as a whole offers an immersive experience of a rural town of its time (Apr. 1865), with country lanes and grass fields that allow visitors to walk among historic homes, fenced yards, and outbuildings including the tavern, jail, and store, small family burial plots, and orchards. Sweeping views of the surrounding pastoral landscape and forested hills provide a serene and contemplative setting where visitors can reflect on the causes and consequences of the Civil War.[1]

Therein lies a unique component of APCO that has been true throughout its entire existence. While APCO may have begun its existence as an idea to build a single monument, it has evolved to encompass an unmeasurable and somewhat indescribable feeling that

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[1] APCO Foundation Document (2015), 4.

simply does not exist at most other historic sites. “America’s Civil War battlefields are sacred ground,” reads the 2002 park handbook, and it is at Appomattox Court House that the full meaning of the Civil War, emancipation, and Reconstruction can be pondered.

While one of many Civil War NPS sites, APCO is unique in its importance as the final stop of the Army of Northern Virginia and the de facto end of the Civil War in public memory. Of course, there are many more commonalities across all NPS units and Civil War sites shared with APCO, but it is necessary to understand APCO’s unique differences as well. APCO was where the story of the Civil War effectively ended. Two foes reunite, or so the story goes, and Appomattox Court House will be forever the symbolic center of peace and reconciliation. No other location can make this claim. Another part of its uniqueness also derives from the original Federal intentions of the site to commemorate not a location or a battle, but a singular meeting of two men in a structure that no longer existed.
A non-exhaustive listing of such unique factors may include:

- High involvement of local community throughout the park’s existence, especially local landowners and political players interested in building historic reconstructions and creating a tranquil atmosphere for contemplation in a more intentional way than other NPS sites.
- Three of the park’s primary historic features dating to 1865—the McLean House, the courthouse, and the stage road—had been each respectively dismantled, destroyed, and paved before entering Federal ownership, thus presenting immense interpretive and preservation challenges.
- The existence of the park is in part a function of historical memory in that few considered anything beyond the McLean House worthy of preservation until well into the twentieth century.
- The meaning and memory of Appomattox Court House has changed significantly over time and has been contested more often than most Civil War sites.
- The park occupies a rural space just outside of a small town, but nonetheless commercial and residential development encroached upon the park’s environment at several points, thus threatening its tranquil environment.
- And along with other Civil War parks, visitation is significantly driven by anniversary events and cultural forces beyond the NPS, such as Ken Burns’s documentaries, which historically results in year-to-year visitation to rise or fall as much as fourfold.

This study documents and analyzes the management of Appomattox Court House National Historical Park inclusive of all preceding preservation initiatives within the Department of the Interior, War Department, and private organizations. It aims to demonstrate all the ebbs and flows of planning, action, and reaction performed by NPS administrators in conjunction (and sometimes at odds) with outside stakeholders.

Chapter 2 traces all activity at the space that would eventually become Appomattox Court House from the pre-colonial era through 1930, the year in which Congress authorized a National Memorial at Appomattox Court House administered by the War Department. The first part of this chapter discusses the historical significance of the site as a small Virginia village and political center along a significant travel corridor, the location of the surrender meeting between Grant and Lee, and through Reconstruction. The second part analyzes the motivations and actions of several failed preservation efforts centered upon the McLean House. Specific attention is given to the politics driving these efforts and the role of Congress and Federal administrators in the few successful ventures during this era.

Chapter 3 covers the years from 1930 to 1942 and includes three major eras. The first was the slow beginnings of the War Department's administration of the site. The next era was the somewhat sudden shift of the site to National Park Service control in 1933 and the next seven years of planning and research. Finally, the third era is marked by the arrival and departures of a Civilian Conservation Corps company laboring exclusively at the park. Special attention is given to the interaction between Federal planning and public interests in shaping the newly designated historic site. Of special note too is highlighting the role of NPS officials and African American Civilian Conservation Corps enrollees in providing the support needed to effectively convert Appomattox Court House into a usable historic landscape.

Chapter 4 tracks the lull caused by World War II followed by an explosion in APCO activity in the late-1940s, culminated by the construction and commemoration of the McLean House in 1950. The chapter continues from 1950 to 1955, the year in which Mission 66 planning began. Even though the park was officially created in 1930 and designated as a park a decade later, it was in 1950 that many within the NPS and Appomattox Court House community believed the park was truly created. The McLean House was the symbolic center of the site, so attention is given to its symbolic meaning to different groups and the importance placed upon ceremony and lengthy questions over furnishings.

Chapter 5 tracks the full Mission 66 planning cycle from 1955 through 1966, though most Mission 66 projects were completed by the park's centennial celebrations in 1965. The core of this chapter is the public and often heated debate regarding the reconstruction of the historic courthouse. Two ideas competed over the direction of the site, with one internal to the NPS and another between NPS staff and the local public. This debate was essentially a question of APCO's future as either a period-accurate reconstructed space or an NPS unit with modern amenities and access. Meanwhile, NPS staff set about recreating the rest of the village as a historic space to further develop the "historic village" concept.

Chapter 6 picks up with the ending of Mission 66 and follows through to 1981, the year ending a cycle of rapid Superintendent changes that began during the middle of Mission 66. From the Centennial event to 1981, six individuals would serve as APCO superintendent. Despite such frequent change, this era was the first in which APCO staff

could settle into long periods of regular maintenance and planning. Several Superintendents guided planning documents to completion for the first time. The park also launched the living history program, which grew rapidly in size owing to its popularity among both visitors and staff. This era is also characterized by some of the first major long-term problems identified by staff, but many were not adequately addressed without overarching national standards and rapid staff turnover.

Chapter 7 follows the tenure of two long-serving Superintendents, Jon Montgomery and Reed Johnson, both of whom served nearly two decades each spanning from 1981 to 2015. Much like the preceding chapter, both Superintendents guided the park forward using regular planning and maintenance schedules, though a clear theme that emerges is one of underfunding. Both Superintendents complained that the park suffered because of this, which led to a severe lack of planning documents by the turn of the century. The major events of this era were the 125th and 150th Anniversary events, the latter of which was an award-winning event for the park.

There are many themes woven throughout this study, but a major one is that of "identity." The identity of APCO has shifted at several points throughout its existence and not always with the consent of its stewards. Core to park identity is its founding ideal—to create a monument at Appomattox Court House—which was soon rejected and reshaped by park stakeholders in favor of restoring the village. Central to its shifting identity is the ambiguity in the park's enabling legislation. On the surface, the legislation appears to directly instruct commemoration of the surrender of Lee to Grant as well as honor all Civil War soldiers. How does a government entity commemorate the termination of a war, especially when the Civil War's meaning shifts radically depending on context? How does a government honor war veterans when some of those veterans did not wish to have Appomattox Court House highlighted at all, yet the following generation wanted nothing less than full restoration? And does the enabling legislation's phrase "…those who engaged in this tremendous conflict…" include nonsoldiers as well?[2] Answers to these questions changed over time, and thus the identity of APCO changed as well.

The stories told at APCO as of this writing are different than those told eighty years ago. As demonstrated in each of the following chapters, the responsibility of stewardship granted to the NPS is complex and requires navigating agendas often at odds. Of course, there were missteps along the way—what organization can say otherwise?—but every NPS administrator performed their duties with long-term public interest in mind and, in doing so, creatively overcame immense challenges in telling the complex story of Appomattox Court House.

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[2] *Annals of Congress*, 71st Cong., 2nd sess, (46 Stat. 777).

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A deeper understanding of APCO's development was only possible due to the time set aside by park insiders who consented to recorded oral history interviews. Their names appear in the bibliography, but they deserve acknowledgment here as well. Ken Apschrikat, Gil Lusk, Chris Caulkins, and Mark Greenough articulated the development of the park during the 1970s and 1980s, especially the unique living history program. Ron Wilson and Patrick Schroeder have combined for over forty years of Park Historian experience. Their viewpoints capture the evolution of Civil War historical scholarship and interpretation and how this played out at Appomattox Court House. Others who provided valuable insight through recorded interviews included Gerry Gaumer, Frances Guill, former Superintendent Reed Johnson, Ernie Price, Helen Talbert, and former NPS Acting Director David Vela. Special thanks again must go to Patrick Schroeder for his invaluable assistance in arranging many of these interviews.

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CHAPTER TWO

Pre-Colonial to 1930

Monacan people lived in the area that would become Appomattox Court House long before the arrival of colonists, enslaved people, and their descendants. Archeological excavations conducted over many decades found settlements primarily at bluffs and confluences along the Appomattox River, likely because of local geographic features benefitting trade and defense.[1] No major archeological findings of Monacan activities have ever been reported within the area that is now APCO, but it is a reasonable assumption that Native American populations lived and traversed the area, especially given the proximity to the Appomattox River.

In 1607, English colonists with the Virginia Company of London arrived on the shoreline a little over one hundred miles to the east of present-day APCO. Despite some difficult early years, these colonists established the Colony of Virginia, the first permanent English settlement in the Americas. Considering the vastness of indigenous trade networks, indigenous people residing around modern-day Appomattox County knew of the English arrival within a matter of days. Over the next few decades, European colonists slowly pushed natives off their land in Tidewater and Piedmont, Virginia. Disease, violence, and settlement encroachment were all significant factors in the loss of Native land. The Appomattoc peoples, for example, essentially disappeared from the written record by the early eighteenth century. Appomattocs were either absorbed by Virginian colonial society or migrated with other tribes to escape colonists. The devastating blow to Native Americans around modern-day Appomattox County came with the 1722 Treaty of Albany, which established the Blue Ridge Mountains as a dividing line between the Virginia Colony and indigenous lands. After the treaty was signed, the King of England and Governor of the Virginia Colony ordered all tribes to relocate from their homelands to areas west of the Blue Ridge Mountains. Any indigenous peoples remaining around the Appomattox River, including modern-day APCO, were considered in violation of the King's decree.[2]

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[1] Both Monacan and Appomattoc (sometimes written as Appomatox, Appamatuck, and several other variants) tribes were more widespread than the Appomattox River corridor, especially the Monacan. As of 1607, Monacan tribes occupied most land within the Virginia Piedmont region especially that along the James River. The Appomattoc occupied areas around the lower Appomattox River, though it is likely smaller settlements existed further upstream.

[2] For more on Native Americans in the greater Appomattox region, see Jeffrey Hantman, *Monacan Millennium* (Charlottesville: University of Virginia Press, 2018); Rosemary Clark Whitlock, *The Monacan Indian Nation of Virginia* (Tuscaloosa: University of Alabama Press, 2008); and Helen Rountree, *Pocahontas's People* (University of Oklahoma Press, 1990).

Colonial removal of indigenous people led directly to the redistribution of native land in Central Virginia. The Virginia Colony awarded land grants to English colonists in the early seventeenth century with land along the Appomattox River officially opening to colonists in the early eighteenth century. Areas around Appomattox Court House were particularly valuable to agricultural interests due to the fertile soil, close access to the Appomattox River (and thus the James River), and rolling topography. More specifically, colonists established farms and plantations that primarily grew dark-leaf tobacco, a crop that demanded immense labor. By the late-eighteenth century, agricultural growth further inland led to a demand for easier shipment of goods, so investors formed the Upper Appomattox Company to construct a canal system from Farmville to Petersburg. This canal system functioned from 1795 to 1890 and served Appomattox County agricultural interests.

All this agricultural and canal digging work demanded immense quantities of labor, and colonists exploited enslaved peoples to accomplish their goals. By 1776, about half of all people living in the Virginia Colony were enslaved people of African descent. The Appomattox Court House area was no different in this way, with a landscape dotted with farms worked by enslaved people. The Sweeney Prizery, built circa 1790, is an extant structure within APCO with a functional connection to this period of agriculture and enslaved workers.[3]

Clover Hill and the Stage Road: 1800–1861

In about 1800, the area that would become Appomattox Court House came to be informally known as Clover Hill. At its population peak in the 1850s, Clover Hill was home to about 150 individuals. At least three households had slave quarters at the property during this period, so a significant proportion of the local population were enslaved African Americans and a much smaller number of free African Americans.[4] After American independence, Virginia established county governments in a full governmental restructuring effort. Land that would soon become Clover Hill was between the county seats of Buckingham and Campbell counties and was regularly crossed by travelers moving between those two locations. This common throughway became an official road in 1809

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[3] For details on the canal, see James Washington Seay, Dulaney Ward, and W. E. Trout III, eds., *Appomattox River Seay Stories* (Historic Petersburg Foundation, 1992); W. E. Trout III, *Upper Appomattox Canal* (Historic Petersburg Foundation); and Lawrence Jeffrey Perez, ""Bonds of Friendship and Mutual Interest"': Virginia's Waterways Improvement Companies, 1784–1828,"" PhD diss. (College of William and Mary, 2000). For more on local African American experiences during the prewar period, see Melvin Patrick Ely, *Israel on the Appomattox* (Vintage Books, 2004).

[4] Those three sites were the Clover Hill Tavern, Mariah Wright House, and Raine (McLean) House. Laura Kline, Stephen Olausen, Katie Miller, Kristen Heitert, and Gretchen Pineo, ""Appomattox Court House,"" National Register of Historic Places Nomination Form (Washington, DC: US Department of the Interior, National Park Service, 2015), 104. From this point forward, this source is designated "NR Nomination (2015)."

with the construction of the Richmond-Lynchburg Stage Road. No specific date can officially mark the opening of the Stage Road, but it was likely commonly in use by 1800 as a blazed transportation corridor. Plantation owners shipped goods to markets in Richmond, Lynchburg, and beyond using overland roads, the Appomattox River, and later the Appomattox Canal. Alexander and Lilburne Patteson relocated to the Appomattox Court House area having formed a stage line partnership in 1809. The Patteson brothers purchased a farm in Clover Hill in 1814 and converted it into a tavern and inn over the next few years.[5]

Old Highway 24, passing through the center of Clover Hill, was a modernized Richmond-Lynchburg Stage Road that both followed roughly the same path at the same gradient.[6] The Stage Road was a graded stagecoach road made of a crushed rock path, but most sources described the road as a rutted stageway with a red clay color and wheel ruts deep enough to hinder travel. Clover Hill likely would not have grown beyond homesteads and plantations without the Stage Road. Before the construction of canals and railroads in the region, the Stage Road was the primary method for Appomattox area landowners to deliver goods to market. Regular maintenance and construction were completed on an as-needed basis. A combination of locals, government, and private companies all maintained the Stage Road at some point. The first known stage line, started by the Patteson brothers, offered travel for mail and passengers three days per week until 1833, when the US Post Office mandated such lines be operated six days a week (no departures on Saturday and no arrivals on Sunday). Taverns opened along the Stage Road around Clover Hill to provide horse changes and to serve passengers, employees, and locals.[7]

The best primary sources detailing the location of the Richmond-Lynchburg Stage Road in Appomattox Court House during the mid-nineteenth centuries are the 1867 Michler Map of the area and "Map of the Land Taking Area," both described by NPS Historian Frank Cauble in his 1962 study of the road:

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[5] William Marvel, *A Place Called Appomattox* (University of North Carolina Press, 2000), 1–6.

[6] A potentially confusing aspect of early sources about the Appomattox Court House area involve references to the Stage Road. Most contemporary primary sources referred to the Stage Road by its actual name—the Richmond-Lynchburg Stage Road—but some, especially those created by Civil War soldiers, used different nomenclature likely due to the hurried nature of wartime writings and ignorance to local place names. Union soldiers including Joshua Chamberlain used the word "pike," as did Union produced maps while a handful of Confederate soldiers referenced the Road as a "turnpike," an unnamed "road," or as the road to Lynchburg or Richmond. This Union naming of "pike" carried into a number of early histories of the Civil War written by Northern-based historians despite the Stage Road being a public, county road never funded by tolls. An earlier source dating to 1833 referenced the "Richmond and Lynchburg Stage Line," but all other sources from Appomattox Court House locals used "Stage Road." Cauble concluded thusly that "Richmond and Lynchburg Stage Road" was certainly the recognized name of the transportation corridor. Frank Cauble, "Historical Data on the Richmond-Lynchburg Stage Road in the Vicinity of Appomattox Court House, 1860–1865," U.S. Department of Interior, National Park Service (1962).

[7] Cauble (1962).

The Stage Road crossed a little rivulet called Rocky Run, about two miles northeast of the Village, and then climbed to the brow of a ridge near the northeastern boundary of the present APCO.

From the top of this ridge it descended to the Conner place, where it turned more toward the southwest, and then continued its descent to the northern branch of the Appomattox River. Here it crossed this narrow stream by means of a wooden bridge and ascended a little knoll to the eastern edge of the Village. The Road went through the center of the now historic village and formed the "Main Street" of this small town.

When the Stage Road first entered the Village from the northeast, it ran for a short distance toward the southwest, but it then changed its direction and ran virtually due west for the entire length of the town.

At the point where the Road reached the central courthouse square, it divided into two lanes and circled the courthouse building on the north and south. Coming together again on the west side of the courthouse, it ran through the town in a fairly straight line. After it left the village, it resumed a southwesterly course until it reached the western boundary of the present APCO, about a mile and a half from the center of the village.[8]

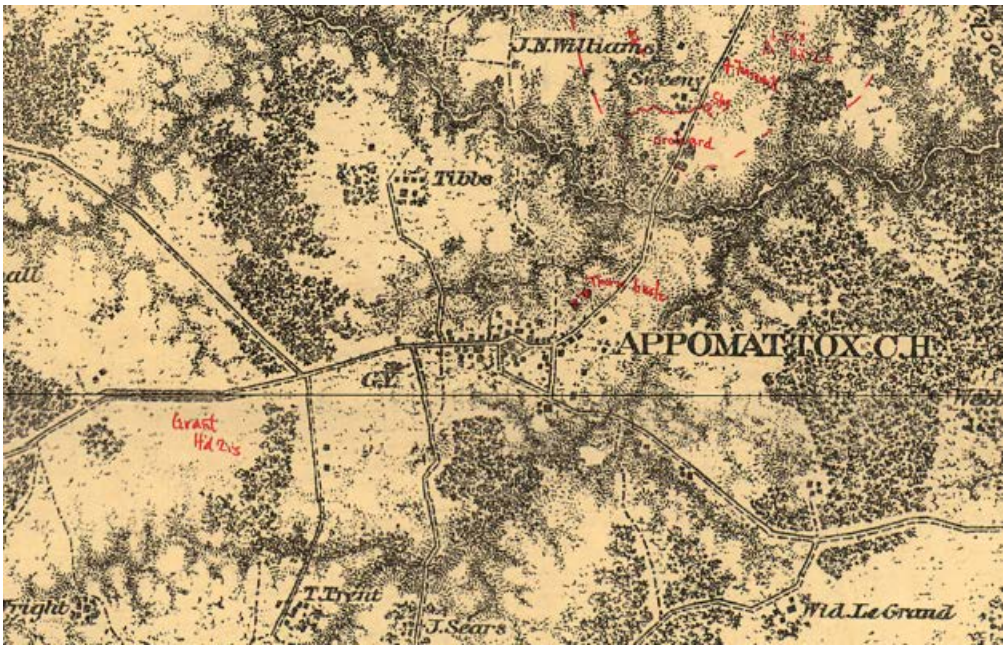


Figure 1. Michler Map, Appomattox Court House, 1865[9]

[8] Cauble (1962).

[9] N. Michler and J. E. Weyss. *Appomattox Court House*. [S.l, 1867] Map. www.loc.gov/item/99439225.

Cauble estimated the Stage Road to be sixty feet wide within the town itself. At the courthouse, the northern fork was significantly larger than the southern. Artistic renditions, according to Cauble, tended to exaggerate the width of the road and general spaciousness of the town, so they cannot be trusted as accurate representations except for perhaps paintings by George Frankenstein.[10] The Stage Road was likely larger than most others in the surrounding area as Union officers noted the road as an "excellent highway, ordinarily passable for several wagons traveling abreast of each other" and a "broad, 'big road' to Lynchburg."[11]

The Stage Road surfacing was earthen with a red hue at least during the Civil War. An agricultural study from 1960 found that soil in Appomattox Court House was a mixture of "grayish brown dark soils with variable putty-like, brownish, heavy subsoils and milder relief" and "red clay subsoils and brownish gray and red loamy surfaces." The study also found that Appomattox Court House was one of just four locations in the county where dark brown soils existed in significant quantities.[12] Primary sources suggest the red color was more pronounced historically with several Civil War soldier letters cited by Cauble commenting on the red road in Appomattox Court House. The exact location of parallel road drainage ditches changed depending on weather conditions and the work crew assigned the work. Several Civil War recollections noted the use of these ditches for fortification, especially against cavalry charges. Fences also bordered the road at points around Appomattox Court House constructed by landholders such as the Conner and Sweeney families to enclose outlying fields. In 1887, the General Assembly mandated male residents of Appomattox County aged eighteen to sixty to work at least two days per year on public roads within the county and within four miles of their residence, a relatively common type of mandate for the time, so Appomattox Court House residents were responsible for their own portion of the Stage Road.[13]

By the early 1840s, local demand for the creation of a new county government reached a breaking point. Cauble argued that poor road conditions were a primary factor. Travel times were simply too great for farmers to travel dozens of miles to conduct relatively simple transactions. Locals advocated for the creation of a new county centered upon Clover Hill. The Virginia Legislature approved the establishment of Appomattox County on

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[10] APCO has six Frankenstein paintings in museum collections, five donated in 1949 (APCO-00004): APCO 6 "Location of Famous Apple Tree"; APCO 7 "Surrender House"; APCO 8 Peers House; APCO 9 New Hope Church; APCO 10 Lee Grant Meeting April 10, 1865, and one donated in 2007 (APCO-00641): APCO 11830 "Head of Appomattox River."

[11] Cauble, (1962). Henry Edwin Tremain, *Last Hours of Sheridan's Cavalry* (New York: Bonnell, Silver, & Bowers, 1904), 229. John Gibbon, "Personal Recollections of Appomattox," *The Century*, Vol. LXIII (Nov. 1901 to April 1902): 938.

[12] George Walker Patterson, Alex J. Harris, and Z. M. K. Fulton, ""Classification of Land Ownership in Appomattox County,"" Virginia Tech, 1960.

[13] Cauble (1962).

February 6, 1845, effective May 1st of that same year. With the new county came the need, required by Virginia Code, to build a new courthouse. Clover Hill was the location of the new courthouse, as outlined in the county establishment legislation, because every county resident would have no more than fourteen miles to travel. An approximately two-acre square of land (donated by Colonel Samuel D. McDearmon) was set aside by the county in accordance with state law to provide public space around the building. The courthouse placement meant the Stage Road forked into a circle around the new courthouse. Most traffic used the northern fork of the road as it went around the courthouse while the southern fork was used primarily by traders and others to park. "Court Day" was held the first Thursday after the first Monday of each month and precipitated activities in the space around the courthouse—livestock auctions, produce stands, a presentation of court cases, political speeches, and the buying and selling of enslaved people. Cauble noted several primary sources describing the difficulty of travel between Lynchburg and Richmond, so companies would limit their trips to once per week or find alternative transportation.[14]

Construction of the courthouse was typical for mid-nineteenth-century Virginia. Descriptions of its "box-like appearance," a term used by Cauble, rarely appeared in historical accounts, implying that its two-story brick construction was commonplace. From advertisements placed in newspapers, Cauble inferred a building committee called by the county commissioners secured "an ordinary builder or draftsman" to complete the design. Bid advertisements placed in 1846 requested a building "of brick, covered with tin, and to be 40 by 50 feet in size" expected the project to cost approximately $4,000. From photographs taken after the Civil War, the structure was a modified Doric columned style with unpatterned bricklaying, unfluted columns, few moldings, and generally nondecorative in its design. Wooden shingles adorned the roof in 1865, suggesting that the proposed tin roof was most likely never installed, as tin would last longer than nineteen years typically. Some changes were made to the structure after the war, such as the replacement of window shutters, but no major renovations occurred.[15]

[14] Cauble (1962). Appomattox Court House, NPS publication (2002).

[15] Cauble (1962).

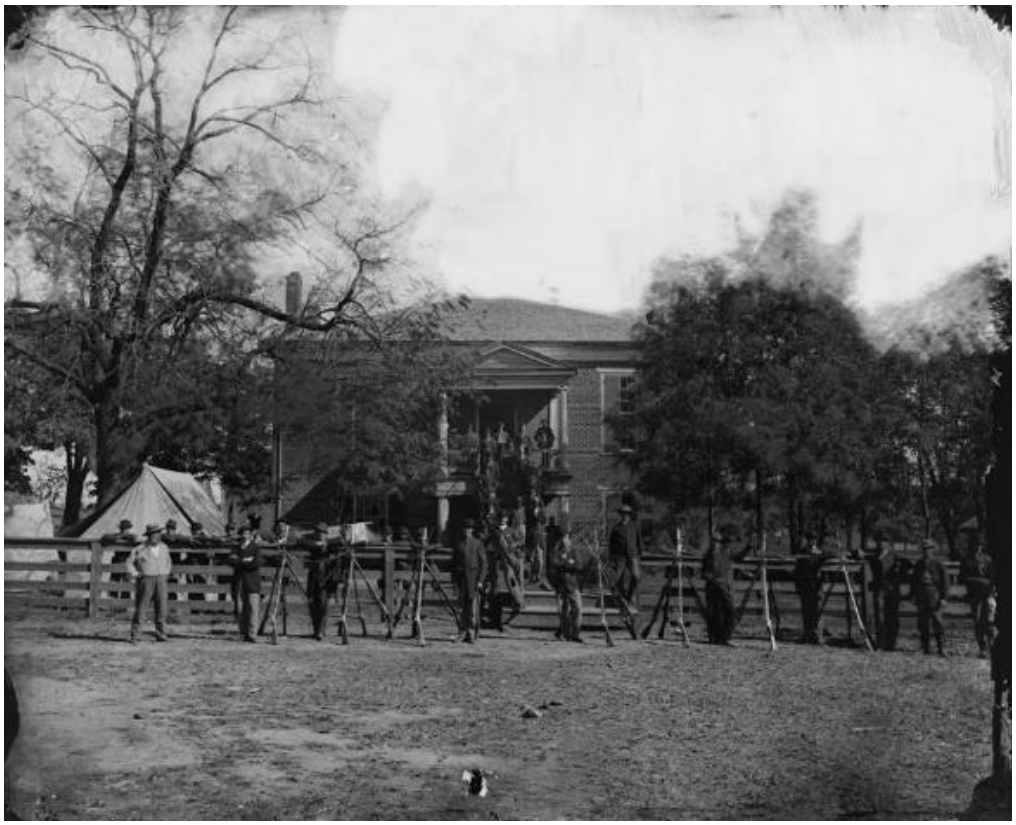


Figure 2. O'Sullivan, Timothy H., 1840–1882, photographer. Appomattox Court House, Va. Company D, 188th Pennsylvania Infantry, Provost Guards at the courthouse. Fall 1865. Library of Congress.

The construction of the courthouse significantly changed the Clover Hill community, not least of which the name itself. By the late-1850s, local sources began to refer to the location as "Appomattox Court House" more often than Clover Hill. Though there was not an official name change, so to speak, the Civil War cemented the new name by using it on official maps and military reports. The first court sessions at Appomattox Court House took place in or about 1846 and predated the construction of the actual courthouse. The earliest court sessions were held in Clover Hill Tavern before completion of the courthouse, but all sessions moved to the new structure once finished. The courthouse also served as a polling location during the 1850s.[16]

The last major local development before the Civil War came in 1854 when the South Side Railroad finalized construction on a new route through central Virginia from Petersburg to "a point east of Black's and White's Tavern (now Blackstone)." A depot on this line was placed about three miles west of Appomattox Court House. This was a major change for locals as the county had direct regional rail access for the first time. With the growing popularity of rail freight and passenger travel, stage road traffic declined and Appomattox Court House businesses dependent on steady traffic struggled. The US Postal

[16] Cauble (1962).

Service transferred all agency business from the stage road to the railroad around this time. Having been incorporated eight years earlier, the railroad company received authorization from the General Assembly in 1850 to construct westward from Petersburg to Lynchburg including both freight and passenger traffic, so this development did not catch Appomattox Court House residents by surprise. Traffic on the Stage Road declined before the railroad had even been completed in anticipation of regional changes.[17]

The Civil War

Around a hundred people lived in Appomattox Court House during the early 1850s. Just ten remained by 1890. The causes for this population decline were primarily the shift from road to rail traffic after the Civil War. While Appomattox Court House is primarily known for the events of April 1865, the community was impacted by the Civil War throughout the conflict. The Appomattox Court House courthouse was a Confederate recruitment station during the war. The 20th Virginia Battalion of Heavy Artillery enlisted at this location as a company for the 44th Virginia Infantry, as did others in the following years. Union and Confederate soldiers moved throughout the region (such as nearby Lynchburg) throughout much of the war, though no major incidents took place at Appomattox Court House. Soldiers likely passed through town on the Stage Road, but likely nothing more. Local men enlisted in the Confederate military too. Several enlisted men from Appomattox died in battle and of disease, so without question the community felt the impact of the war well before April 1865.[18] Disease struck the Appomattox Court House community during the Civil War years as well. Significant typhoid and scarlet fever outbreaks resulted in several Appomattox Court House deaths. Mortality rates in Appomattox County tripled for white residents from 1860 to 1862 and grew by about 50 percent for African Americans, with most growth in deaths attributable to contagious diseases brought by infected soldiers.[19]

Appomattox Court House entered public memory on April 9, 1865. On that day, Grant and Lee met face to face to discuss and ultimately agree upon the surrender conditions to the United States military. Lee's Army of Northern Virginia turned over their arms over the next few days and returned to their homes. Even though there were other Confederate armies in the field elsewhere, Lee's surrender was the effective end of the Civil War that would lead to all other Confederate military surrenders and the dissolution of the Confederate States of America.

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[17] Cauble (1962). E. F. Pat Striplin, *The Norfolk & Western: A History* (Roanoke, VA: Norfolk and Western Railway Company, 1981), 25. APCO Historic Resources Study (2002), 9.

[18] Marvel, 337.

[19] Marvel, 108.

Civil War violence came to Appomattox Court House before the surrender. Union forces pushed Confederates into retreat westward from Petersburg. Confederates were effectively surrounded when Union forces blocked the road west of Appomattox Court House. Confederate forces were now trapped along the road corridor, so this forced Lee to decide whether to travel off the Stage Road, stop and fight to the death, or surrender. The bulk of the Army of Northern Virginia arrived in Appomattox Court House on April 8. Part of the Confederate entourage was an artillery and supply train that advanced near Appomattox Court House to the west around noon. A Union cavalry force led by General George A. Custer captured the train at about 4:00 p.m., which led to a battle that lasted until 9:00 p.m. and the dispersal of Confederate forces, specifically General Rueben L. Walker's artillery. Many Confederate soldiers fled the area along the Stage Road, spreading the news of defeat, and Union cavalry moved toward Appomattox Court House from the west. Some reached Appomattox Court House, but a Confederate counterattack pushed them back to the ridge west of town. Throughout the night, Union cavalry forces blocked the Stage Road expecting a Confederate advance. No attack came during the night, and more Union forces deployed to block the Stage Road blockade the morning of April 9.

Not long after sunrise on April 9, the expected Confederate attack began intending to reopen the Stage Road for movement to the west and ultimately south. Though initially successful, Union forces repelled the attack west of Appomattox Court House. It had become readily apparent to leaders that the Confederates were running out of options. It was during this fight that an artillery shell struck Hannah Reynolds in the arm, which led to her death on April 12. Reynolds was an enslaved woman who stayed behind at the Coleman House after the Coleman family went to a relative's house. The sudden arrival of both armies in the area meant Reynolds found herself amid the fighting, and her home was caught in the crossfire. Dr. Benjamin Williams, an Assistant Surgeon with the 8th Maine Infantry, tended to her wound but to no avail in the end. Hannah Reynolds was the only civilian casualty in the battle. Since she died after Lee's surrender, she was recognized in death as a freewoman. Union chaplain Reverend J. E. M. Wright recounted that Hannah's husband Abram stayed with her the entirety of the ordeal.

On the morning of April 9, Lee and several of his Confederate staff traveled eastward along the Stage Road on horseback hoping to find Grant willing to meet and discuss peace. However, when reaching Federal lines, Lee received a letter from Grant rejecting that idea, so Lee wrote a new letter requesting a meeting to discuss surrender. Lee then rode west on the Stage Road to the vicinity of the Sweeney home to wait for Grant's response. Lt. Col. Orville Babcock and Lt. William Dunn carried Grant's response and were passed through the lines and found Lee resting under an apple tree not far from the crossing of the Appomattox River. Lee sent his aide-de-camp Lt. Col. Charles Marshall into the village to find a suitable location for him to meet with Grant. Shortly thereafter, having

secured the McLean House, the group mounted their horses and rode to the village. Grant entered the village with his staff and cavalry escort after taking the Prince Edward Road to Sears Lane.

After meeting for about an hour and a half, Lee agreed to surrender terms in McLean's parlor, and both Grant and Lee departed the village for their respective headquarters. At some point along the road, Grant stopped to draft a short telegraph message announcing Lee's surrender. The following day, Grant and Lee met again, this time on horseback, along the Stage Road near the George Peers house. Out of this meeting came the idea to issue parole passes to the Confederate soldiers for their journey home.

On April 12th, the stacking of arms for the Confederate infantry took place. Confederate soldiers marched along the Stage Road to Appomattox Court House to surrender their rifles and colors in front of Union forces. Five thousand Federal troops lined the road to ensure a peaceful surrender of arms. Along the Stage Road within Appomattox Court House, Confederate soldiers stacked their weapons and returned home. Most impactful to the Appomattox Court House landscape were the removal of fences for firewood. According to George Wythe Munford, who had just left his position as Secretary of the Commonwealth, by April 29th all fences within miles of Appomattox Court House were torn down and the areas immediately along the stage road were marked by debris, expended cannon shot, at least five hundred dead horses, and cleared land for miles.[20]

As defeated Confederates returned home, some Union troops were soon posted in Appomattox Court House as Provost Guard until December 1865. The companies changed several times, so no individuals remained in town throughout the entire period. The courthouse served as a military headquarters building while soldiers slept in tents peppered on the grounds around the structure. These soldiers also served as a local police force to keep the peace and assist freedmen. On May 18th, 1866, a group of local women formed the Appomattox Ladies' Memorial Association with a primary purpose to move bodies from temporary, shallow graves around Appomattox Court House to a permanent cemetery site just west of the village. This permanent cemetery later became known as the Confederate Cemetery, where eighteen Confederate soldiers and one Union soldier are buried.[21]

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[20] Greenough, "Aftermath at Appomattox," *Civil War History* (1985): 10–14.

[21] Greenough, "Aftermath at Appomattox," *Civil War History* (1985): 10–12. Caroline E. Janney, ""Ladies'' Memorial Associations,"" *Encyclopedia Virginia*, Virginia Humanities, March 8, 2012.

Post-1865

No sooner did the Civil War end that Appomattox Court House became an occasional tourist destination. It would be decades before any mass commemorative efforts took place, but minutes, perhaps even seconds, after the surrender letters were signed, military officers removed items from the McLean House and the Appomattox Court House landscape for souvenirs. The American tourism industry hardly existed at this point, especially given the poor postwar Southern economy and devastated railroad networks, but a few tourists ventured to Appomattox Court House as a curiosity. No governments or veterans' groups attempted to install commemorations at Appomattox Court House in the war's immediate aftermath. Confederate sympathizers viewed Appomattox Court House with shame—the "sepulchre of their political hopes" wrote Confederate Lieutenant Walter Alexander Montgomery. Frank Cauble wrote that "The North, with an appreciation of this feeling, made no effort to erect granite or marble monuments to the victory of the Union," while pointing out that Northern governments and organizations did erect monuments at Gettysburg, Vicksburg, Antietam, Fredericksburg, Petersburg, and other battlefields during the decades after the war. Appomattox Court House remained monument free for several decades. Markers though did exist as Appomattox locals erected simple wooden signs not long after the war, but these were simple wayfinding signs for the various locales often mentioned in popular surrender narratives of the time.[22]

The Freedmen's Bureau formed its Seventh District Virginia office in July 1865, covering Appomattox County and seven other counties in the region. Most offices in the district began work in early August, but the Appomattox County office did not begin work until early September. Most of the office's early work involved issuing rations to local residents in need and assisting African Americans in legal issues, such as how to properly purchase land, rent a farm, or hire out their labor for a growing season.[23] There was an office in Appomattox Court House, which was likely located in the courthouse with soldiers camped outside around the building.[24] One of the Bureau's first actions was assisting in the founding of a school in Appomattox Court House as requested by the "African Union Church." The school's first teacher, Charles McMahon from Plymouth, MA, was sent by the Philadelphia Freedmen's Relief Society. The school initially carried two names—US Grant School for day classes and Abraham Lincoln School for night classes—and would later be named Plymouth Rock School after the iconic symbol in McMahon's

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[22] Hubert Gurney, "A Brief History of Appomattox Court House National Historical Park" (1955), 3.

[23] Greenough, 18.

[24] Greenough, 14, 21.

hometown.[25] Some locals objected to the school's formation, with sources describing a "riot" in March 1866 of about twenty white locals who threatened McMahon to leave Appomattox. Hearing of the trouble, other citizens rallied to McMahon's support and ended that conflict. The school closed in 1870, one year before the Commonwealth made public education funds available for all races.[26] In 1872, Congress rejected the continuation of the Freedmen's Bureau, abruptly ending any inroads made in Southern reconstruction efforts.

By the early 1870s, operations at the courthouse returned to prewar normality as locals used it as a center of civic, business, and cultural life despite the decline in Appomattox Court House population. By local accounts, business returned to the small community with stage road traffic and courthouse usage. Over the next few decades, Appomattox Court House was much like any other small, Southern courthouse community, except for the occasional presence of tourists, writers, and artists searching for the end of the Civil War.

The courthouse building burned on the afternoon of February 1, 1892. Damages were near total with all county government records held in the clerk's office being destroyed except for the land books, which were in Richmond being copied. No official cause was determined. Thousands of bricks were salvaged from the burned building and little else. Salvaged bricks were used to build the clerk's office at the new county courthouse authorized by the General Assembly in March 1892. A court order followed about a week later calling for an Appomattox County referendum to determine the new courthouse's location—Appomattox Station or Appomattox Court House. Voters chose the former. Bids solicited in May led to the selection of Hardy and Hancock as the project's contractors. The final County Court meeting took place at Appomattox Court House on December 8, 1892.

1865–1893: Preservation Efforts

Serious efforts to preserve Appomattox Court House as a historic site came first from Union veterans in the late-1880s. Smaller local efforts developed in the war's immediate aftermath, but those were limited to wayfinding signs and not preservation or interpretation. Throughout the 1880s, Appomattox became central in reconciliation language used by Civil War veterans, both Union and Confederate. The "Myth of Appomattox" emerged

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[25] "Grades 4–5," Legacy Museum: Preserving African American History, https://legacymuseum.org/exhibits/struggle-sacrifice-scholarship/panel-5/grades-4-5.

[26] Local white supremacists threatened the Plymouth Rock School founders to close the school shortly after its founding. Charles Conrad, ""Rev. Alfred Jones III Speaks to AMS Students at Black History Month Event,"" *Appomattox Times-Virginian*, March 2, 2018, www.timesvirginian.com/news/article_5aa59b8e-1e2d-11e8-84ac-5311d99102be.html.

as a popular romantic notion that a nation was sewn back together, and enemies returned to being friends and neighbors with one meeting in Wilmer McLean's parlor. The Myth took hold in American public discourse quickly as a central component of both Lost Cause and Unionist Reconciliation narratives. What would become abundantly clear over the next several decades was that these two narratives were largely incompatible.[27]

It was in this context that in 1890 a group of Union veterans led by Samuel Swinfin Burdett formed the Appomattox Improvement Company (AIC). The primary intentions of Burdett's AIC were to create a national campground for veteran reunions, outdoor recreation, and residences centered at Appomattox Court House. The English-born, son-of-a-minister Burdett was a powerful leader for such a group. A practicing lawyer and abolitionist who fought with John Brown in the Bleeding Kansas conflict, Burdett volunteered for the Union Army when he was twenty-five years old. Beginning as a private in the 1st Iowa Cavalry, he eventually climbed to the rank of Captain by 1864 before serving as assistant provost marshal general from March 1st to August 1st of that year. After his service, he moved to Missouri where he entered politics. He was elected to the House of Representatives twice, in 1868 and 1870, before losing in 1872 and returning to his law practice. Over the next two decades, Burdett moved to Arlington, VA, and practiced law in Washington, DC.

Most significant for potential Appomattox Court House developments, Burdett was elected Commander-in-Chief for 1885–86 of the Grand Army of the Republic (GAR), a fraternal organization for Union military veterans from all branches. Unlike other similar organizations, the GAR wielded significant political influence from its founding in 1866 through at least the 1910s and especially during the 1880s and 1890s, with membership peaking at 400,000 in 1890. Generally, the GAR supported the Republican Party platform with an emphasis on veterans' rights, pensions, the rights of African American veterans, and reforming the South.[28] The GAR's Confederate counterparts were less organized and more splintered during this time. At Appomattox, the most relevant Confederate organizations were the various camps of the United Confederate Veterans, though none of these were founded before 1889. Second-generation Confederate organizations were also founded at about the same time, such as the Sons of Confederate Veterans in 1886 and the United Daughters of the Confederacy branches in Virginia in 1895.

Burdett and his GAR allies first recruited Samuel Magill Bryan, a Washington diplomat-socialite and former Union drummer boy, to a financial partnership. The plan was to restore and develop Appomattox Court House as a combination battlefield community,

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[27] For more on Civil War memory, see Alice Fahs and Joan Waugh, *Memory of the Civil War in American Culture* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2004), W. Fitzhugh Brundage, *The Southern Past* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2005), and David Blight, *Race and Reunion* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2001).

[28] ""Samuel Swinfin Burdett,"" Biographical Dictionary of the United States Congress, Office of the House Historian, http://bioguide.congress.gov/scripts/biodisplay.pl?index=B001074. Gurney (1955), 3.

the first of its kind. Burdett purchased 1,400 acres in the Appomattox Court House area to construct a hotel, parks, stores, roads, and a planned housing development of 9,000 lots exclusive to Union veterans and their families. Development would encompass Appomattox Court House and expand to the southwest for two miles toward Appomattox. The AIC also hoped their investment would convince Congress to build a veterans' monument and fund regional transportation networks. After Burdett's purchase, the Appomattox Land Company formed with capital stock of $250,000 with Burdett elected as President and C. G. Beebe as Secretary. For all their ambition, however, the company abandoned these initial plans because of their failure to acquire the McLean House itself, the absolute keystone for any such plan. Martha Ragland, the recently widowed owner, refused to sell. With Ragland's outright refusal no matter the price, the company reconsidered plans and decided to essentially cancel everything and sell off the recently acquired land. Burdett also encountered financial problems that hampered progress and likely meant he could not offer inordinate amounts for desired properties like the McLean House.[29]



Figure 3. Samuel Swinfin Burdett, February 21 1836–September 24, 1914, portrait by L. Wieser, c. 1881. National Portrait Gallery, Smithsonian Institute, https://npg.si.edu/object/npg_S_NPG.65.14.

In late 1890, less than one year after Burdett's failed plans, a group publicly led by Union veteran Myron Dunlap organized to purchase the McLean House for an entirely different purpose. The idea floated by Dunlap's group was to offer the McLean House and other historic structures as an exhibition at the 1893 World's Columbian Exposition in Chicago (also known as the World's Fair). Dunlap's group, organized as the Appomattox

[29] Gurney, 3. Erving Beauregard, "Samuel Magill Bryan: Creator of Japan's International Postal Service," *Journal of Asian History* 26, No. 1 (1992): 31–41. *The Electrical World*, Vol. 14, 80.

Land and Improvement Company, was bankrolled by Colonel Charles B. Gaskill, a veteran who initially enlisted in the 44th NY Infantry and later received a commission as Captain in the 78th USCT and Colonel of the 81st USCT. Gaskill made a lot of money after the war as the president of power, manufacturing, and railroad companies in the Niagara Falls area. With Gaskill's funding, they met Mrs. Ragland's steep price of $10,000 for the McLean House. Dunlap successfully completed the purchase of the McLean House and twenty-five surrounding acres on January 1, 1891. It is possible that Dunlap would have coordinated his plans with Burdett's, but Burdett's financial problems followed by the 1892 courthouse fire meant Dunlap went at it alone. The following year, Dunlap's group purchased the Lincoln Log Cabin (in January 1892 for $2,000 already on display in Chicago for the World's Fair [Columbian Exposition]) to further strengthen their historic holdings. However, shortly after the purchases, Dunlap's group abandoned the World's Fair idea and launched a new plan to relocate the McLean House to Washington, DC, to house a new Civil War museum.[30]

McLean House's deconstruction was a relatively straightforward architectural project. All wooden materials were taken apart carefully, numbered, and packed together. Unique pieces of woodworking like doors, windows, and mantelpieces were taken down in whole, packaged carefully so as not to damage molding or paint, and then were to be shipped in whole if possible. Bricks were taken down one by one and cleaned. Corner and front bricks were separated from the rest so they could be placed in the same location upon rebuilding. All materials would then be transported via rail freight from Appomattox to Washington, DC, then "carted" from depot to the building site. Altogether, instructions for deconstruction and transport to Washington, DC, took up less than a single typed page. Dunlap and his investment partners ordered the house dismantled per instructions as soon as possible.[31]

However, the proposed shipments to Washington, DC, never took place. Workers dismantled the house in early 1893, but the disassembled parts never left the McLean House lot in Appomattox Court House. Dunlap's organization encountered funding challenges largely owing to the financial panic of 1893 and simply left the piles of wood, brick, and metal to lay fallow. Though Dunlap ran out of money, he had every intention, at first, to rebuild the McLean House as evidenced by detailed instructions for Washington, DC, workers. For instance, the passage on laying the foundation detailed brick patterns, shape, and type of mortar to be used:

> The foundations to be of brick of dimensions shown on drawings. To be two feet below the surface of ground or more if necessary to get a good foundation. Bricks to be laid in mortar composed of one part James River or Rosendale

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[30] Appomattox Land and Improvement Company records, Abraham Lincoln Presidential Library and Museum, Finding Aid, https://illinois.as.atlas-sys.com/repositories/2/resources/4703#.

[31] Happel, 45. Marvel, 308. APCO Central Files (APCO 11800/001.001, Box 001).

> Cement. Two parts clean sharp sand to the surface of ground, then in lime mortar of good quality one part lime two parts sharp sand. All joints between brick to be close.[32]

The rest of the instructions contained details for reconstructing porches, walls, chimneys and flues, floors, doors, windows, stairs, plaster and paint, fireplaces, roof, and tin gutters. Distinction was made for interior and exterior appearance as well. Altogether though, instructions were nonspecific. Contractors were instructed, for example, that "all windows have outside blinds" and "all fireplaces are open for burning wood on old fashioned iron logs." Given that contractors were expected to furnish tools and materials, they were to interpret the McLean House's details as well. Still, the detail provided was enough to rebuild the structure down to the last porch step, brick, and awning.[33] With the project abandoned and no plan for recovery, McLean House materials—stone, brick, nails, lumber, metal hinges, and so on—lay exposed to the elements just a few feet from the road in Appomattox Court House for the next five decades.

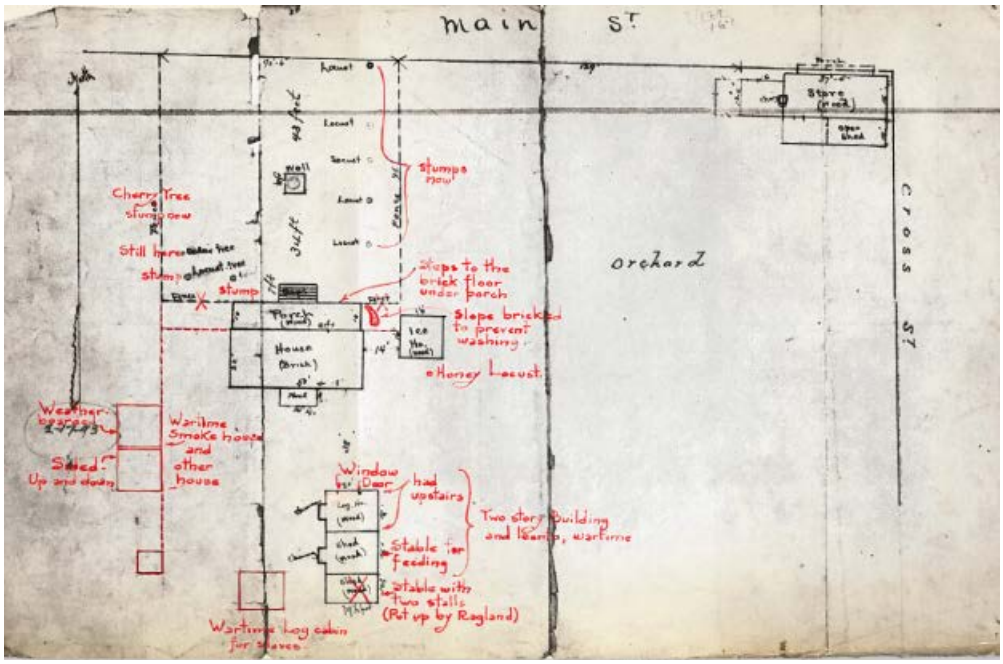


Figure 4. Happel, McLean House Report, Illustration 1 (original illustration dated February 17, 1893). APCO Central Files (APCO 11800/001.001, Box 001)

[32] Happel, 46.

[33] By "iron logs," Happel likely reference cast-iron fireplace log grates, effectively a lattice upon which logs were burned to allow for better air circulation and heat radiation. Happel, 48–50.

1893–1926: Commemoration Efforts

While efforts to relocate the McLean House failed, Samuel Burdett and his GAR allies successfully worked back channels in Washington, DC, to secure some type of memorial at Appomattox Court House. The small community had lost its two most important structures in less than two years, so the community's visible decline was striking to visitors familiar with the site. According to a *New York Tribune* report, credit should go to Joseph W. Kirkley, a historian who coauthored War Department Civil War publications, for suggesting commemoration ideas to Secretary of War Daniel Lamont initially. Through Burdett's and Kirkley's politicking, an 1892 report on the condition of Appomattox Court House found its way to the desk of Brigadier General George B. Davis, chairman of the Commission for Publication of the *Official Records of the War of the Rebellion*. The report described a fraught scene at Appomattox Court House, as reported by two of General Davis's employees. The small village was hardly recognizable to those with memories of 1865. The greatest offender to the cultural landscape was that both major structures, the dismantled McLean House and recently burned courthouse, lay in ruins. No apparent remains of either Grant's or Lee's headquarters remained, unsurprising considering they were each tent sites, and most archaeological evidence of military activity had likely been picked over in the decades since the surrender. The report concluded that the nation risked losing this important cultural and military landmark unless someone acted.[34]

Seeking to ease the degradation at least temporarily at the site, Brigadier General Davis requisitioned historic markers, which was approved by Secretary of War Daniel Lamont. In 1893, Congress commissioned twelve cast-iron tablets to be installed in or near Appomattox Court House plus an additional wayfinding marker to be placed near the Appomattox rail station and the courthouse. Each tablet described the events of April 9, 1865, Appomattox Court House structures, or guided visitors to specific locations. Iron tablet installation work was completed in November 1893. According to 1893 newspaper reports, a 27" x 12" tablet with an arrow eastward was placed at the intersection of the Stage Road and the railroad near Appomattox Station reading "To Old Appomattox Court House 3 Miles."[35]

The table below lists all historical War Department markers installed in 1893 with the text and locations as reported in multiple newspapers between 1893 and 1895. This is not to say this chart is accurate regarding the final printed markers. Rather, it is meant to show how these markers were reported to the public and provide hints of the War Department's intent. As of 2020, four of these tablets (Numbers 4, 8, 9, and 10 in the table below) remain standing within APCO while several others are still held in the museum collection.[36]

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[34] "Where Lee Surrendered," *New York Tribune*, November 23, 1893.

[35] "Historic Spots at Appomattox," *The Daily Picayune* (New Orleans, LA), November 26, 1893. R&A, 4.

[36] "Where Lee Surrendered," *New York Tribune*, November 23, 1893. "Historic Spots at Appomattox," *The Daily Picayune* (New Orleans, LA), November 26, 1893.

Marker No. & Catalog No.	Location	Reported Text
1 APCO 10965	About halfway from the Appomattox railway station to Appomattox Court House by way of the stage road	"On this spot was established the headquarters of Lieutenant-General Ulysses S. Grant, USA., on the afternoon of April 9, 1865."
2	Along the stage road at the McLean House ruins	"This tablet marks the site of the house owned and occupied by Wilmer McLean, in which General US Grant, USA., and General Robert E. Lee, C.S.A., met and agreed upon the terms of the surrender of the Army of Northern Virginia on the afternoon of Sunday, April 9, 1865. The house was taken down and removed to Washington, D.C., in 1893."
3 APCO 10964	Along the turnpike at the Court House ruins	"Here stood Appomattox Courthouse, built 1842: burned 1892. The ruins of the old building are still to be seen."[37]
4 "Grant & Lee Meeting", APCO 10967	Along the turnpike on the west side of the road "at a spot a little north of the Courthouse"	"On this spot, Lieutenant-General Ulysses S. Grant, USA., and General Robert E. Lee, C.S.A., met on the morning of April 10, 1865."
5	"Just beyond the meeting place" where Grant and Lee met on the 10th	"Union Outposts On Sunday Morning April 9, 1865"
6	About two hundred yards beyond Union outposts, "just across the little creek that crosses the road"	"Confederate Outposts On Sunday Morning April 9, 1865"
7 APCO 10969	In front of the Peers House nearly directly across the road from the meeting place marker	"Near this point was established the left flank of the First Division of the Fifth Corps, Army of the Potomac, on the morning of April 11, 1865, to receive the surrender of the arms of the infantry of the Army of Northern Virginia."[38]
8 "Last Shot Fired", APCO 10972	About one hundred yards north of the Peers House and about one hundred yards east from the road	"From this spot was fired the last shot from the artillery of the Army of Northern Virginia on the morning of April 9, 1865."[39]

[37] Note that the printed text reads "On this spot stood the old court house of Appomattox Court House Virginia. Erected 1846. Destroyed by fire 1892."

[38] Note that the actual date of these events was April 12, 1865.

[39] Note that the printed text misspells "artillery" as "artillary" and "Northern" as "Nothern." This marker's position was not close to where the sign was located in 2020 or the historically accurate artillery location.

9 "Apple Tree", APCO 10968	A "few yards" west of the road approximately 400 yards north of the Courthouse	"Near this spot stood the apple tree under which General Robert E. Lee rested while awaiting the return of a flag of truce sent by him to General US Grant on the morning of April 9, 1865."
10 "Lee's Headquarters", APCO 10971	From National Historic Register Nomination: ". . .in the woods south of Route 24 near the District's northeastern corner"	"On this spot were established the headquarters of the Army of Northern Virginia, General Robert E. Lee, C.S.A., Commanding, from April 8th to April 11th, 1865."[40]
11 APCO 10966	Near the "Lee Headquarters" tablet and east of the "Apple Tree" tablet	"This tablet marks the spot upon which Gen. Robert E. Lee, C.S.A., stood while reading his farewell order to the Army of Northern Virginia, on April 10, 1865."
12 APCO 11551	"Just east of the courthouse and by the side of the road"	"To the Lines of Surrender."
13 (Proposed, Not Funded)	Near Confederate Cemetery	"Here rest in peace the remains of nineteen Confederate soldiers killed in action near this place, April 8-9, 1865. The cause for which they fought is lost; the Confederacy which they loved so well has ceased to be; their very names have perished from the minds of men; the memory of their unselfish devotion alone remains; a priceless heritage to succeeding generations of their countrymen."[41]
APCO 10970	Not noted in local newspapers	"Near this point was established the right flank of the First Division of the Fifth Corps, Army of the Potomac, on the morning of April 11, 1865, to receive the surrender of the Army of Northern Virginia."

The success of the iron tablet installations led to Burdett and GAR allies launching another ambitious idea in 1895—to convince the US Government to acquire and permanently preserve Appomattox Court House as a park. The groundwork had been laid intentionally or not a couple of years prior when, as part of the iron tablets campaign, General Davis testified before Congress that the entirety of Appomattox Court House's significance could be properly preserved with a Federal acquisition of just 150 acres. Burdett owned ten times that much land in and around Appomattox Court House already. Just five years prior, a different group of Union and Confederate veterans worked together to help form a national military park at Chickamauga, thus setting precedence for military parks. Parks at

[40] Note that the printed text misspells "Northern" as "Nothern."

[41] Note that there were actually eighteen Confederate soldiers and one Union soldier buried in the cemetery.

Shiloh and Gettysburg followed in 1894 and 1895, respectively. While the projects at Shiloh and Gettysburg were becoming a reality, the *Norfolk Pilot* wrote to Southern political leaders urging support for an Appomattox park. Two important respondents in favor were the Union Veteran Legion—who recruited the GAR to pass a resolution of support—and the Robert E. Lee Camp of Confederate Veterans based in Richmond. The Virginia division of the United Daughters of the Confederacy formed in 1895 (the Appomattox Chapter on August 22nd), and their perspective on the park question is not found in APCO or public records, though the Appomattox chapter of the UDC formally took control of the Confederate Cemetery around 1895.[42]

Influential GAR members wrote public letters hoping to generate popular support, especially among Confederate veterans, knowing that support of veterans from both militaries would increase their chances for success. GAR proposals suggested recruiting Confederate veteran Fitzhugh Lee and Union veteran James Tanner, former Commissioner of Pensions at the time, to serve as co-chairs of a proposed five-man commission to explore the idea of a national Appomattox Court House park. In January 1895, a "mass meeting of citizens" at Appomattox Court House elected officers (D. A. Christian as chairman and J. P. L. Fleshman as secretary) and passed a resolution that "earnestly urged to press a successful conclusion" in forming a park by Congressional action. The group specifically called upon Representative Harry St. George Tucker of Virginia, who represented Appomattox from 1889 to 1897 and again from 1922 to 1932, to introduce a bill to this end if he had not already.[43]

Representative Tucker delivered on the group's desires by proposing a House resolution "to establish a national park at Appomattox, Virginia, and to appoint commissioners to locate same." To be clear, the resolution would not outright form the park, but instead formed the Appomattox National Park Commission (ANPC) with Lee, Tanner, John B. Gordon of Georgia, Joseph Wheeler of Alabama, and William Howard Mills of Maine as appointed members. The proposed organization would have power to commission surveys and historical maps in preparation for a park cost estimate to be presented to Congress at a future date.[44] Tucker's resolution was passed on to the House Committee on Military Affairs on 25 February 1895, as were official Union Veteran Legion comments in favor of the park two days later, but the Committee failed to act before the House adjourned.[45]

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[42] Janney. Marvel.

[43] [Untitled article], *Appomattox and Buckingham Times,* January 24, 1895.

[44] Gurney, 5–6. "A Park at Appomattox," *Alexandria Gazette,* February 26, 1895.

[45] Congressional Record—House, February 25, 1895, p. 2744. Congressional Record—House, February 27, 1895, p. 2818.

The following year saw more Congressional activity regarding the Appomattox park idea and Tucker's resolution. Union Veteran Legion Encampment No. 90 headed by Captain Alfred Boley, Encampment No. 35 of Mount Vernon, Ohio, and the Florida state legislature, all submitted to Congress their formal support of the resolution.[46] Representative Thaddeus Mahon (R-PA) filed a new resolution (H.R. 6835) to acquire land and "erect a peace monument" at Appomattox Court House, which was sent to the House Committee on the Library, and Representative Philip Low (R-NY) also filed a new resolution (H.R. 7818) to establish "Appomattox Park," which was sent to the House Committee on Military Affairs. A Senate Resolution identical to Mahon's was also filed by Senator Shelby Cullom (R-IL) and on June 6, 1896, Henry Hansbrough (R-ND) delivered the Committee on the Library's report.[47]

Publicly, supporters of the park mobilized support immediately upon Tucker's resolution proposal. On February 28, 1895, the *Washington Post* published a lengthy letter by William Howard Mills, potential ANPC member and representative of the Union Veteran Legion. Mills's letter was widely republished, including in the *Appomattox and Buckingham Times*. The letter detailed at length Mills's empathy for Southerners, especially Confederate veterans, who felt beat down, dismissed, or scorned since 1865. Mills promised that a national park would do no such injustice to local memory, history, and identity. "Even the defeated South now realizes that the victory of Gen. Grant over Gen. Lee was as much in their interest as it was in that of the North. It made us one people again," concluded Mills, continuing, "It is eminently proper that Union and Confederate organizations of veterans should unite in making Appomattox a beautiful and lasting monument of the war." Newspapers from as far away as the *Boston Sunday Post* and *Indianapolis News* urged passage of the national park legislation before Congress. Mills had the support of the GAR and Union Veteran Legion; now he hoped Confederate Veterans would follow suit.[48]

Individuals primarily interested in Confederate memory were sharply divided on the park idea with the strongest dissent coming from Confederate Veterans. Future Superintendent Hubert Gurney, in his early history of the park, noted "outspoken hostility of Confederate veterans" and contemporary newspaper articles usually spoke directly to skeptical Confederates, but the attention provided to such dissenters may have been overstated. The officers of the Grand Camp of Confederate Veterans of Virginia met in

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[46] Congressional Record—House, 1896, 162-164, 4498.

[47] Congressional Record—House, 1896, 2467, 3464, 5976, 6177.

[48] The primary example provided by Mills was a proposed 1894 effort to change the name of Appomattox Court House to Surrender. From Mills's perspective—which was taken up by a GAR resolution—"Surrender" forced "an unnecessary humiliation to the men who surrendered there in good faith…and have been good citizens since." William Howard Mills, "A Park at Appomattox," *Appomattox and Buckingham Times,* February 28, 1895. "Insult to Lee and Grant," *Richmond Times,* December 11, 1894.

February 1895 and "heartily endorsed" the National Park idea. The *Alexandria Gazette* reported the officers then issued a resolution to be delivered to subordinate camps urging they contact their Congressional representatives in support.[49]

Not all Confederate veteran groups accepted the state officers' resolution of support, however. In general, newspapers at the time believed Confederate opposition stemmed from a combination of suspicion toward the Federal government and a lack of knowledge about national parks. Some veterans believed the proposed park to be "a scheme to perpetuate the victory of the Federals," a phrase quoted by several writers in describing opposition sentiment.[50] For instance, J. J. Williams, Commander of the General Turner Ashby Camp of Confederate Veterans No. 22 at Winchester, wrote a letter to the editor of the *Alexandria Gazette* just two days after the Grand Camp's endorsement that his camp strongly disagreed. Williams supported similar preservation projects at "the battlefields of Gettysburg and Chickamauga, and of first and second Manassas, and of Chancellorsville" because those were "the theatre of military operations of great interest to the student of the art of war. . .and of transcendent manifestation of the military genius and heroism of the American soldier." But of Appomattox Court House, Williams viewed it as a "field of surrender" unworthy of military remembrance and in so failing to view the site beyond the comparatively small battles immediately before the immensely important surrender meeting. Specifically, Williams wrote:

> But in the case of Appomattox Court House where, to a vast host surrendered a handful of men, scarce able from starvation and exhaustion to stand to their arms, and after a brief skirmish compelled their surrender, we fail to see any consideration justifying the expenditure of the people's money; and certainly it seems to us nothing to lead a Confederate veteran to desire its preservation and perpetuation as a place of resort for the public, including our own children and grandchildren.[51]

In response to letters such as these, the Appomattox National Park Association[52] chaired by R. B. Poore published an open letter on March 28, 1895, to all Confederate Veteran Camps in Virginia in response to "the opposition of some of the Camps of Virginia to the establishment of a National Park [at Appomattox Court House]." Poore largely aimed this letter, published in the *Appomattox and Buckingham Times*, at opposing Confederate veterans:

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[49] "The Proposed National Military Park at Appomattox," *Boston Sunday Post,* April 28, 1895.

[50] "Favors the Appomattox National Park," *Appomattox and Buckingham Times,* April 4, 1895.

[51] "Confederate Veterans," *Alexandria Gazette,* February 14, 1895. "The Field of Appomattox," *Alexandria Gazette,* February 16, 1865.

[52] Note that this organization seemed to be short lived and relatively unorganized. This may have been the ""mass meeting of citizens"" who met in Appomattox during January 1895 to encourage Congressional legislation.

> We are in favor of the establishment of a National Park on the battlefield in this county; first, because we believe, if it is inaugurated with a proper spirit, it will tend to encourage kind feelings between the people of the North and the people of the South; and, second, because many northern and western men who will be induced to visit Virginia, will have the great advantage of climate, soil, and c. [*sic*] of the State forced upon their attention and so prove a potent factor in inducing immigration to our borders.
>
> The Camps opposing our wishes are doubtless moved by the fear that the South will not be properly treated. In this connection it must be remembered that the General Government will not undertake the work until the State has ceded the rights in the lands required and we may confidently believe that a Legislature of Virginia will never cede rights to be used as a reflection upon her honor and glory.
>
> The veterans of this county take pride in every act of the Army of Northern Virginia and its Chief, and in none more than their appearance upon the field of Appomattox.[53]

As for Southern newspapers, Gurney's research into the subject concluded Southern editors generally opposed the park idea, but some offered support of the park, including the local Appomattox newspaper. The *Norfolk Landmark,* for instance, published "We would rather see the field of Appomattox turned into a beautiful spot, blossoming like the roses, with trees and grass and lovely drives, than to see it a muddy plain where the wild hares frolic, and are hunted by the small boy and his dog."[54] The *Appomattox and Buckingham Times* published several letters in support of the park, including several that outright questioned the motivations of any Confederate veterans opposed to the park. Instead of viewing the park as an insult, writers argued the park could be seen as a combined reconciliation space and a location where "Confederates. . .gained fame everlasting."[55]

By late-1895, Tucker's resolutions moved slowly through House machinations and a sense of inevitability surrounded the Appomattox Court House park idea. The *Appomattox and Buckingham Times* briefly interviewed Myron Dunlap, by then an absentee landowner of Appomattox Court House properties, who reported that Congressmen intended to file and easily pass a new bill establishing the park at the next session. Dunlap further noted he perceived support of the park to be near unanimous in the North and nearly so in the South except for "a few Confederate camps. . .hardly powerful enough to prevent the consummation of the scheme."[56] Retired Union Major George Aug.us Armes, a Virginia

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[53] R. B. Poore, "An Address to the Confederate Camps of Virginia," *Appomattox and Buckingham Times,* March 28, 1895. Gurney, 7.

[54] *Norfolk Landmark,* March 21, 1895.

[55] "Favors the Appomattox National Park"; "Appomattox Park," *Appomattox and Buckingham Times,* April 4, 1895.

[56] [Untitled], *Appomattox and Buckingham Times,* October 24, 1895.

native, purchased most Appomattox Court House land during 1896 and 1897 from Burdett and a few other smaller local landowners with the apparent intent of transferring it to the US government once an Appomattox Court House park became reality.

Despite GAR and local support for Congressman Tucker's resolution, without unanimous support from Confederate veterans, Congressmen from Southern states did not come to the bill's support in 1895, 1896, or 1897. With that loss of important Democratic votes, the idea for a national park at Appomattox Court House died. Most likely, the grumblings of a few Confederate veterans were enough to scare off fiscally conservative Congressmen who worried that the US Government spent too much on Civil War battlefield preservation already. The park idea slowly faded away over the next decade, though not for want of trying. GAR members continued their advocacy largely spurred onward by leaders like Burdett and Armes. A GAR resolution adopted at the organization's August 1897 meeting in Buffalo simply stated, "That it is the sentiment of this body that measures should be promptly taken to secure to the future, Appomattox field, for a National Park, and that our representatives in Congress be urged to use every effort, and to adopt such measures as will effect that result" and empowered the GAR Commander-in-Chief—the chief elected officer—to appoint a five-person committee to draft another bill to present to Congress. Importantly, the resolution also claimed to have Southern support and "may be taken as an exponent of the sentiment of the Confederate Veterans."[57] It does not appear that any major group of Confederate veterans responded to the GAR's call to action.

As of 1900, there were no active resolution filings for an Appomattox park in either the House or Senate. Most likely, the old resolutions sat untouched in committees as Congressional attention turned to the Spanish-American War in 1898.[58] An official Congressional committee never formed, and no monument designs were ever filed despite numerous legislation filings for such. According to Caroline Janney, at least seventeen other battlefields were proposed between 1896 and 1926 with no new filings for Appomattox.[59] The Appomattox idea returned briefly in 1902 when General Davis returned to the House to testify about the explosion of national military park proposals, especially those proposed by recently elected Representative Henry D. Flood. Davis argued that Appomattox Court House was not a good location for a military park because the battles fought there were insufficient for studying tactics. Further, Davis considered the iron tablets already installed largely sufficient, so the proposed monument and national park proposals should

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[57] Grand Army of the Republic, ""Journal of the National Encampment of the Grand Army of the Republic,"" (1898): 243–44.

[58] NR Nomination (2015). George A. Armes, *Ups and Downs of an Army Officer,* (Washington, D.C.), 690–700. ""Buying Battlefields,"" *Washington Post*, February 27, 1898. ""Petition for Appomattox Park,"" *Washington Post*, January 22, 1898.

[59] Janney, 96. Other historians put the number much higher, for instance the APCO national register nomination form cites thirty-four bills for twenty-three battlefield reservations between 1901 and 1904 alone. Ronald Lee, "The Origin and Evolution of the National Military Park Idea, 1900–1933," (1973).

be suspended. The House Military Affairs Committee before which Davis spoke took his recommendations and postponed all park developments at Appomattox indefinitely. Representative Flood formally reintroduced legislation in most House sessions, but none moved beyond the proposal or subcommittee stages.[60]

Local Appomattox County support for an Appomattox Court House park also declined significantly, as did general upkeep of the village area. Road maintenance to Appomattox Court House especially suffered, with just the deeply rutted Lynchburg-Richmond Stage Road providing local access. Rain made travel to Appomattox Court House extremely difficult by 1900.[61] Broad support to preserve Appomattox Court House did not come from historians either. Walter A. Montgomery, a Confederate veteran who served on the Supreme Court of North Carolina from 1897 to 1905, wrote that "Appomattox to the historian is an event, not a place. The little village of that name in Southwestern Virginia which, on April 9, 1865, consisted of a courthouse, jail, post office, and a few scattered houses, was not an interesting spot of earth; and only that which came to pass there, on that day, has brought the hamlet to the notice of the world."[62]

Commemorative attention to Appomattox Court House did come in 1905 through the State of North Carolina. Such an idea emerged from the recently completed *Five Points in the Record of North Carolina in the Great War of 1861–65*, a study of North Carolina's role in the Civil War by the North Carolina Literary and Historical Association, which was in part commissioned to substantiate North Carolina's claims of who did what first, farthest, and last at Appomattox.[63] From this study came state interest in funding historical markers, so the North Carolina legislature appropriated funds that year to install the first state-funded commemorative marker at Appomattox Court House. The North Carolina Monument, as it would be known, marked the location of the final volley before formal surrender or "truce flag." The monument was also dedicated in honor of the 5,082 Confederate soldiers from North Carolina paroled at Appomattox Court House. North Carolina chose to erect such a monument in part because the final documented gunfire (or so it was claimed at the time) came from Brigadier General William R. Cox's North Carolina Brigade. The marker was also meant to act as a touchstone for any North Carolinians visiting Appomattox Court House. One final hurdle was for Armes, a Union

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[60] NR Nomination (2015), 67-68. Lee (1973).

[61] Gurney, 8.

[62] Walter A. Montgomery, "Appomattox and the Return Home," in *Histories of the Several Regiments and Battalions from North Carolina in the Great War 1861-65: Vol. V*, ed. by Walter Clark (Goldsboro, NC: Nash Brothers, 1901), 257.

[63] The impetus for such a study was to elevate the deeds of North Carolinian Confederate soldiers considering perceived disparagements coming from the Grand Camp of the Virginia Confederate Veterans. One of the key rallying points for North Carolina Confederates was a motto etched upon the Raleigh Capitol building "First at Bethel Last at Appomattox." Henry A. London, "The Last at Appomattox," in *Five Points in the Record of North Carolina in the Great War of 1861–65: Report of the Committee Appointed by the North Carolina Literary and Historical Association* (1904): 59–69.

veteran, to transfer land in question to North Carolina. Armes deeded a small portion of land to Henry A. London, a Confederate veteran of the Battle of Appomattox Court House and chairman of the North Carolina Appomattox Commission, with no hesitation.

The official function of the North Carolina Monument and surrounding markers given by the North Carolina legislature was to commemorate:

1. The last volley fired by Cox's Brigade of Grimes' Division
2. The capture of a battery of artillery by Roberts' Brigade of Cavalry
3. The last skirmish by Capt. W. T. Jenkins

The North Carolina resolution further dictated that the monument was to be placed at the point of the furthest Confederate advance on April 9 with an inscription reading "First at Big Bethel; Farthest to the Front at Gettysburg and Chickamauga, and Last at Appomattox."

The North Carolina Monument dedication ceremony attracted many Virginia and North Carolina politicians and Confederate veterans, including both Governor Jack Montague of Virginia and Governor Robert Broadnax Glenn of North Carolina. Presentations included speeches, poems, and songs dedicated to state pride. The ceremony's zenith was when North Carolinian poet Henry Jerome Stockard delivered his poem "The Last Charge at Appomattox." Stockard described a band of hardened, battle-weary men who nonetheless charged forward despite a hopeless future, printed below in full to give a sense of the rhetoric informing this moment.

Scarred on a hundred fields before,
Naked and starved and travel-sore,
    Each man a tiger, hunted,
They stood at bay as brave as Huns,
Last of the Old South's splendid sons,
Flanked by ten thousand shotted guns,
    And by ten thousand fronted.

Scorched by the cannon's molten breath,
They'd climbed the trembling walls of death
    And set their standards tattered;
Had charged at the bugle's stirring blare
Through bolted gloom and godless glare
From the dead's reddened gulches, where
    The searching shrapnel shattered.

They formed—that Carolina band—
With Grimes, the Spartan, in command,
    And, at the word of Gordon,
Through splintered fire and stifling smoke
They struck with lightning's scathing stroke—
Those doomed and desperate men—and broke
    Across that iron cordon.

They turned in sullen, slow retreat—
Ah, there are laurels of defeat!—
    Turned, for the Chief had spoken;
With one last shot hurled back the foe,
And prayed the trump of doom to blow,
Now that the Southern stars were low,
    The Southern bars were broken.

Sometime the calm, impartial years
Will tell what made them dead to tears
    Of loved ones left to languish;
What nerved them for the lonely guard,
For cleaving blade and mangling shard;
What gave them strength in tent and ward
    To drain the dregs of anguish.

But the far ages will propound
What never Sphinx had lore to sound—
    Why, in such fires of rancor,
The God of Love should find it meet
For Him, with Grant as sledge, to bear
On Lee, the anvil, at such hear,
    Our Nation's great sheet-anchor.[64]

According to Hubert Gurney, the Appomattox Court House community declined from this point through the mid-1920s in terms of population and building maintenance. "Residences were abandoned or rented out to tenants; outbuildings collapsed or were pulled down for fire wood," wrote Gurney of the town during this era. Two stores and the post office remained to serve the community and broader area, but the McLean House and courthouse remains fell into further degradation with significant overgrowth.[65]

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[64] Gurney, 8. Henry Jerome Stockard, *Poems* (Raleigh, NC: Bynum, 1939). "Programme at the unveiling of North Carolina''s monument at Appomattox, April 10, 1905," https://archive.org/details/programmeatunvei00nort/page/n7. North Carolina Historical Commission, *Literary and Historical Activities, Vol. I* (Raleigh: Uzzell & Co., 1907), 421–22, 499.

[65] ""General Management Plan,"" APCO, NPS (2010), 6. Gurney, 8.

1926–1930: Park Founding



Figure 5. Site of the McLean House, c. 1937, APCO Central Files
(APCO 11800/001.001, Box 001, "Historic Structures Management Records")

The fate of Appomattox Court House changed in 1926 when Congress passed the Act for the Study and Investigation of Battlefields (H.R. 11613, Public Law No. 372, June 11, 1926). Momentum for such an act began in the aftermath of World War I when a renewed spirit of patriotism, expanded tourism opportunities, and advances in transportation meant Congress was more open to historic preservation.[66] Between 1920 and 1926, Congress proposed at least twenty-eight bills calling upon the establishment of fourteen national military parks (one being Appomattox), so the House Committee on Military Affairs, rather than address each bill individually, ordered a national study of all battlefields. The study ordered the Army War College to identify the location of all battles taking place within the United States, which of course included Appomattox Court House. The study, beginning in 1926 and ending in 1932, was conducted by War Department and Army War College staff primarily.

In developing the 1926 Act for the Study and Investigation of Battlefields, Lieutenant Colonel C. A. Bach of the Army War College Historical Section prepared in 1925 a memorandum for Congress to guide national battlefield preservation. This memorandum became the foundational document in crafting the 1926 legislation. Bach proposed grouping battlefields into hierarchical categories based on historical value. Class I were of

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[66] Kammen, *Mystic Chords of Memory.*

exceptional importance and should be national military parks, Class II were worthy of national monument status, Class IIa were worthy of at least interpretive tablets, and Class IIb should have at least a marker. The divisions between each class were somewhat fuzzy, in that for example a Class IIa battlefield could become a national monument, but this hierarchy went into place firmly with the Army War College study. Bach placed Appomattox Court House within the Class IIb category.

Meanwhile and knowing the potential of the Congressional study, Appomattox residents again petitioned Congress in the late-1920s to formally preserve Appomattox Court House and the surrounding battlefield with assistance from Democratic State Senator Samuel Ferguson and Commonwealth Attorney Joel Flood. Meanwhile, in Congress, the Secretary of War delivered annual reports with information generated by the ongoing surveys. In 1928 and 1929, annual reports included field investigations—including preservation cost estimates—for parks as they were being surveyed. Appomattox Court House, still a Class IIb battlefield, had the highest cost estimate at $100,000.[67]

Representative Harry St. George Tucker took up the legislative cause in 1929 just as he had done in 1895. Before the market crash of 1929, Congress intended to pass a single bill appropriating enough funding for all Class IIb battlefields, but the financial downturn ruined any possibility of such action. In 1930, fifty Class IIb battlefields came under Congressional consideration as part of a large bill prepared by the War Department. Altogether, the cost for Class IIb parks was $624,400, though that was minimal compared to the expected $20 million for all parks considered under the 1926 legislation.[68] After several committee hearings in early 1930, Representative Lister Hill (D-AL) in his capacity as Chair of the House Committee on Military Affairs recommended full passage of Class IIb park funding.[69]

However, the full bill did not pass even with committee recommendation and Congress approached Class IIb battlefields line-by-line. According to NPS historian Ronald F. Lee, Congressmen likely balked at any significant spending on preservation with the nation's economy still reeling. Just three sites received Congressional approval after the stock market crash—Chalmette, Appomattox Court House, and Fort Necessity. With that action, the War Department would provide the funding to create a park at Appomattox Court House pending the release of funds and guidance from Congress.[70]

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[67] Lee (1973). U.S. Congress, Senate, Study of Battle Fields in the United States for Commemorative Purposes, Senate Doc. No. 187, 70th Cong., 2d Sess., 1928; and Senate Doc. No. 46, 71st Cong., 2d Sess., 1929. House Committee on Military Affairs, *Study and Investigation of Battlefields* (1926), 1.

[68] The Class IIb amount of $624,400 is about $9.7 million when adjusted for inflation to 2020.

[69] Lee (1973). U.S., Congress, House, Committee on Military Affairs, Commemoration of Certain Military Historic Events, and for Other Purposes, Report No. 1525, 71st Cong., 2d Sess.

[70] Lee (1973). Hillory Alfred Tolson, and United States. National Park Service. Laws Relating to the National Park Service. Washington [D.C.]: U.S. Dept. of the Interior, National Park Service, 1963, p. 181–94, 319–20.

Representative Tucker was primarily responsible for this official approval of an Appomattox Court House monument. He introduced and successfully guided a Congressional joint resolution for a commission to explore and ultimately make a recommendation for a National Memorial at Appomattox Court House. A three-person committee consisting of an impartial military representative (Lieutenant Colonel L. C. Pope) along with representatives of the North (Captain Robert Goldthwaite Carter) and South (Captain Robert Alfred O'Brien) were appointed to the Appomattox Court House commission. After meeting at Appomattox Court House several times, the three-person Appomattox Court House commission recommended the creation of a monument. Congress deemed a national monument status (as opposed to a national military park) most appropriate given the size of the battle, the number of casualties, and importance as the final surrender site. The group also called for the construction of an obelisk, shaft, or memorial post to commemorate the formal ending of Civil War military hostilities.[71]

Representative Tucker again proposed legislation that easily passed and was signed into law on June 18, 1930. Appomattox Court House would become a National Monument under the control of the War Department. Commemoration and preservation efforts would finally come to Appomattox Court House after over four decades of trying. Now, it was up to Federal officials to finally decide what exact form an Appomattox Court House commemoration would take.[72]

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[71] An earlier survey of Appomattox Court House had been completed by O'Brien and Major General Charles F. Humphrey and "the district engineer at Norfolk" in 1926 as part of the 1926 Act for the Study and Investigation of Battlefields. *Hearing Before Subcommittee of House Committee on Appropriations* (Washington: Government Printing Office,1926), 677–78. L. C. Pope was an active-duty officer who, as of 1930, was in command of the 121st Infantry Regiment of the Georgia National Guard. Robert G. Carter enlisted as a private in the 22nd Massachusetts Infantry. After the Civil War, he graduated from West Point, fought in western conflicts against indigenous Americans, and published several books about his military service. O'Brien was a resident of Appomattox at the time of his appointment. Gurney, 9–10. Lee (1973). Dan L. Thrapp, *Encyclopedia of Frontier Biography: In Three Volumes, Volume I (A–F)* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1988). "Scenes at Camp Foster," *The Atlanta Constitution*, July 27, 1930.

[72] Gurney, 10.

CHAPTER THREE

From War to National Historic Site: 1930–1942

As the official formation of APCO neared in 1940, NPS historian Ralph Happel wrote, "Most of the contemporary and early writers of the Civil War seem to have resented the fact that so great an event as the surrender of Lee's army occurred in so small a town as Appomattox Court House." He continued, "They hardly ever failed to mention the size, so small indeed that a Richmond paper could not locate the place at first; then reported on April 14, 1865, that at last it was able to name the place of surrender, an obscure little village called Clover Hill, near Lynchburg." Civil War veterans too remembered Appomattox Court House in much the same way as newspaper writers, such as when Union officer Adam Badeau's memoirs referred to "the McLean House. . .a plain building with a verandah in front. . .[had] a narrow hall and a naked little parlor." Happel discredited Badeau's description as "Yankee belittling." The McLean House may have been plain, and Appomattox Court House was certainly small, but the symbolic importance of both was far more than simple descriptions could capture.[1]

Appomattox Court House generated immense attention during the 1930s through early 1942. In 1930, the village of Appomattox Court House was called home by a few residents and characterized by a pile of timber, bricks, and metal once known as the McLean House. By the beginning of 1942, Appomattox Court House was fully owned by the Federal government and hundreds of people labored to create the nation's next National Park Service site—Appomattox Court House National Historical Monument.[2] To get from 1930 to 1942 involved multiple Congressional acts, the War Department, Department of the Interior and the National Park Service (NPS), the Department of Agriculture and Resettlement Administration (RA), and the jointly managed Civilian Conservation Corps (CCC), not to mention dozens of local politicians, civic leaders, and landowners.

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[1] Ralph Happel, "The McLean (or Surrender) House at the village of Old Appomattox Court House, Virginia: A Study for the Reconstruction Thereof," APCO Central Files (APCO 11800/001.001, Box 001), 19–25.

[2] For simplicity, the NPS abbreviation of "APCO" for Appomattox Court House National Historical Park is used throughout this chapter to refer to the park entity at Appomattox Court House no matter its Federal steward or status.

War Department

According to APCO's first Superintendent Hubert Gurney, the "movement to commemorate the historic events at Appomattox Court House and the end of the Civil War" began in 1927.[3] The *Farmville Herald* reported two years later a group of Appomattox, Appomattox County, and Lynchburg residents campaigning for a park to be placed in Appomattox Court House. The group's original ideas were grand—a 2,000-acre area centered upon the courthouse and McLean House area spanning a half mile along the stage road and a quarter mile on each side with major attractions of the McLean House, the Lee apple tree, jail, and Grant's headquarters. From 1927 to 1929, the group surveyed the desired area, obtained the support of landowners, and raised funds for acquiring furnishings. They even had a plan to rebuild the McLean House using a miniature dated from before its dismantling to use as a reconstruction model. A few other plans were also considered, such as a "museum containing relics of the war" or a series of interpretive markers on how the surrender took place at Appomattox Court House.[4]

Federal officials, at the behest of Congress, visited the site in 1929 to conduct a site survey, ultimately rejecting the group's large park idea but instead recommending a new one. In the officials' view, there were not enough clear military features to justify a full-fledged park. The local group pressed forward hoping for state support or a privately funded park. Meanwhile, the War Department recommended to Congress that a monument be erected at Appomattox Court House. The *Lynchburg News* reported specifics included, "An adequate appropriation should be made, the best artist attainable employed for the work and the inscription be of non-partisan character, tribute being paid to the sincerity of the opposing forces and to the valor of those individuals composing those forces."[5]

Appomattox County's House Representative Harry St. George Tucker III proposed a bill in January 1930 to create a monument following War Department recommendations with an appropriation of $100,000. Senator Claude A. Swanson of Virginia introduced the same bill but with an appropriation increase to $150,000, later reduced to $100,000 as part of the Senate Committee on Military Affairs process. Both bills passed their respective

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[3] Historian Caroline Janney cited 1926 as the formal beginning year. Regardless, prior to this date, the only notable federal commemoration was a series of three-foot square metal plates marking notable Civil War locations such as "where different sections of Grant's Army were stationed." "Appomattox Battlefield Park Plan Calls for an Area of Two Thousand Acres," *Farmville Herald,* August 9, 1929. Caroline Janney, "The Peace Monument at Appomattox, UDC, and Reconstruction," *The Civil War Monitor*, October 29, 2012.

[4] "Appomattox Battlefield Park Plan Calls for an Area of Two Thousand Acres," *Farmville Herald,* August 9, 1929. APCO Mission 66 Prospectus, p. 23, "Records of the Office of the Director, Records Relating to the 'Mission 66' Program, Final Prospectuses, 1955-60," Box 131, Entry P100, RG79, NACP.

[5] "Appomattox Battlefield Park Plan Calls for an Area of Two Thousand Acres," *Farmville Herald,* August 9, 1929. "At Appomattox," *Crawford's Weekly*, August 16, 1929.

chambers, and on June 18, 1930, President Herbert Hoover signed "An Act To provide for the commemoration of the termination of the War Between the States at Appomattox Court House, Virginia."[6]

The 1930 Act essentially had three components. First, the Secretary of War was authorized to acquire approximately one acre of land "free of cost to the United States" at Appomattox Court House to then fence or demarcate. The purpose of this land was solely for the erection of a monument dedicated to "the purpose of commemorating the termination of the War Between the States which was brought about by the surrender of the army under General Robert E. Lee to Lieutenant General US Grant at Appomattox Court House, in the state of Virginia, on April 9, 1865." From this short phrase, Congressional intent was to create a commemoration without prescribing any specific form, though language such as "War Between the States" suggested a deference to Southern perspective.[7] Second, to accomplish this task the War Department was appropriated $100,000—a remarkable sum considering the growing national financial crisis—to commission an artist, approve the design, and build the monument.[8]

Third, land acquired under this act would immediately come under the control of the War Department and would be maintained in perpetuity for less than $250 annually. Such a small annual sum would have funded little more than periodic landscaping. After the Act was signed, War Department officials dispatched a survey crew to determine the best course of action. Officials also coordinated with the Virginia State Highway Department to encourage renovation of Route 24 near Appomattox Court House and to construct a new Appomattox River Bridge. The constructed bridge was a concrete structure over the Appomattox River like other bridges at federally funded battlefield sites. Designed by William Roy Glidden, Virginia's bridge engineer and originally from Massachusetts, the bridge parapets show a St. Andrew's cross motif alternating with the Union shield across its length. Cannons of both Union and Confederate design were placed on either side of the bridge to further emphasize the area's connection to the Civil War.[9]

In envisioning a single, unchanging monument, the War Department opened the design process to the public. A five-person committee solicited the public for designs with the winner to be announced in early 1932. The War Department also mandated that any approved monument design and plan must also be approved by the National Commission

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6 *Annals of Congress*, 71st Cong., 2nd sess., (46 Stat. 777). *Suffolk News*-Herald, January 30, 1930. *Smithfield Times*, April 24, 1930. *Suffolk News-Herald*, June 2, 1930.

7 Northerners near exclusively used the term "Civil War" by 1930 compared to white Southerners' mixed usage of "Civil War" and "War between the States." Gaines M. Foster, "What the Name 'Civil War' Tells Us—And Why It Matters," *The Journal of the Civil War Era* (September 11, 2018), www.journalofthecivilwarera.org/2018/09/what-the-name-civil-war-tells-us-and-why-it-matters. Gaines M. Foster, "What's Not in a Name: The Naming of the American Civil War," *The Journal of the Civil War Era* 8, no. 3 (September 2018): 416–54.

8 *Annals of Congress*, 71st Cong., 2nd sess., (46 Stat. 777).

9 Gurney, 10. *Annals of Congress*, 71st Cong., 2nd sess., (46 Stat. 777).

of Fine Arts.[10] After receiving approximately 190 entries, the committee selected the winner, a three-person team of two architects (Harry Sternfeld and Jefferson Roy Carroll, Jr.) and a sculptor (Gaetona Cecere). Sternfeld and Carroll both worked out of Philadelphia while Cecere was from New York City. All three would go on to successful careers, as evidenced by Cecere's works appearing in collections such as the Smithsonian Institution's National Collection of Fine Art and the Metropolitan Museum of Art, Carroll's election as President of the American Institute of Architects in 1963, and Sternfeld's long professorial career at both Carnegie-Mellon University and University of Pennsylvania. Both Cecere and Carroll were in the early days of their budding careers in 1932, but Sternfeld had already designed several buildings and structures and was at the time employed as the City Planner for Rome, New York.[11]

The Sternfeld, Carroll, and Cecere monument design was a relatively simple seventy-five-foot-tall dual pylon tower. Each pylon would be adorned with portraits of famous Union and Confederates leaders (namely Grant and Lee), state seals, and flags. The primary theme was reconciliation, as expressed by the chairman of the five-person committee: "the design selected appropriately expresses in a monument of adequate size the spirit of peace and unity; and, if carried out consistently. . .should symbolize an undivided nation and a lasting peace."[12] The selection and approval of this design meant the project should have moved forward quickly with a large financial allocation, War Department support, and a quality design team, but this was not to be the case. Up to the point of the monument competition, Congress had only released $2,500 for the monument, and the worsening national financial crisis meant more funding could be difficult to obtain. The *Appomattox Times-Virginian* published as much in March 1932 with an article worrying that Congress would not provide the funds in a timely manner and the project would stall.[13]

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[10] *Annals of Congress*, 71st Cong., 3rd sess., 1305.

[11] *Washington Post*, November 15, 1931; March 12, 1932. *New York Times*, March 12, 1932. Copy of Report of the Jury appointed to select design, to the Quartermaster General, March 9, 1932, Records of the Commission of Fine, NARA.

[12] "Audenarde American Monument," American Battle Monuments Commission, www.abmc.gov/cemeteries-memorials/europe/audenarde-american-monument. "Sternfeld, Harry," *Philadelphia Architects and Buildings*, www.philadelphiabuildings.org/pab/app/ar_display.cfm/25411. "Carroll, Jefferson Roy, Jr.," *Philadelphia Architects and Buildings*, www.philadelphiabuildings.org/pab/app/ar_display.cfm/21956.

[13] Gurney, 13. *Appomattox Times-Virginian*, March 17, 1932.


WHEELING DAILY NEWS

APPOMATTOX MEMORIAL DESIGN

Associated Press Photo

This is the winning design for the Appomattox memorial to commemorate the ending of the war between the states. The monument will be erected on the site of the old court house in the Virginia town. The design was selected recently from eight submitted to the war department jury. The architects were Harry Sternfeld and J. Roy Carrol, jr., and the sculptor, Gaetano Cecere, all of Philadelphia. On one side of the memorial will be a likeness of Gen. Robert E. Lee and on the other Gen. Ulysses S. Grant.

Figure 6. The winning Appomattox Court House monument design by Sternfeld, Carroll, and Cecere. *Wheeling Daily News*, March 21, 1932.

Within six months of the War Department's winning design announcement, the United Daughters of the Confederacy (UDC) officially announced their opposition to the plan, striking a further blow to the project. The UDC formally organized in 1894 and, by the 1930s, organized around the goal of installing Confederate memorials and monuments throughout the South. UDC member and de facto organization historian Mary Poppenheim wrote of the organization's perspectives in 1925, which provides a view into the sensibilities of the women speaking in opposition to the War Department:

> Out of the abundance of their love and pride in the South and the Southern Confederacy, and all who served and suffered for them, the women of the South have tried to make marble and bronze tell in chiseled words the glory of the men who wore the grey. The United Daughters of the Confederacy have been called monument builders, and rightly, for when paeans of victory were sung

> and shouts of gladness rang through the North, Southern women were so overwhelmed with the burden of the thought that the devotion, the heroism, the brilliancy, and the resourcefulness of the Confederate Army, of the men as well as of its leaders, would never be known, that with one accord, as if the spirit had breathed the command throughout the length and breadth of the South, they began working for monuments to tell of the glorious fight against the greatest odds a nation ever faced, that their hallowed memory should never die. They knew monuments would speak more quickly, impressively, and lastingly to the eye than the written or printed word—attract more attention.
>
> With homes ruined, and poverty-stricken, these women, by selling pies, by having bazaars and ice cream suppers, and little home-talent plays, gathered together nickles [*sic*] and dimes for monuments to their heroes. The dimes grew into dollars, and monuments began to appear. The chapters of the United Daughters of the Confederacy have built hundreds and hundreds of monuments, until now almost every county seat in the South has its Confederate monument in its courthouse square, or on a prominent corner, or in a cemetery—a shrine, a great object lesson to our youth, telling the story of a glorious past, of heroic deeds and unfailing loyalty to a beloved cause.[14]

Officially, the Appomattox UDC chapter voted to formally oppose the planned War Department memorial, calling it a "slur to the Confederacy." Any new construction at Appomattox Court House not controlled fully by Southerners, so it followed from their guiding mission, would be considered an untenable celebration "on our soil" of the Confederate surrender and US victory. Other prominent Confederate organizations too opposed the War Department's plan, perhaps best exemplified by Commander-in-Chief of the United Confederate Veterans C. A. DeSaussure's letter to the War Department stating that such a monument would revive "the hot, burning antagonisms, the fierce desire to kill, the death of fathers, husbands, brothers, the privations, the sufferings, the oppressions of those times, the memory of which the 70 years have done so much to obliterate."[15]

Since Congress held up most funding and with such vigorous opposition, the War Department stalled the project, though this would change with the 1932 election. No forward movement was made during the final few months of Hoover's tenure. The election of Franklin D. Roosevelt in 1932 drastically changed the political economy with promises of new progressive politics and massively increased public works projects. While FDR's New Deal programs came to life, the War Department and UDC entered a compromise

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[14] Mary Poppenheim, *The History of the United Daughters of the Confederacy* (Raleigh, NC: Edwards & Broughton, 1956 [1925]), 49. "Mary Poppenheim Dies in Charleston," *Vassar Miscellany News* Vol. XX, No. 28 (April 4, 1936), 3. William Fitzhugh Brundage, *The Southern Past* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard United Press, 2005), 32. Karen Cox, *Dixie's Daughters*, (Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 2003), 1–2.

[15] Janney (2012). C.A. DeSaussure, Commander-in-Chief of the UCV, to Quarter Master General Bash, April 20, 1932, Record Group 79, National Archives. APCO Mission 66 Prospectus, p. 23, "Records of the Office of the Director, Records Relating to the 'Mission 66' Program, Final Prospectuses, 1955-60," Box 131, Entry P100, RG79, NACP.

wherein the planned monument was abandoned in favor of recreating Appomattox Court House as the "historic scene of the surrender." Such a large historical recreation was not a radical idea at the time given the recent development of Colonial Williamsburg, but how the War Department would address such an endeavor was not clear.[16]

The character of Federal parks and monuments changed with the transfer of War Department parks to the National Park Service. On June 10, 1933, FDR issued Executive Order 6166, which, among other directives, transferred all "National Cemeteries and Parks of the War Department which are located within the continental limits of the United States" to the NPS effective sixty days later (note that "Parks of the War Department" also included national monuments). This included the still-planned monument at Appomattox Court House.[17] Supposedly, this mass transfer was facilitated almost entirely by NPS Director Horace Albright. According to legend and depending on who was asked, NPS Director Albright met with a large entourage of other executives, including President Roosevelt, in April 1933 at Rapidan, Virginia, the location of former President Hoover's rural retreat. After a day of meetings, the group packed into vehicles for the drive back to Washington, DC, at which point FDR invited Albright to ride with him for a first-hand tour of the recently constructed Skyline Drive. According to Albright, FDR loved the new road, which led to a conversation between the two on the potential for NPS administration of military parks. On this conversation, Albright wrote at length:

> Moving down the highway at moderate speed, as we approached the Rappahannock River I thought the time had come for me to get into American history. I asked the President if he remembered that the Second Battle of Bull Run or Manassas began in this vicinity and continued all the way down the railroad and environs to Manassas with serious defeat for General Pope and the Union Army. He said he did not recall any such distance involved in the Second Bull Run battle. We then discussed Civil War battles and generals. I told him about the War Department historic parks and monuments, and our plans to bring them into the National Park System. He did not wait to ask questions, but simply said that it should be done, and told me to take up the plan with his office and find out where to submit our papers at the proper time. Then he said, "How about Saratoga Battlefield in New York?" I told him what we knew about that historic site, and that a bill had been introduced in the second session of the 71st Congress (H.R. 9498) to create the Saratoga National Monument, but did not emerge from Committee. I also told him that a report of the War Department to Congress, transmitted by President Hoover in December 1931,

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[16] Gurney, 13.

[17] "Reorganization of 1933," in Harlan D. Unrau and G. Frank Williss, *Expansion of the National Park Service in the 1930s: Administrative History* (National Park Service Denver Service Center, September 1983). U.S. Congress, House, Message from the President of the United States Transmitting an Executive Order for Certain Regroupings, Consolidations, Transfers, and Abolitions of Executive Agencies and Functions Thereof, Doc. No.69, 73rd Cong., 1st Sess., 1933, pp. 2–3.

> contained a recommendation that the Saratoga Battlefield be studied for possible military park status. The President said that as Governor of New York he had recommended that Saratoga be acquired as a State park, but nothing had been done. Then he told me—really ordered me—to "get busy" and have Saratoga Battlefield made a national park or monument. Just a moment or two later, with a grin, he said, "Suppose you do something tomorrow about this."
>
> By this time, we were nearing Washington. The President continued to talk of historic events and men associated with them—Lee and Stratford, Grant and Appomattox, John D. Rockefeller and Williamsburg, etc. I think President Roosevelt enjoyed himself immensely on the ride. At the White House I cordially thanked him for the privilege he had accorded me and for his promise to see that the historic sites we coveted would be transferred to us. It was a most stimulating and exciting ride, consuming over two hours of that lovely spring day. I shall never forget Franklin Delano Roosevelt's intense interest in American history and his memory of men and events.[18]

Depending on who was asked, the vehicular meeting between Albright and FDR was either orchestrated or a lucky happening. Regardless, less than three months after the car ride Albright found himself in control of dozens of new parks. That Albright specifically claimed FDR mentioned Appomattox also meant that the as-yet-developed site was sure to receive immediate NPS attention. The transfer of the Appomattox Court House project to the NPS also came with the monument plan and the Congressional promise of $100,000. Within a few months, the NPS also announced publicly the agency was abandoning plans for a monument so long as there was local opposition.[19]

National Park Service

The NPS appointed Superintendent of Colonial National Monument B. Floyd Flickinger as supervisor of the Appomattox Court House project effective August 1933. He would become one of the most important administrators in the early development of the site and would set an early theme of "restoration." Shortly after his appointment, Flickinger submitted a report following his first site visit to Appomattox Court House with several recommendations—restoration of the McLean House, restoration of all buildings around the old courthouse area, and renovating the spaces around the houses to the time of the surrender. Flickinger estimated that all this work could be completed for roughly

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[18] Horace Albright, "Origins of National Park Service Administration of Historic Sites," www.nps.gov/parkhistory/online_books/albright/origins.htm.

[19] B. Floyd Flickinger Papers, Special Collections Research Center, Swem Library, College of William & Mary, https://scrcguides.libraries.wm.edu/repositories/2/resources/8469. Larry M. Dilsaver, ed, *America's National Park System: The Critical Documents* (Rowman & Littlefield, 1994). James Haskett, "Master Plan," 26 February 1960, APCO Central Files (APCO 11800/006.001 Box 015).

$100,000, the amount of the existing Congressional allocation. The following is the majority of Flickinger's September 14, 1933, letter to Oliver Taylor, Chief of the Eastern Division, Branch of Engineering, outlining his vision for Appomattox Court House:

> In regard to the Appomattox Battlefield Site, I recommend the restoration of the McLean House where Generals Robert E. Lee and US Grant met to arrange the terms of the surrender, and the very interesting group of Court House buildings which stood in and around the Court House Circle. I estimate that $100,000 would be needed for such a project. By an act of June 19, 1930, $100,000 was authorized for expenditure by the War Department for the acquisition of a parcel of land and the erection of a monument thereon. Instead of erecting a monument, I feel that any money that might be allotted to this project should be devoted to the restoration of the most important buildings which stood there at the time of the surrender.
>
> As you probably know from your experience with this Battlefield Site, it has been very sadly neglected and practically unmarked. Therefore, I recommend an additional $10,000 for a complete marking of the whole area. If you should desire detailed information on this whole project, I should be glad to furnish it to you.[20]

Associate Director Arthur Demaray rejected Flickinger's ideas for their cost, not their content, stating that the political time was not right to push for the allocated funds. There were still questions of War versus Interior allotments from Executive Order 6166. Perturbed but undaunted, Flickinger renewed his push for an Appomattox Court House restoration less than a month later, this time to Director Arno Cammerer in October:

> This past Saturday, October 14th, on my trip to Richmond, I stopped at Appomattox to study the situation. In view of this visit, I renew very heartily my recommendation that special consideration be given to this project. I consider Appomattox to be of much greater importance and significance than the Petersburg Park and a number of other reservations now in our custody.
>
> On my way to Lynchburg on Friday I had dinner at a very interesting old inn near Appomattox, where I had the pleasure of conversing with the Judge of the local Circuit Court, who informed me of the distressing conditions in that locality. I asked him if any public works funds had been allotted in that neighborhood, and he replied in the negative. People in general thereabouts are very pessimistic and do not see much prospect for the future. As a matter of policy, the allotment of funds for the satisfactory development of Appomattox would, in addition to furnishing considerable labor in that section, do much to establish the prestige of the Park Service. You may be interested to know the many

[20] Flickinger to Taylor, September 14, 1933 (APCO Central Files, APCO 11800/006.001 Box 003). Janney (2012).

> comments on the Appomattox Site that were made at the Conference in Lynchburg. The development of Appomattox seems to me to be an essential and vital unit in our park layout in Virginia.
>
> From time to time, the Richmond papers and other papers in the State carry items written by members of the United Daughters of the Confederacy, the Sons of Confederate Veterans, and similar organizations, related to the development at Appomattox, especially the placing of markers. There seems to be considerable controversy about this place which seems to be getting nowhere. Now is the time for the Park Service to step in the picture with plans for Appomattox. Within the coming year there is a possibility that various organizations may place markers and memorials which would be undesirable to us. I renew my suggestion that the development at Appomattox consist of the restoration of the McLean House and the buildings around the Court House square, some of which are now standing. The Park Service should also own the land on which the last stand of troops took place.[21]

Flickinger's Appomattox visit had an obvious effect upon local political circles. The judge whom Flickinger referenced was possibly Judge Joel West Flood—local lawyer, member of the US House of Representatives for four months in 1932–33, grandson of a Confederate Major, and uncle of Senator Harry Byrd—though he did not clarify. Whoever the judge was, Flickinger's visits to Appomattox perked the interest of the Lynchburg Chamber of Commerce and other local business leaders, some of whom personally visited Flickinger to express their support for a park. By November 1933, a committee formed in Lynchburg to support the park idea and had already secured the support of Senators Carter Glass and Harry Byrd and "the Virginia Congressmen," according to Flickinger. The Appomattox Chapter of the UDC also announced their support of a park project. At least one Appomattox Court House landowner, Eula May Burke, also wrote to Flickinger to express support for the Park Service to carry forward with the project.[22]

In meetings with Flickinger, the Lynchburg group expressed they were "vehemently opposed to the erection of this monument" and instead desired complete restoration of the Appomattox Court House village to its April 1865 appearance and Federal preservation of "the complete battlefield area on which the last stand of the two armies was made." Flickinger in turn relayed technical details to the group regarding funding and legislation noting that the NPS had no funding to act without Congressional funding. He also estimated that APCO annual visitation would likely be between 100,000 and 200,000 once the park was completed. The following passage of Flickinger's November letter to Director Cammerer illustrates the Lynchburg group's support to an Appomattox Court House park:

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[21] Taylor to Flickinger, September 18, 1933; Flickinger to Cammerer, October 17, 1933, APCO Central Files (APCO 11800/006.001 Box 003).

[22] Flickinger to Cammerer, November 2, 1933; Flickinger to Burke, November 4, 1933, APCO Central Files (APCO 11800/006.001 Box 003). Gurney, 14–16.

> The attitude of these gentlemen[23] was very cooperative and they wanted this project to be under our supervision. I pointed out to them the procedure that was followed in establishing the Colonial National Monument and the plan which we have followed for its development, stressing the necessity for thorough historical investigations as the basis for all plans for development. This committee will make a study in the near future to determine all the historic land that should be included in the Appomattox area and they are going to get options on this land. Fortunately for our organization, two of the members of the committee are large land holders at Appomattox and are willing to make concessions in order to further the project. They feel that the only land holder who will ask a large sum of money for his holdings is the present owner of the McLean House site who lives somewhere in the Middle West. These gentlemen pointed out that a Mr. Hancock at Lynchburg has a complete set of plans for the McLean House. These gentlemen are interested in having Park Service officials visit Appomattox and Lynchburg, and your office will probably receive an invitation from them in the near future.[24]

The idea that private citizens would now assist the NPS in historic research, building reconstruction, and land acquisition was a massive shift in local support. Director Cammerer took this information in stride and generally recommended the group work with Virginia Congressmen to accomplish their goals, but the group was persistent in direct NPS appeals. In January 1934, the group requested a meeting with Cammerer, Flickinger, and any other NPS officials to discuss Congressional legislation. Representative A. Willis Robertson also agreed to join the group at this meeting. Associate Director Demaray accepted the meeting on Cammerer's behalf, which took place with no major changes in the status quo outlined by Flickinger two months earlier.[25]

The Lynchburg group also involved state representatives, as evidenced by State Senator S. L. Ferguson's work on an act authorizing the State Commission on Conservation and Development to acquire lands on the NPS's behalf. Flickinger helped Senator Ferguson revise the bill in early 1934. Newspapers too got involved, with the *Richmond Times-Dispatch* and *Daily Press* (Newport News, VA) publishing articles expressing support of "the simple restoration of Appomattox" as a more fitting tribute than the previous War Department monument plan.[26]

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[23] Robert Ramsey and P. S. Clark, representatives of the Lynchburg group.

[24] Flickinger to Cammerer, November 2, 1933; Flickinger to P. S. Clark, November 6, 1933, APCO Central Files (APCO 11800/006.001 Box 003). Gurney, 14–16.

[25] Flickinger to Cammerer, January 20, 1934; Demaray to Flickinger, January 26, 1934; Ramsey to Flickinger, January 27, 1934, APCO Central Files (APCO 11800/006.001 Box 003).

[26] Flickinger to Ferguson, February 9, 1934; *Richmond Times-Dispatch*, February 5, 1934; *Daily Press*, March 5, 1934, APCO Central Files (APCO 11800/006.001 Box 003).

Gurney, when writing on these a few years later, supposed that Flickinger was likely inspired by the recent creation of Colonial Williamsburg funded by John D. Rockefeller Jr. and the popularity of "frozen-in-time" restoration projects, especially since Flickinger worked at Jamestown and Yorktown. Such recreation planning was popular broadly throughout public history and in line with widely held beliefs among NPS historians that sites—battlefields especially—were best memorialized via restorations and preservation of the landscape. Evidence of a "Colonial Williamsburg" mindset at APCO is apparent in the historical report of Charles Porter. Porter, the regional Assistant Historian tasked with some of the first reports on Appomattox Court House, made several references to "a complete restoration of the town a la Rockefeller," though he ultimately recommended against such a plan for its extreme scale and thus high cost.[27]

Work of the Lynchburg group and Flickinger paid off in 1934. Representative Patrick H. Drewery (VA-4th District) introduced a bill that would amend the 1930 law establishing the Appomattox Court House monument to instead create Appomattox Court House National Historical Monument, later amended to change "Monument" to "Park" (49 Stat 613), under the NPS. Gurney noted that public sentiment was that Drewery's proposal was directly in response to UDC protests over the monument plan, though it was clearly more due to the hustle of Flickinger, Flood, the Lynchburg group, and other locals. The compromise was to create a memorial park surrounding the place of surrender, not a monument on the site. However, despite initial committee success, the bill was tabled during the 1934 session to be reintroduced the following year.[28]

Between the 1934 and 1935 Congressional sessions, the Lynchburg group decided to formalize their organization and garner more support from the Appomattox area. The group convened a meeting in Appomattox on October 18, 1934, specifically to organize around the Appomattox park project. The Virginia Conservation and Development Commission formally hosted the meeting. Roughly 400 residents attended and heard Congressman Drewery speak concerning his bill and about six others as to the benefits of a park project. The primary outcome was the formation of the Appomattox Historic Park Foundation with officers as Joel West Flood (President), Jacquelin Ware Nottingham (1st Vice President), General W. McKay Evans (2nd Vice President), Walter Hopkins (3rd Vice President), Manna Jones (Secretary), and the following members of directors' board:

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[27] Gurney, 14–15. Porter, *Preliminary Report on the Old Appomattox Court House Area* (1937-a), 3–4.

[28] *74th Congress, Sess. I, CHS. 519, 520, 13 August 1935,* 613–14. Gurney, 17–18. "National Park at Appomattox is Proposed by Drewry Bill," *Richmond Times-Dispatch,* March 28, 1934. "Move to Restore Appomattox to 1865 Form Gains Support," *Daily Press*, April 25, 1934. Ramsey to Flickinger, October 2, 1934, APCO Central Files (APCO 11800/006.001, Box 005).

Carter Glass Jr., Robert Ramsey, P. S. Clark, Colonel Joseph Button, J. A. Burke, Calvin H. Robinson, Harold Featherstone, Colonel Leroy Hodges, and Dr. H. J. Eckenrode. Some newspaper accounts credited the UDC with the meeting's success.[29]

Meanwhile, Flickinger continued to press his superiors for action at Appomattox Court House. In December 1934, Director Cammerer asked Flickinger for a list of Public Works Projects that he felt merited funding with the influx of New Deal money. Flickinger responded with just three, all of which located at what he now called the "Appomattox National Battlefield Site." The three proposed projects were to restore the McLean House, restore the "Old Court House," and recondition the "Old Jail and Tavern." Flickinger estimated each project would take about a year at a cost of $40,000 for the McLean House and $25,000 for the other two. He also noted that he believed the McLean House reconstruction to be "fairly simple" and that the courthouse could serve as a "good administrative building." At about the same time and in anticipation of the Drewery bill being passed, the US Geological Survey, at the behest of the NPS Deputy Chief Engineer Oliver Taylor, began mapping the area around the village center.[30]

Flickinger also assigned two Colonial National Monument historians—C. L. Coston and Robert D. Meade—to produce reports related to the historical significance of Appomattox Court House and make a recommendation for or against park creation. Both men visited the site many times, probably at least five, in the production of lengthy reports written in early 1935. Both men also conducted interviews with residents, including Joel West Flood and most individuals still living within Appomattox Court House. Meade ultimately recommended the creation of a park. After outlining the primary historic locations within the park—Lee and Grant Headquarters, the Tavern, Jail, McLean House site, and courthouse site—and noting the high importance of the Appomattox Court House surrender meeting, he concluded:

> In view of the great historical importance of Old Appomattox Courthouse, I recommend that a national park be established there. With regard to land purchases, there are so many factors involved that I would like to make verbal recommendations, adding explanations from the Moses map and copies with additional data. It will be noted that almost all the important historic sites are in the area extending from Lee's Headquarters to Grant's Headquarters and east of the road except where it includes the area around the village of Old Appomattox Courthouse. Within this area the site of the old courthouse and the jail can be obtained free from the county, and the state will donate the old

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[29] Nottingham was an officer within the UDC. Gurney, 14–16. Ramsey to Flickinger, October 2, 1934, APCO Central Files (APCO 11800/006.001, Box 005). "National Park at Appomattox Plan is Pushed," *Richmond Times-Dispatch,* October 11, 1934. "UDC Leaders Launch Move for Appomattox National Park," *Richmond Times-Dispatch,* October 19, 1934. "County People Honor the Men Who Wore Gray," *Suffolk News-Herald,* June 13, 1934.

[30] Flickinger to Cammerer, December 26, 1934; Oliver C. Taylor to J. C. Stack, January 21, 1935; Malcolm Gardner to Verne Chatelain, February 5, 1935, APCO Central Files (APCO 11800/006.001, Box 005).

> storehouse. Other donations may perhaps be obtained. The property in this area can in general be obtained much more cheaply than that west of the road. It is expected, however, that the owner of the McLean House site would charge a large sum for his property. Other purchases east of the road can be made in accordance with the funds available. It would not be necessary to extend farther east than Plain Run or the limits of the indicated Flood or Flood and Ferguson tracts.

Meade also noted that it was impossible at this early date in the research agenda to determine the boundaries of military actions in and around Appomattox. More research was needed.[31]

The Drewery bill, passed on August 13, 1935, allocated $100,000 to the NPS to acquire land, buildings, and structures within 1.5 miles of Appomattox Court House. Many in the public simply assumed the Federal money was there for the spending and became confused that the appropriation required money be released before the NPS could spend. This would cause further delays in work beginning but, either way, Appomattox Court House National Historical Park (APCO) was now a reality.[32]

Given this funding limitation, the NPS partnered with the Resettlement Administration (RA), a New Deal agency succeeded by the Farm Security Administration in 1967 tasked with relocating impoverished families to planned Federal communities. Part of the RA's task was purchasing "non-productive lands" for its own use. NPS officials approached the RA at the latter's district office in Farmville to propose a plan—use the RA as a vehicle for purchasing the needed land for APCO and, in exchange, the NPS would help facilitate an RA forest reserve project in the northern part of Appomattox County. After a brief exchange, the Resettlement Administration informed NPS Director Wirth they would "want to leave this matter very largely to your judgment." Wirth's office created a map outlining the NPS's desired lands, to which the Resettlement Administration agreed to purchase as much of the area as legally and financially possible.[33]

The land around the McLean House was generally not considered valuable agricultural land in the early 1930s due to nutrient depletion from tobacco farming. The NPS believed the RA could acquire 500 acres for $50,000. Joel West Flood informed the NPS "land northwest of the road" around Appomattox Court House was "probably not

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[31] Flickinger also had the pair include Sailor's Creek on these site visits. Malcolm Gardner to Verne Chatelain, February 5, 1935; C. L. Coston, "Report on Appomattox Battlefield Site," February 15, 1935; C.L. Coston, "Report on the Study of the Appomattox Campaign," March 8, 1935; Robert D. Meade, "Report on Petersburg-Appomattox Field Trips," February 19, 1935, APCO Central Files (APCO 11800/006.001, Box 005).

[32] *74th Congress, Sess. I, CHS. 519, 520, 13 August 1935*, 613–14. Gurney, 17–18. "National Park at Appomattox Is Proposed by Drewry Bill," *Richmond Times-Dispatch*, March 28, 1934. "Move to Restore Appomattox to 1865 Form Gains Support," *Daily Press*, April 25, 1934. "House Agrees to Appomattox Bill Changes," *Richmond Times-Dispatch*, August 6, 1935.

[33] Wager to Wirth, August 18, 1935; Wirth to C. P. Clayton, August 24, 1935. L. C. Gray to Wirth, ca. August 1935, "Recreational Demonstration Areas Program Files, 1934–1947: Virginia, Region III," Box 131, Entry P100, RG79, NACP.

submarginal," so it may not be available through the RA program. The NPS (largely driven by the Chief Historian's office) desired to "protect both sides of the road, especially in the immediate vicinity of Appomattox Court House," so the acquisition was never questioned by NPS officials.[34] By mid-1935, the NPS focused on both sides of Route 24 centered upon the "Surrender Grounds," generally understood as the McLean House to the Surrender Triangle area and an undefined amount of surrounding acreage. The NPS also confirmed with RA officials that it would be acceptable to allow current Appomattox Court House residents to continue occupancy or farming land use on a case-by-case basis even after sale of their land.[35]

On October 9, 1935, officials representing the NPS, RA, and Virginia Commission on Conservation and Development met to discuss APCO land acquisition. Flickinger represented the NPS and J. P. Andrews and W. W. Scott Jr. represented the RA. The RA presented several updates: the project budget in Appomattox and Buckingham counties was about $230,000, the asking price of desired APCO lands totaling 904 acres was about $71,000, and this cost meant it was "impossible to spend this amount of money for the National Monument." The RA simply could not spend a third of its local budget on another agency's project. Meeting attendees then discussed several solutions, though none were immediately agreed upon. Ideas included amending desired lands to exclude everything west of "the immediate vicinity of the old courthouse and McLean House" as it was more expensive land, exploring scenic easements as an alternative to acquiring western properties, or omitting purchase of southeastern tracts owned by Flood, Gills, and Ferguson families because of higher prices. One consensus was that acquisition of the McLean House property was "absolutely essential" before the NPS would even begin park development. Finally, the group agreed to host a meeting at Appomattox Court House on October 21 with all local landowners, especially those the NPS believed to be "asking outrageous prices for their property."[36]

The October 21 meeting included all the following attendees: Joel West Flood (President of the Appomattox Battlefield Park Association), Carter Glass Jr., P. S. Clark, State Senator Charles Moses, J. P. Andrews (RA), W. W. Scott (RA), R. A. Gillen (VA Commission on Conservation and Development), all members of the Appomattox Battlefield Park Association, and "numerous citizens of Appomattox County, including owners of land in the proposed area." The key presentation came from the RA, who

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[34] J. Lee Brown to Huppuch, ca. August 1935; Wirth to Wager, ca. August 1935, "Recreational Demonstration Areas Program Files, 1934–1947: Virginia, Region III," Box 131, Entry P100, RG79, NACP.

[35] Paul Wager to M. C. Huppuch, July 25, 1935; Wirth to Wager, August 7, 1935; Flickinger to Andrews, September 25, 1935; Andrews to Flickinger, October 3, 1935, APCO Central Files (APCO 11800/006.001, Box 005).

[36] B. Floyd Flickinger to Director, October 11, 1935; Herbert Evison to Charelain, October 17, 1935. J. P. Andrews to Wirth, ca. November 1935. Correspondence, 1935. B. Floyd Flickinger Papers, id229565. Special Collections Research Center. William & Mary Libraries.

informed attendees the primary problem was the lack of funds to acquire all desired land. Other matters included a request for assistance in acquiring the McLean House, to which Flood agreed to assist the NPS in negotiating with W. A. Ramsey, the current owner. Gillen also agreed that he would recommend condemning the McLean House property if it would expedite purchase. Finally, all attendees agreed to form a fundraising effort national in scope if the RA was unable to acquire all land within the desired area.[37]

Joel West Flood's discussions with Ramsey did not go according to plan. Ramsey had no interest in working with Flood or his allies because their politicking had cost Ramsey significant money, or so he believed. Ramsey's complaints largely centered upon slow movements toward preservation at Appomattox Court House and the multiple changes in planning. According to Ramsey, Eula May Burke convinced Ramsey to not sell his property "for any purpose, commercially or otherwise, until she could work out her committee's plan for restoration." Ramsey claimed Burke was the mastermind behind the restoration plan for Appomattox Court House—not the NPS or Appomattox Battlefield Park Association. Burke had previously been a champion of Appomattox Court House restoration efforts with significant UDC political connections. In previous years, Burke and other unnamed locals raised money to preserve trees in the McLean House front yard and, along with her brother Judge Horsley, convinced the State Highway Department not to demolish the old post office building. She then acquired approximately a quarter of the land required, in her mind, for a proper Appomattox Court House restoration akin to Colonial Williamsburg, though it but a tiny portion of what was eventually determined necessary by the NPS.[38]

From Ramsey's perspective, public accounts of the Appomattox Court House restoration gave full credit to Flood when, in fact, all credit should have gone to Burke. Thus Ramsey would not sell to the government without Burke's blessing. "We know that Miss Burke not only originated the idea, but that she discreetly did not enter into the controversy about the monument," wrote Ramsey, continuing, "[Burke] tried not to embarrass any one, and the newspaper accounts give full credit to Col. Flood, the only person who tried to discourage her. . .so while she was ill, these others decided to take her ideas." Ramsey concluded that he personally favored restoration but believed Flood had in essence stolen Burke's glory.[39] Privately, Flickinger found Ramsey's letter "a very interesting one" but a distorted view of Appomattox Court House realities. Flickinger suspected

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[37] B. Floyd Flickinger to Director, ca. October 22, 1935, "Recreational Demonstration Areas Program Files, 1934–1947: Virginia, Region III," Box 131, Entry P100, RG79, NACP.

[38] Flickinger to Director, December 6, 1935. Ramsey to Wirth, February 24, 1937; Wirth to Ramsey, March 12, 1937, "Recreational Demonstration Areas Program Files, 1934–1947: Virginia, Region III," Box 131, Entry P100, RG79, NACP.

[39] W.H. Ramsey to U.S. Park Service Commission, November 12, 1935. Verne Chatelain to Flickinger, November 30, 1935.

Ramsey was using the Burke-Flood divide, or perceived divide, to drive up his property value. As the situation developed further, Flickinger believed that Burke would give support to the NPS plan, as it was currently constituted, and thus Ramsey would sell.[40]

Not long after the initial Ramsey letters, the NPS learned of yet another budget problem. Flickinger, fresh from a meeting with the RA, filed a pessimistic letter to the Director on November 13, 1935. The RA's budget for the Appomattox-Buckingham region dictated the RA could only spare about $35,000 for APCO of the at least $55,000 the NPS desired. Flickinger requested the RA set aside the required amount but received no assurances. Only two certain solutions existed in Flickinger's view: to increase RA funding at a Federal level or for the NPS to reduce the proposed APCO area size.[41] Bad news came again in early December when the RA received a further reduction of $20,000 for land purchase funds, thus resulting in a "very pessimistic" view that the RA could make any purchases at all for the NPS. Flickinger recommended the NPS quickly secure a written agreement with the RA, lest the land agency renege on the original agreement.[42]

The entire RA arrangement, including the estimated park boundaries, confused some NPS officials, resulting in a memorandum inquiring as to why the RA was necessary in the first place and speculating as to the NPS Land Division's role. From the memo author's understanding, in November 1935, the RA set aside between $35,000 and $55,000 for "Monument Area" acquisitions and $230,000 outside of the "Monument Area." The question centered upon the definition of this "Monument Area," not to mention the "number of tracts, acreage, and appraisals" that also escaped exact definition. To solve this definitional problem, the author proposed an immediate survey of the area outlined by Congressional legislation—the area within 1.5 miles of Appomattox Court House, but such an extensive survey was not completed at this time. Regardless, NPS officials exchanged dozens of letters beginning in late 1935 discussing the modification of park boundaries. The most significant sticking point was the NPS's desire to control both sides of the highway while staying within funding limitations.[43]

W. W. Scott, Division of Land Utilization with the Resettlement Administration, wrote to Flickinger on October 31, 1935, outlining all land either acquired or still to be acquired on behalf of the NPS. Most of these plots were initially marked for purchase by Flood in correspondence with Flickinger over the preceding year. Flood also established a

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[40] Flickinger to Director, December 6, 1935. Ramsey to Wirth, February 24, 1937; Wirth to Ramsey, March 12, 1937, "Recreational Demonstration Areas Program Files, 1934–1947: Virginia, Region III," Box 131, Entry P100, RG79, NACP.

[41] Flickinger to Director, 13 November 1935, APCO Central Files (APCO 11800/006.001 Box 003).

[42] Flickinger to Director, 14 December 1935, APCO Central Files (APCO 11800/006.001 Box 003).

[43] Brooks Memorandum, November 19, 1935, "Recreational Demonstration Areas Program Files, 1934–1947: Virginia, Region III," Box 131, Entry P100, RG79, NACP.

fair rate at $30 per acre and estimated the total purchase (including structures) at 672 acres for $22,722.50. Flood believed the government would need to force commendation proceedings to secure the McLean House location. Scott's letter is summarized in the chart below:

Owner	Acres Claimed	Proposed Price	Scott's Remarks
Flood & Ferguson	323.5	$35/acre	No unreasonable [*sic*]
Thomas Gray	2	$8000	High
W.H. Ramsey	26.56	No reply yet	Agent's price high
J.L. Freeman	88.5	$6000	Can be bought for less
H.D. Flood Est.	25	$20/acre	Reasonable
W.P. Gills	7.5		Can be bought
Mrs. S.L. Ferguson	6.5	No price yet	Can be bought
Bessie Ferguson	15	$8000	High
Bessie Ferguson	3.34		
Bessie Ferguson	6.61		
Bessie Ferguson	4.3		
Bessie Ferguson	6.37	Rather not sell	Can be converted
Eula May Burke	8	No price yet	May be high
L.E. Smith	1.5	$75	Reasonable
Presbyterian Church	1	No price yet	
Diuguid	2.88	No contact yet	
Blount (Browning)	12.5	No price yet	
Mrs. S.L. Ferguson	9.75	No price yet	
John Robertson Est.	1.22	No contact yet	
Flood & Ferguson	0.5	$100	Reasonable
Flood & Ferguson	8	$1500	
Flood & Ferguson	92.85	$35/acre	High average
J.W. Flood	318.75	$25/acre	Too low
Mrs. Elwood Alvis	2	No price yet	

By the end of 1935, the funding gap between RA coffers and NPS expectations narrowed to $8,000, an amount Flood believed could be easily found by creative bookkeeping and politicking.[44] Meanwhile, the Supreme Court struck down the Agricultural Adjustment Act, which could have (but ultimately did not) have a devastating effect upon the RA and thus the early plans for APCO. It was in this context that the NPS called a meeting in Washington during January 1936 to be hosted by the NPS, RA, Appomattox Historic Park Association, and elected officials. It was at this meeting that Flood was found to be correct—the RA secured additional funding to purchase Appomattox Court House land. The Appomattox delegation presented their case to RA Assistant Administrator L. C. Gray, who, after weighing their arguments, simply allocated more funding. The RA, apparently no longer as worried about funding, began purchasing land in 1936 and spent about $47,000 by March 1937.[45]

By April 1937, the RA and NPS secured about half of the planned acquisitions if measured by total acquired tracts with most other sales well underway. Several important tracts had no agreement in place though, including the McLean House owned by Ramsey (asking price $4,000), another along the highway to the west (likely the Gray tract with an asking price of $4,000), and another tract along the highway to the east. NPS officials expressed disappointment that little land to the north of the highway had been acquired successfully by the RA and speculated about the possibility of direct acquisition. Regardless, all NPS parties agreed that if northern land purchases could not be secured then scenic easements must be obtained as soon as possible. In May 1937, NPS historians conferred with the RA regarding the historical integrity of lands around Appomattox Court House and, after a brief meeting, the RA agreed to limit all work to erosion control, fire prevention, and boundary marking. None of these activities would take place "in the historical area," though meeting summaries did not define exact boundaries.[46] Wirth also met with the RA and secured an informal agreement for the needed $8,000 expenditure to acquire the higher cost plots, though Wirth had doubts as to whether the RA could deliver upon such a plan.[47]

In May 1937, the RA did deliver on their promise to Wirth and informed the NPS that two options had been executed to the Ramsey estate for the McLean property—a five-acre plot for $4,440 and a 17.2-acre plot for $1. These purchases included the entire McLean House site. The only outstanding plots now were about four acres divided

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[44] Flood to Wirth, March 23, 1937. Flood to Flickinger, May 8, 1934; Scott to Flickinger, October 31, 1935, APCO Central Files (APCO 11800/006.001, Box 005).

[45] "Flickinger Joins Group Asking New Memorial Sectors," *Daily Press*, January 29, 1936. "Appomattox Park to be Discussed," *Richmond Times-Dispatch*, January 27, 1936.

[46] Rob Roy MacGregor to Director, May 6, 1937.

[47] Sager to Wirth, April 7, 1937. Wirth to Cammerer, May 8, 1937, APCO Central Files (APCO 11800/006.001 Box 003).

between the T. F. Gray tract, Soldiers' graveyard, Presbyterian Church lot, and Robinson tract. The failure to acquire these tracts was because the RA was not authorized to purchase church burial lots and confusion over the actual ownership of the Soldiers' graveyard (now known as the Confederate Cemetery). The Gray and Robinson tracts were simply smaller plots that had yet to be purchased.[48] Worried that purchases were again stalling, the NPS informed the RA in July that the Gray tract was "vitally important. . .for inclusion in the Monument" primarily because of troops movements but understood the RA must "wait upon further efforts to obtain" the tract due to cost. Another reason the NPS desired the Gray tract was out of fear that private citizens would construct businesses along the highway near the park, thus creating "the impression of favoritism whereby one person was allowed to operate an enterprise to the exclusion of all others." Even if the NPS failed in acquiring the land, the agency would seek scenic easements to keep "an appearance both historically authentic and attractive."[49] The NPS considered scenic easements a likely necessity to properly develop APCO and relied upon the RA to secure agreements from all landowners, lessees, mortgagees, trustees, or relevant party.[50]

As of early July 1937, the RA acquisitions on behalf of the NPS included the following land:

> An irregular rectangle roughly describes the shape of the land which has already been purchased or under option by the Resettlement Administration. It contains about 950 acres of land, and, with the exception of two small tracts of about 21 acres, all of it lies to the south of state highway No. 24. The width is generally 2,500 to 3,000 feet, although one tract which borders the south bank of the Appomattox River extends southeastwardly about 5,000 feet.
>
> With the exception of the portion to the west of the site of Appomattox Court House, the topography is generally of a hilly rolling nature occasionally being broken by streams or branches with somewhat steeper banks. The Appomattox and several of its tributaries provide drainage.
>
> While the village is situated on a rise of ground much of the surrounding country is somewhat higher. From several points at a distance of a mile or more the village may be viewed from vantage points.
>
> A mixed cover of pines and hardwoods (young second growth) exists on a good portion of the property. There is a generous proportion of older well established hardwoods and in several areas there exist solid stands of pine.

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[48] Rob Roy MacGregor to Director, May 6, 1937. Branch Spalding to Regional Director, May 13, 1937.

[49] Branch Spalding to J. P. Andrews, July 2, 1937, "Recreational Demonstration Areas Program Files, 1934–1947: Virginia, Region III," Box 131, Entry P100, RG79, NACP.

[50] Branch Spalding to J. P. Andrews, August 7, 1937.

> Estimating every roughly, the existing open areas make up 35 to 40 per cent of the total, some of which have been recently under cultivation and at least one area is still being farmed.[51]

NPS planning beyond land acquisition truly began during the summer of 1937. RA officials (J. P. Andrews, Buford, and Morris) informed NPS officials (Regional Assistant Historian Charles Porter, Stuart Barnette, Northington, and Landscape Architect Raymond Poeppel) on July 8, 1937, the goal was to finalize acquisitions by September 1, 1937, so the NPS should be ready to take control of the land around that date. The NPS representatives got to work with the primary goal of rebuilding the McLean House. Officials scheduled a meeting with P.C. Hubbard in Appomattox to potentially acquire his historic architectural drawings of the McLean House. Barnette was especially pleased with the quality of the drawings and believed them sufficient for an accurate reconstruction. Hubbard's asking price was $750, which the NPS group believed would be approved. It was also during this trip for the Hubbard meeting that Barnette surveyed all buildings within Federal Appomattox Court House holdings to determine age and condition.[52]

Despite assurances that all land would be purchased by September 1937, the RA encountered another challenge. Two landowners were unwilling to sell their property during the acquisition process, so the RA ultimately paid both far above market value despite claiming to have no funding to acquire land. The two holdouts were Bessie Ferguson, who lived just off the Appomattox Court House village center, and Thomas Gray, who owned two acres west of the Confederate cemetery on which he operated a dance hall and restaurant and had been a thorn in the RA's side by setting a high asking cost. Ferguson simply did not want to sell or move from her home of which her father, William Rosser, had constructed at least a portion. Her home was not present in 1865 and was not included in APCO preservation plans but was in the center of the planned park space. The assumption was that it would eventually be demolished, but NPS officials considered other options. "The house is not unsightly," Porter wrote, "but it is modern, and should either be removed, or its exterior lines remodelled [*sic*] to simulate a mid-nineteenth century structure that will fit into the restoration picture."[53]

Ferguson was clearly willing to work with the NPS, as she already sold some of her landholdings, including the Bocock-Isbell House, to the RA with little hesitation. The problem was the RA had already spent nearly its entire budget on other properties, and Ferguson conducted the previous sales based "on the understanding that she should not be deprived of her court-house home," referring to the Ferguson House. Park officials initially

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[51] Poeppel (1937), 5.

[52] Gurney, 19–20. Porter, *Supplemental Report on Appomattox Court House* (1937-b), 1. Northington, Barnette, Porter, and Poeppel (1937), 1. Barnette, memorandum, July 14, 1937, APCO Central Files (APCO 11800/006.001, Box 005).

[53] Porter (1937-b), 1.

believed the property could be had for about $4,500, but Ferguson would not budge from an initial ask of $12,000. Branch Spalding met often with Joel West Flood, lawyer R. A. O'Brien, and Ferguson herself. Spalding believed that Ferguson was "receptive to the idea of selling this last tract and could be induced to do so if given a life estate in the present house and grounds by a separate instrument." The NPS upped their offer to $6,590 (the full appraisal amount) with instructions that $8,000 was Spalding's negotiation margin before condemnation proceedings were to be undertaken. NPS officials assured the RA and Commonwealth of Virginia alike that the NPS would develop Appomattox Court House immediately upon acquiring both properties, no matter the date. For the next year, the NPS and Ferguson negotiated over the price and the possibility of scenic easements and a life estate.[54]

Gray's situation was perhaps simpler but tenser. Gray simply rejected all RA offers for his property, no questions asked, with little explanation provided. Porter described Gray as wanting "an exorbitant amount of money for his property, which can therefore be acquired only by condemnation proceedings." The Virginia State Conservation Commission agreed to muster $4,000 to pay the estimated eminent domain amount. Given the option of cash or a long and costly legal battle that would likely favor the Federal government, Gray changed his mind and accepted the $4,000.[55]

In October 1937, Secretary of Agriculture Henry A. Wallace informed the Department of the Interior that it neared the end of all projects in the Appomattox Court House area. By this point, the Ferguson acquisition was the last outstanding issue and the RA had largely removed itself from that situation. The RA had no more funds available in the area. A final transfer of lands from Agriculture to Interior was initiated, and the NPS was cleared to acquire other lands deemed necessary through other legal means. As Flood had suggested earlier, Arthur Demaray, then NPS Assistant Director, went to Congress to formally request $8,000 to use as a final offer to Ferguson. Congress approved Demaray's request, and finally Ferguson accepted not wanting to risk condemnation.[56]

NPS Takes Control

The period from 1937 to 1941 saw four major changes at Appomattox. First, the NPS restructured its Virginia parks to place all Civil War sites under one administrator—Branch Spalding, Superintendent of Fredericksburg National Military Park. Regarding Appomattox Court House, Spalding largely continued actions that had been laid out by Flickinger and commissioned new studies, most notable the first APCO Master Plan.

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[54] Porter (1937-b), 1. Gurney, 20–21. Henry Tolson to Spalding, June 22, 1938; Spalding, memorandum, July 29, 1938; Spalding, memorandum, June 7, 1939, APCO Central Files (APCO 11800/006.001, Box 005).

[55] Gurney, 20–21. Porter (1937-b), 1.

[56] Gurney, 20–21. Wallace to Secretary of the Interior, October 12, 1937.

Second, the $100,000 originally promised and then repromised by Congress was finally delivered. Senator Carter Glass secured the funds for use in fiscal year 1937 specifically for improvement and development of the site. Third, the RA signed off on all land purchases requested by the NPS in 1939. The official land transfer from the Farm Security Administration to the NPS via Executive Order was recommended by both the Department of the Interior and the Department of Agriculture on March 11, 1938. President Roosevelt issued Executive Order No. 8057 on February 28, 1939, to transfer 963.93 acres from the Department of Agriculture to the Department of Interior for use in establishing APCO.[57] Gurney often referred to this transfer as "970 acres," but the official order stated otherwise.[58] And fourth, Appomattox Court House no longer had any residents other than NPS employees. Six families still lived in park borders as of June 1937. NPS officials wanted residents gone by January 1, 1938, and while surviving documents did not note exact departure dates, residents likely did not linger beyond that date.[59]

Throughout this long land acquisition process, the NPS documented all that was known of the Appomattox Court House landscape and structures. The first of these efforts was the historical reports produced by C. L. Coston and Robert D. Meade mentioned earlier in this chapter. While Meade's report focused on making a recommendation for the creation of APCO, Coston's was a historical report of the Appomattox Campaign submitted on March 8, 1935. Most of Coston's work came directly from the *Official Records of the War of the Rebellion: Vol. XLVI* and the personal memoirs of Philip Sheridan and Andrew Humphreys, so it was far from comprehensive but still a quality report. One of Coston's major achievements was to retrace the routes taken by the armies from March 29 to April 9, 1865, and, in doing so, he discovered that a large portion of the old road was impassable in 1935. Coston personally visited all locations documented except for a few secondary roads, which were found to be abandoned. Coston's report, unlike most contemporary writers, centered its narrative around Grant and Union victory. Grant's actions were "a brilliant victory" while Lee, the Confederate Army, and the South were "finally humbled." He also briefly noted the presence of USCT brigades in the US Army 25th Corps. "Judged from its far-reaching results," Coston concluded, "Appomattox probably exerted a greater effect on the development of the United States than any event in American history since the adoption of the Declaration of Independence in 1776 and of the Federal Constitution in 1789."[60]

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[57] Secretaries of Interior and Agriculture to President, March 11, 1938. Harry Slattery to Department of Agriculture, March 31, 1939.

[58] Gurney, 20.

[59] J. P. Andrews to James Gray, June 29, 1937, "Recreational Demonstration Areas Program Files, 1934–1947: Virginia, Region III," Box 131, Entry P100, RG79, NACP.

[60] Coston (1935), 1–6, 17.

Charles Porter, Assistant Historian in the Regional NPS office, completed a report on the Appomattox Court House area in 1937, including master plan maps and a planned future research program. His key task was to gather important primary sources from disparate locations into a single document. Porter's research would then inform APCO preservation and interpretation efforts going forward and serve as a reference document for national NPS staff. Special attention was given to the current and historical appearance of the Appomattox Court House landscape, especially structures and trees around the Courthouse and McLean House. Porter noted several discrepancies between maps produced by Union and Confederate soldiers and reasoned which maps were likely more accurate. Porter's work is somewhat unique in that he documented his research process. Maps and photographs generally came from secondary source atlases of the Civil War, the Library of Virginia, and the Matthew Brady collection, but McLean House sketches came directly from his contact with descendants who dismantled the McLean House in the early 1890s.[61]

Porter felt he had compiled enough "maps, war-time photographs, and war-time sketches" to move forward with park development with several specific recommendations. For instance, of the county jail structure, he wrote:

> At the end of the report will be found pictures of buildings now standing at Appomattox Court House. Of these the most interesting is the Patterson [Patteson] Home or brick hotel, formerly called Clover Hill. The old County jail still survives and is in a fair state of preservation. The huge key to the jail is in the safe-keeping of the present County Clerk who will turn it over to the Park Service when Park development gets underway. The jail will make a good storehouse for valuable artifacts until the museum building is completed.[62]

He further recommended scaling back any large-scale village reconstruction projects that were being considered by APCO staff:

> Since the map of 1867 shows 47 structures at Appomattox, a complete restoration of the town a la Rockefeller is not to be contemplated. The buildings that must be reconstructed are (1) the McLean House (2) the old Court House. The Patterson [Patteson]house and one or two key dwellinghouses [*sic*] should also be rebuilt for the sake of atmosphere—likewise perhaps some of the old kitchens and office buildings.
>
> Since trees of old gardens, fences, etc. are easily erased by landscape work, it is recommended that until all archaeological work and research are finished no other development take place in the shaded area on map 6. This red line on map 6 shows the approximate bounds of the village as indicated on the map of 1867. Certainly no landscape work should be done in this area until the historical data has been compiled.

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[61] Porter (1957-a), 2. Porter (1937-b), 1.

[62] Porter (1957-a), 3.

> Restoration of the exterior lines of the Court House and McLean House is easily possible on the basis of sketches and photographs now in hand and should become a part of the contemplated development of the area. Our ability to reconstruct the interior of the buildings must depend on actual archaeological remains at the sites, plus our willingness or unwillingness to give Hubbard and Hancock a contract—or to purchase the architectural drawings in their possession.
>
> The panoramic view, the war-time sketches and photographs also make possible the restoration of minor features such as roads, fences, trees, shrubs, barns, etc. Further data on these matters will be submitted in a later report.[63]



Figure 7. Excerpt from Map 6 referenced in Porter's (1937-a) report centered upon Appomattox Court House. A building key was not included. Porter (1937-a), 30.

As part of his research, Porter spoke with two individuals related to the 1890s dismantling of the McLean House: the original sketch artist, P. C. Hubbard of Lynchburg, and the son of an original financier, C. A. Hancock. At that point, neither Hubbard nor Hancock was willing to donate sketches to the NPS without a contract to restore the McLean House. During July 1937, Stuart Barnette and Porter met with Hubbard and Hancock to view the sketches and any materials he held related to the McLean House. Ultimately, the NPS purchased all materials from Hubbard and Hancock shortly thereafter. Porter's notes on the meeting were as follows:

> The paper on which the sketches (or measured drawings) had been made have no water mark or other feature that would date it; but the fourth or outside sheet was endorsed "McLean or Surrender House Appomattox C. H. Va.

[63] Porter (1957-a), 3–4.

> 2-17-95 P. C. Hubbard & C. W. Hancock". Mr. Hubbard was an elderly man with white hair and impressed us with his honest and straightforward manner. The data contained in his notes checked with facts already known to us from Civil War photographs in the Brady collection and with information gleaned from old residents of Appomattox. In addition they gave a wealth of new information concerning the structural details of the McLean House inside and out, enough in fact to enable us to do a restoration job that would be 90% perfect. A perfect reproduction of the McLean house can never be made because since Hubbard and Hancock expected to use the original materials in reconstructing the McLean house in Chicago, they failed to make detailed sketches and drawings of certain members or small pieces (such as stair rails) which were to be transported to the new site bodily and fitted into the new structure. In addition to the original pencil sketches Hubbard showed us, other architectural data on the McLean house is extant in the form of finished drawings partly made for Hancock in 1893 and partly finished from the original pencil notes in 1931-1933. These additional drawings are in the possession of C.A. Hancock of Huntington, West Virginia, and include, according to Mr. Hubbard's recollection, longitudinal and transverse sections through the house, showing the elevation of the rooms and of the house itself.
>
> Mr. Hubbard's own sketches show such interesting outside details as the distance of the house from the front road and the course of the road to the intersection at the Court House, the location and floor plan of the out-houses or sheds, the location of the well and the orchard, and even the floor-plan of a building at the corner of the court-house green.
>
> It was Mr. Hubbard's belief that Mr. Hancock would agree with him to sell us all of the above data or plans for (1) 5% of the building cost or (2) a flat sum of $750.00. He also stated that they would rebuild the house for cost plus 10%. We asked Mr. Hubbard to draw up a definite offer signed by himself and by C.A. Hancock and submit this to the Director. Of the three alternatives, it seems best to pay them $750.00 and obtain full freedom of action. After all, their measured drawings of the house are the only known ones in existence. Granted that they have been published in some obscure place, we could hardly use them without compensating the owners. To do a restoration job without them would lay us open to severe and perhaps merited criticism; and, finally, considering the McLean house is probably a $20,000 structure, $750.00 for the measured drawings is not unreasonable.[64]

A preliminary report of this meeting recommended to develop the McLean House, Court House area, relocation of the highway, parking area construction, and a "contact station" at the intersection of the relocated highway and State Route 627. The report also

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[64] Porter (1937-b), 2. Happel, 7.

noted, "It was the consensus of opinion that with the plans as shown to us there would be no doubt of completing an authentic restoration. Fortunately, some meager information was shown on the plot plan giving a few tree locations, out buildings and an orchard."[65]

In a second concluding statement from his 1937 report, Porter outlined what he believed to be the best course of action forward in restoring Appomattox Court House, including the creation of the first APCO master plan map and a significant highway route modification. Raymond Poeppel produced most of the planning map by superimposing plans over historical maps. The plan was to route vehicular traffic to a new road with the current roads restored to 1865 condition. Porter and Poeppel further took care that any new parking lots or roadways would not impact spaces occupied by structures, historical landscape, or roads present in 1865. Porter further made several other suggestions. First was to conduct an archaeological study of the McLean House and all other structures within the "restoration area." The hope would be to both find artifacts and confirm the accuracy of known maps. Next, Porter recommended that Douglas Southall Freeman's biography of Robert E. Lee serve as the principal secondary source informing interpretation of the surrender. He also recommended that other historians dig into Freeman's sources in the hope they notice new information that Freeman did not discover about Appomattox Court House. New Appomattox Court House maps too were needed and could be created, in Porter's view, using Land Tax records, newspapers, letters, diaries, insurance records, deeds, and wills. Knowledge of exact lot locations allowed for more accurate restoration, better interpretation, and a simplification of archaeological excavations and found artifact identification.[66]

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[65] Northington, Barnette, Porter, and Poeppel (1937), 2.

[66] Porter (1937-b), 5–6.

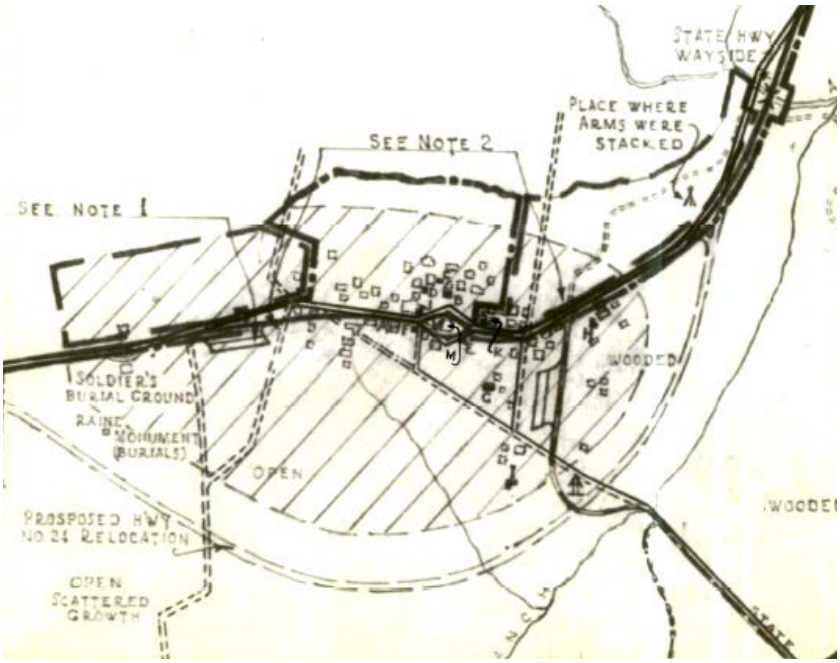


Figure 8. Plate 5: Preliminary Master Plan Map. Porter (1937-b).

Finally, Porter's most important recommendation from the second set of conclusions was the addition of new land to the park. The "Place where the Arms Were Stacked" was, as he described, an area north of the 1937 boundary and extended both to the east and west of the village center. Acquiring this tract would "round out and protect our interest" despite land being "not essential to our story." Still, Porter urged, with the support of his colleagues, the acquisition of the property at some point in the future, even if it happened after formal park establishment.[67]

Following Porter's recommendations, the NPS proceeded with rebuilding the McLean House. Ralph Happel, NPS Junior Historical Technician, produced a short report on the McLean House ownership history both to inform archeological investigations and the eventual building reconstruction. Happel confidently asserted that he had unearthed all primary sources on the subject. Using local land tax records, Happel traced ownership of Lot 21 to Hugh Raine in 1846 and ownership transfer to Charles Raine in 1848 or 1849. Property value grew from $600 to $1,600 in 1849, so Happel reasoned that Charles Raine likely built the house the preceding year. He also cited an interview with Ragland Featherstone, former resident of Appomattox Court House whose grandfather once owned the home after McLean, who remembered seeing "1848" etched into the guttering. Raine operated a tavern on the property in the front yard of the house that was immediately adjacent to the Stage Road. In decades later, the structure functioned as a post office, old store, or old tavern; Featherstone could not remember which or all three. Featherstone also

[67] Porter (1937-b), 6.

pointed out that his father—N. H. Ragland—relocated the tavern structure a few yards east and out of the yard at some point, which at the time of Happel's writing was its location until being torn down by the Works Progress Administration under orders of the State Highway Department in 1940. Altogether, this information confirmed the McLean House front yard to have potential for an archaeological survey.[68]

Happel's report goes on to enter into the official record many of the accepted facts surrounding McLean's tenure at the home. While stated in a previous chapter, it is important to understand what NPS officials at the time understood to be the property's history. The Raine family sold Lots 20, 21, and 22 to McLean in 1863 inclusive of the house; Union officers bought or took many furnishings from the parlor after the surrender meeting; and McLean lost money after the war owing to poor investment. The Union victory effectively bankrupted McLean—he had invested significantly into CSA bonds—so he sold Lots 20, 21, and 22 to John L. Pascoe in 1869. Little record has yet been found of Pascoe, but he was possibly a real estate speculator and resold the property to N. H. Ragland in 1872. Ragland opened a store on the property and raised a family there for two decades until his widow sold to M. E. Dunlap of the Appomattox Land Company in January 1891 for $10,000, though Dunlap is referred to as "part owner" in some newspaper articles cited by Happel. Dunlap hired Hardy and Hancock Contractors to tear down the structure with hopes to exhibit it in Chicago, but instead decided to erect the McLean House in Washington, DC, as a museum. According to Happel, "local people" were unaware of Dunlap's intentions for the house. From 1893 forward, the McLean House materials lay on the ground untouched except by relic hunters. From oral sources, Happel reported that a local man (Bob Browning) was paid by Dunlap to stand guard until the mid-1900s to prevent thievery.[69]

The second part of Happel's study was to officially document and verify in writing the Hubbard and Hancock sketches the NPS had just recently purchased. First was to document the provenance of the materials. Happel had no reason to doubt that Hubbard made the sketches at some point between 1890 and 1893, especially given the aged condition of the paper. In doing his due diligence, Happel verified authenticity in September 1940 with three Federal agencies: the Library of Congress Manuscript Division, Federal Bureau of Investigation Manuscript Division, and the National Archives Division of Repair and Preservation. Each confirmed the paper's age and found no scientific reason to doubt the authenticity. Next, Happel outlined his sources consulted in making McLean House recommendations, thus offering great insight into his manner of historical thinking and the resources available to APCO and NPS historians during the early park planning period. The Federal photograph collection available to Happel was small, including just one

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[68] Happel, 1–2.

[69] Happel, 3–4. "McLean House," *Appomattox Times-Virginian,* December 12, 1940. A John L. Pascoe appears regularly in Virginia newspaper articles from the 1860s as a buyer or seller of properties. See *Virginia State Journal,* May 17, 1864; *Alexandria Gazette,* July 20, 1864; and *Alexandria Gazette,* September 15, 1869.

negative from the US Signal Corps collection and three prints from the Library of Congress Brady Collection. Happel regarded other sketches—namely those by Benson J. Lossing, an uncredited drawing attached to the 1866 Henderson and Company Map of Appomattox, and an 1865 print drawn by W. Webber and imprinted by J. H. Bufford—to be credible, while all others contained such significant errors to be necessarily excluded. All other 1865 photographs and sketches found by Happel were derivative in some way to these five credible sources.[70]

Happel's McLean House research carried well beyond the Civil War, which was of little use for reconstruction planning, but Happel considered it important to present evidence further in support of the Hubbard-Hancock sketches. He generally worried not that the sketches were fakes, but more that the NPS had its bases covered just in case such an accusation arose. Photographs taken during the early 1890s, presumably by someone in aid of the planned removal and reconstruction, included the only surviving photographs of the structure's rear and interior. An example of information gleaned by Happel from postwar sources was the question of the roof. Oral interviews had long indicated a tin roof in the final days of the McLean House. From postwar photographs, Happel was able to clearly show that the roof was once wooden shingles and was replaced with tin in the late-1860s. Another problem solved was the shape of the McLean House back, as no sketches or photographs from the Civil War included that side of the structure. Several postwar photographs indicated the shape, and Happel was further able to determine that several aspects, namely the rear porch, changed significantly sometime after the war. Happel used journalistic writings from shortly after the war to verify the existence of a porch, referred to as "the inevitable portico in front and rear."[71]

It is important to understand what informed these early NPS actions in the context of what resources were available to Happel and other NPS staff. For instance, the banister in the reconstructed McLean House looked that way simply because it was their best guess. Nobody knew exactly what it looked like in 1865, so they had to jointly rely on human memory and architectural history contextualization. Happel only had four photographs of the McLean House's front taken during the Civil War and none of the back. Using these, he provided an accurate layman's visual description, but did write "technical details, such as the type of railing on the porch roof, can be found by architects who study the photographs." Happel deconstructed writings about Appomattox Court House, the McLean House, and the surrender from a range of sources—journalists, Civil War soldiers, and residents alike. After an extensive comparison, he concluded that all had to be taken with a

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[70] Discredited sources included those appearing in Robert Underwood Johnson and Clarence Clough Buel, *Battles and Leaders of the Civil War*; Alfred Guernsey and Henry Alden, *Harper's Pictorial History of the Great Rebellion*; Happel, 7–12. I. N. Phelps Stokes and Daniel C. Haskell, *American Historical Prints Early Views of American Cities, Etc. From the Phelps Stokes and Other Collections* (New York Public Library, 1933), 128.

[71] Happel, 13–18, 21.

grain of salt, given the variety of conflicting house descriptions, except for Mr. Featherstone, the one local resident whose memory of the house appeared strongest. Featherstone's memories were not perfect, of course, but he was born at the site and formed an emotional attachment. He visited the McLean House regularly as a child and young man, so again this only strengthened Happel's faith in Featherstone as a primary source. The final step in Happel's process was to gather all available sources and allow Featherstone to provide corrections as best he could, for instance adding or changing fences, outhouses, the homes of enslaved people, and trees. Effectively then, there were three major contributors to the McLean House reconstruction research and design process—Happel, Featherstone, and the 1890s Hubbard-Hancock sketches.[72]

Finally, after all his recommendations, Happel's conclusion outlined the McLean House action plan. First was to commission an archaeological study as was recommended by Porter. Archaeologists would be tasked with discovering McLean House building materials, vestiges of original plant life including shrubs and trees, the foundations of other structures, and fence locations. Next, NPS staff would search the entire country for McLean House furnishings that could be acquired and returned to the site. Finally, Happel concluded with a note on bricks:

> It has been humorously suggested that an appeal might be put out for the recovery of all the bricks taken by souvenir hunters in the past forty-odd years. This might not be so silly after all. Fake bricks would inevitably come in, but any bricks of the right age and color could be used. The publicity attendant upon such a scheme would be valuable, and good will could be promoted by the inscribing of the donors' name on a suitable scroll, though, of course, there would be no effort to identify separate donations in the structure.[73]

Two other events merit mention at this point—a study of Appomattox Court House burials and a donation of land from North Carolina. Burial plots also led to a pause in planning as more individuals were likely buried in park boundaries outside of the small Soldiers' Cemetery. The NPS conducted a brief study to discover all burial grounds in July 1937, but it was uncertain if all were discovered.[74] One final land donation during this period came to APCO, though it was a small one. The State of North Carolina donated a small tract around the North Carolina Monument to the NPS. The tract was surveyed by the NPS in early 1942 and submitted to Chief Counsel for approval. W. M. Abbitt was secured as a local attorney to draft the title abstract, and Governor J. Melville Broughton executed the title exchange on April 20, 1942, at the behest of the NPS.[75]

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[72] Happel, 10, 26.

[73] Happel, 38.

[74] Agnes Lee Horner to J. P. Andrews, ca. July 1937. Spalding to Andrews, July 12, 1937. Arno Cammerer to Agnes Lee Horner, July 22, 1937.

[75] SR, January 1942.

APCO Formed

Land secured and plan in place, the park was officially formed on April 10, 1940, by a Department of the Interior Secretarial Order (5 CFR 1520) as Appomattox Court House National Historical Monument. Secretary Harold Ickes named Hubert A. Gurney (Historian at Fredericksburg and Spotsylvania National Military Park) as the Acting Superintendent of APCO on April 11, 1940. Prior to the APCO appointment, Gurney's monthly FRSP reports largely consisted of Civil War bibliographies, developing the park library, and notes on his actions as Acting Superintendent for regular periods of the Superintendent's leave. Once taking over at APCO, management duties were shared by Petersburg National Military Park until June 23, 1941, when the national office formally made the two parks independent. All records and accounts related to APCO were held by FRSP until August 1, 1941, when the national office could facilitate such a move. While this was the management structure technically, in practice APCO was an independent park from its foundation with significant support from other Virginia NPS units, the regional office, and the national office.[76]

Gurney was officially the only APCO employee for several months, though he had permission but not clearance to hire others. He traveled to Washington on September 19, 1941, to request the NPS to approve two already funded permanent positions (Park Ranger and Junior Clerk-Stenographer). Gurney received word the following month that both positions had been cleared by the Secretary's office and he could initiate the hiring process. Despite Gurney's time as a lone APCO employee, there were at any given time at least six and perhaps as many as fifteen NPS officials within APCO, depending on project statuses, due to the presence of a Civilian Conservation Corps camp assigned to work at APCO discussed in depth later in this chapter. Gurney hired Mary Avis Brown (better known at APCO later in life as Avis Smith), who entered service on June 4, 1941, as a Junior Clerk-Typist, and she would be promoted to permanent Clerk on March 19, 1942. She was hired explicitly because Gurney could not keep up with all the paperwork required for the bypass road project.[77] As an aside, Gurney took leave from March 26 to April 1, 1942, and with no other APCO employees, this would have made Smith acting Superintendent for those days.[78]

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[76] Gurney made no mention of his new appointment to APCO in any of his FRSP reports. SR, June 1941; August 1941. "Report of Hubert A. Gurney," January 1939 through March 1940, APCO Central Files (APCO 11800/006.001 Box 003). "Final Orders Received for Surrender Grounds Work," *Appomattox Times-Virginian,* April 25, 1940.

[77] Note that Gurney referred to Avis as "Smith" in his July 1941 report, so she was technically "Avis Brown" for less than two months with the NPS. SR, June 1941; July 1941.

[78] SR, September 1941; October 1941.

Gurney immediately set forth a plan to renovate newly acquired land and structures to the best replication of April 1865 possible. The top priority agreed upon by NPS officials was the reconstruction of the McLean House still sitting in a pile at its former location. Happel compiled all known primary sources into another historical report entitled "The McLean (or Surrender) House at the Village of Old Appomattox Court House, VA: A Study for the Reconstruction Thereof," completed November 1940, and architects from the regional office completed working plans and a survey. The NPS also entered discussions with the state highway department to shift Route 24 away from the courthouse a few hundred yards north as modern cars driving past the McLean House would obviously disrupt the 1865 ambiance. He also coordinated with local companies, primarily the Central Virginia Electric Cooperative (CVEC), to make the park more livable for staff, including himself and his family. Gurney entered APCO into an agreement with CVEC in September 1941 to extend overhead power lines erected by the Rural Electrification Act into the park.[79]

A sense of urgency grew during early 1940 when the old post office building collapsed on April 2, 1940. Gurney surveyed the site and stored surviving timbers at an undisclosed location. A specific location for the timber storage was not found in any records from any documents produced during the Gurney-led APCO years. The State Highway Department cleared all other debris. It was also during this time that Gurney made a quick survey of all other structures and discovered the Law Office in extremely poor condition nearing collapse. It was likely this emergency that prompted quicker Department of the Interior action. Had Appomattox Court House structures been in stabilized condition, Gurney would have likely worked in the regional office for several more months, perhaps years, drafting planning documents. After surveying the work ahead, Gurney expected reconstruction of the McLean House to begin in early 1942, with dozens of other projects beginning in the meantime.[80]

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[79] SR, April 1940; August 1941; September 1941.

[80] Gurney, 22. Memorandum, April 6, 1940, APCO Resource Management Records, Box 4. SR, April 1940; August 1941; September 1941.



Figure 9. View of front and side of the Robert Poore's Law Office Building, later known as the Tavern Guesthouse. APCO Central Files (APCO 11800/001.001, Box 001).

CCC

It was within this context that the Civilian Conservation Corps (CCC) came to Appomattox Court House. Any discussion of early APCO development must include the CCC, as the labor of these young men greatly accelerated park development. The creation of a CCC camp at APCO was planned for at least six months prior to Gurney's hiring and without his knowledge. According to NPS Chief of Planning Thomas Vint, a principal reason for the CCC camp was to construct a Route 24 bypass road around the village center or at least complete all needed preliminary work. After several months of discussion, Vint asked that a survey and plan be prepared in May 1940 for use by a new Appomattox CCC camp not yet created. The Route 24 bypass project stalled, but at about the same time white Yorktown residents loudly protested the creation of an African American CCC camp in the area. CCC and NPS used this situation to remove the camp from Yorktown to Appomattox. There was a lot more work that could be done beyond the bypass road.[81]

As a brief primer to the Civilian Conservation Corps, the agency formed in 1933 as one of President Roosevelt's first New Deal actions. The CCC was a work relief agency, meaning that it provided employment to any unmarried men between the ages of 18 and 25

[81] Thomas C. Vint to Chief of Engineering, 11 May 1940.

provided they sent $25 of their $30 monthly wage to another party (usually a family member). World War I veterans in need of work were also accepted as enrollees. CCC enrollees were each assigned to a Company consisting of about two hundred men, and each Company was assigned to a Camp. Each individual Camp was most often partnered with another land management government agency that assigned jobs to enrollees with the approval of both CCC and partner agency officials. These jobs were typically measured in total estimated material costs and "man-days," meaning the estimated number of full workdays and enrollees needed.[82] By the agency's closure in 1942, approximately 3 million men worked for the CCC at some point.

The CCC was also a segregated agency with few exceptions, a point that is directly relevant to the CCC at APCO. Two CCC companies operated in the Appomattox area between 1933 and 1942, though only one worked at APCO: Company 1351, an African American Veterans company, assigned to Camp NP-28.[83] The other company was a nonveteran white company designated Company 2391 assigned to Camp SCS-10, also known as Camp Lee-Grant, with jobs focused on the Surrender Ground Forest Project. This project was a joint Resettlement Administration and Farm Security Administration project that aimed to acquire and replenish farmlands in Appomattox and Buckingham counties.[84] The time spent by the two companies in Appomattox County did not overlap. Company 2391 worked in Appomattox from September 1935 until its reassignment to the Lexington area in July 1940. Company 1351 formed in December 1934 with African American veterans recruited from the Yorktown area and was assigned over the next six years to Camp NM-3 and Camp NMP-4 (later renamed as Camp NP-20). Since a typical CCC enrollment period was for just two years, it is highly likely that the enrollees who formed Co. 1351 by 1940 came from throughout Virginia, with many residing within a reasonable travel distance from Appomattox.[85]

Governance of a CCC camp was typically shared by the US Army and the host organization, which was the NPS in this case. Army representatives, which were typically white male officers, were tasked with the basics of everyday life—shelter, food, logistics, education, and so on. The NPS was responsible for the actual work plans and field project supervision. Upon Co. 1351's arrival, the NPS reassigned four employees from FRSP to

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[82] For example, a ten man-day project could be, in theory, accomplished by one enrollee in ten days, by ten enrollees in a single day, or by any other combination.

[83] The CCC was a segregated government agency in terms of enrollees. There were four primary company designations: white, black, white veterans, and black veterans. Enrollees, no matter their race, could rise to leadership positions within their CCC camp, but management of the camp was assigned to the overseeing agency. Most of the time, officers within these agencies, in this case the Army and NPS, were white.

[84] "Holiday Lake 4-H Educational Center," National Register Nomination Form (2009).

[85] First Lt. Bernard C. Knostrick was stationed at Camp SCS-10 until early 1937 when he was reassigned as Commanding Officer at Co. 2388. *Neighbors* (Marion, VA), August 27, 1937. "Holiday Lake 4-H Educational Center," National Register Nomination Form (2009).

Camp NP-28. Project Superintendent Earl Garner, Junior Historical Technician Ralph Happel, Foreman Robert I. Scott, and Russell Almond began Camp NP-28 duty on July 23rd, and they, along with Gurney, assigned tasks to enrollees. Whenever Gurney went on leave, Garner took over Acting Superintendent duties.

Starting in August 1940, Gurney and Happel used the Ferguson House as both an office and residence while the rest lived at Camp NP-28. Upgrades and repairs (including installing a bathtub, washbasin, and sink) to the Ferguson House were made by contracted laborers. Contractors also worked on the Gray Cabin to convert it into an employee's residence. CCC enrollees began work in early 1941 on further remodeling the Ferguson House for use by other NPS staff, with most work creating staff quarters completed by the summer of 1941. Gurney's specific requests for the Ferguson House were first-floor partitions to create office space for four, chimney construction, wall boarding exterior walls and ceiling, window additions, construction of a photographic dark room and washroom, a second-floor drafting room, and removal of the terra cotta pipe chimney on the southern portion. This work also included roof repairs, internal floor and woodwork repairs, and preparations for future electrification. Gurney filed a Job Completion Record for Job #30 (Ferguson House Remodeling for Temporary Park Offices) on 29 November 1941. This project came about because the courthouse reconstruction, set aside as the official park headquarters, was expected in 1944 or 1945, so temporary accommodations were needed.[86]

Exactly 192 CCC enrollees from Co. 1351 arrived in the APCO area on July 23, 1940, and officially occupied Camp NP-28, the renamed camp previously used by Co. 2391. Most enrollees were from Virginia, though newspapers noted some were from Pennsylvania and parts of New England. Typically, enrollees built their own camps and lived in tents while buildings were being erected, but in the case of Camp NP-28 there were "rigid and portable" structures available from Co. 2391's work at Camp SCS-10. Fieldwork for Camp SCS-10 formally ceased on July 1, 1940. The location of Camp NP-28 was approximately one mile from the Norfolk & Western railroad shipping point and two miles from Appomattox Court House.[87]

Local white residents were not happy with the announcement of an African American CCC camp and let their opposition be heard. These public local challenges nearly resulted in the withdrawal of Co. 1351, which would have been devastating to early APCO development. The first challenges to the CCC and NPS came from county residents

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[86] SR, July 1940; August 1940; October 1940; May 1941. "Job Completion Record, Job No. 30," 29 November 1941. "Job Application, Job No. 30," 4 August 1941. "Job Application, Job No. 30," 14 February 1941.

[87] CCC camp names were assigned based on the type of camp project and a number based on the home state. There were several CCC camps informally named "Camp SCS-10," but the camp's true name in formal documents was "Camp VA-SCS-10." Project Development Division to Regional Director, 26 July 1940. T. W. Ferguson Jr. to Director, 2 August 1940. "Camp NP-28 Information Sheet, 15 May 1941". "Camp NP-28 Information Sheet, 4 November 1939," "Federal Project Records, 1934, 1943," Box 005, Entry P124, RG79, NACP. "Negro CCC Camp Here for Park Work," *Appomattox Times-Virginian*, July 25, 1940.

writing protest letters and the Appomattox County Board of Supervisors issuing a resolution opposed to the African American company. County correspondence with Senator Byrd discovered that "no white camp was available to be sent" to Appomattox, or so Byrd claimed, so those opposed to the CCC plan called a public meeting at the Appomattox County courthouse on July 4th. The outcome of this meeting is not specifically known, but the group decided to register formal opposition with the CCC, NPS, and US Army. Gurney wrote the following in his July 1940 Superintendent's Report:

> The proposal to establish a colored veteran camp at Appomattox met with considerable opposition from the local community. The Acting Superintendent [Gurney] devoted considerable effort the first weeks of the month to securing withdrawal of objections registered by citizens and civic groups with Army officials. Telegraphic advice of withdrawal of these protests was sent to Third Corps Area Headquarters by Mayor McDearmon on July 8. On July 22 the Acting Superintendent arranged a meeting at which the Mayor, the Board of Supervisors, and other county officials were introduced to the CCC Company subaltern. Problems attendant upon the location of the colored camp at Appomattox were discussed with town and county officials.[88]

Gurney noted that such sentiment may be present in Appomattox, but "it is believed that objections to a colored company will be removed after the first wave of resentment subsides." These were the only mentions of racial problems by Gurney, and newspapers made no mention of further problems beyond July 1940. The *Appomattox Times-Virginian* began publishing celebratory articles on the CCC's accomplishments at APCO, such as the following excerpt from September 19, 1940:

> The Negro World War veterans of CCC Camp NP28, assigned to the area, are clearing the brush of the past half century from the old village, preparatory to archeological investigation by Park Service technicians.
>
> In the front yard, workers found the old McLean well still not dry.
>
> The McLean House lot before clearing work started was hardly recognizable as a house site. Now with the undergrowth and honeysuckle removed, old foundation lines may be discerned even above ground, and piles of brick still remain where they were left forty-seven years ago when the house was torn down. The ice house pit is still a deep hole.
>
> So, while Europe fights, and our own nation prepares, here at Appomattox is taking shape a restored shrine of peace![89]

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[88] SR, May 1940; June 1940; July 1940. "Mass Meeting Concerning Camp," *Appomattox Times-Virginian,* July 4, 1940.

[89] "Work Progressing at Historic Surrender Grounds Here," *Appomattox Times-Virginian,* September 19, 1940.

The following spring, Camp NP-28 announced that, as part of the eighth anniversary of the CCC, the public was welcomed to an open house at both Camp NP-28 and APCO on April 4, 1941. A press release noted a brief history of the "deserted village" and encouraged the public to come see everything that had already been accomplished by the Black enrollees in less than a year. The *Appomattox Times-Virginian* published a front-page invitation lauding Company 1351's work specifically noting extensive land clearing, removing nonhistorical structures, and reconditioning historic structures. The newspaper also noted the plans of rebuilding the McLean House and building the Route 24 bypass. With those projects in mind, the public was invited to visit Camp NP-28 to tour the camp and learn about CCC life with refreshments served.[90]

Clearing Land

Officially, three CCC jobs were proposed and approved for Camp NP-28 before enrollee arrival for the period of April 1, 1940, to March 31, 1941:

- Reconnaissance, Architecture; 800 man-days; $100 material cost
- Surveys; 800 man-days; $100 material cost
- Bridle Trails; Four miles; 1,000 man-days; $200 material cost.[91]

Despite this, it is most likely that not all job application records survived, as Gurney's Superintendent Reports noted several other projects beginning immediately upon enrollee arrival. The problem with surviving CCC records is few details of each work project were logged and jobs were often completed with no sense of order. Most often, it was a simple question of project progress reports, man-hours logged, and assigned supervisory personnel. For instance, one of the most important jobs completed by CCC enrollees was archeological excavations of the McLean House area under Job #6 (Reconnaissance and Investigation) formally approved in December 1940. Nothing in the job documents suggested this project was for McLean House archaeology, so one must reference other documents for hints (and not all projects are mentioned in other locations).

The first project undertaken by CCC enrollees was Fire Hazard Reduction, which was general brush and debris removal from the village area. Gurney reported in August 1940 that enrollees uncovered the McLean House site, cleared away a grove of trees at the jail, and cleared brush and small trees from fields to the south of the village center. Other projects underway within a few days were Seeding and Sodding Maintenance and Selective

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[90] "News Release," 27 March 1941, "Federal Project Records, 1934, 1943," Box 005, Entry P124, RG79, NACP. "Anniversary Planned at Local CCC Camp," *Appomattox Times-Virginian*, March 27, 1941. "Local CCC Plans Open House, With Public Invited," *Appomattox Times-Virginian*, April 3, 1941.

[91] APCO, CCC Proposed Work Program Outlines, NPS Emergency Activities, VA-NP-28-Appomattox Court House NHP, FY1941, "Federal Project Records, 1934, 1943," Box 005, Entry P124, RG79, NACP.

Cutting and Clearing in the village area. Gurney noted that of the camp's 190 enrollees, about ninety worked on APCO projects daily with just two work foremen. Most CCC camps had at least four work foremen for such large-scale jobs. He also noted in September that he had received many positive comments about the park's appearance, though did not specify who was making these comments. Starting in October, enrollees began removing plaster and lath from historical structures so NPS personnel could better examine building conditions. By the end of November, enrollees cleared land west to the Confederate Cemetery and north to the Patteson-Hix cemetery behind the Tavern. With most overgrown lands cleared, Gurney trained enrollees and CCC supervisory personnel in firefighting methods during February 1941.[92] NPS and CCC workers seeded at least seventy-five acres of APCO land in 1941 with mixed grass seed and about ten tons of fertilizer.[93]

Enrollees began to work more often within the village center once cold weather started taking hold. Two new Foremen (A. Apperson and T. T. Tinder) officially transferred from Camp NP-11 at FRSP to Camp NP-28, thus bringing the camp's leadership team to full strength during November. Jobs conducted during the Winter and early Spring of 1940–41 included temporary repairs made to the Clover Hill Tavern and Bocock-Isbell House, permanent repairs to the Ferguson House shed and garage, selective razing of structures, and installing a new women's latrine. A rock crusher obtained from Fairy Stone State Park was also brought to APCO at this point and installed by enrollees. Crushed rock was used on roads and walkways throughout the park. Later inspections by the state highway department found the CCC-produced stone to be acceptable for use on state road projects, an inspection that was in anticipation of the pending Route 24 bypass project.[94] Work began on renovating a storehouse on the Gray Tract during March 1941, most likely for use during the pending bypass road project.[95]

In February 1941, per the request of Regional Director E. M. Lisle, Gurney submitted details of the original application for Job #23 (Razing Undesirable Structures). The estimated time of completion was by June 1942. In total, the request was to destroy twenty-four structures (with eighteen being completed within the current fiscal year) deemed "non-historical [and] in their present condition are unsightly [and] that no practical use can be made of them." Gurney estimated it would take 1,200 man-days to complete this job. The structures included all the following:

- Privies, all recent construction but "unusable, unsanitary, and distinctly unsightly"
    - In rear of garage, Ferguson House

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[92] SR, July 1940; August 1940; September 1940; October 1940; November 1940; December 1940; January 1941; February 1941.

[93] SR, October 1941.

[94] SR, November 1940; December 1940; December 1941.

[95] SR, March 1941.

    - In rear of Brick Annex, Patteson-Hix Tavern
    - In rear of Plunkett-Meeks House
    - In rear of Kitchen, Bocock-Isbell House
    - Rear of Rosser House
- Miscellaneous Small Structures
    - Chicken House; immediately in rear of Tavern
    - Pig Pen; west of Brick Kitchen at Tavern
    - Two Chicken Houses; north of Plunkett-Meeks House
    - Dog Pen; northwest of Plunkett-Meeks House
    - Chicken House; east of Rosser House
    - Woodshed; east of Rosser House
    - Pig Pen; northwest of Sweeney-Flood House
    - Woodshed and garage; north of Sweeney-Flood House
- Barns and Large Outbuildings
    - Tobacco Barn; in field south of Grant's Headquarters, 20 x 30 feet, collapsed roof
    - Tobacco Barn; on Route 24 east of road to North Carolina Monument; 21 x 21 feet
    - Tobacco Barn; on Route 24 about 75 yards east of above barn; 21 x 21 feet
    - Tobacco Barn; east of Confederate Cemetery on Route 24; 21 x 21 feet
    - Tobacco Barn; northwest of Flood Tenant House; 20 x 21 feet, metal roofing gone
    - Shed; west and adjacent to above tobacco barn; 12 x 14 feet, roof gone
    - Barn; northeast of Flood Tenant House; 20 x 31 feet, shingle roof has already fallen in, structure collapsed
    - Tobacco Barn; between Route 24 and Sweeney-Flood House; 20 x 21 feet
    - Tobacco Barn; south of Rosser House, 20 x 20 feet, leaning badly
    - Corn Crib; southeast of Rosser House; 10.33 x 16.5 feet
    - Barn; north of Plunkett-Meeks House; 21 x 25 feet
- Houses
    - Flood Tenant House; at southeast corner of Monument property and about 0.75 of a mile from County Road 627, has been unoccupied for three years and is of flimsy construction[96]

James C. Price was brought into Camp NP-28 as a Senior Foreman effective March 1, 1941, to oversee all CCC engineering jobs. His primary tasks were to survey APCO boundaries, create topographic maps, supervise telephone and electrical line installation, and assist in engineering and installing water and sewage systems. He got to work on the

[96] Gurney to Regional Director, 5 February 1941, APCO Central File, Resource Management Files, Box 001.

sewage system immediately by locating the sewage disposal field south of the bypass road. This sewage plan was approved in August 1941, and CCC work began immediately. Enrollees installed about 400 feet of sewer pipe and manholes by the end of the year. One manhole was adjacent to the county jail, though neither Gurney nor CCC job reports made specific note as to other sewage system locations. The sewage project was estimated at 90 percent completed in February 1942, with only a septic tank and leeching lines installation still to do. The water system lagged significantly behind as plans were still being revised at the end of 1941.[97] As of the end of 1940, all telephone lines were along the eastern edge of the park with no indication that this would be changed anytime soon.[98]



Figure 10. CCC enrollees clearing land at the site of the McLean House during September 1940. Note the iron War Department tablet in place and signage reading "DON'T MOVE OR CARRY AWAY THESE BRICKS." "Administrative Files," Box 1456, Entry P11, RG79, NACP.

[97] SR, February 1941; August 1941; September 1941; November 1941.

[98] SR, December 1940.

Archaeology, the McLean House, and Route 24

Three days after CCC enrollees arrived at Camp NP-28, Federal staff met in the Regional office to establish priority of all work at Appomattox Court House, inclusive of the CCC, beyond the relatively simple and unanimously approved clearing, cutting, and cleaning projects. Attendees of this meeting included Washington officials (Cammerer, R. F. Lee, Good, Porter), Regional office officials (Johnston, Roberts, Ludgate, Bullock, Parris, Ferguson, O'Neil, Lattimore, Appleman), Hubert Gurney, and Branch Spalding. This meeting came to eleven conclusions:

1. The McLean House would receive first priority in research, plan preparation, and reconstruction. Approximately $65,000 of the $100,000 Congressional allocation would be set aside for restoration of the McLean House pending precise plans and estimates.
2. Gurney would immediately execute a plan to purchase McLean House plans crafted in the 1890s for $750, which would then be examined by NPS officials and outside historians including Virginia state historian Hamilton James Eckenrode, College of William and Mary librarian Earl Gregg Swem, and historian and editor of *The Richmond News Leader* Douglas Southall Freeman for approval.
3. Gurney expected to have a McLean House report completed within three months to be delivered to the Branch of Plans and Design, but any opportunity to use the skills of Historic American Buildings Survey staff would be taken.
4. NPS staff would explore the possibility of using repurposed nineteenth-century bricks in reconstruction projects.
5. NPS Architect Alexander will complete a study of existent Appomattox Court House buildings and then the Branch of Plans and Design will recommend treatment priority for stabilization.
6. The development plan will follow the master plan in that APCO will re-create "…a rather faithful restoration of the main elements of the old Appomattox Court House scene."
7. Acting Regional Director Johnston appointed a committee (Gurney, Ludgate, Spalding, O'Neil, and Appleman) to submit a report by September 1, 1940, outlining individual units of work and priorities for APCO.
8. Director Cammerer emphasized the importance of the McLean House project and set upon a reserve fund of $10,000 only to be used if the Congressional allocation was exhausted.
9. Bypass road surveys neared completion with $34,000 appropriated from Roads and Trails for construction, and this work would continue until finished.
10. All CCC jobs for fire hazard reduction and general clean-up were approved and would proceed immediately.

11. S–mall allocations were made for immediate land purchases and APCO operating expenses as needed.[99]

Gurney got to work in physically acquiring and authenticating the McLean House plans. Hubard and Hancock accepted the $750 offer, and the plans were delivered to APCO on September 4, 1940. Gurney then took the plans to the Washington NPS office on September 13th for authentication. Happel, the FBI, and the National Archives confirmed authenticity within weeks, so the plans were then passed to the Historic American Building Survey (HABS) so architects could prepare new drawings of the house based on the plans and the handful of known photographs. HABS architects completed these drawings in December, delivered the work product to the regional office, and staff immediately began to prepare working drawings for use on site. It took nearly a year for regional architects to complete working plans, finishing on about October 1, 1941.[100]

The planned McLean House archaeological excavation became a top agenda item in 1940 as it had to be completed before any house reconstruction projects could begin. Branch Spaulding noted to the *Appomattox Times-Virginian* that he "saw no reason why work could not begin before spring [1941]," so public attention had been stoked. A historical report written by Happel was provided to Junior Archaeologist Preston Holder to help inform his work plan developed throughout the rest of 1940. Happel's report was essentially his earlier study of the McLean House with a short addendum noting its use as justification for the archaeological program. Resident Landscape Architect Walter Sheffield was assigned to complete archaeological preparation plans, which was essentially a project to responsibly remove all vegetation from the McLean House area without destroying potential artifacts. Gurney officially submitted approval for the archaeological excavation as a CCC job in November 1940. NPS officials from all five Virginia Civil War sites gathered at APCO on December 9th to discuss regional park planning and the ongoing Appomattox Court House plans.[101]

Junior Archaeologist Preston Holder arrived at APCO on January 6, 1941, to supervise excavations in the field. Holder's immediate tasks were to work with Associate Archaeologist J. C. Harrington at Colonial National Historical Park to better learn NPS methods. Harrington had spent the previous several years excavating Jamestown. Another reason Holder went to study with Harrington was to provide more time for CCC enrollees

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[99] Roy Edgar Appleman Memorandum, 29 July 1940, "Federal Project Records, 1934, 1943," Box 005, Entry P124, RG79, NACP.

[100] SR, September 1940; October 1940; December 1940; July 1941.

[101] A. P. Bursley to Gurney, 3 September 1941; E. M. Lisle to Director, 12 December 1940. Project Development Division Chief to Gurney, 8 January 1941. Gurney to Regional Director, 6 February 1941, "Federal Project Records, 1934, 1943," Box 005, Entry P124, RG79, NACP. Happel, "The McLean (or Surrender) House at the Village of Old Appomattox Court House, Virginia: A Study for the Reconstruction Thereof," APCO Central Files (APCO 11800/001.001, Box 001). SR, September 1940; October 1940; January 1941. "McLean House Rebuilding to be Speeded," *Appomattox Times-Virginian*, November 21, 1940. "National Park Service Officials Confer Here," *Appomattox Times-Virginian*, December 12, 1940.

to timber a locust tree grove at the McLean House site and remove large quantities of brick left on the ground surface. Once these jobs were completed, Holder outlined a grid pattern archaeological plan by the end of January. The *Appomattox Times-Virginia* celebrated the arrival of Holder, as it meant the McLean House was one step closer to completion.[102]



Figure 11. Ragland Featherston pointing out a brick slope at the northeast corner of the McLean House excavation site to Preston Holder (kneeling) and Superintendent Hubert Gurney (right) with one of his sons.
APCO Central Files (APCO 11461-08 1356).

CCC enrollees and Holder broke archaeological ground in February 1941. Immediate discoveries were a section of brick walkway between the well and road, post hole locations bordering the road, and a rear foundation wall for the house. During March, the project discovered most of the foundation walls, as well as a brick and stone hearth in the east room and wooden floor joint stringers. During April, the front porch column foundations and walkways under both front and rear porches were plotted. Both the NPS

[102] A. P. Bursley to Gurney, 3 September 1941; E. M. Lisle to Director, 12 December 1940. Project Development Division Chief to Gurney, 8 January 1941. Gurney to Regional Director, 6 February 1941, "Federal Project Records, 1934, 1943," Box 005, Entry P124, RG79, NACP. Happel, "The McLean (or Surrender) House at the Village of Old Appomattox Court House, Virginia: A Study for the Reconstruction Thereof," APCO Central Files (APCO 11800/001.001, Box 001). SR, September 1940; October 1940; January 1941. "McLean House Rebuilding to be Speeded," *Appomattox Times-Virginian*, November 21, 1940. "Archaeologist Here for Work on McLean Site," *Appomattox Times-Virginian*, January 9, 1941.

and CCC were pleased with the work conducted in the first three months. The aforementioned press release announcing a joint APCO and Camp NP-28 open house specifically noted the archaeology project as the "most interesting of the developments." The press release also noted the connection between the hard work of enrollees excavating the McLean House foundations and the ongoing reconstruction planning.[103]

The core project during June was the investigation of the McLean House well and then expanded into the house yard on all sides. This part of the project was so extensive that Gurney had thirty CCC enrollees assigned to the archaeology project. Enrollees reinforced well walls, as a cave-in was considered likely, and erected a windlass and platform over the well. As of the end of the month, all other areas in the rear of the house were "virtually completed and recorded" according to Gurney. Enrollees uncovered the Back Lane south of the house site, fence lines, the east wall of the Kitchen, and completed the well excavation in October. Enrollees dug from eighteen feet to forty feet below ground level, the original well depth, and extracted all debris. Gurney noted the artifacts found were "scanty and disappointing" but simply completing the project was an impressive task in and of itself.[104]

[103] SR, February 1941; March 1941. "News Release," 27 March 1941, "Federal Project Records, 1934, 1943," Box 005, Entry P124, RG79, NACP.

[104] SR, June 1941; October 1941.



Figure 12. CCC enrollees installing wall shoring for the archaeological excavations of the McLean House well. SR, October 1941.

Meanwhile, Gurney traveled extensively in search of historic brick like those being excavated by the CCC. In April 1941 alone he visited Andersonville (VA), Curdsville, and Lynchburg and offered to purchase Red Oak Baptist Church in Oakville to dismantle for its brick. The church trustees rejected the offer. In the end, Gurney failed to secure enough historic brick and chose to solicit bids for furnishing handmade bricks of an identical style. Only one bid was received for $1,619, significantly over the allotment of $1,200, so the bid was rejected.[105]

Gurney also developed a draft public call for bids to reconstruct the McLean House, including all "labor, equipment and materials. . .and reconstructing there with. . . the McLean House, including all the plumbing, and electrical work." Essentially the plan was for the CCC to complete all support work while professional architects and builders rebuilt the historic structure. The call followed the standard Federal bidding process US Standard Form No. 20 (approved by President 19 November 1926) and US Standard Form No. 21 (Revised, approved by the Secretary of the Treasury 5 April 1937). Hubert Gurney received the bids as the "Contracting Officer," which meant he retained unilateral control over the construction site and workers. The winning bid would be paid at least 50 percent

[105] SR, April 1941; September 1941.

of the bid within ten days of bid acceptance, the rest delivered upon completion. The eighty-four-page document mandated all bidders had to do their due diligence just to be considered, including all the following General Provisions:

- Bidders were expected to visit the site to judge existing conditions and make correct cost estimates.
- Gurney had the right to issue a mandatory questionnaire to bidders to gauge "reputation," essentially meaning their project history, financial resources, experience, equipment resources.
- A detailed list of potential sub-contractors had to be submitted with the bid, with any later changes only being allowed upon Gurney's direct approval.
- All work must be supervised and inspected upon completion by either Gurney or an appointed employee of the US Government.
- Necessary project modifications, because of time limitations, practical matters, or identified errors in the work plan, to the work plan were allowed by way of Gurney's approval with the understanding that funding amount would not exceed the awarded contract amount.
- All materials purchased for this project immediately became property of the US Government.
- Contractors were required to follow "eight-hour laws," prohibit work on Sundays and Federal holidays, and only allow nighttime work as authorized by Gurney.
- Contractors retained the right to lodge formal protests with Gurney if any work outside of the contract is requested by the US Government.
- Contractors were expected to coordinate electrical connections, if needed, through an unnamed power company currently servicing the Ferguson House at no cost to the US Government.
- Contracted employees were all to be paid hourly rates determined or approved of as a fair standard by the Department of Labor.

Most of the document consisted of sixty pages of specifications as related to twenty-five architectural drawings. Sections with detailed specifications included: excavating, footing drains, filling, grading, concrete and cement finish, forms for concrete work, structural steel, masonry, damp proofing and waterproofing, wood framing, roofing and sheet metal, metal lath, suspended ceilings, corner beads, plastering, insulation, exterior and interior woodwork, wood flooring and finishing, metal work and weather-stripping, glass and glazing, painting and finishing, finishing hardware, plumbing, and electric work. Because the NPS Director's office did not approve McLean House plans until 1947, this call for bids was never issued publicly.[106]

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[106] "Specifications for Reconstructing the McLean House, Appomattox Court House National Historical Monument, Appomattox, Virginia: Contract No. I-53np-6," eTic doc. APCO-340-130276, 25–84. Gurney, Project Completion Report: McLean House, 30 December 1949.

In concurrence with the McLean House projects, the NPS and CCC worked to create a Route 24 bypass around the center of Appomattox Court House. In Gurney's first month on the job, APCO formally submitted a request to end Route 24 traffic from the Appomattox River to the Confederate Cemetery. The regional office noted to Gurney the following month that the State Highway Commissioner approved a Route 24 bypass in 1936 and in 1938, but state personnel changes meant the project mothballed. In response to Gurney's request, the state dispatched a Works Progress Administration project to the area to landscape the areas of approach around APCO, and the regional office sent a group under direction of Assistant Engineer Ruffin to survey the proposed bypass route. As an aside, Gurney met with local officials on occasion, including the Lynchburg City Manager, to discuss the possibility of additional WPA projects, but apparently nothing formed from these meetings. In July 1940, Gurney announced that the NPS had allotted $34,000 to fund the bypass road project, which was enough to move the State Highway Commission into action. Starting on July 31st, NPS officials and CCC enrollees worked by surveying, brush clearing, and securing equipment from other NPS units.[107]

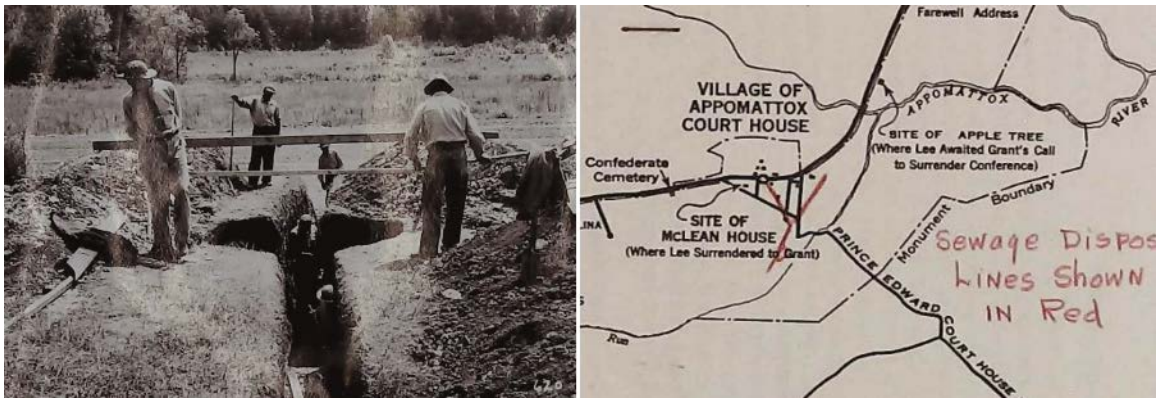


Figure 13. CCC enrollees excavating a trench for sewage pipes and installing a manhole adjacent to the Route 24 bypass road in September 1941 alongside sketch map of project location. "Administrative Files," Box 1158, Entry P11, RG79, NACP.

In January 1941, the State Highway Commission approved the NPS's request to relocate Route 24 south of the village so long as the NPS funded a sizable portion of the bill. Public comment on this decision was open for about a month beginning November 21. Tragically, a devastating wreck took place on Route 24 within APCO during the public comment period. A tractor-trailer hauling 1,500 gallons of dairy products traveling east "went over the bank at the south side of the courthouse circle at about 4:30 a.m." on

[107] Note that Gurney reported the NPS preferred the "northernmost" of routes proposed by the state but did not specify the exact corridor. SR, April 1940; May 1940; June 1940; August 1940; September 1940. "Bypass Road to be Constructed at Surrender Grounds, *Appomattox Times-Virginian*, August 1, 1940.

December 11th. The vehicle caught fire and exploded shortly after the crash. The driver and passenger were not injured and no APCO structures were damaged, but this event further proved the danger of Route 24.[108]

Preparations for bypass road construction began in March 1941 with construction beginning the following month. Gurney, Sheffield, and Regional Chief of Planning Ludgate decided upon the location of an APCO entrance as an extension of the Prince Edward County Road to the south to connect with the new bypass road. Entrance facilities would eventually be built at this intersection.[109] The NPS hired Talmage Fulp as Construction Foreman and erected temporary field offices about half a mile to the west of the village center. APCO acquired hand tools, rented heavy equipment, and a gas pump was installed. The federal government (not clear from project documents if it was the CCC, NPS, or some other entity) also arranged for a power shovel and sheepsfoot roller to be delivered to APCO from other CCC and NPS units. APCO also awarded a contract for culvert pipe, which was laid as one of the first project components. Gurney noted that on April 28th workers began grading the roadbed at "Station 67" and started to pour concrete headwalls shortly thereafter. Portions of this work, most likely the grading and land moving, were completed by CCC enrollees. All grading, shaping, and ditching were completed on August 5, 1941. By the end of June, the NPS had spent $9,600 of the original $34,000 allotment, but the project met delays when the NPS Regional Engineer preferred a different, though unstated, construction modification that would require special state approval.[110]

Gurney's biggest fear of early APCO development came true on August 21, 1941—the bypass road project was suspended due to a lack of funds. The NPS erected barricades at the road entries in anticipation of closure until at least the following spring. Complications arose the previous month with a reduction in funding allotment to $24,000 along with "an unexpected increase in construction costs." The requests for special state approval were denied as soil samples by the State Department of Highways determined a "sub-base treatment" was required for the road. The state did agree to allow slight modifications of base materials, but this was not enough to defray costs. According to Gurney, suspension and allotment cuts made it unlikely the project could be completed without additional funding, though he was unsure at the time exactly from where the funding may come. Gurney appealed to Washington for more funding but was rebuffed and told to

[108] SR, November 1940; December 1940; January 1941.

[109] SR, June 1941.

[110] SR, March 1941; April 1941; May 1941; July 1941.

utilize CCC labor. CCC enrollees stabilized some of the grading and ditching but were not able to complete these tasks in full. NPS officials hoped that work would continue within a few months.[111]

A problem developed in early October 1941 as NPS officials had difficulties stabilizing and preserving the newly exposed McLean House remains. As the winter approached with more work yet to do, there was the obvious problem of frozen ground and snowfall. As of August 4, 1941, enrollees completed 3,369 man-hours of work. Gurney estimated an additional 4,500 man-hours were required to complete the project in January 1942. A large quantity of materials was purchased at this time to support the archaeological project, including 1,000 feet of 1x6 planks, 1,000 feet of 2x4 planks, 50 pounds of nails, 50 yards of burlap, and 25 pounds of wax, all set aside for protecting the McLean House Well and exposed soil in the structure's vicinity. Chief of the Archeological Sites Division Dr. A. R. Kelly visited APCO for two days in early October to evaluate the site, ultimately dispatching Senior Engineer Edmund Preece to APCO for further investigation.[112]

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[111] SR, July 1941; August 1941. "Postpone Work on By-pass Road at Old C. House," *Appomattox Times-Virginian*, August 28, 1941.

[112] A. P. Bursley to Gurney, 3 September 1941; E. M. Lisle to Director, 12 December 1940, "Federal Project Records, 1934, 1943," Box 005, Entry P124, RG79, NACP. Project Development Division Chief to Gurney, 8 January 1941. Gurney to Regional Director, 6 February 1941. Happel, "The McLean (or Surrender) House at the village of Old Appomattox Court House, Virginia: A Study for the Reconstruction Thereof," APCO Central Files (APCO 11800/001.001, Box 001). SR, October 1941.



Figure 14. CCC enrollees working at McLean House excavations looking to the southwest as of July 30, 1941. APCO Central Files (APCO 11461-08 1356).

Preece's primary task was to make recommendations for preservation and stabilization of McLean House brickwork, as it was increasingly likely that CCC enrollees would not be able to continue work on the site during the winter because of weather, other projects, and a general Federal scaling back of CCC projects. An example of Preece's recommendations that were followed was what to do about the exposed brick walkway in the McLean House yard. The walkway was, at the time, 3.5 feet wide and bordered by bricks laid as stretchers with "remnants of form boards" found outside the borders. There was no apparent pattern formed with whole bricks laid in a shallow sand bed with joints also filled with sand. He found two major issues with the walkway—its irregular wear made it unsuitable as a modern walkway, and there was question as to its condition and even its existence in 1865. Until further research could be conducted, Preece recommended the park assume the walkway to be original and follow his limited stabilization strategy. This would entail covering the walkway with building paper and then covering the paper with about a foot of "not too well compacted soil." Following this, Preece recommended constructing a four-inch-thick by twelve-inch-deep curtain wall on either side to prevent seepage from concrete and asphalt laid adjacent to prevent further disturbance. As for the brick basement landing connecting to the walkway, Preece believed it to be original construction and should not be re-laid as was planned. Instead, a limited stabilization plan identical to the

walkway should be followed, as should the removal of two nearby stumps causing disturbances in the brick. A "heavy, tough, transparent coating which can be renewed periodically" was further recommended, as the brick landing was likely to be a highly traveled tourist location.[113]

Preece also made preservation recommendations for the McLean House ice box, hearth, and basement floor. For each, original NPS plans called for some form of reconstruction which Preece rejected in favor of preservation and stabilization. Recommendations for the ice box and hearth were identical to that of the walkway. Plans for the basement floor called for a re-grading and drainpipe installation, to which Preece offered significant revisions. His final recommendations were to locate drain lines at least a yard away from walls such that a "cinder drain with occasional cross drains to the ditch should keep the footings dry." One of Preece's colleagues, Francis Guscio, visited APCO a month later to make a similar, though significantly shorter, study of the Law Office Building. Recommendations included a temporary wooden frame to support the chimney and its integral wall, installation of three tie rods to prevent further movement of the end walls and develop a plan to re-roof the structure with treated wood shingles. Each of these recommendations would be considered necessary when the NPS reconstructed a collapsed wall and exterior wooden stairs and a porch. The NPS and CCC heeded Preece's recommendations and all were implemented during late 1941 into the first months of 1942.[114]

McLean House plans were finally completed and reviewed on September 15, 1941, with minor revisions completed by early October. A few weeks before, NPS archaeologists and architects met in the Regional Headquarters to discuss incorporating archaeological findings with the plan drawings currently being drafted. Gurney and the regional office believed they would be able to reconstruct the McLean House upon the conclusion of the archaeological program the following year. In the meantime, though, there was plenty of work that could be done adjacent to the site, such as materials preparation.[115]

Timing could not have been worse for the McLean House project as Gurney received word in October 1941 from NPS Director Newton Drury that reconstruction "would be postponed until the cessation of the present emergency, in line with the Department policy to avoid competition for labor and materials with defense projects." This was a whole two months ahead of Pearl Harbor and America's entry into World War II, but President Roosevelt signed the peacetime draft into law exactly one year earlier and declared a state of national emergency on May 27, 1941. All Federal civilian agencies

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[113] Edmund F. Freece, "Report on Field Trip: Appomattox Court House National Historical Monument," APCO Central Files (APCO 11800/001.001, Box 001).

[114] Edmund F. Freece, "Report on Field Trip: Appomattox Court House National Historical Monument," APCO Central Files (APCO 11800/001.001, Box 001). Francis J. Guscio, Memorandum, 24 November 1941, APCO Central Files (APCO 11800/001.001, Box 001).

[115] SR, August 1941; October 1941.

generally scaled back on projects in late 1941 due to defense concerns. The CCC reduced in size even earlier, cutting the number of camps from 1,500 to 1,100 beginning in April with NPS and forest project camps usually being the first to go.[116]

Gurney took this news in stride and noted in his monthly report that the work program would be reconfigured toward historic building stabilization and preservation projects. He submitted a flurry of CCC job requisitions, hoping to get as much as possible completed before the presumptive closure of Camp NP-28. Gurney, Resident Landscape Architect Sheffield, and Associate Architect Higgins immediately began planning for the new direction. Work began in October or November on stabilizing the Law Office, Peers House, and Tavern Kitchen Annex after brief inspections by regional architects and engineers. The *Appomattox Times-Virginia* also took the news in stride understanding that CCC labor would likely need to soon be redeployed in support of national defense programs.[117]

CCC Job #37 (Tavern Law Office Temporary Repairs)[118] moved forward in November 1941 with expected completion in February 1942. Gurney requested large quantities of wooden planks, nails, cement, brixment [*sic*], paper roofing, brick, and flooring to support the estimated 600 man-days of work. By Gurney's report, the structure was "in a dilapidated condition" and required immediate stabilization as permanent repairs would likely not be possible for several more years. These supplies would allow CCC enrollees to provide "encasing disintegrated portions of brick walls and foundation with concrete, closing door and window openings with weather-tight boarding, rebuilding chimney top with common brick and capping with tight boarding, enclosing eaves with roofing paper, repairing roof and covering with roofing paper." According to a handwritten note on the official approval form, this job was successfully completed with just 295 man-days expended just days before Camp NP-28 departed.[119]

Also in November 1941, Job #44 (Temporary Repairs to Historic Structures) moved forward at the request of Gurney but was held up by the regional office. Writing on November 26, Acting Regional Director Fred Johnston informed Gurney that separate job proposals needed to be created for each individual historic structure. The regional office believed that each building was too important to be considered a grouping. Individual tracking "will describe the exact existing conditions and all preservation measures proposed, and systematic and continuous records can be maintained in readily available form of the

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[116] SR, October 1941; November 1941. Annual Report of the Secretary of the Interior, 1941, 168–69. "Rebuilding Surrender House at Appomattox Stops Temporarily," *Farmville Herald and Farmer-Leader*, November 21, 1941.

[117] SR, October 1941; November 1941; December 1941; January 1942. Annual Report of the Secretary of the Interior, 1941, 168–169. "Call Off Reconstruction of McLean House," *Appomattox Times-Virginian*, November 7, 1941.

[118] Note this job actually references to the Tavern Guesthouse, not the Jones Law Office.

[119] "Job Application, Job No. 37," 10 October 1941, "Federal Project Records, 1934, 1943," Box 005, Entry P124, RG79, NACP.

actual work done on each building." The logic here was that "in the event that some building is destroyed by mischance, we believe, will overweigh the nuisance of the additional paperwork." Gurney assented and created new job submissions for CCC Jobs 44 to 51.[120]

Within days, Gurney filed nearly identical requests for the following: Job #38 (Tavern Kitchen and Annex Temporary Repairs) for 400 man-days, Job #43 (Repairs to Peers House Chimneys & Basement) for 300 man-days, Job #44 (Historic Structures Temporary Repairs—Patteson-Hix Tavern) for 400 man-days, Job #47 (Historic Structures Temporary Repairs—Bocock-Isbell House) for 400 man-days, Job #48 (Historic Structures Temporary Repairs—Bocock-Isbell Kitchen) for 250 man-days, Job #49 (Historic Structures Temporary Repairs—Bocock-Isbell Smokehouse), Job #50 (Historic Structures Temporary Repairs—John Rosser House) for 300 man-hours, and Job #51 (Historic Structures Temporary Repairs—Jones Law Office [Kelley House]) for 450 man-hours. Each of these jobs also requested similar supplies and work plans and were approved between November 1941 and January 1942.

Job #43 (Repairs to Peers House Chimneys & Basement) was also a temporary stabilization project to prevent the collapse of the Peers House chimney. CCC enrollees would lay new bricks throughout the chimney wherever disintegrated bricks were found and encase the foundation in concrete. The same treatment was also planned for the Peers House basement and Patteson-Hix Tavern with respective expected completion dates of June 1942 and November 1942. Both Job #37 (Tavern Law Office Temporary Repairs) and Job #38 (Tavern Kitchen and Annex Temporary Repairs) used salvaged McLean House bricks that were of too poor condition for use in restoration projects. Gurney specifically noted in Job #44 justification documents that he hoped to quickly get this project started as "it is the Service policy to defer restoration and major construction work in the interests of National Defense, it is important to stabilize and preserve this old building as soon as possible, both for the purpose of protecting an historic remain and safeguarding a Government investment."[121]

Moving into 1942, enrollees continued archaeological excavations around the McLean House kitchen and discovered multiple walls and the chimney base, but archaeological work effectively halted in the winter of 1941–42 due to poor weather conditions. Chief of Museum Division Ned J. Burns, Chief of Historic Sites Ronald E. Lee, and

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[120] Johnston to Gurney, 26 November 1941.

[121] Gurney to Director, 14 February 1942. Edmund F. Preece, "Report on Field Trip: Appomattox Court House National Historical Monument," APCO Central Files (APCO 11800/001.001, Box 001). "Job Application, Job No. 38," 10 October 1941. E. M. Lisle to Gurney, 28 October 1941. "Job Application, Job No. 43," 3 November 1941. "Job Application, Job No. 44," 12 January 1942. "Job Application, Job No. 47," 12 January 1942. "Job Application, Job No. 48," 12 January 1942. "Job Application, Job No. 49," 12 January 1942.

Regional Chief of Historic Sites Roy Appleman also visited APCO during the winter to meet with Gurney in planning temporary museum displays within the Ferguson House administrative building and as an outdoor display at the McLean House site.[122]

In February 1942, three water supply projects (#15 Storage Facilities, #17 Water Supply System Pipe Lines, and #52 Water Supply System Pump House Foundation) were discovered to be impossible under CCC regulations prohibiting purchase of pumps. The year before, APCO issued a contract to the Washington Pump and Well Company to drill a well at "the Utility Center" within APCO. This project was completed on September 12, 1941, with a 267 foot deep well generating 30 gallons per minute flow, but more water-power was needed.[123] The NPS was thus expected to purchase $1,200 in pumps and pump equipment to facilitate these projects. Gurney considered the projects of top priority given the importance of fire prevention and recommendations set forth six months earlier by NPS Senior Engineer Edmund Preece that fire prevention was APCO's "most urgent requirement." As of Preece's October 1941 trip, fire prevention consisted of water drums and a single pail placed at each major building. Since CCC projects all closed in early March 1942, it is likely the CCC projects were abandoned and the NPS addressed fire prevention water supply projects directly.[124]

Gurney also filed a Job Completion Record for Job #46 (Historic Structures Temporary Repairs—Jail) on February 26, 1942, and Job #45 (Historic Structures Temporary Repairs—Plunkett-Meeks House) on March 12, 1942, but neither of these jobs was completed. Both reports were filed as formalities to close out CCC work due to the presumed camp closure with both having about two-thirds of estimated man-days used. Despite both jobs' sudden abandonment, most work was completed according to Gurney. He outlined twelve completed tasks ranging from brick wall fills to basement sealing, to covering windows with wooden planks. Job #45 was expected to last until September 1942 and Job #46 until November 1942 with both beginning on January 30, so assuredly there were other planned objectives that were not delivered.[125]

No work was completed in FY 1941 for Job #7 (Signs, Markers, and Monuments) despite 200 assigned man-days. However, closely related Job #4 (Marking Boundaries) did see work completion. The primary goal of Job #4 was to mark out property boundaries with concrete markers including NPS metal discs. Previously, these markers had been temporary wooden hubs also erected by surveyors as part of Job #4. FRSP loaned APCO

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[122] SR, October 1941; November 1941; December 1941; January 1942. Annual Report of the Secretary of the Interior, 1941, 168–69.

[123] SR, June 1941; September 1941.

[124] Gurney to Director, 14 February 1942. Edmund F. Preece, "Report on Field Trip: Appomattox Court House National Historical Monument," APCO Central Files (APCO 11800/001.001, Box 001).

[125] "Job Completion Record, Job No. 45," 12 March 1942. "Job Application, Job No. 46," 12 January 1942. "Job Completion Record, Job No. 46," 26 February 1942. "Job Application, Job No. 46," 12 January 1942.

wooden forms to form the concrete, and Gurney requested 60 bags of cement and 150 NPS identification discs. Other supplies would have been salvaged or produced locally by CCC enrollees, such as with timbers or stone.[126]

Not all jobs received detailed completion reports from Gurney and some just approved project proposals. Below is a chart of all CCC jobs appearing in CCC files at NACP. The CCC divided each project into Fiscal Years, either 1941 or 1942 for APCO projects. Each project also had a name, approved date, total number of "units," allotted "man-days" of labor, and estimated costs. Gurney and the CCC did not make clear in reports if there was any carry-over from year-to-year. For instance, Job #1 allocated 2,500 man-days to work 500 acres in 1941, then 2,143 man-days to work 368 in 1942. It is possible that 1942 was a new allotment or that it was the "leftovers" from those ordered in 1941, but there is no way of knowing which view was the reality. Regardless, the following list includes documented CCC projects proposed by APCO but is not exhausted as jobs above #40 were not entered into Federal records presumably due to their late proposal dates.[127]

Description			Work Completed			Estimated Cost			
Job No.	Job Name	Date Approved	Fiscal Year	No. of Units	Man-days	Labor	Materials	Equipment	Total
1	Fire Hazard Reduction	7/29/40	1941	500 Acres	2500				
			1942	368 Acres	2143				
2	Seeding & Sod. Maint.	8/7/40	1941	100 Acres	500				
			1942	1500 Acres	750				
3	Selective Cutting	7/29/40	1941	100 Acres	8000		30.00		30.00
			1942	119 Acres	2637				
4	Marking Boundaries	8/29/40	1941	6 Miles	800		26.50		26.50
			1942	6 Miles	297		26.00		26.00
5	Rec. & Invest. (Archt)	8/22/40	1941		500		10.00		10.00
			1942		68				
6	Rec. & Invest. (Archeo.)		1941		2500		25.00		25.00
		1/8/41	1942		3369				
		9/3/41 (Proposed)	1942				113.18		113.18

[126] SR, October 1941; November 1941; December 1941; January 1942.

[127] APCO, CCC Work Program Outlines, NPS Emergency Activities, VA-NP-28-Appomattox Court House NHM, FY1941. APCO, CCC Work Program Outlines, NPS Emergency Activities, VA-NP-28-Appomattox Court House NHM, FY1942, "Federal Project Records, 1934, 1943," Box 005, Entry P124, RG79, NACP.

7	Signs, Mrkrs., & Mon.	10/14/40	1941	150 No.	200		106.00		108.00
			1942	150 No.	200				
8	Soil Preparation	10/14/40	1941	150 Acres	1500		150.00		150.00
			1942	69 Acres	1037				
		10/11/41 (Proposed)	1942		2000		400		400
9	Fences		1941	1000 Rods	250				
			1942	1000 Roads	250				
10	Prep. & Trans. Matrls. (Rock)	10/14/40	1941		7500		391.00		391.00
			1942		4061		200.00		200.00
		12/31/40	1942		3000		120.00		120.00
11	Surveys	10/14/40	1941		600	28.00	10.50		38.50
			1942		754				
		(Proposed)	1942				20.00		20.00
12	Power Lines		1941	1 mile	600	300.00	275.00		575.00
			1942	1.3 miles	800		725.00		725.50
	Overhead Pole Lines	9/3/41	1942	0.6 mile	400				
13	Telephone Lines		1941	1 mile	200	50.00	200.00		250.00
14	Sewage & Waste Dis. System	6/16/41	1941	1 No.	350		1500.00		1500.00
			1942	1 No.	4800		200.00		200.00
15	Water Sup. (Stor. Fac.)		1941	5000 Gals.	3000	250.00	600.00		850.00
			1942	5000 Gals.	500		100.00		100.00
16	Water Sup. (Wells & Pumps)	5/23/41	1941	1 No.	200		1500.00		1500.00
			1942	1 No.	135		300.00		300.00

Description			Work Completed			Estimated Cost			
Job No.	Job Name	Date Approved	Fiscal Year	No. of Units	Man-days	Labor	Materials	Equipment	Total
17	Pipe Lines (Water Distb)		1941	3000 Lin. Ft.	2500	100.00	250.00		350.00
			1942	3000 Lin. Ft.	2500		400.00		400.00
18	Latrines & Toilets	10/24/40	1941	1 No.	250		25.00		25.00
19	Equip. & Sup. House	10/29/40	1941	2 No.	250		31.00		31.00
20	Prep. & Trans. Matrls. (Brick)	6/13/41	1941		450		300.00		300.00
21	Misc. (Interior Trim)		1941		1250		200.00	100.00	300.00
22	Signs & Markers		1941	25 No.	100	200.00	250.00		450.00
			1942	37 No.	250		250.00		250.00
23	Razing Undesb. Structs.	2/1/41	1941		500				
		1/4/41	1942		300				
24	Parking Area		1941	1625 Sq. Yds.	950				
			1942	1625 Sq. Yds.	2000		100.00		100.00
25	Truck Trails & Mnr. Rds.		1941	1 Mile	500				
26	Fire Presup.		1941		1000				
		9/3/41	1942		74				
		11/5/41 (Proposed)	1942		452				
27	Seed. Or Sodd.		1941	150 Acre	1500		245.00		245.00
		10/24/40	1942	150 Acre	1500		177.90		177.90
		10/11/41 (Proposed)	1942				122.10		122.10

28	Dwellings (Damg. Repairs)		1941	2 No.	300		30.00		30.00
29	Vista or other Sel. Cutting		1941	115 Acres	3500				
30	Remodelling Ferguson House		1941	1 No.	1200	64.00	338.65		402.65
		3/3/41	1942	1 No.	100				
		8/22/41 (Proposed)	1942				14.17		14.17
31	F.F.F. [*sic*]		1941	1 No.	50		63.00		63.00
32	Equ. Stor.—Dynamite St.		1941		83				
		6/21/41	1942		50		63.00		63.00
33	Storehouse	3/5/41	1942	1 No.	195				
34	Grading & Surfacing Service Court & Entrance Road	9/23/41	1942	634 sq. yd.	2000		160.00		160.00
35	McLean Well House		1942	1 No.	600		175.00		175.00
36	Jones Law Office		1942	1 No.	1513		745.00		745.00
37	Tavern Law Office (Temp. Rep.)	10/28/41	1942		600		204.45		204.45
38	Tavern Kitchen & Annex (Temp. Rep.)	10/28/41			400		191.70		191.70
39	Grad. Louds. Of Slopes	11/17/41			1500				
40	For Technical Ser. Liv. Rm.	10/28/41					270.90		270.90

Final CCC Jobs

Gurney received word during February 1942 that Camp NP-28 would be closed, and Co. 1351 disbanded on March 15, 1942, at the latest. This meant that all projects near completion needed to be finished immediately and all other planning mothballed for an undetermined amount of time. The assumption from NPS and CCC officials was that a new CCC company would be placed at Camp NP-28 upon the end of America's

involvement in World War II. A top priority and simple job immediately undertaken was Job #33 consisting of clearing a right of way for CVEC's power lines into the park. This job was completed, and electricity was delivered to the Ferguson House on March 12, 1942.[128]

During the final month of CCC activity, enrollees completed jobs related to infrastructure and to several structures Gurney intended to actively use or open for interpretation. Jobs #37 and #38, repairing the Law Office and Tavern Annex and Kitchen, were both completed. These jobs included re-roofing, brick wall repairs, and closing off exterior doors and windows. Enrollees initiated similar projects with the Tavern, County Jail, and Law Office. The Law Office (note this references the Guesthouse) stabilization was initiated by CCC enrollees and completed by NPS staff in late July of the same year. The Tavern Kitchen Annex and Bocock-Isbell House kitchen annex were razed during February 1942.[129] Ultimately, the water system project was never approved. Gurney submitted a final job request in February 1942, but it was returned unapproved (not rejected) due to Camp NP-28's pending closure. Gurney and regional staff met to discuss fire protection at APCO in lieu of this cancelation, as the original plans required a water source on site.[130]

As the Archaeological program neared its end, Holder wrapped up most of the paperwork. He prepared a series of twenty-four photographs detailing the methods used at the McLean House site for use of John Otis Brew, an instructor at the Peabody Museum at Harvard University. Brew was scheduled to teach a course on historical building archaeology. With no fieldwork being conducted in February and March, recovered artifacts were cataloged indoors, though Gurney did not clarify if it was the CCC enrollees or NPS staff who did this job. The CCC component of the archaeological program concluded with the March disbandment. NPS staff, especially Holder, continued the program. Holder completed an archaeological report for his time at APCO (January 6, 1941, to May 28, 1942) as he resigned his post to enter the US Naval Reserve.[131]

As was scheduled, Company 1351 departed Camp NP-28 on 11 March 1942 and the camp was abandoned. All active enrollees were transferred to Fort Meade, MD, and supervisory personnel went to A. P. Hill Military Reservation in Caroline County, VA. The NPS took over Camp NP-28 structures and hired Harry H. Williamson to work as caretaker. During the fall of 1942, the NPS entered into an agreement with the Appomattox County School Board so that three of the CCC structures could be used for school purposes.

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[128] SR, February 1942. "Report Camp to Move," *Appomattox Times-Virginian,* 5 March 1942.

[129] SR, February 1942.

[130] SR, February 1942; April 1942; July 1942.

[131] SR, February 1942; May 1942.

Outstanding projects that were marked as "in-progress" by Gurney were repairs to the Law Office, Tavern, and Peers House. There was no plan as to when and how these projects would be completed.[132]

Further devastating to park plans, Gurney learned on March 25, 1942, that the NPS was suspending all bypass road construction as well due to a lack of funds. The little remaining allocation money was provided to APCO for use on other smaller projects.[133] Gurney continued his work though so that work on repairs, the archaeological program, the bypass road, and McLean House reconstruction could begin as soon as conditions allowed. He submitted to the Director final justification for the McLean House reconstruction and a request for funding to hire archaeological laborers. Gasoline rationing hampered Gurney's efforts, though, as he noted a 78 percent reduction in miles traveled by staff in May. Later months that summer would see a similar decline in visitors to the park, such as a decline in September visitation to 18,300 from about 50,000 the preceding year. Regional staff visited the park several times to investigate the current bypass road conditions. It was discovered that dirt had re-filled ditches and several culvert lines dug by CCC enrollees the preceding year. Some work continued though. The NPS replaced the drainage system around the Superintendent's Residence (Ferguson House) by installing 112 feet of 6-inch clay sewer pipe to a 500-gallon septic tank connected to the disposal field via 150 feet of concrete drainpipe. NPS staff also installed a deep well pump with a 42-gallon tank and pump control in a well east of the Ferguson House to provide running water in residences and park offices. A CCC shelter at the nearby rock quarry was dismantled and reused as a well house.[134]

The departure of the CCC meant four CCC jobs were canceled with no work ever reported: Job #34 (Grading and Surfacing Service Court and Entrance Road), Job #39 (Grading and Landscaping Slops on Bypass Road), Job #40 (Furnishings for Technical Service Living Room), and Job #50 (Historic Structures Temporary Repairs—John Rosser House). Gurney also requested three other jobs be canceled: Job #47 (Historic Structures Temporary Repairs—Bocock-Isbell House), Job #48 (Historic Structures Temporary Repairs—Bocock-Isbell Kitchen), and Job #49 (Bocock-Isbell Smokehouse), so most likely these too did not have any work completed.[135] Eight other jobs were closed uncompleted on 11 March 1942, though a few had the previous years' job allotments completed: Jobs #1(Fire Hazard Reduction), #2 (Seeding and Sodding Maintenance), #26 (Fire Presuppression), #33 (Storehouse), #41 (Razing Undesired Structures—Kitchen Addition,

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[132] SR, March 1942; September 1942.

[133] SR, March 1942.

[134] SR, March 1942; May 1942; June 1942; July 1942; September 1942; October 1942; November 1942.

[135] Gurney to Regional Director, 7 March 1942. A .P. Bursley to Gurney, 6 March 1942; Gurney to Regional Director, 3 March 1942, "Federal Project Records, 1934, 1943," Box 005, Entry P124, RG79, NACP.

Patteson-Hix Tavern), #42 (Razing Undesired Structures—Kitchen Addition, Bocock-Isbell House), #45 (Historic Structures Temporary Repairs—Plunkett-Meeks House), and #46 (Historic Structures Temporary Repairs—Jail). Conflicting documentation indicated that Job #42 was completed on February 6, 1942, so it is unclear exactly when or who accomplished this job.[136]

The departure of the CCC led to a labor shortage, but Gurney was provided funding to hire new staff at APCO. James C. Price received the appointment of permanent Park Ranger starting April 14, 1942, after a transfer from CCC Camp NP-5 in Caroline County. Price had been previously stationed at Camp NP-28 and led some CCC projects. Gurney also hired Johnnie A. Carter on April 6, 1942, to maintain the grounds during the spring and summer months.[137] To help mitigate potential fire damage (especially given the dry conditions of early 1942), Ranger Price compiled a Fire Atlas, essentially a list of all potential problem locations within and adjacent to APCO property. He and Gurney then prepared fire boxes, acquired fire tools, and created an APCO firefighting training manual. Price also equipped one of the APCO work trucks, a 1936 International stake body truck, with a 550-gallon water tank and pump. Gurney trained all NPS personnel, except for Avis Smith and including those on dispatch working in architecture and archaeology, in firefighting techniques. Price also inspected all fire extinguishers and demonstrated proper use to APCO staff and local residents, and staff cleared undergrowth from all trails and roads. Gurney also noted the potential hazard caused by hunters, so barrier gates were installed in 1942 on the Quarry Trail at the Appomattox River and on the trail west of the Herman Cemetery.[138]

APCO staff installed the park's NPS signage in July 1942 with the placement of nine identification signs (Park Office, County Jail, Bocock-Isbell House, Peers House, Jones Law Office [Kelley House], Tavern Guest House, Tavern Kitchen, Tavern, and Patteson-Hix Burial Ground). More signage came the following month with two double-sided area identification markers and six smaller markers being completed by a local woodworking plant. Gurney did not specify in his reports the manufacturer or sign painter. The locational markers were placed along Route 24 in October to locate the McLean House, Lee's Headquarters, and the North Carolina Monument, while three more signs pointed to APCO from the Route 24-460 junction, Route 131-460 junction, and downtown Appomattox. The double-sided sign was installed at the courthouse circle and included the date of APCO establishment, purpose, and general plans for APCO development.[139]

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[136] Gurney to Director, 13 March 1942, "Federal Project Records, 1934, 1943," Box 005, Entry P124, RG79, NACP. Gurney, "Job Completion Record: Job #42," 26 February 1942, APCO Central Files (APCO 11800/001.001, Box 001).

[137] SR, April 1942.

[138] SR, April 1942.

[139] SR, July 1942; October 1942.

Before America's entry into World War II, the NPS at least once granted permission to military forces to camp on APCO land. On July 23, 1941, an overnight camp of Company A, 80th Quartermaster Battalion of the US Army arrived at APCO with fifteen trucks and trailers. It was not clear exactly where these soldiers slept and the trucks parked, but it was somewhere within an open field within APCO.[140] After Pearl Harbor, APCO began accepting property from other federal agencies for storage, though some of it was either used by APCO staff or eventually transferred to APCO. In January 1942, APCO received nineteen trucks for storage from Forest Service camps at Amherst and Green Bay (an unincorporated community in Prince Edward County, VA). In May, Swift Creek Recreational Demonstration Area transferred to APCO a 1.5-ton dump truck owned by the NPS. During the winter of 1942–43, the Army stored two rock crushers and a belt conveyor just north of the Peers House with parts stored in the Park Storehouse, Plunkett-Meeks Stable, and a temporary shed built over one crusher's power unit. None of this equipment was needed by the Army for the war effort. At the same time, APCO staff constructed a 25 x 25-foot shed attached to the Ferguson House garage for the water truck, dump truck, and Park Ranger's pickup truck. The shed was constructed by a combination of procured and locally salvaged materials.[141]

Other structural jobs were completed by NPS staff in late 1942, many of which were begun by CCC enrollees. Stabilization of the Peers House continued in August, which included brick foundation and north chimney repairs, closing basement openings, siding repairs, front porch reinforcement, and placing additional dirt around the foundation. Staff found the Plunkett-Meeks House stable's eastern side had buckled, so it was jacked back into position, braced, and interior load-bearing posts installed. Stabilization of the Bocock-Isbell House began in September, which involved reinforcing the rear porch, repairing the brick basement walls and chimney bases, installing basement windows, and placing dirt around the foundation.[142]

During September 1942, it became readily apparent that the CCC was not coming back to APCO. Regional NPS staff visited APCO that month to review the Camp NP-28 buildings as they were to be transferred to Army authorities imminently.[143] Despite most of Gurney's time being occupied by CCC projects, he had been working all along on interpretive materials as well. In 1942, the NPS produced an "Appomattox Court House National Historical Monument" pamphlet as a project jointly created by Gurney and regional staff. This seventeen-page document outlined the historical importance of the site and for the

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[140] "Soldiers Quartered Here on Surrender Grounds Wed.," *Appomattox Times-Virginian*, July 24, 1941.

[141] "Job Application, Job No. 7," 1 October 1940, "Federal Project Records, 1934, 1943," Box 005, Entry P124, RG79, NACP. A.P. Bursley to Gurney, 14 October 1940. Happel, 1941. SR, November 1940; May 1942; December 1942; January 1943.

[142] SR, August 1942; September 1942.

[143] SR, September 1942.

first time solidified the NPS's interpretive vision for APCO. Appomattox Court House was the site in 1865 of "the birth of a new freedom and a surer union." In general, the interpretation was in line with the dominant voices of Civil War historians of the era. Lincoln took the fight to the South to preserve the Union; slavery, states' rights, and the right to secede were all of secondary importance. Of primary importance were valiant stories of battle, men in Blue and Grey fighting "handsomely" to the last possible moment, and Robert E. Lee's stoic acceptance of defeat. The Government Printing Office distributed the final booklet to APCO in April 1942 to be sold at APCO headquarters beginning in May.[144]

April 1942 was also the first time in which Gurney noted the surrender anniversary in his Superintendent's Reports. That year, both the *Daily Advance* and *Richmond News-Leader* published special features on the surrender and its present significance and made note of the ongoing work at the newly created APCO.[145] Together and in a symbolic way, the 1942 surrender anniversary and pamphlet form a dividing line between eras at APCO. The park was real. A reconstructed village idea so desired and fought for by Appomattox locals was well underway though years from being actualized. Had it not been for World War II, then it is reasonable to predict that the McLean House and Route 24 bypass would have been rebuilt in 1942 or 1943. Instead, these years marked Gurney's realization the CCC was not coming back and the NPS suddenly had no feasible plan for reconstruction. At the end of 1942, the future of APCO projects was definitively unknown.

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[144] "The Road to Appomattox" (1941). SR, January 1941; April 1942. Note that the *Appomattox Times-Virginian* published a front page story on the anniversary and ongoing work in the 1941 issue with a brief history of Appomattox Court House and all work completed by CCC enrollees as of that point. "76th Anniversary of Surrender Here," *Appomattox Times-Virginian*, April 10, 1941.

[145] SR, April 1942.

Additional Photos



Figure 15. The New Jail after CCC Enrollees cleared surrounding land. This was likely the first project undertaken and completed by CCC enrollees at APCO. SR, August 1940.



Figure 16. Group of NPS historians clearing land at Wilderness Battlefield in 1935.
From left to right: Edward Steere, T. Sutton Jett, Raleigh C. Taylor, Ralph Happel, and Branch Spalding.
Wilderness Box 4, Folder A Maintenance, Image 41 (FRSP Historic Photographs, Chatham Laundry).



Figure 17. CCC enrollees stabilizing the Peers House south chimney as an example of jobs completed -after the McLean House reconstruction was delayed. SR, November 1941.



Figure 18. African American CCC enrollees conducting an archaeological investigation at the McLean House site. "Administrative Files," Box 1456, Entry P11, RG79, NACP.

CHAPTER FOUR

FINDING THE VISION: 1942–1955

This chapter is divided into three major sections: Labor, Outreach, and Conclusions. The Labor section is further subdivided into four sections: Pre-McLean House, McLean House, Furnishings, and Other Projects. The beginning and ending points are intentionally blurred somewhat but are essentially the departure of the Civilian Conservation Corps (CCC) from the Appomattox Court House area in early 1942 and the beginning of Mission 66 planning in mid-1955, respectively. Without question, the most important individual resources for this chapter were Superintendent Reports and Custodian Reports filed by Hubert Gurney, Robert I. Scott, and Robert Budlong. Of the fourteen years this chapter covers, about twelve of those were led by Gurney, and so his reports are most critical. His reports were usually succinct, sometimes just a single page and outlined weather conditions, Federal visitation, and project reports. This chapter did not address every point in Gurney's reports, so any reader seeking an "as it happened" chronology would be wise to revisit this invaluable source.

This chapter begins in the spring of 1942. The CCC, which had established Camp NP-28 at APCO two years earlier, abandoned the camp, as it did with so many with late 1941 agency budget cuts followed by America's entry into World War II. The Federal government redirected the young CCC men's labor to the war effort, so National Parks would have to wait. The government formally transferred Camp NP-28 enrollees on March 11, 1942, thus leaving the CCC camp abandoned and suddenly under the custody of the NPS.[1]

The departure of the CCC marked a new era at APCO. Now, for the first time in the site's twelve-year lifespan, APCO and NPS staff managed the site without any other agency partners and with drastically reduced labor and funding. World War II effectively forced austerity upon APCO, but so too did it force frugality, independence, and creativity. Major capital projects would have to wait, though it should be clear that mission-critical projects did indeed continue although at somewhat reduced funding. Prior to CCC departure, the NPS Branch of Plans and Design budgeted $54,000 for the construction of five support structures (Firehouse, Oil House, Storehouse, Equipment Storage House, and Pump

[1] Superintendents' Monthly Narrative Report, 14 April 1942. Copies of all Superintendents' Monthly Narrative Reports are held in APCO Central Files (APCO 11800/006.001 Box 4, "'Superintendents' Monthly Narrative Reports"). All post-1949 reports are also held at National Archives in College Park, RG79, Administrative Files, 1949–1971, Box 122. Note that each report was filed in the month following the month in question. All references to these records are designated as ""SR"" with the date appearing on the document.

House). In March 1942, budget estimates were reduced to $49,800.[2] APCO staff now had to make do with such limited funds, all while planning for a future beyond the war when normalcy would return, so they hoped and assumed generally.

During the period covered by this chapter, there were three core positions at APCO: Custodian/Superintendent, Ranger, and Clerk. Throughout most of this time, Hubert Gurney, Robert I. Scott, and Avis Smith served in these three positions, respectively. Hubert Gurney was APCO's first chief officer, serving from April 11, 1940, to December 15, 1943, and again from January 1946 through the end of this chapter and beyond. The two-year gap is accounted for by Gurney's service in the US Army during World War II after being drafted in December 1943. Scott entered service on October 20, 1943, having served as a CCC foreman from July 1940 to March 1942. Scott replaced James C. Price, who accepted a position with the War Department and left APCO in June 1943 having served since April 1, 1942, the origin date of APCO's Ranger position.[3] Scott died suddenly on November 24, 1950, from a heart attack. He was sixty years old. Gurney wrote in his Superintendent's Report "Irving Scott was a good friend, a faithful and conscientious employee. We will miss him at Appomattox."[4] Director Arthur Demaray issued the NPS commendable service award to Scott in August 1951, which Gurney then delivered to Scott's widow.[5] Two months after his death, Scott's Park Ranger position was converted to Maintenance Man at Gurney's request.[6]

Smith entered APCO in 1941 as a Junior Clerk-Typist before being promoted to regular Clerk on March 19, 1942.[7] Three other individuals served as APCO's chief officer in Acting capacities—Robert I. Scott from December 15, 1943 (formally appointed Acting Custodian on December 24), until August 1944; Robert R. Budlong from August 4, 1944, to January 1946; and Avis Smith on occasion when Gurney departed on annual leave. As for titles, the NPS changed the title of the "field officer in charge of [APCO]" from Superintendent to Custodian effective March 3, 1943, and then back again during October or November 1948. Gurney provided no explanation for either change.[8] Beyond these three positions, APCO was afforded a budget to hire seasonal workers. After World War II, APCO hired several maintenance and seasonal positions, but before 1950 most work was conducted by these three employees with significant support from regional office staff.

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[2] A. J. Higgins to Gurney, 11 March 1942. A. J. Higgins, Memorandum, 11 April 1942, APCO 11800/006.005.002, Box 8 (1082).

[3] SR, 15 November 1943.

[4] SR, 13 December 1950.

[5] SR, 17 September 1951.

[6] SR, 16 March 1951.

[7] SR, 14 April 1942.

[8] SR, 6 May 1940; 15 April 1943.

The name of the park formally changed in 1954. Representative Watkins M. Abbitt proposed a bill to re-designate the site as Appomattox Court House National Historical Park (HR 4024, 68 Stat. 54). This change was more of a nomenclature formality. According to Gurney, the visiting public and local residents were confused by the term "Monument." Another hope was that "Park" would convey to visitors the breadth of the site. "Monument" implied only a single location was important, and most visitors assumed this to be the McLean House. Changing the name to "Park" implied the reality that APCO consisted of hundreds of acres with numerous historic sites spread throughout. President Eisenhower signed the bill into law on April 15, 1954.[9] In the aftermath of this change, a major administrative change also took place as of February 1, 1955, with the shift of APCO fiscal work from the Blue Ridge Parkway office to Region One. This would have had a major impact upon the day-to-day bureaucracy at APCO but had little effect on park administration.[10]

Labor

Pre-McLean House

APCO was short-staffed and underfunded as early as March 1942. Regional staff, as part of a "plans-on-the-shelf" project, asked Gurney to assist in determining priorities of APCO projects that could "be undertaken quickly when there is need to absorb labor which will be unemployed after demobilization." The understanding was that technical personnel would be unavailable for some time, so those remaining should identify projects that can be planned and ready to quickly initiate once nontechnical labor became available postwar. Gurney responded to the regional office, "Due to a lack of personnel, we will be unable to offer any material assistance in the preparation of plans and working drawings," despite some of these potential suggested projects, such as the Water Supply System, Entrance Road and Parking Area, Underground Electric Distribution Line, and Telephone Line, all being critical to the park's success and high on Gurney's priorities. Many of these projects were also previously planned as part of CCC work jobs, so Gurney's inability to complete this task suggested extraordinary labor shortages.[11] It should also be noted that APCO work plans were a lot looser under Gurney's watch. Maintenance Man Raymond Godsey recalled later that a common strategy for restoring historic buildings was to simply

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[9] Gurney, 26. SR, 16 April 1953; 17 May 1954.

[10] SR, 15 February 1955.

[11] Gurney to Regional Office, 24 March 1942. Thomas J. Allen to Gurney, 7 March 1942. Gurney Memorandum, 24 March 1942; Thomas J. Allen to Superintendents, 7 March 1942, APCO Central Files (APCO 11800/006.005.002, Box 8).

drive around the area looking for salvageable houses. He confessed that often APCO staff would take materials from abandoned properties for park use without informing property owners or the superintendent.[12]

A memorandum from Gurney to the regional office dated August 29, 1942, provides the best snapshot of activity within APCO between the CCC and Gurney's respective departures. Gurney's memorandum outlined the park's priorities now that the CCC was gone and, as it was becoming clearer, was not going to return any time soon. The memorandum's Project Construction Program proposals, in order of his priority list and including project number, were as follows:

- Water Supply System (U-2),
- Bypass Road (R-1-1),
- Pump House, Storage, Office, and Heater Room (R-23-1),
- McLean House (B-1-1),
- Entrance Road and Parking Area (R-3),
- Underground Electrical Distribution Line (U-1-1),
- Oil House, Utility Group (B-20-1),
- Equipment Storage (B-22-1),
- Fire Equipment House and Repair Shop, Utility Group (B-19-1),
- Telephone Line (U-4), and
- Warehouse (B-21-1).

The striking component on Gurney's list was that the McLean House dropped to fourth priority behind two infrastructure needs and completing the Route 24 bypass road. Gurney did not provide an explanation for this, but it was possibly because the three higher priority jobs could be potentially completed by other government agencies, such as the state highway department with the Bypass Road. Outside of this list, Gurney also requested that working drawings be made as soon as possible of all the following APCO structures to assist his historical research agenda: Patteson Hix-Tavern main structure, Bocock-Isbell House, Old County Jail, Tavern Law Office, Tavern Annex, Peers House, and John Rosser House. The Bocock-Isbell House, Peers House, and John Rosser House were also scheduled for repair and renovation to prepare them as employee residences, so such structure reports were of immediate importance.[13]

Out of the list of projects provided by Gurney, several were initially approved as CCC projects but never completed, so the NPS approved each as an NPS project. Specifically, the former CCC projects included the final surfacing of the Bypass Road

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[12] APCO Central Files (APCO 11800/006.001, Box 005).

[13] Gurney to Regional Office, Memorandum, 29 August 1942. Gurney Memorandum, 29 August 1942, APCO 11800/006.005.002, Box 8 (1071).

(R-1-1) to finish the grading completed by the CCC and the complete construction of the Entrance Road and Parking Area (R-3) that had never actually begun. The water system had also been planned and was an infrastructure necessity for sanitation and fire prevention.[14] Underground electricity lines were low on Gurney's priority list because electricity only came to APCO in February 1942. The park struck an agreement with Central Virginia Electric Cooperative to install a power line through the Village Area, including a connection to the Ferguson House for the Park Headquarters. Despite the impact upon the visual landscape, NPS staff was content that electricity was present in the park at all.[15]

The wartime reality was that most APCO staff time was spent doing basic park maintenance as visitation dropped precipitously. Gasoline rationing for Atlantic states went into effect in May 1942 and had a dramatic impact upon APCO. Tourism numbers cratered by that fall with most months experiencing a 75 to 90 percent drop in visitation when compared to the previous year. Staff were limited in travel too and only traveled to the Richmond office when necessary.[16] Gurney thus dedicated significant wartime hours to research. He traveled to nearby libraries throughout Central Virginia to document Civil War military activities in and around Appomattox Court House. Smith contributed significantly to this work, though Gurney did not log details.[17] Gurney also researched the ownership history of various structures within APCO, including conducting interviews with past residents and their descendants, and combing through courthouse records in Appomattox.[18] An early fruit of this labor came when he installed a double-faced interpretive marker at the Court House Circle to identify the park and provide general plans for the area to the public.[19]

Safety, primarily in the form of fire prevention, was perhaps of greatest concern to APCO staff during the war because it was both critically important and cheap to implement. The core activity was clearing brush, which Gurney and Scott performed almost daily. APCO also entered into a mutual agreement with local fire wardens in late 1942. Gurney and Scott personally assisted local forest fire fighting, and APCO secured a promise that local crews would be made available for firefighting if forest fires were to ever occur within park boundaries.[20] The pair worked toward forest fire prevention extensively primarily along clearing park boundaries and trails and establishing official prevention plans

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[14] Regional Office to Gurney, Memorandum, 29 June 1942. Assistant Regional Director Memorandum, 29 June 1942, APCO 11800/006.005.002, Box 8 (1075).

[15] SR, 12 March 1942.

[16] SR, 13 June 1942.

[17] SR, 15 December 1943.

[18] SR, 15 June 1943.

[19] SR, 15 December 1942.

[20] SR, 15 December 1942; 15 December 1943.

for both the park generally and specific park structures. Gurney also instructed Ranger Price, as part of his first duties in April 1942, to prepare fire boxes, tools, and prepare staff training while also identifying the highest fire risk areas in the park. During the same month, Price also installed a 550-gallon water tank and pump to a truck already owned by the park. All male employees (which also included a few seasonal workers) were then organized into a fire brigade, trained on equipment usage, and Gurney purchased a truck with hose attachment explicitly for firefighting.[21]

One major event that reached newspapers was a twelve-acre forest fire that threatened the park center in 1947. A fire originating in the Galilee Church area moved eastward, driven by wind, and burned about fifty-six acres owned by the NPS at the Grant Headquarters location. The Appomattox County fire warden and crew extinguished the flames, and no major damage was reported beyond the burned pastureland.[22] It was not until 1954 that the NPS cleared the burned and dead trees to accelerate reforestation, which was a recommendation stemming from the annual NPS fire hazard inspection conducted by Gurney.[23] Forest fires would threaten APCO at least two more times during the 1950s but ultimately spared the park of any damage.[24] As for safety within APCO, Gurney's inspections were proactive in identifying fire safety shortcomings. The largest issue, so far as Gurney was concerned, was the lack of facilities for oil and grease storage. As of 1951, APCO staff's only choice was a detached frame structure in the Park Office yard. Gurney's eventual plan was to build a permanent, fire-resistant structure in the Utility Area.[25]

Other safety concerns were also treated at this time. While conducting fire prevention work, Gurney and Scott installed boundary signage and two barrier gates (on Quarry Trail at the Appomattox River and on a trail west of Herman Cemetery) primarily intended to alert hunters of park land. There was a slight concern that a misguided hunter could discharge their weapon in the direction of an unaware tourist. Wells over thirty-five feet deep existed at the Tavern, Plunkett-Meeks House, and Bocock-Isbell, with each covered by APCO staff during March 1943.[26] Archaeological investigations were completed in 1942 around the well house, but disturbed land was never repaired owing to the CCC's quick departure. Not until 1947 did the NPS backfill the area around the well and well house and erect a woven wire fence to prevent any accidents of people falling into the open well.[27]

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[21] SR, 14 May 1942.

[22] SR, 12 May 1947.

[23] SR, 16 June 1954. Gurney to Director, ca. July 1954, NACP, Box 0645.

[24] SR, 15 February 1954. SR, 17 January 1956; 15 February 1956.

[25] Gurney to Director, 13 July 1951, APCO Central Files (APCO 11800/001.001, Box 001).

[26] SR, 15 December 1942; 15 February 1943; 15 November 1943.

[27] SR, 12 July 1947.

Gurney also continued the regular process of submitting project and revision lists to the regional office despite the unlikelihood any would be approved.[28] The only completed projects involved weatherproofing residence structures and reinforcing structures near collapse. Even then, these projects were not major renovations with historical preservation in mind. Instead, they were meant as means of surviving the winter. Examples included the laying of a new wooden floor in the Superintendent's Residence (Ferguson House) and installing temporary stabilizers throughout the Bocock-Isbell House.[29]

Gurney left for war on December 15, 1943 (enlisted December 3, 1943), as a member of the US Army. The local Selective Service Board called Gurney for an examination two months earlier and reclassified him from 3A to 1A, meaning from deferment to eligibility. He was thus cleared for the draft. Ranger Scott was impacted by the war in two ways. Most importantly, he had two sons in the military, neither of whom returned home until early 1946.[30] Second was he took control of the park for about eight months in Gurney's absence. Scott took on the Acting Custodian role in Gurney's absence from December 15, 1943, until August 1944. Scott generally did not take on any large projects during this time, which was prudent given he was essentially working at the park as a duo with Avis Smith. Scott continued clearing brush and maintaining agricultural use agreements initiated in previous years by Gurney. The NPS purchased a tractor with mower bar during this time as Scott recognized he would have extreme difficulty managing the park without better equipment. The reason for such a sudden increase in land clearing was that all land cleared by the CCC between 1940 and 1942 had regrown throughout 1943 and became a fire hazard problem by April 1944.[31]

Robert R. Budlong accepted the role of Acting Custodian on August 4, 1944, having most recently served as Custodian of Fort Jefferson National Monument.[32] At about the same time as his arrival, space was set aside for a Ranger's residence within the same area as the Custodian's in the Ferguson House.[33] Budlong's tenure was much the same as Scott's with a focus on clearing land and stabilizing buildings. An example of wartime NPS work can be seen in Robert Budlong's final report as Acting Custodian in December 1945. He described a brutal stretch of winter weather that challenged staff's determination, but not without a little humor as he readied for departure:

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[28] SR, 14 October 1943.

[29] SR, 13 October 1942; 13 November 1942.

[30] SR, 15 January 1944; 12 March 1946.

[31] SR, 14 October 1943; 15 January 1944; 15, July 1944; 9 August 1944.

[32] SR, 13 September 1944.

[33] SR, 15 November 1943; 9 August 1944.

> Nights were windy and cold; the thermometer fell to nine degrees above zero and seemed stubbornly determined to remain there; high winds blew down the old Union Academy chimney and wafted broken branches and bricks lightly around the area. The winds whistled under the house and poured up through the cracks in the old floors of the residence; rugs rose vertically and remained suspended in space a few inches above the floors, gently undulating with a troubled-sea effect. We kept nine stoves going in this shack in the attempt to keep the offices and a few of the rooms warm, and that made terrific inroads in our wood supply.
>
> Ranger Scott took to the woods and cut and hauled numerous loads of firewood which we cut to length with the circular saw. He utilized the snowplow he constructed last year in clearing some six inches of snow from around the quarters and garages after one snowfall. The custodian spent several days working-over two trucks, and numerous days on his hands and knees crawling around under tables and into dark ratholes, armed with a foot rule and tape, making measurements of the fourteen rooms in this structure, and those in the old log cabin. This was for the quarters reappraisal forms. Then came the drawing of the necessary floor plans; these were completed.
>
> The remainder of the month was spent in packing and crating household goods and personal effects; most of the work had to be done in the unoccupied and unheated rooms of the house, and it was a cold, slow business. Well, at this writing we're all crated and trunked and suitcased, and we're still here. We know—at least, we have reason to assume—that we're on our way somewhere, sometime, but that's all we know. You'd think that living would be simplified, with everything all crated and ready to go, but not so; it's far more complex than before. We have our meals on a crated washing machine, using borrowed dishes and silverware; our chairs are two crates, one containing a radio transmitter and the other a typewriter; both of us are quite thin and rapidly developing callouses. At night we suspend the two children by clothespins from a line strung the length of the room. We don't sleep; we just stand around until daylight. Those callouses, you know.[34]

A more typical report though came in Budlong's January 1945 report: "There is little to report aside from routine maintenance and reports," by which Budlong meant that he and other staff cut firewood and sealed portions of residence structures.[35]

Facilities such as the toilets and offices were regularly painted and resealed. Brush and trees alongside roads throughout the park were regularly cut back to prevent total overgrowth. "The Ranger and Custodian, armed with axes," wrote Budlong, "took to the overgrown fields once cleared by CCC personnel but now grown to thickets of locust and pine, and spent days clearing out the small trees and dense brush." It had become

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[34] SR, 12 January 1946.

[35] SR, 14 February 1945.

painfully clear that land clearance would be a regular task and more maintenance staff would be needed. Custodian Budlong also attempted to refurbish all signage in the park except for one problem—the screws holding up most park signage were stuck. The park hired professional sign painters to repaint often, but their work typically only lasted a couple months. "The Custodian has turned sign painter" then, wrote Budlong, as he took to the task. Otherwise, Budlong and other APCO staff mowed grass, oriented visitors, and provided "interpretive services" to any visitors who so desired.[36] In May 1945, APCO staff built a small fireplace "for picnic use," though Budlong did not specify exactly where this was located.[37]

One of the more productive wartime actions was finding a locally acceptable solution to the "land use problem in the area," by which Budlong meant unused park land held without enough labor to care for it. Budlong and Scott solicited knowledgeable and interested parties throughout 1944 in search of a solution, including the state agronomist, local Soil Conservation Service officials, and the Appomattox County agent.[38] In spring 1945, APCO staff devised a new program in which local farmers could pasture their cattle in the fields around APCO, specifically the ninety-acre plot "across the road from the office and residence." This idea followed one implemented by Ranger Scott the preceding year for a ten-acre plot. The cows ate enough grass that park staff no longer needed to mow the area.[39] Still, by June 1945, Budlong described the situation at the park as an "enormous maintenance problem." He and Scott did what they could to contain overgrowth using a tractor and mower, but they could accomplish little more beyond trimming acres upon acres of fields and keeping the village center presentable.[40]

At least once during World War II, the US Army bivouacked at APCO. An example was when Captain John L. Davids led the 309th Infantry Regiment of the 78th Division (about 2,000 soldiers) on an overnight camp the night of March 30, 1944. Soldiers in this Division embarked to England and then France six months later. From there, the 309th entered combat around the Germany-Belgium border in early December 1944 and participated in the Battle of the Bulge, Rhineland Offensive, and Central Europe Campaign.[41]

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[36] SR, 14 April 1945; 13 August 1945; 14 September 1945; 7 October 1945; 14 November 1945; 14 December 1945.

[37] SR, 14 June 1945.

[38] SR, 19 May 1944; 13 January 1945.

[39] SR, 15 June 1944; 14 June 1945.

[40] SR, 13 July 1945.

[41] SR, 15 April 1944. *Lightning: the History of the 78th Infantry Division*. (Washington: Infantry Journal Press, 1973).

The end of World War II brought large quantities of visitors back to APCO and visitation grew through the rest of the 1940s.[42] Writing in September 1945, Acting Custodian Budlong marveled at the scene and in doing so offers a vision of 1945 at Appomattox Court House:

> News of the cessation of hostilities in the Pacific seemed to send many people into a state of delirium; they took the roads in enormous numbers and in antiquated wrecks that should have been left in dead storage indefinitely, but weren't. Lifting of the 35 mile speed limit, and removal of gasoline rationing contributed to the confusion. In general the motoring public around here seemed to be at least mentally intoxicated. We had an enormous increase in travel, but most occupants of cars weren't stopping—at least, not intentionally—they were on their uninhibited way somewhere anywhere; at this writing their ancient cars still go staggering down the roads, the old tires squealing on the curves, and their loose retreads slapping on the pavement. The smoke of burning oil fills the air, the pounding of loose bearings and the slap of worn pistons may be rhythmic, but it is not pleasing. Nothing is safe within two hundred feet of any highway, and we feel like taking to the tall tules. It has been a hectic month.[43]

With the return of Gurney's leadership after the war—he was released from US Army service on December 5, 1945, and reappointed as Custodian effective January 17, 1946—planning at APCO essentially returned to their prewar state of a heavy focus on recreating an 1865 village. Budlong departed APCO on the same day Gurney arrived. According to the Gurney family memory, Budlong initially refused to leave his post, though this refusal was not documented by Gurney or anyone else in official NPS records.[44] Gurney stepped into leadership and seemingly fell right into his old leadership pattern. McLean House plans moved to the top of NPS priorities, but before taking on that project a host of other projects took precedence. Gurney's Custodian and Superintendent Reports reveal the landscape of APCO as a flurry of activity, though for the first few months most centered upon planning and regular maintenance like lawn mowing twice per month, clearing land, and touching up signage. Site inspections revealed the wartime lull had been unkind to most structures and locations. Steps to the Peers House, Bocock-Isbell House, and Plunkett-Meeks House were all in a collapsed state and unsafe for use. Honeysuckle vine had overtaken most of the McLean House lot including the archaeological space, and

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[42] From August 1948 to 1949, visitation grew from 4,500 to 6,000. By September, APCO already could boast 1949 as its strongest year for visitation since the war. Visitor growth reflected national patterns as a booming economy, growth of car culture, and returning servicemen led to an explosion of the American tourism industry. Gurney credited statewide growth in tourist travel rather than anything specifically from NPS plans, but certainly, the exponential increase in projects helped bring visitors to the site. Gurney, "Superintendent's Narrative Report," 12 September 1949; 13 October 1949, NACP, Box 122.

[43] SR, 14 September 1945.

[44] Gurney family interviews held by APCO staff. Having proven himself a capable Acting Custodian, the NPS transferred Robert Budlong to the position of Custodian at Scotts Bluff National Monument. SR, 12 March 1946.

APCO staff worked during the summer to remove it permanently. Gurney emphasized infrastructure, namely roads and buildings, and those projects moved forward immediately under the Major Repair and Rehabilitation Program. Gurney compiled a list of needed repairs throughout the summer and in July submitted the list to the regional director for approval on July 19, 1946. With funding approved, work officially began on repair projects in November 1946.[45]

The backlog, however, was immense and the NPS understood it would take years to pare down, hence the implementation of the Major Repair and Rehabilitation Program at the park. Upon Gurney's return in January 1946, the APCO Project Construction Program had ballooned to seventy-eight items. Gurney condensed it down to sixteen to develop a shortened priority list, but it was still clear that an immense amount of work lay ahead.[46] NPS officials approved twelve of Gurney's projects, primarily those centered upon general repairs of structures including the Bocock-Isbell Kitchen and Smokehouse, Wright House, Peers House, Jail, Tavern, Tavern Kitchen and Guest House, Tavern Guest House, and the Plunkett-Meeks House. A Ferguson House renovation was also approved, which included basic repairs but also a full conversion into a more modern living space for park staff.

Beyond structures, the program included funding for clearing land around Grant's Headquarters Area and the village center. Most of this work was completed with solely practical repairs in mind but, whenever possible, Gurney attempted to keep building repairs and landscaping within historical guidelines. He interviewed former structure residents whenever possible to ensure modification did not deviate from historical appearance.[47] One of Gurney's first tasks on that end was to make the Custodian's Residence quarters habitable for not just himself, but also his wife and children. Park staff immediately worked on the yard fence, repaired the leaky roof, and replaced most of the front porch. The entire living room, including walls, floor, and ceiling, was refinished with new paint and wallpaper. In both Custodian and Ranger quarters, modern flushing toilets were also installed.[48]

APCO staff completed an immense amount of work with Major Repair and Rehabilitation Program funding starting in late 1946. The first projects undertaken were the installation of a new roof on the Tavern Guest House and Gray Cabin and modernizing the electrical systems of the Ferguson House and Service Garage.[49] Land adjacent to the Route 24 Wayside at the Appomattox River and fields around both the Peers House and

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[45] Gurney, 24. SR, 12 April 1946; 14 May 1946; 12 July 1946; 12 August 1946; 12 November 1946. Gurney to Regional Office, Memorandum, 8 December 1947, APCO Central Files (11800/006.006, Box 008, Construction Project Records).

[46] SR, 12 April 1946.

[47] SR, 12 October 1946.

[48] SR, 12 April 1946.

[49] SR, 13 December 1946.

O'Brien House were cleared either to open it for better access or in preparation for re-seeding in the following spring.[50] This program also stabilized and renovated several structures using four wage board employees under the supervision of Robert I. Scott. The Ferguson House received extensive repairs, including new finishing throughout most rooms, as it was, at the time, both Ranger's and Custodian's quarters. The Peers House, Tavern Guest House, Plunkett-Meeks Store, Wright House, and Jones Law Office had foundation, roof, or siding repaired. Workers painted and re-coated exteriors of the Gray Cabin, Gray Tract Garage, and Gray Tract Storehouse, relocated (75 yards north) and re-floored the Women's toilet, and relocated the Men's toilet to the field north of the Park Office. Workers also attempted to repair the Plunkett-Meeks Stable, but upon inspection, it was discovered that a large portion was rotted wood. Scott and Gurney mutually decided the structure was unrepairable and may collapse at any moment, so a full rebuild would be necessary in lieu of preservation. The iron interpretative markers erected in 1893 were re-painted and re-lettered as were all NPS wooden identification signage. Gurney reported the signs were "in first-class condition for the summer season."[51]

The sewage system installation was a major priority as it was another project began but not completed by CCC enrollees. A sewage disposal system plan was originally approved on August 12, 1941, to be completed by the CCC, who began work eight days later. The system was to service all employee residences, public toilets, and utility area facilities. Work was suspended in February 1942 with completed components including installing and backfilling 2,600 feet of six-inch pipe, ten manholes, and excavation for the concrete septic tank located south of the bypass road. The project was restarted in August 1948 when the NPS approved a new work order for a concrete septic tank and the sewage disposal field. This work order was completed in April 1949. As of January 1950, only the Bocock-Isbell House was connected to the new system, but Gurney expected other structures with restroom facilities would be connected within a few months.[52]

Gurney spearheaded most of the work, up to and including acquiring materials and leading building inspections. To illustrate just how critical Gurney and the small APCO staff were to the projects, in April 1946 Gurney visited both Colonial National Historical Park and Richmond National Battlefield Park to secure "local materials for installation of sewer

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[50] SR, 12 December 1947; 13 January 1948.

[51] SR, 12 July 1947; 13 August 1947; 11 September 1947; 11 October 1947.

[52] Project Completion Report, Sewage Disposal System, 24 January 1950, "Administrative Files," Box 1158, Entry P11, RG79, NACP.

line and toilet at the Ranger's Quarters" and to Petersburg National Military Park to secure cast iron sewer pipe.[53] Staff also took photographs of most APCO structures on January 8, 1947, so as to document conditions before the majority of work had been completed.[54]

Powerful local political leaders also became involved in APCO work, such as Judge Joel Flood. He personally spread fifteen tons of fertilizer over about seventy acres of pasture land between the Confederate Cemetery and Appomattox River and another eighty-two tons of ground limestone to fields south of Route 24 in accordance with NPS planning.[55] However, Flood profited directly from this venture—APCO leased a large parcel of land around the Confederate Cemetery to him from 1946 to 1951 for agricultural usage, and before that he had been issued a Special Use Permit to cut hay on sixty-seven acres in 1943.[56] To be fair, other local parties also leased land from the NPS for similar purposes at about the same time.[57]

While doing such work, artifacts were still being found in and around the park regularly. Most notable was on July 13, 1947, when Ranger Scott struck a buried waffle iron when mowing the McLean House front lawn. Immediately digging further, APCO staff found door locks and other unnamed metal materials. Close inspection revealed those locks to be original McLean House door locks, according to Gurney, which were then cleaned, oiled, and stored for installation on the reconstructed building. Raymond Godsey noted that as of 1986 these same locks were in use.[58]

A few formalities also took place during this time. Gurney's title formally changed from Custodian to Superintendent at some point between October 12 and November 12, 1948.[59] Throughout the first half of 1948, Gurney met with staff from Blue Ridge Parkway to plan the transfer of fiscal work to the Blue Ridge Parkway office in Roanoke set for July 1, 1948.[60] APCO rented the Grey Cabin as living quarters to Charlie D. Doss from at least 1946 and 1948.[61] According to Gurney, the only major land acquisition that took place during the war was the transfer of the North Carolina Monument from the state of North Carolina to APCO effective June 11, 1943. APCO officially took stewardship of the

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[53] SR, 14 May 1946.

[54] SR, 10 February 1947; 12 March 1947.

[55] SR, 12 November 1946; 13 May 1947.

[56] SR, 15 May 1943; 12 July 1946. Special Use Permit #I-53np-3, 25 April 1946.

[57] Examples included Special Use Permit No. I-53np-1 to Herman Wingfield dated 15 March 1946 for use of eight acres near Plain Run. SR, 12 April 1946.

[58] SR, 13 August 1947. APCO Central Files (APCO 11800/006.001, Box 005).

[59] SR, 12 October 1948; 12 November 1948.

[60] SR, 12 July 1948.

[61] SR, 12 April 1947.

monument, two historical placards, and an access road with a total area of 0.257 acres. The donation was facilitated by C. C. Crittenden, then Secretary of the North Carolina Historical Society, and received approval of the North Carolina state legislature.[62]

Despite all this activity, the project occupying by far the most time, effort, and attention was the proposed reconstruction of the McLean House. Multiple attempts to renovate, rebuild, and move the house had gone nowhere over the years, including an aborted attempt. As of 1942, the NPS still possessed an empty former home site with a pile of bricks, brush, and not much else. Gurney was obviously determined to finish the McLean House reconstruction project.

McLean House

As outlined in the previous chapter, prior to 1942 the NPS dedicated significant time to planning and researching the McLean House. In broad strokes, NPS officials acquired original photographs of the structure and, perhaps most importantly, a collection of sketch blueprints created by the group who intended to move the McLean House in 1893. The original intention was to reconstruct the McLean House immediately using CCC labor, but CCC cutbacks in late 1941 followed by America's entry into WWII shut the project down. Park staff, including Gurney, also interviewed Appomattox Court House residents and descendants who had any memories of the structure. Those sources were primarily relied upon when crafting McLean House plans.[63] In 1940, Director Cammerer temporarily halted the project out of concerns over project accuracy, a reference to the fact that plans had slightly modified the house to accommodate fire prevention measures and other light modernization. He also felt the NPS plan relied too much on the expertise of C. W. Hancock & Sons Inc., who held the 1893 drawings, given the facts that Hancock had little experience in "historical work" and that Cammerer placed far more faith in NPS architects' restoration skills. Instead, Cammerer proposed buying the 1893 drawings and plans from Hancock, further documenting the McLean House as it appeared in 1865, and developing a new plan.[64]

In response, NPS staff did just that. Gurney secured copies of the 1893 plans by the end of May 1940.[65] Regional staff fanned out looking for any and all materials related to the McLean House, and by the summer of 1941, the NPS regional office was developing new

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[62] SR, 13 October 1943; 12 July 1943; 14 August 1943.

[63] C. A. Hancock and Hubert Gurney correspondence, 1 October 1940, APCO Central Files (APCO 11800/006.001 Box 004).

[64] Cammerer to FRSP, 19 April 1940, APCO 11800/006.004.008, Box 7.

[65] Gurney to Director, 28 May 1940, APCO 11800/006.004.008, Box 7.

plans for the reconstruction.[66] By the end of the year, plans had been completed and submitted to Drury, but a full justification for the project was not submitted until a few months later for unclear reasons.[67] Gurney submitted to Director Drury detailed justification arguments for reconstruction in March 1942, the same month as CCC departure, written by himself, Happel (history), Holder (archeology), and Julian (architecture). The stated purpose of this justification was for the NPS to gather "all essential information relating to the proposed reconstruction and to provide a reference report covering all details incorporated into the working plans." This document was one of the first generated at APCO after the departure of the CCC but before Gurney could establish a new action plan, so it serves as a reasonable starting point for the McLean House discussion in a post-CCC environment.[68]

The Happel, Holder, and Julian justification fell short of its goals, at least from the perspective of Regional Supervisor of Historic Sites Roy Edgar Appleman. "The logic of the method of preparing the report has not been carried to a conclusion," Appleman wrote, before himself concluding, "It seems to be that lacking this, the report has a serious shortcoming and is incomplete. Its value is much reduced." Gurney pushed back respectfully by directing both Appleman and Drury to Julian's section for the group's conclusions. No response appeared in the APCO Central Files, but what did appear was the continuation of reconstruction planning. It appears that the document, no matter how flawed Appleman believed it to be, successfully drove McLean House reconstruction forward through 1942 and into 1943.[69] Summaries of detailed meetings and architectural drawings appear from both APCO and the Regional office, perhaps most importantly with a memorandum from Theo Vint, NPS Chief of Planning, to the Regional Office regarding reconstruction details. Fred Johnston, Acting Regional Director, submitted to Director Drury two weeks after Vint's report a recommendation to move forward with McLean House plans as currently formulated. A formal memorandum dated April 27, 1943, informed APCO and regional staff that Drury would review all materials and decide regarding the reconstruction project soon.[70]

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[66] Gurney to Regional Director, 18 July 1941. Bursley to Drury, 30 July 1941, APCO 11800/006.004.008, Box 7.

[67] Note that the NPS purchased thousands of bricks for the project in October 1941, so the project's ultimate completion was never truly in question, just its final form. E. M. Lisle to Drury, 8 October 1941. Gurney to Regional Director, 17 October 1941, APCO 11800/006.004.008, Box 7.

[68] SR, 14 April 1942.

[69] Appleman to Drury, 30 March 1942. Gurney to Regional Office, 1 April 1942, APCO 11800/006.004.008, Box 7.

[70] Vint to Regional Office, 12 March 1943. Johnston to Drury, 29 March 1943. Hillery A. Tolson, Memo, 27 April 1943, APCO 11800/006.004.008, Box 7.

Four months later, no decision had been made and Gurney grew frustrated. He wrote directly to Director Drury in August asking for a decision as soon as possible. Drury responded on September 13, 1943, directly, "Plans for the proposed reconstruction have not been approved."[71] Gurney's October 1943 Superintendent's Report included what appeared to be further frustration at the delays:

> While the Director's memorandum gave no details on the discussions leading to this decision, it is our understanding that working drawings for reconstruction of the McLean House will be completely revised to provide for an exact and detailed reproduction of the original structure. Objection to the plans prepared by the Branch of Plans and Design was raised by the Chief Historian on the grounds that structural improvements introduced in the working drawings were inconsistent with construction of a true replica of this historic building.[72]

This brewing conflict over the McLean House essentially resolved itself in that Gurney was drafted into World War II, but it picked right back up again in 1946. After years of wartime austerity, NPS purse strings loosened somewhat, but as of July 1, 1946, Director Drury had still yet to approve reconstruction plans. The regional office worried that any further delays, not to mention any request for redrafting, would lead to a significant increase in expected costs.[73] The regional office applied a little pressure to the Director and secured a meeting in September along with Gurney to discuss the project in person while also reviewing older plans without modern modifications like fireproofing. The preferred plans were outlined in a memo from Regional Director Allen to Drury that called for the McLean House to be reconstructed as a house museum exhibiting irreplaceable objects and, as such, should be modified slightly to incorporate fire-resistant materials and designs whenever possible. Allen supported these plans for the safety and financial concerns but also because the difference between the two options was a manner of inches and would not be visible to the average visitor. However, part of the problem was that the preferred plans, as of this stage, included setting aside a portion of the McLean House for exhibit space and Custodian residence. The existence of living quarters in what was certain to be a popular destination was the likely cause for news Gurney received on November 15, 1946—the reconstruction of the McLean House project was again not approved for construction.[74]

Drury provided some of his justification this time which was largely based on a philosophical question: Should the NPS build a historical reconstruction or slightly modernized approximation? Drury wrote:

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[71] Gurney to Drury, 13 August 1943; Drury to Gurney, 13 September 1943, APCO 11800/006.004.008, Box 7.

[72] SR, 15 November 1943.

[73] Allen to Gurney, 1 July 1946, APCO 11800/006.004.008, Box 7.

[74] Allen to Drury, 11 September 1946. Cox to Gurney, 15 November 1946. Allen to Drury, 25 September 1946, APCO 11800/006.004.008, Box 7.

> The Service is confronted with the question of whether it should make an exact reproduction of the House, faithful in all dimensions and materials, as seems possible from the detailed evidence which the Service has carefully assembled, or whether an approximate but fireproof likeness shall be built having the deviations from the original specified [in proposed plans].[75]

Director Drury was clearly conflicted with no obvious best answer, so he sought advice from experts. Fiske Kimball, art expert and NPS Board member, recommended "an approximate fireproof likeness with slight deviations from the original."[76] With that simple, succinct recommendation in hand, Drury took Kimball's recommendation and moved the project forward. To the Regional Office, he wrote on February 10, 1947, the following approval:

> In view of Dr. Kimball's letter, I approve the recommendation in your memorandum of September 25, 1946, that the McLean House construction plans be employed as originally submitted, except with regard to lighting fixtures. This decision is based on a desire to avoid the expenditure of funds that would be necessary if the construction plans were to be radically revised. It is not to be construed as setting a precedent or establishing National Park Service policy with regard to the reconstruction of historic buildings which have been long destroyed.[77]

Approval in hand, Gurney and the regional office got to work. Throughout spring and summer, Gurney and the Regional office worked to issue a formal call for bids to rebuild the McLean House. A standard Federal call for sealed bids went out on October 27, 1947, with copies sent to thirteen local builders.[78] Project requirements were lengthy and contained details of all work expected, but it could be summarized that all NPS-supplied plans had to be followed perfectly and the awarded party would have exactly 366 days to finish work. Only two bids were entered, one for $49,553 by C. W. Hancock and Sons and another by Taylor Manufacturing Company of Farmville for $52,229.01. As Hancock's bid met all criteria and was the lower amount, the NPS awarded the contract formally on November 28, 1947. With contracts exchanged and signed in the following weeks, Director

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[75] Drury to Fiske Kimball, 2 January 1947, APCO 11800/006.004.008, Box 7.

[76] Kimball to Drury, 7 January 1947, APCO 11800/006.004.008, Box 7.

[77] Drury to Allen, 10 February 1947, APCO 11800/006.004.008, Box 7.

[78] Gurney letter, 27 October 1947, APCO 11800/006.004.009, Box 7 (1001).

Drury approved of the bid and work began a month later. Once the NPS awarded the reconstruction contract, the press reported on the story. No major opposition to the project emerged according to Gurney.[79]

C. W. Hancock and Sons began reconstruction on January 11, 1948, with the expected completion date of January 11, 1949, a full three months before the 1949 surrender anniversary. The plan was for the NPS to then furnish the structure after Hancock's work for a formal dedication ceremony around the 1949 surrender anniversary date.[80] Gurney requested an NPS engineer to be assigned to the project on December 31, 1947, but the regional office could only afford to rotate architects for, on average, one inspection per week due to limited staff.[81] Hancock spent most of the first few months slowly, due to poor weather, excavating the footings and foundation. The NPS formally suspended work on January 23 due to snow, and no major work was completed for the next few weeks.[82] By that point, Hancock had not completed temporary storage or tool sheds, cleared the building site, or erected workers' temporary toilet facilities. The NPS and Hancock took the delay in stride and used it as an opportunity to order all supplies. It was discovered that more substitutions than expected, both in terms of supplies and contractors, would be required.[83]

In part due to the initial halting of work, the process to rebuild the McLean House was remarkably smooth in its execution and planning. From February 1948 to March 1949, Gurney's monthly reports included detailed updates as to the house construction process. Regional and national NPS employees visited APCO often, at least once a week, throughout 1948 to inspect Hancock's work. Director Drury personally instructed regional staff to conduct these frequent inspections as "it would be easy for the contractor to make serious mistakes in the successive stages of reconstruction which would be costly and perhaps impossible to remedy." Drury also reminded NPS staff of the existing General Restoration Policy issued by Director Cammerer in 1937 and ordered copies be sent to APCO and Hancock.[84] The only problems incurred throughout the build were weather interruptions and supply shortages. On occasion, Hancock would discover that a planned supply would

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[79] Note that the estimate for the project was $31,000, but such a difference in cost was explained as a regular difficulty in estimated restoration or reconstruction projects. SR, 13 January 1948. Statement and Certificate of Award No. I-53np-6, 28 November 1947; Gurney to Regional Office, 26 November 1947; Gurney to C. W. Hancock & Sons, 28 November 1947; Allen to Drury, 26 November 1947; ""McLean House Reconstruction Assured,"" *The Regional Review* Vol. V, No. 6 (Dec. 1940), 27. Emerson to Gurney, 24 December 1947, APCO 11800/006.004.009, Box 7.

[80] Gurney to Hancock, 13 January 1948, APCO 11800/006.004.009, Box 7.

[81] Gurney to Regional Director, 31 December 1947; Cox to Gurney, 2 February 1948, APCO 11800/006.004.009, Box 7.

[82] Gurney to Hancock, 24 January 1948, APCO 11800/006.004.009, Box 7.

[83] SR, 13 February 1948; 13 March 1948; 14 May 1948. *Richmond Times-Dispatch*, April 4, 1948.

[84] Drury to Regional Director, 21 January 1948.; "General Restoration Policy," 19 May 1937 (APCO 11800/006.004.008, Box 7).

no longer be manufactured, seek approval from the NPS for a replacement, then simply receive approval and move forward with the project. An example was substitution of 1.5" plastering channels for the planned 2" models and substitution 10" junior floor joist beams for 11" models as the original planned materials were not available at the time.[85]

Gurney authorized Hancock to re-initiate the McLean House project on April 22, 1948, thus making the official completion date April 18, 1949. The project was now three months behind schedule and not on target to finish before the 1949 surrender anniversary.[86] Gurney and Hancock exchanged letters virtually every day throughout the process. Based on the context of the letters, Gurney inspected the construction site daily and relayed details to the regional office multiple times per week. A fully accurate recreation of the house was never going to be possible, which was readily known by NPS staff as evidenced by their willingness to change plans up to the final weeks of construction. These decisions were made with careful deliberation, but there were over a dozen such changes, a large number considering these plans had been developed over the course of a decade. A small example was a request to modify chimney designs by eliminating vent flues to reduce the exterior width to that of the original house and save on cost.[87] Another came when Hancock could not locate a supplier for the required "old-type nails" used in the floors. Gurney wrote to a range of museums and historical societies requesting advice, to which the response was that the nails were likely "stamp headed cut nails" produced around 1825 and difficult to find for use in 1948.[88]

The NPS and Hancock sought materials with a mid-nineteenth century appearance whether reconstructions or originals. L. J. House Convex Glass Company of Point Marion, Pennsylvania, produced all glass in door window sashes as the company could reproduce mid-nineteenth century glassmaking methods.[89] Similarly, the Locher Brick Company produced a large quantity of face bricks that would reproduce the size, color, and texture of original McLean House bricks. Exterior bricks made by Locher were interspersed with about 5,000 old bricks at a 12:1 ratio. Two panels of old brick were also set in the north wall to the right and left of the first-floor door.[90] Front and rear porches were both floored using pine salvaged from "an old house" that had recently been torn down in Lynchburg.[91] Otherwise, basic building materials came from local sources under the assumption original

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[85] SR, 12 August 1948. Hancock to Gurney, 28 January 1948 (APCO 11800/006.004.008, Box 7).

[86] Gurney to Hancock, 22 April 1948 (APCO 11800/006.004.008, Box 7).

[87] Gurney to Hancock, 6 July 1948 (APCO 11800/006.004.008, Box 7).

[88] Gurney to Sturbridge Village, 22 October 1948; Horace Mann to Gurney, 26 October 1948 (APCO 11800/006.004.008, Box 7).

[89] SR, 13 January 1949.

[90] SR, 13 April 1948. Gurney, Project Completion Report: McLean House, 30 December 1949. APCO Central Files (APCO 11800/006.001, Box 005).

[91] SR, 12 November 1948.

McLean House builders did the same. Care was also made to preserve what little original remnants of the McLean House remained. For example, Hancock poured concrete footings around the remaining kitchen hearth, then wooden planks laid over the remaining uncovered hearth to protect it from construction debris. This was the NPS's preferred alternative by recommendation of Roy Edgar Appleman to simply remove the hearth and reinstall it later in the construction process.[92]

Perhaps the largest change resulted from an inspection of the main staircase designs that revealed "evidence that required revision of the balusters, newel posts, and hand rails," according to Gurney. Regional Architect A. J. Higgins, at the suggestion of Gurney, developed a revised plan based on the architecture of the Tibbs House (ca. 1847) located about a half mile from Appomattox Court House.[93] The primary changes submitted to Hancock were "substitution of a turned baluster for the plain baluster. . .; substitution of turned newel posts in place of square, capped newel posts; and addition of easements on hand rails to provide a continuous handrail from second floor to first floor." Another major change came when suppliers could not provide eleven-inch steel beams, as only even length beams were fabricated, so plans were modified to use eight-inch steel beams. This necessitated the replacement of steel for wood joints in the second-floor ceiling and adjusting ceiling heights. Electrical plans were also changed so all could be controlled from a central panel in the basement rather than having wall switches in each room. Contractors could not secure the planned pine flooring, so old flooring from the Hutter House in Lynchburg, razed in 1948, was instead purchased and installed. Original plans called for cement-asbestos shingles, but again supplier issues caused a change to cypress shingles individually cut with rounded edges.[94]

Modern plumbing and electrical systems were both installed, as were a water hydrant and fire hose closet.[95] Decisions on the interior finish were only determined in September 1948 when Gurney interviewed Emily and Ragland Featherston, whose ancestors purchased and lived in the home in the nineteenth century. By Emily Featherston's memory, the "floors were finished in a light color; no stain was used" and "most of the door frames and interior finish was dark but could not specify the colors. The doors were finished in dark colors too."[96]

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[92] SR, 12 June 1948.

[93] SR, 13 January 1949. A. J. "Al" Higgins died in May 1952. Gurney attended his funeral on May 15th and wrote of him "We shall miss him at Appomattox. A good friend, a fine man, and an outstanding architect. The reconstructed McLean House is a memorial to his services and abilities." SR, 16 June 1952. Gurney to Regional Director, 26 November 1948; Cox to Gurney, 2 December 1948, APCO Central Files (APCO 11800/006.004.008, Box 7).

[94] Gurney to Hancock, 15 December 1948, APCO Central Files (11800/006.004.008, Box 7). Gurney, Project Completion Report: McLean House, 30 December 1949. APCO Central Files, (APCO 11800/006.001, Box 005).

[95] SR, 13 January 1949.

[96] Gurney Memorandum, 10 September 1948, APCO 11800/006.004.008, Box 7.

By January 1949, Hancock completed all major work and was left to finishing and roofing but again encountered an unforeseen delay. That month, Hancock had installed flower trellises in the front yard, painted wood trim, painted hallways blue and green, and sanded and varnished the front porch. Similarly, interior spaces were also nearly finished with trim painting, floor sanding, and finish coats all completed to NPS specifications. However, all work was halted on January 20 because of an issue with roofing supplies.[97] Plans called for cement-asbestos shingles molded to mimic the original wooden shingle style. However, Gurney contacted five vendors and determined that the cement-asbestos shingle product was no longer available for purchase.[98] Confounding matters further was that the Featherston interview revealed the original wood shingle roof had been removed in 1885, but the Featherston family saved a few as mementos. Gurney acquired two, which were both made of heart pine approximately eighteen by four inches with a taper from one half inch. With such an artifact in hand, the NPS now had specific metrics to follow. Gurney recognized that highly similar shingles were presented throughout the park on multiple structures. This review by Gurney and others in the regional office concluded wooden shingles could be used instead of the original asbestos cement plan.[99] NPS staff traveled to Peaks of Otter within the Blue Ridge Parkway to evaluate the appearance of hand-split oak shingles used there, but being unsatisfied with the appearance, a decision was made to have the shingles special ordered. Hancock ordered cypress shingles from Richardson Lumber Co. of Richmond (produced by Lee Tidewater Cypress Co. in Terry, Florida) on January 15, 1949, and expected delivery in about two months. Because of this delay, the NPS granted Hancock a new completion date of June 9, 1949.[100]

In early March 1949, Directory Drury provided to Representative Abbitt an update on APCO projects per the Congressman's request. Drury informed Abbitt the McLean House was nearly completed at an estimated 95 percent done, the Bocock-Isbell renovation was about 50 percent complete, a new water system was about 20 percent complete, sewer was 98 percent complete, and about $16,000 in allotments remained for building rehabilitation, roads and trails, and administration of the park. Drury felt confident that Abbitt would be satisfied with the update but noted that his phone was always open to Abbitt at any time for any question.[101]

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[97] SR, 14 February 1949. Gurney to Regional Director, 1 April 1949, APCO 11800/006.004.008, Box 7.

[98] Gurney to Regional Director, 3 December 1948, APCO 11800/006.004.008, Box 7.

[99] Gurney to Regional Director, 1 November 1948; Allen to Gurney, 4 January 1949, APCO 11800/006.004.008, Box 7.

[100] SR, 14 February 1949. Hancock to Gurney, 3 February 1949; Gurney Memorandum, 1 March 1949; Gurney to Hancock, 14 March 1949, APCO 11800/006.004.008, Box 7.

[101] Drury to Abbitt, 3 March 1949, "Records of Director Newton B. Drury, 1940–1951," Box 2, Entry P61, RG79, NACP.

The special-order wooden shingles arrived on time in March 1949, and Hancock installed them successfully. With that, the McLean House project was essentially completed. Gurney reported as much to his superiors on April 7, 1949, and initiated the scheduling of a final inspection. The final few projects completed by NPS workers and temporary day laborers were a staircase from the ground to the area underneath the front porch, a drainage system toward the Back Lane, and the brick pavement under the front porch. The final interior installations included locks and a handful of electrical components. [102]

The final inspection by Regional Architect Higgins in late April 1949 met approval. C. W. Hancock & Sons were officially off the job. With the contractor work completed, the NPS beautified the area. Appleman visited APCO to conduct his own inspection of the McLean House area and came away with a series of recommendations. Primarily, the land around the McLean House needed landscaping, which included construction of a basic well house over the front yard well and laying of a new brick walk in the front yard. Appleman did not specify if this new brick walk should be entirely new, or a renovation of the historic brick walk uncovered by the CCC archaeological program. Other Appleman suggestions were interpretive in nature, such as installing a marker on the original hearth, developing a furnishing plan, and considering museum space in the McLean House.[103]

NPS staff worked throughout the rest of the year to finish the McLean House project. Gurney reported that October 1949 work included the following: "the bank under the front steps had been paved with old brick, periwincle [*sic*] had been planted on the banks from ground level to the area under the porch, and flanking the front steps and disking the front and east lawns of the grounds had been initiated."[104] In November, staff seeded the front and east lawns, graded the back yard, and planted periwinkle around the existing foundations of the kitchen building. Most involved was the relocation of seven three-inch-diameter black locust trees and three "small cedar trees" to areas around the house. The black locust trees were all planted in the front yard to "replace trees shown in photograph of the McLean House in 1865." The cedar trees were to "mask out the terminal pole and light meter southeast of the house." The original location of these trees was not noted by Gurney.[105] Gurney submitted his project completion report for the McLean House on December 30, 1949, which was subsequently approved by regional and national in January and March, respectively. The final official cost of the project was $50,608.78.[106]

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[102] SR, 14 March 1949; 14 April 1949; 13 May 1949.

[103] Appleman to Regional Director, 24 May 1949, APCO 11800/006.004.008, Box 7.

[104] Gurney, 24. SR, 14 November 1949.

[105] Supt report, 14 December 1949.

[106] Gurney, Project Completion Report: McLean House, 30 December 1949. APCO Central Files (APCO 11800/006.001, Box 005).

APCO staff planned a dedication ceremony under the guidance of the McLean House Dedication Committee formed in early 1949 as the Hancock part of the project neared its completion. Judge Joel Flood served as committee Chairman, a logical choice given his connections to Virginia's political elite and his leadership role in the Appomattox Historic Park Foundation. The group elected Gurney to serve as Secretary-Treasurer in February 1949. Regular meetings through 1949 included other regionally important organizations, such as the Lynchburg Chamber of Commerce and local radio stations. The Committee primarily focused on securing speakers for the dedication ceremony, raising money, acting as a media liaison, and setting official commemorative dates. Originally, the committee planned on hosting the event in April 1949 rather than 1950, but the roof shingle construction delay led the committee to delay the ceremony a year.[107]

Despite the involvement of such a committee, the NPS was fully responsible for the event. "The affair in the last analysis is our responsibility" wrote regional staff in the run-up, to which Director Drury fully agreed. Responsibility fell to Gurney for carrying out the committee's plans, though other NPS staff signed off as well. Gurney took on the task of presenting materials to the Appomattox County Board of Supervisors, which he did in December, to keep local government informed of the major event. The committee decided at their October 8 meeting that the event would take place on April 15, 1950, since April 9th fell on Easter Sunday, though this date was shifted at a later meeting to April 16th. Douglas Southall Freeman, author of the well-known *R. E. Lee: A Biography* and Secretary of the Interior Oscar Chapman, accepted invitations to participate in the ceremony. The committee also extended multiple invitations to President Harry Truman to deliver the keynote address, including one where a local delegation headed by Appomattox Mayor G. B. Buchanan presented Truman with a serving tray depicting the McLean House. Mayor Buchanan invited the President to make the principal address at the dedication and, though Truman initially considered the proposal, he ultimately declined.[108]

By the end of February 1950, Gurney finalized all practical planning such as traffic flow, parking, and seating. On February 23rd, Regional Director Thomas J. Allen visited APCO to formally approve dedication ceremony plans and preparations, including parking and the location of the speakers' platform. Allen and Gurney worked together in setting the final program outline, and by the end of the day, it was formally approved with final inspections from Associate Director Demaray and Allen the following month.[109] Throughout, Gurney and other APCO staff performed their duties ably though some gripes regarding

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[107] Supt report, 13 March 1949; 14 April 1949; 13 October 1949; 14 November 1949; 14 December 1949; 17 April 1950. Lisle to Gurney, 23 January 1950; Gurney to Regional Director, 19 October 1949; APCO 11800/006.005.002, Box 8 (1075, 1083).

[108] Supt report, 13 May 1949; 13 October 1949; 14 November 1949; 14 December 1949; 17 April 1950. Regional Director to Director, 17 February 1950. Lidle to Gurney, 23 September 1942, APCO 11800/006.005.002, Box 8 (1068)

[109] SR, 14 March 1950. SR, 17 April 1950.

communication came from Director Drury. "I think that Superintendent Gurney could have kept you better informed about the developments before the ceremony was unduly crystallized," he wrote to regional staff. Regional staff also reprimanded Gurney for suggesting that Douglas Southall Freeman receive equal billing with President Truman, when it was believed the latter would attend, with both delivering over twenty-minute speeches. "It is not proper to consider any other arrangement" other than the President or his designated substitute deliver the primary speech at such an event. Gurney also excluded Director Drury from the speakers' list, which was also considered a major problem by regional staff.[110]

Media interest in the McLean House dedication grew as the ceremony date neared. Gurney assisted in the publication of an article in *Commonwealth*, the magazine of the Virginia Chamber of Commerce, and organized a photo opportunity for the *Saturday Evening Post*. The Associated Press ran separate features on Wilmer McLean and Colonel Ely Parker in March, and several local newspapers published articles on APCO's efforts to bring both Ulysses S. Grant III and Robert E. Lee IV to the ceremony. Most notable to Gurney were an illustrated article in the *Richmond Times-Dispatch* and a special four-page "Souvenir Edition" of the *Lynchburg News*, both featuring the McLean House dedication.[111] Other publications noted in APCO reports were *Antique Magazine*, *Esso Road News*, *The Blender*, and *Iron Worker*.[112]

NPS staff worked steadily through April 15th in preparing for the event. Congressman Abbitt also organized a group of locals who donated $2,000 toward the ceremony itself. Regional Museum Administrator J. Paul Hudson visited APCO every week during March in the frantic push to complete museum displays in preparation for the large crowd.[113] The NPS also brought in James L. Cogar, a consultant with Williamsburg Restoration and professor at William and Mary, to inspect all McLean House furniture for accuracy. Cogar found just "one or two exceptions," so the planned activities could move ahead, accuracy intact.[114] Finally, Allen personally supervised the final arrangements being made on April 14th. Everything seemed to be in place.[115]

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[110] Drury to Regional Director, 27 February 1950; Gurney to Regional Director, 28 February 1950; Regional Director to Gurney, 17 February 1950; Allen to Director, 8 April 1947; Ludgate to Director, 14 May 1948; APCO 11800/006.005.002, Box 8.

[111] SR, 17 April 1950.

[112] SR, 13 Aug, 1950; 14 September 1950.

[113] SR, 17 April 1950; 13 May 1950.

[114] SR, 13 May 1950.

[115] SR, 13 May 1950.

The dedication ceremony attracted about 20,000 people.[116] Special guests of honor were Major General Ulysses S. Grant III and Robert E. Lee IV, and speeches were delivered by NPS Director Newton Drury, historian Douglas Southall Freeman, NPS Regional Director Thomas J. Allen, Virginia Governor John Battle, US Senator from Kentucky Virgil Chapman, US Representative from Virginia Watkins M. Abbitt, Virginia State Senator Charles Moses, former Representative and Judge Joel West Flood, Founding President of the Virginia Federation of Garden Clubs Alice Aunspaugh Kyle, and President of the UDC Ms. (William Andrew) Haggard.[117] At the beginning of the ceremony, Ulysses S. Grant III and Robert E. Lee IV jointly cut the ribbon at the McLean House porch to mark its public opening. *Richmond Times-Dispatch* articles reported that the Grant-Lee presence was the primary draw for most attendees, possibly owing the NPS press release which explicitly highlighted the symbolic Grant-Lee meeting.[118] The American Legion and local churches sold refreshments, and the Virginia Military Institute (VMI) band and Marine Corps Schools band provided musical entertainment.[119]

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[116] Cox to Drury, 27 February 1950, APCO 11800/006.005.002, Box 8.

[117] Note that Haggard always wrote her name as "Mrs. William Andrew Haggard." In cases such as this where first names are difficult to find or the women in question chose to represent themselves by their husband's name, it has been chosen to represent their husband's first name in parentheses with "Ms."

[118] Gurney, 24–25. SR, 13 May 1950. "Appearance of Lee and Grant Draws Many Newsmen to Rites," *Richmond Times-Dispatch*, April 17, 1950. NPS Press Release, 14 April 1950, APCO 11800/006.004.009, Box 7.

[119] SR, 17 April 1950.



Figure 19. VMI Cadets at McLean House Dedication, 1950. Virginia Military Institute Archives, (http://digitalcollections.vmi.edu/digital/collection/p15821coll7/id/4762).

The core of the dedication program was a welcome by Congressman Watkins "Wat" Abbitt, who represented Appomattox from 1948 to 1973, followed by a thirty-minute speech by historian Douglas Southall Freeman. Abbitt was born in Lynchburg, grew up in Appomattox, and there he lived most of his life. A Democrat, Abbitt fell in line with the Byrd Organization, a political alliance of conservative Democrats led by Virginia political titan Harry S. Byrd, as a leader and whip.[120] The park's embrace of Douglas Southall Freeman as part of the ceremony should come as no surprise considering Charles Porter identified him as the primary historian to reference in APCO interpretation more than a decade earlier. Freeman was, without question, one of the preeminent Civil War historians in his day. He published dozens of books, primarily on prominent men in American history, and won multiple Pulitzers.[121] Freeman's speech was, by contemporary accounts, the defining moment of the event. Historian Keith Dickson, in his 2011 book *Sustaining Southern Identity,* described Freeman's dedication speech as an example of how memory was sustained by ritual performance. In this case, Freeman retold a story that would have

[120] Michael Janofsky, "W. M. Abbitt, 90, Lawmaker Who Advocated Segregation," *New York Times,* July 15, 1998, www.nytimes.com/1998/07/15/us/w-m-abbitt-90-lawmaker-who-advocated-segregation.html.

[121] Eric Foner, "The Making and Breaking of the Legend of Robert E. Lee," *New York Times,* August 28, 2017, www.nytimes.com/2017/08/28/books/review/eric-foner-robert-e-lee.html.

been highly familiar to much of the crowd by focusing on the moments just before Lee's surrender. Appomattox provided a perfect moment for Freeman to tell this story. Connecting the present South with the past Confederacy held power, especially at Appomattox Court House, and perpetuated a particular form of Southern identity. It was no coincidence then that "when the Cadets struck up 'Dixie' the crowd roared" after Freeman's speech.[122]

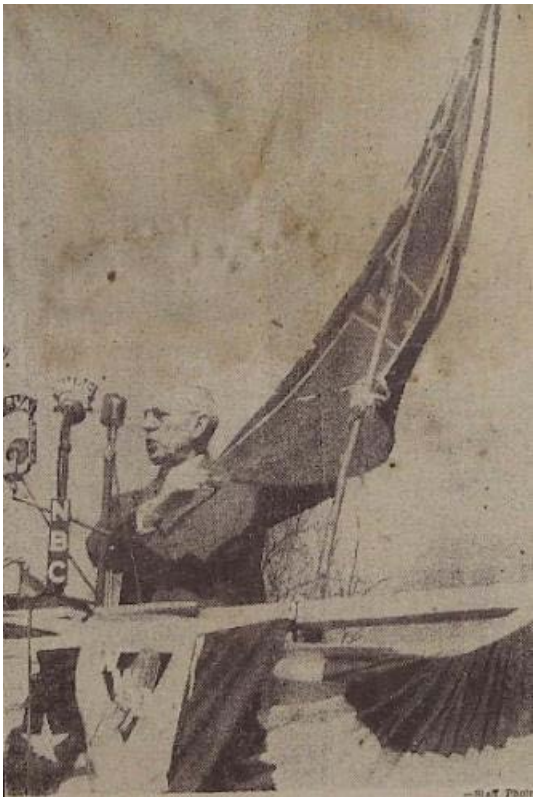


Figure 20. Douglas Southall Freeman posing with the Confederate Flag of the 61st Virginia Infantry Regiment, of which his father was a member. Freeman wanted the flag to go to APCO upon his death, and his wife honored those wishes and donated it to the park in 1953 shortly after he died. The flag (APCO 386) remains a part of the museum collection. *Richmond Times-Dispatch*, April 17, 1950.

The NPS organized this program, so any of its contents must be assumed to have reflected the agency's perspective, but a direct understanding can come from Director Drury's short speech delivered immediately after Freeman's and a "Civil War Medley" from the Virginia Military Institute band. Drury's speech is reprinted below in its entirety as it was written:

> When the restoration of the McLean House was first suggested, the NPS viewed the proposal with some misgivings. The rebuilding of a long-destroyed historic house is risky business. It is easier to go wrong than to build correctly; and, if

[122] Dickson, *Sustaining Southern Identity,* 217–18. "Appomattox Roads Are Clogged Once More as 10,000 See Kin of Lee and Grant at Shrine," *Richmond Times-Dispatch,* April 17, 1950.

the building when finished is not an authentic copy of the original, it becomes a monument to one's own folly, because usually it is too costly an investment to pull down, no matter how much it might deserve to be obliterated. Another reason for our hesitation lay in the question of how the restoration of the McLean House would be received throughout the country.

More or less convinced in our own minds that it might be best not to attempt the restoration of the McLean House, we sent our Chief Historian, Ronald F. Lee, to Appomattox to win over a distinguished group of Virginians to that point of view. There then occurred an event known in NPS history as the second surrender of Lee at Appomattox. Chief Historian Lee was persuaded that not only would the restoration of this house be favorably received throughout the South but that the reconstruction of the building was positively desired by Virginia leaders—a fact now happily attested by the generous appropriation of the General Assembly of Virginia of $5,000 for the furnishings of the "Virginia Room" in the restored building. It is with distinct pleasure that I accept this splendid gift on behalf of the NPS. I also understand that the landscaping of the McLean House grounds is a project of the Virginia State Federation of Women's Clubs, and for that too, Mrs. Kyle, we are profoundly grateful.

The restoration of the McLean House was in many respects a model Service project of the sort. Every precaution was taken to ensure authenticity. First, historians assembled all available written and pictorial material relating to the house. Even the assistance of the Federal Bureau of Investigation was called upon to examine and check, for possible forgery, old papers and drawings of utmost importance for the rebuilding of the structure. The photographic files of the Civil War photographer Brady and of the United States Signal Corps yielded valuable contemporary pictures of the building. A NPS archeologist excavated the site and found evidence of the ground plan of the building. He also found the kitchen hearth, some of the brick walkways, and about 15,000 of the original McLean House bricks. Approximately one third of these bricks have been used in reconstructing the McLean House. Architects examined and studied other buildings of the same period and kind to provide themselves with data on typical interior details. Finally, the combined resources of the historian, archeologist and architect were employed in drafting restoration plans, which were given careful review in Washington.

By a happy circumstance, the contracting firm making the lowest bid for the restoration of the house, C.W. Hancock and Sons, was operated by the sons of the C.W. Hancock whose firm had taken down the McLean House for intended shipment in 1893. The firm took a great interest in its unusual task and responsibility and unselfishly contributed time and labor beyond that required in the contract to ensure added authenticity to the building, and I am glad to have this opportunity to recognize this contribution and to show our appreciation.

The final result is the most faithful restoration of the McLean House that the NPS could devise and I take pride in dedicating it to the enjoyment and inspiration of the American people, both of the present day and of the future. It shall

> be our duty and desire to administer it—and the Virginia contribution to its furnishings, which I accept with deep appreciation—in a way symbolic of the national unity which its rebuilding signifies. Many of us here today, either through our parents or the marriages of our children, have ties of kinship with both North and South. According to the laws of probability, in one or two generations more, all the American people will have this tie of kindship with the Confederate and the Union forces and it is therefore eminently fitting that we should see in the restored McLean House today a just recognition of the heroism, and high aims and purposes of the soldiers on both sides and a national memorial to the oneness of our nation.[123]

The event was well received in public media with a few exceptions. Most major Virginia newspapers were present, as were all the following according to the *Richmond Times-Dispatch*: a newsreel agency, several magazine writers, three major wire services, and journalists from Baltimore, New York, and Washington.[124] Charles Porter identified in interviews years later that some locals pushed back against the NPS, fearing that APCO would become a Colonial Williamsburg type tourist attraction, but these complaints were never vocal enough to challenge the event.[125]

National NPS officials were pleased with the outcome, with Drury personally crediting Gurney with a successful event.[126] After the event, there were a few minor modifications made to the house by the NPS. The most visible was a new paint job, with the hallways being repainted with a "flat white, washable, rubber-based paint, known as 'SPRED.'" NPS workers also installed new electrical outlets in the kitchen, dining room, surrender room, and three bedrooms specifically for the installation of a "floor model, fan type, 110-120 volts, 60 cycle A.C., single phase heater" for each except the kitchen. Window screens were also recommended to be installed, though it was unclear as of 1950 if instructions to install had been given. And finally, NPS staff experimented with methods of treating the original hearth to moisturize the brick and hopefully preserve it further.[127] Most important to Gurney, though, was just what to do about the furniture—or lack thereof—in APCO's newest structure. Most of what was in the house at the dedication ceremony was a placeholder.

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[123] "Address of Director Newtown B. Drury," 16 April 1950, APCO 11800/006.004.009, Box 7.

[124] "Appearance of Lee and Grant Draws Many Newsmen to Rites," *Richmond Times-Dispatch*, April 17, 1950.

[125] Sprinkle, 96. Archives of American Art, Charles B. Hosmer Interviews Collection, Charles Porter Interview, 7–9, 41.

[126] Drury to Gurney, 17 April 1950, APCO 11800/006.004.009, Box 7.

[127] Breslin to Gurney, 12 October 1950, APCO 11800/006.004.009, Box 7.

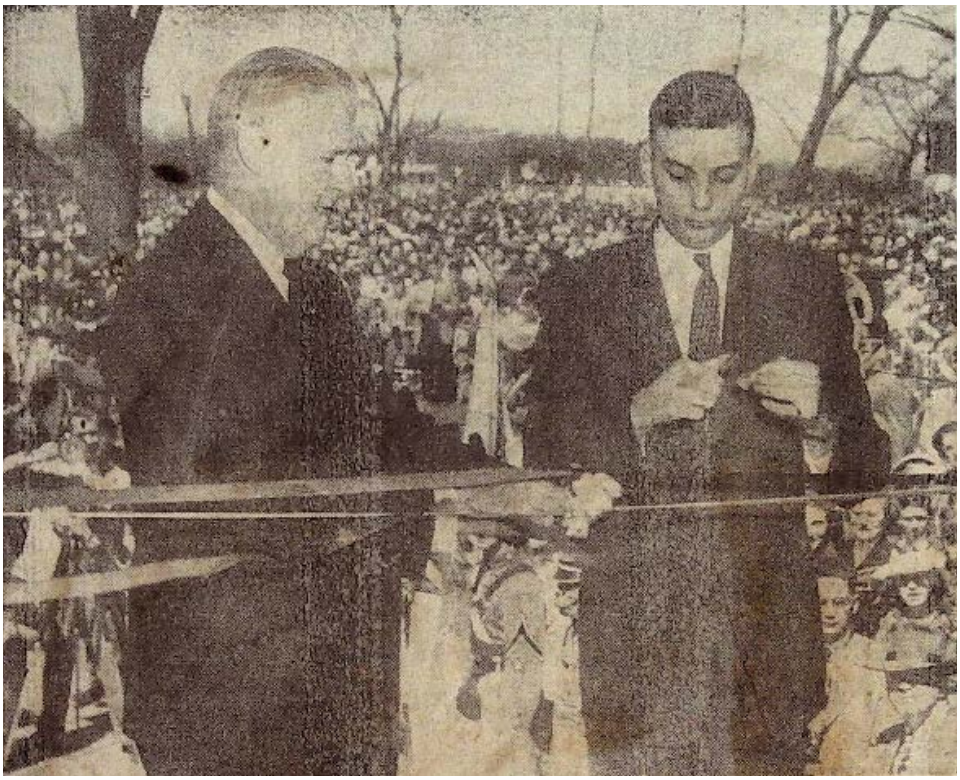


Figure 21. US Grant III and Robert E. Lee IV cutting the ribbon to the McLean House. *Richmond Times-Dispatch*, April 17, 1950.

With that ceremony complete, Gurney moved forward with McLean House front yard landscaping including the restoration of the brick walk from the front steps to the road.[128] Contractors began work on the McLean House front yard Well House on September 18th, 1950, with the project "substantially complete" according to Gurney on September 28th. A "frame and lattice structure" was reconstructed according to historical standards, and the well shaft was filled in for safety purposes. NPS Architect Breslin conducted an inspection on September 28th, and it met his standards. Final staining and painting were completed in October.[129] The filling of the well was part of a broader APCO project to "fill and grade all open, dug wells in the Monument as a safety precaution." On October 16th, APCO staff filled the final known well on NPS land, a forty-three-foot-deep hole in the northeast corner of the Tavern lot, with the assistance of the Virginia Department of Highways.[130] Workers at some point also installed a water fountain "at the east end of the McLean House," an installation Appleman recommended be removed in 1954.[131]

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[128] SR, 14 November 1950.

[129] SR, 13 October 1950.

[130] Supt Report, 14 November 1950.

[131] Appleman to Chief Historian, 17 November 1954, APCO 11800/006.004.009, Box 7.

Over the next few years, APCO staff continued working on small projects around the McLean House. On October 27, 1950, J. C. Harrington returned to APCO to restore the McLean House hearth. The hearth was one of the original features of the house still in good condition, so Harrington "applied in liquid form a preservative coating which seems to have corrected the 'baking' process," of which Gurney did not explain in detail. Additional treatments of a "preservative compound" were applied three years later because the hearth had "a tendency to drying and pulverizing of the old brick."[132]

Work began in October 1951 to reproduce "the brick walk uncovered during archeological investigation of the McLean House front yard area in 1941-1942" using bricks leftover from the McLean House reconstruction project. An undisclosed funding amount for this project came from the Virginia Federation of Women's Clubs.[133] Eddie Woolridge and Raymond Godsey of the APCO maintenance crew completed the work the following month. Gurney reported that the "walk is unusual in that it is built of brick bats.... Woolridge had the job of making brick bats from whole brick and laying out a pattern for each section of the walk to reproduce, as far as possible, the pattern for the original walk." A brick bat is a cut portion of brick usually along both length and width such that the brick bat is smaller in all dimensions than the original brick. There are several different types of brick bats, but Gurney did not specify which type Woolridge created, just that he attempted to replicate bricks found via archeological survey. Reports indicated that Gurney was happy with the work of Woolridge and Godsey and completed final grading and seeding of the front lawn.[134]

McLean House Furnishings

One of the first visitors to APCO after the dedication ceremony was famed landscape architect Frederick Law Olmstead, who traveled explicitly to view the reconstructed McLean House. According to Gurney, Olmstead loved his visit and gave the NPS highest compliments while on site. Two months later and to Gurney's delight, Olmstead donated a flat-top desk that, according to Olmstead, was acquired directly from Wilmer McLean from an Olmstead ancestor. Gurney accepted the donation and immediately found a place within the McLean House to place the object.[135] The idea of a visitor donating such an artifact to the park was unique in that it came from a famous visitor, but in truth such donations became commonplace from about 1948 through the mid-1950s. Olmstead was

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[132] SR, 14 November 1950; 17 February 1953.

[133] SR, 19 November 1951.

[134] SR, 13 December 1951.

[135] SR, 14 June 1950; 14 September 1950.

simply contributing to an ongoing program led by Gurney and Regional Museum Administrator J. Paul Hudson—securing donations to fill out the McLean House with as many original artifacts as possible.

The reason for the Gurney-Hudson furnishings program was because the McLean House was empty in the build to the dedication ceremony, a major problem to NPS staff. The pair dedicated a remarkable amount of time and resources to filling out the house with furnishings he considered sufficiently accurate, by NPS standards of the era, to a circa 1865 period. Based on earlier research, Gurney and Hudson knew the location of most original McLean family furniture, but simply did not have the funds to acquire it. Souvenir seekers and Civil War soldiers had carried much of the original parlor furniture off immediately after the surrender meeting, so pieces dispersed across the country. Counterfeiters produced fake antiques regularly, some claiming to have come from the McLean House, so there was significant risk at paying any sum for an "authentic" piece of McLean furniture. This was a risk Gurney and Hudson simply would not take.

In the final few months before the April 1950 dedication, State Senator Charles T. Moses proposed multiple pieces of General Assembly legislation in support of APCO. The first was at the behest of the Appomattox County Board of Supervisors and would appropriate $5,000 in state funds to "furnish one or two rooms in the McLean House as a memorial to Virginia Confederate soldiers and women." Gurney's monthly report stated the funding would allow the park "to furnish one room in the restored McLean House as a memorial to General R.E. Lee and the Virginia Confederate Soldiers who served under General Lee."[136] The actual bill in its final form read, in part:

> Whereas, it is only fit and proper that this Commonwealth take steps to provide appropriate facilities in the McLean House as a memorial to Robert E. Lee and to the men in Virginia who served in his army and to the women who stood steadfastly behind Lee and his army; Now, therefore,
>
> Be it enacted by the General Assembly of Virginia:
>
> 1. The Governor is authorized and requested to provide under such arrangements as he may effectuate, furniture and furnishing for one room in the McLean House, Appomattox Court House National Historical Monument, Appomattox, Virginia, as a memorial to Robert E. Lee and to the men from Virginia who served in his army and to the women who stood so steadfastly behind Lee and his army.
>
> 2. In order to provide funds to carry out the provisions of this act, there is hereby appropriated to the office of the Governor out of the general fund of the State Treasury the sum of five thousand dollars.

[136] SR, 14 March 1950.

3. An emergency exists and this act is in force from its passage.[137]

All funding was to be provided "for the furniture, furnishings, and aid in dedication of one room of the McLean House" under partnership with the Appomattox County Board of Supervisors, who also passed a resolution providing an additional $3,500. Gurney, acting as NPS proxy, supported the Moses bill, which breezed to passage in the General Assembly with final approval by Governor Battle on March 14, 1950. Cox, Appleman, and Hudson received the good news and called a meeting just after the McLean House dedication to decide upon spending.[138] This group, primarily driven by Hudson, drafted a clear budget for spending just a month after Battle signed the bill into law.[139] Hudson's tentative outline for furnishing the surrender room included all the following with an estimated total cost of $5,380:

- Secretary-Bookcase, Reproduction - $1,200 (APCO 207)
- Spool Table (Grant), Reproduction - $125 (APCO 204)
- Chair (Grant), Reproduction - $150 (APCO 206)
- Chair (Lee), Reproduction - $150 (APCO 205)
- Victorian Sofa - $1,000 (APCO 161)
- Marble-Topped Table (Lee), Reproduction - $400 (APCO 162)
- Carpet, Reproduction - $400
- Curtains for two windows - $600
- Four colored prints in gilt frames - $500
- Two porcelain vases - $100 (APCO 3967)
- Oil portrait of Mrs. Wilmer McLean, Reproduction - $300
- Oil lamp - $50
- Two fans - $25
- Two brass candlesticks - $30
- Stone inkstand - $25
- Boxwood inkstand - $50
- Child's Doll - $25
- Fireplace equipment - $150
- Other small objects - $100[140]

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[137] Acts and joint resolutions of the General Assembly of the Commonwealth (1950), 257–58, APCO 11800/006.005.001, Box 8.

[138] SR, 12 January 1950. SR, 17 April 1950. Cox to Gurney, 31 March 1950, APCO 11800/006.005.001, Box 8. John Battle to Frank O''Brien, 7 August 1950, APCO 11800/006.004.003, Box 7.

[139] SR, 13 October 1950.

[140] Hudson to Gurney, 19 April 1950, APCO 11800/006.004.003, Box 7.

Hudson also took the opportunity to plan out all other McLean House rooms just in case other funding manifested. These would be costly as well, despite being classified as rooms where period-appropriate furniture would be acceptable rather than the preferred originals for the Surrender Room. Hudson further estimated costs for each to be as follows: Entrance Hall ($1,475), First Floor Bedroom ($2,300), Second Floor Bedroom ($2,400), Second Floor Master Bedroom ($2,700), Kitchen ($2,075), and Dining Room ($4,275).[141]

State Senator Moses also proposed an additional resolution calling on the Smithsonian Institute to return furniture, specifically a swivel chair used by Grant, a cane-back chair used by Lee, and a corner secretary desk that was in the surrender room corner, to Appomattox Court House. Moses's resolution received support from both branches of the General Assembly and Governor John Battle. Despite broad political and media support, the Smithsonian rejected the Moses resolution by claiming all donated items in their possession could not be transferred to APCO even on loan.[142]

As of September 1950, the $5,000 from the Moses bill had still not been released to the NPS. Gurney and Hudson continued to meet regarding state-funded furnishings into September, primarily to spur along the actual release of funds, which finally came in December of that year. There was likely no nefarious reason for such a delay, just the occasional slowness of bureaucracy. The Commonwealth transferred funding to the Appomattox County Board of Supervisors, a simpler process than a Federal transfer, to speed the program along. Even though the county technically held the money, Hudson and Gurney were retained as material selectors.

Hudson and Gurney focused on directly acquiring items immediately after the funds transfer. First was a Victorian sofa that was in the surrender room on April 9, 1865, owned by Ms. (Bruce) Campbell, Wilmer McLean's granddaughter. Gurney reported in December 1950 that Hudson secured an agreement to purchase from Campbell with articles appearing in Virginia newspapers the following month announcing the acquisition to the public. The negotiated price was $1,000. APCO considered the Victorian sofa a particularly valuable acquisition as it was, at the time, the only original piece of furniture from the Surrender Room that was still in McLean family possession.[143]

Other items Gurney identified to be purchased included those listed by Hudson—two porcelain vases that once sat on the McLean House mantle, curtains, four colored prints, two oil lamps, two pairs of brass candlesticks, two fans, one stock inkstand, one boxwood inkstand, one child's doll, a set of fireplace equipment, and a bookcase. The

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[141] Hudson to Gurney, 7 December 1949, APCO 11800/006.004.003, Box 7.

[142] SR, 14 March 1950.

[143] SR, 12 January 1951; 14 February 1951. APCO Supt Annual Report, 1951. Note that the Governor of Virginia''s office, represented by Secretary Carter Lowance, supported the acquisition plan for the sofa and marble-top table. Elbert Cox to Gurney, 6 December 1950; Gurney, "Plan for Furnishing," APCO 11800/006.004.003, Box 7.

most important items though were two tables and two chairs used by Grant and Lee to sign the actual surrender papers and a secretary bookcase. A major problem presented itself though when it became apparent these items were both appraised at a high value and held by owners who had no interest in selling. The original marble-top table used by Lee was on display at the Chicago Historical Society with the other four items held by the Smithsonian. Both organizations refused NPS requests to return items to Appomattox Court House at any cost, though each offered NPS access to take measurements so reproductions could be constructed.[144]

Purchasing the items out of the question, NPS staff debated whether to produce exact duplicates of the Chicago and Smithsonian items or acquire period duplicates. Gurney supported producing exact duplicates and successfully campaigned Hudson, Appleman, and Cox to his perspective. This group conceptualized the McLean House parlor as not a "period room," as was common in house museums. Instead, the parlor would be characterized by an exacting appearance that would lend the space more power and authenticity. The national NPS office initially disagreed, so the regional office took up a debate that spanned several months. Appleman drafted an argument for Gurney's perspective as, once the four agreed on the direction, they all realized none had written a proper justification.

The first point outlined in support of reproducing parlor furnishings was that furnishings in the McLean House were central to the park's most important story. This salient point contrasted with other NPS locations, namely Wakefield (George Washington Birthplace National Monument) and Fort McHenry National Monument, where furnishings were not critical components to core interpretation. To APCO and Regional staff, such a distinction was critical to proper interpretation. Appleman's argument, which represented the group's opinion, was summarized in the following excerpt:

> It seems to me that the Washington Office correspondence considers furnishing the surrender room as a "period room" much as one would think of the problem with any period house. This theory is sound, I think, and is the one we have here with all parts of the McLean House, except the surrender room. I think the case of the surrender room is quite different and requires a different type of treatment. The surrender room is important not so much for the furniture that was in it, but for what occurred there. Two of the tables and two of the chairs were used by the principal personages—Grant and Lee. We know where the originals are…we know we cannot obtain any of these original four pieces. We can have exact reproductions made to represent these historic objects. This is the point I want to make, which is of prime importance. We are not interested

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[144] SR, 12 January 1951; 14 February 1951. APCO Supt Annual Report, 1951. Note that the Governor of Virginia's office, represented by Secretary Carter Lowance, supported the acquisition plan for the sofa and marble-top table. Elbert Cox to Gurney, 6 December 1950; Gurney, "Plan for Furnishing," APCO 11800/006.004.003, Box 7. Cox to Biggs Antique Company, 16 October 1951, APCO Central Files (APCO 11800/006.001 Box 001).

> in period pieces in the room as such. We are interested in exact copies of the historic pieces themselves. That is the reason that I favor reproduction of these four pieces, rather than try to obtain period pieces, even though the period pieces might resemble very closely the originals.
>
> We know we cannot get the original pieces in the only sense in this case that "original" means anything.... I think it is wrong in this case to refer to obtaining original pieces...having exact copies of the original pieces in the surrender room and labelled as such, with information as to where the originals are located, might result in sufficient public interest and pressure being applied in time to obtain transfer of the originals to the McLean House.... We can proceed immediately with getting exact copies made, to be financed from the State appropriations for furnishing the surrender room. There is no telling how long it might take to canvass dealers throughout the country to obtain period pieces having any close similarity to the originals; and making this canvass by travel, personal inspection, and correspondence might be costly, and certainly will result in delay in furnishing this room.[145]

Appleman's appeal worked, and the National office conceded the point. The NPS moved forward with reproductions and coordinated with Otto Bouc, a Chicago-based artisan specializing in historical reconstructions, to make a reproduction based on the Chicago Historical Society's table. That reproduction arrived at APCO on June 4, 1951, and was placed in the McLean House parlor. Gurney still hoped, with encouragement from Representative Abbitt, that Congressional efforts would eventually result in the return of all original furniture, including that held by the Smithsonian. Gurney delayed movement on reproductions for several months based on Abbitt's positive outlook for a bill doing just that.[146]

As of late January 1951, Abbitt's bill to return furniture to Appomattox Court House moved to the Committee on Ways and Means.[147] A *Richmond Times-Dispatch* news article reported the Smithsonian intended to appear in opposition at House Administration Committee hearings on the Abbitt bill, at which point Abbitt withdrew the bill.[148] Abbitt's stated reason to Gurney was because the bill simply would not pass Congress, so it would be better to pull the bill rather than suffer an embarrassing defeat or a futile multiyear

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[145] Regional Director to Drury, 1 December 1950. Appleman to Regional Director, 1 December 1950, APCO 11800/006.004.003, Box 7. Daniel Tobin to Director, 15 September 1952; Ned Burns to Regional Director, 4 September 1952. Cox to Director, 2 July 1952; Regional Director to Director, 17 June 1952; Regional Director to Director, 4 June 1952; Wirth to Regional Director, 2 June 1952, "Administrative Files" Box 1456, Entry P11, RG79, NACP.

[146] Bouc also made replica furniture under contract with the state of Illinois for the Vandalia Statehouse to recreate the era of Abraham Lincoln. "Furniture Maker Otto Bouc Made Replicas," *The Leader Union,* September 5, 2012, www.leaderunion.com/content/furniture-maker-otto-bouc-made-replicas. SR, 16 July 1951. Gurney to Regional Director, 22 September 1950, APCO 11800/006.004.003, Box 7.

[147] SR, 14 February 1951.

[148] SR, 16 March 1951.

struggle. In response, Hudson moved forward with a plan to create replicas of the Smithsonian-held materials.[149] In November, the NPS via Hudson contacted cabinet makers in the Washington, DC, area to get price estimates, effectively a bid process, with plans to award the reproduction contract in December.[150] In January, Gurney and Hudson met with the Biggs Antique Company in Richmond to discuss the project, and work began the following month. Biggs got to work quickly and delivered the final of the four replications to APCO on March 2, 1953.[151] APCO issued a statewide press release about three weeks later detailing the Biggs project with a brief history and provenance of each piece, inviting the public to visit the site to see the new parlor furnishings, especially on April 9th, the 88th Anniversary of the surrender signing.[152]

Beyond legislative allocations and reproductions, Gurney and Hudson appealed to the public regularly throughout the late 1940s for any relevant donations. Of course, original McLean House items were preferred, but they made it clear only the Surrender Room necessitated original items. Other rooms could hold period pieces. Gurney and Hudson pushed multiple articles in the *Lynchburg News* and *Richmond Times-Dispatch* with donation appeals. In November 1949, Gurney and Hudson traveled throughout Appomattox, Lynchburg, and Bedford to several unnamed locations to inspect furniture offered for sale, accepting some as appropriate to be purchased if funding manifested. The following month, Gurney acquired from two Bedford women (Mrs. Archer Summerson and Mrs. Edward D. Gregory) several items: iron kettles, pot hooks, a Franklin stove, sewing machine, small dough mixer, and "other small items." He also purchased a walnut wardrobe and small spool table from Josephine Kinnier of Lynchburg.[153] Gurney and Robert I. Scott also traveled to Richmond regularly in 1949 to pick up items, such as a grandfather's clock on loan from Elwood Inge.[154]

One particularly productive relationship developed between APCO and Lucille Watson, a local history buff with an interest in APCO's growth. Gurney's superintendent reports stated that from the 1950 dedication ceremony to 1953, Watson helped furnish a large portion of the McLean House under the professional guidance of J. Paul Hudson both by personal donation and by connecting NPS staff with willing donors in her broad social network around Appomattox and Lynchburg.[155] Watson donated several items to APCO herself, including but not limited to the following:

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[149] SR, 17 September 1951.

[150] SR, 13 December 1951.

[151] SR, 14 February 1952; 16 April 1953.

[152] Gurney to Director, 26 March 1953, APCO Central Files (APCO 11800/001.001, Box 001).

[153] Gurney, 14 December 1949; 12 January 1950.

[154] SR, 15 June 1949.

[155] Gurney, 25.

- Nov. 1949: yarn reel, framed engraving of George Washington, tin and glass hall lantern[156]
- Mar. 1950: four-poster bed and sideboard[157]
- Jan. 1951: sixteen yards of red woven damask cloth donated by the Orinoka Mills, whose owners were close friends of the Watson family, in Philadelphia and York for making draperies in the surrender room to closely match an 1840 sample obtained by the NPS[158]
- Mar. 1952: loaned a four-post bed, trundle bed, and sundry chairs for the west bedroom in the hope that it would "stimulate local interest in the program for furnishing the McLean House and to have this room presentable for the spring and summer tourist season."[159]

The bulk of other furnishings came from other people and organizations. Rarely did Gurney or Hudson explicitly state how these connections were made. It is possible that Watson operated as a volunteer facilitator since most donors were women's clubs or individual women. Whatever the arrangement, Gurney relied on Watson for advice when it came to the placement or acceptance of furnishings. For instance, shortly after Watson's January 1951 red cloth donation, she recommended that the NPS reach out to contact Burch Arthur to acquire more Orinoka Mills manufactured red cloth to create window coverings for five rooms and a hallway. Hudson and Gurney followed this recommendation. A conference between Gurney, Hudson, and Breslin decided that this cloth would be used in the master bedroom, west bedroom, main hall, and surrender room but not the kitchen, dining room, or east bedroom. Draperies for the latter three rooms were produced, donated, and installed by Millner's Department Store in Lynchburg in March 1953.[160] Gurney brought in Theodore Wood, an interior decorator from Charlottesville, to work with Hudson in developing a plan for hanging drapes in the surrender room, master bedroom, west bedroom, and hall window once the material arrived later that year.[161] Wood volunteered his labor, as well as materials to form the draperies and an Empire-type sofa to round out the furnishings. Draperies were installed in these other rooms on March 12, 1952, under Hudson's supervision.[162]

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[156] SR, 14 December 1949.

[157] SR, 17 April 1950.

[158] SR, 13 February 1951; 17 April 1951. Lucille Watson to Hudson, 5 December 1940. Hudson to Watson, 5 December 1950, APCO 11800/006.004.003, Box 7.

[159] SR, 15 April 1952.

[160] SR, 16 July 1951; 15 August 1951; 16 April 1953.

[161] SR, 17 September 1951.

[162] SR, 15 April 1952.

Gurney did not successfully acquire nearly as much furniture as he had hoped before the dedication ceremony largely because of a shortage of money and time. At some point prior to 1950, APCO coordinated the formation of the McLean House Furnishing Committee, separate from the McLean House Dedication Committee, to be chaired by Mrs. Russell Wagers, though little documentation survives of this committee's activity.[163] Gurney and Hudson both appealed to the Appomattox Lions Club and Lynchburg Antiquarian Club in the months before the April ceremony without immediate luck.[164] A few significant donations were secured though: Ann Mason Lee, a grand-niece of Robert E. Lee, donated a "tapestry-covered, rosewood occasional chair";[165] Ms. (Ben) Temple of Richmond donated a table, to be stored at Petersburg National Military Park temporarily, for use at the McLean House that was accepted after an inspection by Hudson on March 14, 1951;[166] and the Mount Vernon Ladies Association donated a pier table and mantle mirror secured from Mount Vernon itself.[167] Other organizations assisted APCO in furnishing the house pre-commemoration, though Gurney did not specify in his reports. APCO asked the Lynchburg Elks Club to adopt a room as a club project, a proposal they accepted at their December 1949 meeting.[168] Hampton National Historic Site provided "several important items" to furnish the McLean House, though details were not recorded in reports.[169]

In the following years, a seemingly random scattering of donations came into APCO possession. The Appomattox chapter of the UDC donated undisclosed amounts of money toward purchasing furnishings about a year after the dedication ceremony. APCO used these funds to purchase a corner washstand for use in a McLean House bedroom and a mahogany sleigh-type bed later that year.[170] The Jones Memorial Library in Lynchburg donated about one thousand books from the Alexander Brown collection and Blackford Memorial Collection, under the approval of Hudson and the regional office in August 1951. APCO staff selected items wanted for either the McLean House or park library with other unwanted materials to be transferred to the Appomattox County library or any Virginia colleges who wanted the materials.[171] Ms. (C. S.) Adams of Lynchburg donated a mahogany

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[163] SR, 12 January 1950.

[164] SR, 14 March 1950.

[165] SR, 18 February 1952.

[166] SR, 17 April 1951.

[167] SR, 13 October 1949.

[168] SR, 12 January 1950.

[169] SR, 17 April 1950.

[170] SR, 16 March 1951; 15 October 1952.

[171] SR, 17 September 1951.

wardrobe for the east bedroom in September 1952.[172] B. Cantieri, an interior decorator with Millner's Department Store in Lynchburg, donated labor and materials to reupholster chairs, complete bed hangings and canopies, and add a flounce for the master bedroom and west bedroom beds under the supervision of Hudson.[173] An unspecified APCO employee donated a kitchen cabinet, which Hudson then advised on staining.[174] Ms. (Carl) Forsberg donated a block-patterned 13 x 17 foot carpet with an approximate origin of 1840. Ms. (A. T.) Henderson donated a two-piece banquet table.[175] An unnamed friends group also donated funds to APCO for McLean furnishing.[176] And finally, funding from the Eastern National Park and Monument Association allowed for the repair of three clocks (one grandfather and two mantle) within the McLean House.[177]

Other NPS sites transferred unused materials to APCO for the McLean House. Hudson negotiated most of these transfers, if not all, between 1949 and 1953. Morristown National Historical Park gifted twenty "white cotton net curtains" that had been in storage for approximately fifteen years. The curtains were originally used in the Ford Mansion until about 1940 and had been removed as other materials were considered more appropriate. Hudson believed these curtains would be sufficient for the time being until funding became available for period-appropriate drapes.[178] Gurney sent the curtains to the Appomattox County Home Demonstration Clubs for "necessary alterations" so the curtains could be installed in the McLean House before the spring reopening.[179] Hampton National Historic Site also donated four paintings and a carpet.[180]

Gurney and Hudson continued to travel often throughout the region looking for period-appropriate furnishings after Moses's funding came through to the park. Gurney traveled to Washington, DC, in early November 1950 explicitly to obtain a "walnut, rocker-type cradle" from Annaette Gill for the McLean House as an example of an early nineteenth-century cradle.[181] The pair went to Pamplin and found a spinet, and ordered further

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[172] Note that when a woman's name is written such as "Ms. (C. S.) Adams," this is because she was referred by her husband's name in the historical record and it was not possible to discover her actual name. The "(C. S.)" in this case refers to the woman's husband's name. SR, 15 October 1952.

[173] SR, 15 December 1952; 16 April 1953.

[174] SR, 17 February 1953.

[175] SR, 18 May 1953.

[176] SR, 15 October 1952.

[177] SR, 17 February 1953.

[178] Cox to Morristown NHP, 13 November 1950, APCO 11800/006.004.003, Box 7.

[179] SR, 12 January 1951. Hudson to Gurney, 5 December 1940,, APCO 11800/006.004.003, Box 7.

[180] SR, 18 October 1953.

[181] SR, 13 December 1950.

study to verify its period appropriateness.[182] The services of Theodore Wood, a Charlottesville-based "draperies expert," were secured in March 1951 to transform the donated red damask material into an appropriate mid-nineteenth-century window hanging.[183] The pair again traveled to Lynchburg to meet Ms. (A. T.) Henderson to inspect a carpet she claimed to be over one hundred years old. Satisfied, the pair purchased from her the carpet, chairs, a clock, a table, and two footstools using funds donated by the Lynchburg Foundry Company.[184] Another carpet was donated to APCO at about the same time that was "over 100 years old, with an overall floral pattern in red, green, and yellow." Hudson instructed this carpet to be placed in the second-floor east bedroom as the Surrender Room carpet had a "geometric pattern."[185] They bought six dining room chairs and a dresser in August 1951, though they made no mention of the seller.[186]

Assistant Director Ronald E. Lee visited APCO in mid-1953 and reported that most of the McLean House was in excellent condition. The lone exception was the Surrender Room, which Lee described as having "none of the touches so much in evidence in all the other rooms which give life and character to the display."[187] Such a critique must have rejuvenated Gurney's acquisition program. Donations had slacked off significantly, or at least Gurney did not report on them, throughout 1952 and into 1953, but Lee's comment kicked the program into gear. Gurney secured from Ms. (George Robert Jr.) Lillard, Wilmer McLean's great-granddaughter, a donation of two porcelain figurines that were once owned by unnamed former house residents.[188] Other smaller donations continued, but the next major acquisition was the arrival on March 22, 1955, of the "Gibbon Field Table," a personal folding table owned by Union General John Gibbon. It was upon this table that the "commissioner's meeting" documents were signed by Confederate Generals James Longstreet, John Gordon, and William Pendleton and Union Generals Gibbon, Wesley Merritt, and Charles Griffin on the day following the Grant-Lee surrender meeting. The Gibbon Table came via donation from Gibbon's granddaughter, who wrote to the NPS Director inquiring about the creation of "the old McLean House being made into a National Museum." The NPS leapt at the offer and promised the best of care and preservation from the museum division and APCO.[189] Three other significant items came to APCO

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[182] SR, 16 March 1951.

[183] SR, 17 April 1951.

[184] SR, 17 May 1951.

[185] SR, 16 June 1951.

[186] SR, 17 September 1951.

[187] Lee to Regional Director, 1 July 1953, APCO 11800/006.004.009, Box 7.

[188] SR, 16 April 1953.

[189] Hill to Director, 17 October 1954; Tolson to Hill, 25 October 1954; Hill to Tolson, 16 November 1954; Lewis to Hill, 24 November 1954; Hill to Lewis, 4 December 1954; APCO Central Files (APCO 11800/001.001, Box 001).

during March 1955: an 1865 China Doll, a period sofa and cupboard, and an 1896 watercolor of "the tree under which General Grant had his headquarters."[190] Later in September 1955, Gurney traveled to Washington, DC, to have an oil painting of Union Private Peter N. Grefe, donated by his son V. H. Grefe (APCO1140), professionally cleaned. Again, most of this work was in support of improving the McLean House parlor.[191]

Throughout all this concern over furnishings, Gurney made little mention of rejected furnishings and other interior features such as awnings, paint, or wall decorations. While it may seem that Gurney accepted a large quantity of items, park records suggest he rejected just as many. In the archives are dozens of letters from Gurney responding to solicitations kindly informing potential donors that their historic objects would perhaps be of better use elsewhere.[192] As for the interior space, in May 1951, the interior halls, front porch steps, rear porch steps, and porch cornices "were painted by contract" with details such as color or contractor excluded from Gurney's report.[193] APCO closed the McLean House temporarily during the winter of 1952, to install furnishings, paint, and perform basic maintenance in anticipation of reopening for the surrender anniversary on April 9, 1953. That year, APCO held a special surrender event with both the Stonewall Jackson Chapter from Richmond and the Appomattox Chapter of the UDC as guests.[194]

Documented provenance of items furnishing the McLean House exists in the APCO Central Files. The problem with some of Gurney's original documentation is he failed to note which items were purchased, donated, resold, or rejected. Gurney's list included the following items: Early Victorian Chair, Small Marble Top Table, Shells—Gun, Walnut Bedroom Suite (Antique, to sell), Spool Table, Mahogany Sideboard offered for sale, multiple Chest of Drawers, Couch, Trunk, two mahogany tables, lamp, ammunition chest, platform rocker, chairs, wardrobe, clock from McLean House, sewing machine, feather bed, walnut bed, counterpane, steel engraving of Robert E. Lee, a painting entitled "Stag at Bay," sideboard, dining chairs, mantel mirror, walnut table from McLean House, oxen yoke, bedstead, leather trunk, round spice box, pair of spectacles, many pianos, and unspecified "furniture" and "furniture for one bedroom." Despite these shortcomings, APCO staff in the decades since have compiled accession records so that all items are now accounted for, though this was a long, steady process.[195]

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[190] The respective donors of these three items were Ms. (William) McGovney of Roanoke, Dr. McChesney Goodall of Durham, NC, and Ms. (Inez) Hatcher of Ashland. SR, 18 April 1955.

[191] SR, 17 October 1955.

[192] APCO Central Files (APCO 11800/004.001, Box 4, Folder 303-02: Museum Gifts, Loans, etc., 1940–1963).

[193] SR, 16 June 1951.

[194] SR, 16 April 1953; 18 May 1953.

[195] McLean House Furnishings, 6 March 1951; McLean House Furnishings, undated, APCO 11800/006.004.003, Box 7.

Other Projects

Returning to projects outside of the McLean House reconstruction, Gurney recognized that the rest of the park still needed attention despite the massive achievements of the Major Repair and Rehabilitation Program in 1946–47. As previously stated in this chapter, dozens of other projects needed attention, not least of which the park's water system and staff residences. Gurney led several projects sharing the goal of modernizing water and sewer within APCO. Hundreds of pipe feet were installed underground throughout the park to modernize housing for park staff and restrooms for visitors, but also to install safety protocol like fire hydrants in the village center. Four operational fire hydrants existed within APCO via four-inch cast iron water mains traversing about 2,200 linear feet forged by the Lynchburg Foundry Company and laid by E. D. Tegethoff under competitive contract. Most, if not all, of this work was completed by the McLean House dedication.[196]

The Bocock-Isbell House was also renovated at the same time as the McLean House reconstruction. Both projects began in January 1948 and were completed in April 1949, though Gurney and his family moved into the Bocock-Isbell House on December 23, 1948. A smaller project for certain, the Bocock-Isbell House renovation was no less important considering it had been set aside as the Superintendent's residence. The NPS budgeted just $9,000 to renovate the Bocock-Isbell House, a tiny fraction of the McLean House budget, and Gurney did whatever he could to keep costs down throughout 1948 to ensure all allocated money went toward the renovation.[197]

The Bocock-Isbell House was also a different sort of project. First, the McLean House was primarily driven by aesthetics and preservation, whereas the Bocock-Isbell House was one with modern amenities and habitability of primary concern. Second, the open bidding process for the renovation project failed. A public call for sealed bids resulted in but a single response, which the NPS rejected as the proposal's estimated costs ($30,325) were over twice that of what the NPS had originally estimated ($13,500) for an outside contractor. This project was also funded directly from the standard NPS regional Project Construction Program, through which Gurney had to submit approval for funds. He did so on December 8, 1947, and the regional office approved the project just a month later. It was clear though the project was always to be funded in some capacity—the regional office had Regional Architect Higgins draw up plans for the renovation in February 1946.[198] Given that the Bocock-Isbell House timeline matched so closely to that of the McLean House, it can be assumed that the two projects shared at least some workers and equipment. For

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[196] SR, 13 February 1948; 13 January 1949; 14 April 1949.

[197] Gurney to Regional Director, 11 February 1948, APCO Central Files (APCO 11800/006.004.008, Box 007).

[198] SR, 10 November 1947; 13 January 1948. Gurney to Regional Office, Memorandum, 8 December 1947, APCO Central Files (APCO 11800/006.006, Box 008, Construction Project Records).

instance, both houses had their interior floors sanded and finished and interior trim painted in December 1948. The NPS did hire employees specifically for the Bocock-Isbell project, however, such as Robert I. Scott Jr., the project painter.[199]

Bocock-Isbell House work began with the removal of both front and rear porches and all frame partitions in the basement.[200] During spring and summer 1948, workers installed a new hot water system, electricity, plumbing, and plastering. All brickwork was closely analyzed and repaired with new brick and concrete where needed, including the chimney which had a new flue installed. The foundation was assessed for waterproofing and, having found some drainage issues, new trenches were excavated around the basement walls. Drain tiles and concrete footings were installed to remove rainwater more efficiently, and the exterior walls were reinforced with a one-inch layer of cement and hot asphalt to create a waterproof coating.[201] Workers installed a new front porch deck metal cover and a rear porch roof. The final few components of this project included painting and installing window screens.[202] Most of the original house structure excepting the frame itself, still being somewhat intact, was either torn down with materials reused or repaired and reinstalled. All doors original to the structure were taken down, repaired where needed, glazed, and reinstalled. The first-to-second floor stairwell, being in poor condition, was totally torn down then rebuilt using original materials.[203]

Other buildings around the Bocock-Isbell House had already been completed the preceding years. The kitchen structure had extensive work done replacing rotten joists, reinforcing the foundation, and new roofing paper installed, among a multitude of other modifications. The smokehouse was similarly repaired, with primary tasks involving painting and applying a protective oil coating.[204] Work began on the Bocock-Isbell yard fence about a month after the McLean House dedication. Gurney described the fence as "approximately 550 feet in length extending around the front, sides, and back of the Bocock-Isbell Yard" with fence posts, rails, and pickets all in place by the end of June 1950. This fence cost about $400 spent in June with an additional $200 requested to complete the project. The final painting of the fence and construction of culvert headwalls was completed in April 1951. The following month an additional $315 was spent to paint the house

[199] SR, 13 January 1949.

[200] SR, 13 February 1948.

[201] SR, 13 April 1948.

[202] SR, 14 March 1949; 13 May 1949.

[203] SR, 11 September 1948.

[204] SR, 11 April 1947.

exterior.[205] The Bocock-Isbell House project completion report filed by Gurney on December 30, 1950, indicated the total cost to be $19,090 for the house and all its yard components.[206]

As the McLean and Bocock-Isbell projects neared completion, NPS staff worked to finish a few other projects before the dedication ceremony. Remaining interpretive iron tablets installed by the War Department in 1893 were all removed to park storage in 1948. Gurney set aside $360 to finalize reconstruction of the Plunkett-Meeks Stable in October 1949 with expectations that it would be completed by the McLean House dedication. Gurney suspended all work on the Stable that June due to a lack of NPS funding and because the structure's primary function, to conceal a 23,000-gallon concrete water storage tank, was considered a lower priority than most other projects, but was revived within a few months as that water was needed for firefighting purposes. APCO staff completed stable work in December 1949 with the installation of cedar shingles and a new exterior coat of white paint. Completion of this structure allowed for APCO to submit their final Village Area Water Supply System Report.[207] Other submitted projects during the latter half of 1949 included a plan for reconstructing the McLean Well House and landscaping around the McLean House and Bocock-Isbell House, though much of the final work was delayed until fall 1950 due to priority given to the McLean House. Two NPS Landscape Architects, Stanley Abbott and V. Roswell Ludgate, traveled to APCO in September to review the landscaping plans, and Region One Architect Daniel J. Breslin visited in February 1950 to finalize site designs.[208]

A major concern for APCO staff during this time was increased traffic passing through the center of the park. Route 24 still passed directly through the center of the town, split around the old courthouse, and then came together again. Vehicular accidents were somewhat common, though Gurney never reported any park damages beyond regular road degradation during the 1940s. In fact, the state highway department maintained the road quite well, even going so far as to totally resurface through the village center to connect with US Highway 460. However, the road had become rutted and dangerous by 1950 owing to decreased state maintenance during the war.[209] The accidents occurring around Appomattox Court House, while small, nevertheless shook APCO staff into thinking that the next crash could be into a historic structure. In 1947, the driver of a 1937 Chevrolet lost control and hit a tree in the McLean House yard. The driver and passenger escaped with

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[205] SR, 13 July 1950; 15 May 1951; 16 June 1951.

[206] Gurney, "Project Completion Report: Bocock-Isbell House," 30 December 1949, "Administrative Files," Box 1192, Entry P11, RG79, NACP.

[207] SR, 12 November 1948; 14, November 1949. SR, 15 June 1949.

[208] Gurney, "Superintendent's Narrative Report," 10 August 1949, NACP, Box 122. SR, 14 March 1950. SR, 17 April 1950. SR, 13 July 1949.

[209] SR, 12 July 1948.

minor injury.[210] The worst accident of the period came on December 9, 1951, when a tractor-trailer traveling too great a speed failed to make the turn at the ACH circle and wrecked. No injuries resulted from the crash and NPS property sustained no damage, but the accident further convinced NPS staff that a change was necessary.[211]

As for entrance roads to the park, in July 1949, the Regional Director approved the Village Development Plan including a new entrance road and parking lot south of the courthouse, with NPS Director Drury approval coming the following month. This was the continuation of a project originally set aside for the CCC but not completed during their two-year tenure, though it had been modified to shift parking areas significantly south of the village center rather than adjacent to Route 24. This change was also because it had become clear that the originally planned Route 24 bypass began by the CCC would not be completed soon. Parking lot changes came from a meeting between Gurney and several NPS staffers, most importantly Chief Engineer Frank A. Kittredge, which concluded the APCO parking area needed to be relocated away from the courthouse area and to a space accessible via Market Lane to the south. The reasoning for this was that it would be ultimately desirable for Route 24 not to pass through the village center at all, so it stood to reason that vehicle parking should be moved away as well toward the proposed bypass.[212]

In conjunction with the parking lot plan initiation, the NPS implemented a Roads and Trails maintenance program at APCO. The major project set for 1949 through 1951 was the improvement of Bocock Lane with the intention of developing this pathway as the primary access road to the Bocock-Isbell House. Gurney set aside $2,000 to recondition the road in October 1949 with Ranger Robert I. Scott taking over supervision in November. Regional Engineer Thomas Ruffin worked with Gurney to establish a budget and secure funding with grading, culvert installation, and base stone spread during the following December and January. In the meantime, a temporary driveway to the house had been used that had disrupted the historical landscape around the house, though its exact location was not noted in Gurney's records. By May 1950, the project was nearly completed with twenty tons of stone having been installed as a top layer over leveled ground. The following month, Gurney reported the project was "98 percent complete" with only "final seeding" and fertilization remaining.[213]

APCO funding increased by $1,000 during April 1950 to facilitate reconditioning Market Lane from the Court House Green to Back Lane so it could serve as a walkway from the parking area to the village center. Work began immediately, with the first tasks

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[210] SR, 12 March 1947.

[211] SR, 16 January 1952.

[212] Gurney, "Superintendent's Narrative Report," 10 August 1949, NACP, Box 122. SR, 14 March 1950. SR, 17 April 1950. SR, 13 July 1949.

[213] Supt report, 13 October 1949; 14 November 1949; 14 December 1949; 12 January 1950; 13 February 1950; 14 June 1950; 14 July 1950.

being grading, laying of about 180 tons of stone, and installation of two culverts. Another $1,000 came from the regional office to restore the McLean Well House at this time.[214] By the end of June, Gurney estimated the Market Lane project was complete except for seeding and fertilization scheduled for later in the fall.[215] McLean Well House work was approved and planned for June, but did not begin "due to unusual activity in the building industry," according to Gurney. Purchase orders and contracts were put in place, though, and Gurney was hopeful work would begin in a few weeks.[216]

Gurney ordered the installation of six no parking signs on Route 24 directly in front of the McLean House, a necessity given the increased interest after the dedication ceremony. Gurney noted the "extremely dangerous conditions" along the road, implying it was caused by visitors parking hazardously.[217] The NPS also installed warning signs around the park property to denote federal land prohibiting hunting.[218] Four years later, the question of parking in the center of Appomattox Court House persisted with two perspectives: ban all parking inside the village center or only allowing parking off the Court House circle.[219]

The Route 24 bypass was completed in October 1954 (with final landscaping completed three months later) a few hundred yards south of its former location. This project had been a long time coming as a top NPS priority for nearly two decades by that point. The project was spurred forward in 1949 when the Virginia State Highway Department began a road shoulder and ditch project between the modern Town of Appomattox and the Appomattox River bridge. This meant state construction equipment would pass through and work within APCO. Part of the project's goal was to improve APCO access in the lead up to the McLean House ceremony, which was appreciated by the NPS, but it also made all too real the fact that the NPS did not fully control the heart of this park. The idea of heavy equipment disturbing the pastoral scene for months was just too much, so the NPS secured the funding necessary to get the bypass project moving.[220] Still, it took years to get moving. Gurney and NPS Director Wirth approved the Route 24 redirection project formally in May 1954 and a contract was awarded to J. R. Ford Company Inc. on August 24, 1954. The NPS requested that the company create a parking area at the

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[214] SR, 13 May 1950; 14 June 1950.

[215] SR, 14 July 1950.

[216] SR, 13 July 1950.

[217] SR, 13 July 1950.

[218] SR, 13 December 1950.

[219] Appleman to Chief Historian, 17 November 1954, APCO 11800/006.004.009, Box 7.

[220] SR, 15 June 1949.

Confederate Cemetery, an entrance road for the utility area, and the Peers House Driveway.[221] All surfacing was completed on October 28 with final inspections and approvals from the state highway department and landscaping completed three months later.[222]

State Road 627, formerly known as Prince Edward Court House Road, was regraded, repaired, and paved the following year as the new Appomattox Court House access road.[223] The following year also brought trees as the Virginia Highway Department, in conjunction with the Appomattox Garden Club, beautified the new road by planting dogwood trees along the new bypass. Leftover stone was also cleared from areas west of the Confederate Cemetery.[224]

In April 1955, the Virginia Highway Department announced the agency planned to abandon old Route 24 that passed through the center of Appomattox Court House in coming months. This decision was generally expected by NPS staff given the Route 24 bypass road had been completed for about over six months. According to Gurney, unnamed members of the public lodged formal protests with the Virginia Highway Department, who then forwarded complaints to the NPS Regional Office. Gurney met with the unnamed protestors at the behest of regional staff to "secure withdrawal of the protests," but he was unsuccessful in his efforts. While Gurney did not explicitly state the names of protestors or their complaints, the implication was they were local landowners concerned that a rerouted Route 24 would negatively impact access to their land and property values. Virginia Highway Department plans proceeded despite public opposition, though the state agency did hold a public hearing on June 8. Local landowners lodged complaints, as did the UDC Appomattox Chapter and Appomattox Garden Club. The NPS remained quiet and appeared neutral.[225]

The Virginia Highway Commission voted to abandon old Route 24 on August 4, 1955, pending a thirty-day buffer, meaning the road would be abandoned during the first week of September.[226] More people came to APCO on October 13th to continue lodging their complaints. Gurney hosted Director Wirth, Helen Wirth, and Regional Director Elbert Cox to APCO for a meeting with Representative Abbitt and two representatives of the UDC. Director Wirth handled all questions on the topic, and the outcome was essentially the same. The road closure would proceed unabated.[227] The NPS formally barred all vehicles in the Appomattox Court House village that same year, finally putting an end to

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[221] SR, 16 June 1954; 15 September 1954; 17 January 1955.

[222] SR, 15 November 1954. SR, 15 June 1949.

[223] SR, 17 June 1955.

[224] SR, 16 May 1955.

[225] SR, 16 May 1955; 20 July 1955.

[226] SR, 15 September 1955.

[227] SR, 16 November 1955.

vehicles in the center of town. The new bypass brought newfound attention to automobile tourism to the area. A new organization, the Appomattox Restoration Fund, appeared in Gurney's May 1955 report having donated four-by-six-foot framed way pointing signs to be erected along Route 24 both east and west of APCO. Given that the signs used the NPS color scheme, these were likely created in conjunction with NPS staff though Gurney did not state as much.[228]Also, a new tour tracing Robert E. Lee's retreat route to Appomattox in the final days of the war was created. On June 19, 1955, the Virginia Sports Car Club organized a test run with a group of sixty vehicles following the signage recently erected by the Virginia State Highway Department.[229] The following spring, the Richmond and Petersburg Civil War Round Table also followed this same path to visit APCO on the anniversary of the surrender.[230]

Showing there were no hard feelings regarding the bypass debate, regional staff met with Avis Smith, APCO Clerk and President of the Appomattox UDC from 1953 to 1957, and other UDC members to discuss potential improvements for Confederate Cemetery access for 1956. The new Route 24 bypass created a parking lot and landscaping, but all parties at this meeting agreed greenery needed to be relocated to accommodate a new entrance orientation from north to west. The NPS drew up a new plan to reflect these changes and passed it on to the Appomattox UDC for a chapter vote.[231]

The first few postwar years also saw greater attention given to park archives and visitor services. Gurney's reports on occasion summarized major acquisitions, which also suggest what he considered most important to report to the national office. Early reports were all paintings, drawings, and maps representing the events of April 1865, suggesting Gurney wanted to flesh out the park's primary sources to inform military history interpretation. The story of APCO was the surrender meeting, not unusual for that period of NPS interpretation. Gurney's first reported major acquisitions came when APCO received five George L. Frankenstein paintings on July 15, 1949, via a donation by Clementine L. Bock. Frankenstein's work depicted scenes in and around ACH during 1865. Though the exact dates of Frankenstein's travels to ACH are unknown, historian Patrick Schroeder estimates it would have been during the fall of that year. APCO staff also secured photocopies of all Grant and Lee correspondences from April 1865 and purchased eight photographs of Appomattox Court House taken by A. H. Plecker in 1892 on behalf of the War Department for the iron marker installation.

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[228] SR, 17 June 1955.

[229] SR, 20 July 1955.

[230] SR, 15 May 1956.

[231] SR, 15 February 1956.

The APCO Museum Room in the Tavern was also given greater attention during the late-1940s. The Museum Division Training School under the supervision of Ralph Lewis visited APCO twice in November 1949 to inspect old exhibits, plan new ones, and then install new panels created by the Museum Division Workshop.[232] This work precipitated acquisition of new materials for this museum space. APCO acquired copies of the R. E. L. Russell maps detailing the Union and Confederate army movements from Petersburg to Appomattox Court House from April 2nd to 9th, 1865. Together, these acquisitions provided park staff some of the clearest pictures yet of ACH's historical appearance and the exact troop movements of April 1865.[233] Gurney also generated his own archival resources, such as when he hired "a local photographer," unnamed in the Superintendent's Report, to take color photographs of the McLean House, Burns Miniature Village, and "other points of interest within the area" for future use. It was unclear from Gurney's reports for what purpose these photographs were used or where these photographs were eventually stored.[234]

After the dedication ceremony, projects to shore up APCO facilities moved forward. These are largely funded in reaction to increased attendance. In July 1950, the NPS drew up plans for a Comfort Station in the Ferguson House that rearranged and improved administrative offices in the building. This was made possible by the transfer of the Superintendent's Quarters to the Bocock-Isbell House, meaning the old living space was now open.[235] Three years later, the NPS completed the Ferguson rearrangement with Superintendent's and Clerk's offices moved to the east room and the "front three rooms" modified for museum displays.[236]

Temporary museum exhibits at APCO existed at least as early as 1950, but during the early 1950s, a new exhibit plan was developed as a group effort between APCO, regional, and national staff aimed at opening in 1954. The Museum Branch prepared exhibit layouts in concert with the Museum Exhibit Plan with significant input from both Gurney and Cox. Each layout was reviewed by the Chief Historian and Director. The plan, at least in 1953, was to initially install the exhibits within the Clover Hill Tavern, then transfer all to the rebuilt courthouse even though there was no timeline to rebuild this structure. The national office role in this process was primarily to provide final review and

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[232] Supt report, 11 October 1947; 14 December 1949.

[233] Gurney, "Superintendent's Narrative Report," 10 August 1949; 12 September 1949; 13 October 1949, NACP, Box 122. Supt report, 13 October 1949. www.newsadvance.com/news/local/what-was-life-like-around-appomattox-immediately-after-the-civil/article_93778614–57cb-11e5-adc6–9f603cc1b9f7.html.

[234] SR, 19 August 1953.

[235] SR, 13 August 1950; 14 September 1950; 13 October 1950.

[236] SR, 16 April 1953.

approval and to facilitate access to resources held by the National Archives. The National Archives copied and laminated several items, such as a Confederate bond, a Ulysses S. Grant letter, and a Confederate Muster Roll for APCO use.[237]

In preparing the exhibit install, Gurney curated a list of items in January 1950 to be used that were "not at hand locally" and needed to be acquired by the Museum Laboratory. The list is presented verbatim in full and grouped by exhibit in its final draft form as of early 1954:

- Exhibit 1
    - Confederate flag (Custer)[238]
- Exhibit 2
    - Elmo Jones watercolor of Appomattox
    - Confederate rifle
- Exhibit 3
    - Last flag adopted by the Confederacy in 1865
    - Standard for flag
    - Print, photograph or engraving of Great Seal of Confederacy with good details for reference
    - Negative (preferably 8x10)—view "Burning of Richmond"
- Exhibit 4
    - Tin plate
    - Tin cup
    - Fork
    - Hard tack
    - Negatives—"Wagon train leaving Petersburg", "Flooded Potomac", "Amelia Courthouse", "Destroyed rail lines on Richmond-Danville", "Destruction of Confederate wagon train, Saylor's Creek", "High Bridge near Farmville", "Capture of four supply trains at Appomattox station"
- Exhibit 5
    - Artillery Shell
    - 12 Minie balls
    - Contemporary map of Appomattox defenses
    - Truce flag
    - Negative, photograph, or Photostat—10:15 A.M. Surrender Note

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[237] Kahler to Lee, 6 January 1954; Cox to Director, 18 December 1953; Ruth Pridham to Gurney, 27 November 1953; Lisle to Director, 11 August 1953; Gurney to Director, 27 May 1953; Gurney to Cox, 23 January 1953; Ronald Lee to Grant III, 6 January 1953; Herbert Kahler to Region One Museum Administrator, 24 March 1950, Gurney to Director, 17 March 1950, "Administrative Files," Box 1192, Entry P11, RG79, NACP.

[238] Note that Exhibit 1 was later changed to be a Virginia State Flag.

- Exhibit 6
    - Negative (preferably 8x10)—Guillaume painting of surrender
    - Negative, photograph, or Photostat—Grant's surrender terms
    - Negative, photograph, or Photostat—Lee's acceptance
    - Engraved portrait of Lee matching well the engraved Grant portrait
- Exhibit 7—None
- Exhibit 8
    - Confederate battle flag (61st Virginia)
    - Photostat—Lee's farewell message
    - Negative—"Lee's farewell to his troops"
    - Negative (preferably 8x10)—"Meeting of Grant and Lee"
    - Photostats of any additional documents of formal surrender
    - Two copies of parole forms
    - List of weapons to be surrendered
    - Specimens—weapon types on list of weapons to be surrendered
- Exhibit 9
    - Photograph, negative of the following: Generals Johnston, Sherman, Richard Taylor, E.R.S. Canby, Jeff Thompson, Dodge, Sam Jones, McCook, Kirby Smith
    - Jefferson Davis, Palmetto Ranch, Texas
    - Old view of Mexico City, Emperor Maximilian
    - Actual or photostatic copies of literature promoting immigration of Confederates to Mexico
- Exhibit 10
    - Five Frankenstein paintings (New Hope Church, Peers House, Main Street, Apple Tree, Where Lee and Grant Met)
- Exhibit 11
    - Photograph—Negative—"McLean House shortly after surrender"
    - Oil portrait—Wilmer McLean
    - Photograph—Negative—"McLean House at Manassas"
- Exhibit 12
    - Burn model of Appomattox Court House[239]
    - Negative, photograph, or other illustration, showing Courthouse at site
- Exhibit 13

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[239] In late 1940, Gurney was made aware that S. H. [Joseph] Burn had produced scale models of the buildings at ACH as they existed in 1891–92. Gurney and Burn negotiated the sale of the models to the NPS for $175.00 on September 13, 1940, but "due to a misunderstanding on Mr. Burn's part of the procedure required to effect payment by the Government for the property, the models and papers were returned to the owner, at his request." SR, September 1940.

  - A variety of objects excavated before and during reconstruction of McLean House, probably ten to twenty objects depending on size for table case
  - Negatives—three good photographs of excavations made prior to reconstruction
  - Negatives—two good photographs showing progress of reconstruction
  - Negative—one top quality photograph of reconstructed house
  - Negative—two good photographs showing details of reconstructed house
- Exhibit 14
  - Five negatives—good quality views of Civil War areas administered by NPS other than Appomattox[240]

By 1952, Gurney and regional staff moved forward with a plan to enlarge the museum space. Ranger-Historian Harold E. Cox completed a plan for revision and enlargement in August 1952. Hudson approved of the plan, though Gurney worked on a museum prospectus for new, expanded displays well into 1953.[241] Archival donations further trickled in as well, such as when Judge Flood donated an 1861 muster roll for Company H, Second Virginia Cavalry, which was enlisted at Appomattox Court House and commanded by Flood's father.[242] Captain Fitzhugh Lee also lent APCO his grandfather's paroled prisoner's pass issued at Appomattox Court House, a transportation order, and other unnamed documents.[243] T. M. Goldsburg donated "a large collection of Civil War items," causing Gurney to remark that "considerable progress has been made lately in the flow of relics to the museum."[244] Such museum development also included a bit of amateur archaeology. In July 1953, Gurney allowed an event where officers of the Atlanta Civil War Round Table, with the assistance of Representative Abbitt, used a "mine detector" to discover Civil War artifacts around the park.[245]

The museum plan did not meet the self-imposed April 9, 1954, deadline.[246] Regardless, the exhibits were installed in the Clover Hill Tavern later that year with the Museum Branch Chief Lewis inspecting the site in person on November 15th. In general, Lewis approved of the interpretive exhibits and found them "carefully maintained and quite satisfactory" in both the Tavern and McLean House. Lewis did provide five pages of

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[240] Ralph Lewis to Regional Director, 21 January 1954, NACP, "Administrative Files," Box 1192, Entry P11, RG79, NACP.

[241] SR, 17 September 1952.

[242] SR, 12 June 1953.

[243] SR, 14 Jul 1953.

[244] SR, 16 August 1953.

[245] SR, 19 August 1953.

[246] Bertrand Richter to G. F. McWilliams, 14 April 1954, NACP, "Administrative Files," Box 1192, Entry P11, RG79, NACP.

recommended changes to regional staff. Most suggested were minor and revolved around labeling, lighting, cases, and signage. Lewis made no complaints of interpretation except for suggesting that further exhibits in other APCO spaces might be advisable soon.[247]

Meanwhile, Gurney worked to fill the museum with quality artifacts and artwork. Two special items were accepted by APCO in October 1951—a flag of truce sent by Confederates into Federal lines on the morning of April 9, 1865, received by General George A. Custer, and a Virginia state flag incorrectly believed to have been captured at Namozine Church on April 3, 1865, by Captain Thomas W. Custer of the Sixth Michigan Cavalry.[248] Both items were in the possession of Custer Battlefield National Monument at the time, which loaned the items for display at APCO. Gurney organized a commemoration ceremony for October 18, 1951, at the McLean House to formalize the items' arrival to APCO. Custer's descendent Colonel Brice C. W. Custer presented the items on behalf of the family with Charles Porter, Gurney, and Edward S. Luce (Superintendent at Custer Battlefield National Monument) representing the NPS. After a brief introduction by Calvin H. Robinson of the *Times-Virginian* and a prayer, students from Appomattox High School sang "Dixie." NPS representatives then spoke in turn, Custer presented the flags, and Gurney accepted. Finally, Gurney turned the stage over to the American Legion, UDC Appomattox Chapter, and singers for a rendition of "American the Beautiful" in turn before a final benediction. All told, Gurney considered the event "outstanding."[249] After the event, Hudson recommended that both flags be transferred to the Museum Division in Washington for repair and mounting, which Gurney did on December 3, 1951.[250]

An unexpected windfall also came from the Custer flags in the form of a catalog. When Custer transferred the flags, Custer Battlefield National Monument also sent several publications, one of which was a Lewis Art Gallery catalog supplement published in 1883. An entry caught Gurney's eye—"The Surrender of General Lee to General Grant, April 9, 1865," a 5 x 6-foot oil on canvas work painted by Louis M. D. Guillaume in 1874. Further of interest was that Guillaume claimed to have been at Appomattox Court House on April 9, 1865, and made sketches that month of the surrender room furniture, carpet, and other furnishings. Though Guillaume was not present in the surrender room with Grant and Lee at any point, it was plausible that he had first-hand knowledge of the McLean House that day. Hudson researched this entry and found the painting in the holdings of the University

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[247] Lewis to Regional Director, 19 November 1954; Lewis to Regional Director, 10 February 1955; Daniel Tobin to Gurney, 15 February 1955, "Administrative Files," Box 1192, Entry P11, RG79, NACP.

[248] Note that this particular flag was not actually captured at Namozine Church.

[249] SR, 18 November 1951.

[250] SR, 18 November 1951; 16 January 1952.

of Michigan, which agreed to send the NPS photographs.[251] The discovery of the painting was big news, with both the *Lynchburg News* and *Richmond Times-Dispatch* writing articles about it.[252]

Guillaume was French but moved to the United States and made a living as an artist in Richmond. During the Civil War, he made a name for himself by creating six portraits of Confederate leaders in heroic equestrian poses. His goal was to eventually have these images mass produced, though this goal died with the disintegration of the Southern print and publishing industry during the latter half of the Civil War. Still, Guillaume's portraits, especially those of Lee and Jackson, grew in popularity, largely driven by Lost Cause imaginations of the heroic yet tragic Confederate leaders.[253]

After years of negotiation, APCO acquired the Guillaume painting on June 24, 1954. APCO delivered a $1,250 payment to the University of Michigan, which was raised through a public campaign. Funding came from public subscriptions, schoolchildren, and civic organizations in Appomattox and Lynchburg managed by Lucille Watson and James R. Gilliam Jr. The university transferred the painting to the Randolph-Macon Women's College Art Gallery first, wherein a small ceremony took place. NPS Museum Branch employees Floyd Lafayette and Walter Nitkiewicz visited APCO six days later to "supervise the removal, crating, and transportation of the painting to Appomattox" and helped hang the painting in the new museum in the Clover Hill Tavern.[254] Six months later, new interest on the painting came from the NPS at two angles. First, APCO noticed "a marked checking" on the painting and requested an expert assess its condition. Specialist Walter J. Nitkiewicz arrived in APCO on February 28, 1956, and worked two days de-framing the canvas, applying a protective coating, and crating the painting for transportation.[255] Second, NPS Historian Appleman drew attention to the inaccuracies of the otherwise "powerful" painting. In Appleman's opinion, the portrait of Grant was poor and uniform too clean, the position of the two Generals at a small table never happened, and Grant should not have been depicted with pen and paper as if receiving dictation from Lee. In Appleman's opinion,

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[251] SR, 16 January 1952. Since this re-discovery, Guillaume's work has been used widely, such as on the cover of Bell Irvin Wiley's *Road to Appomattox* and on NPS postcards. Patrick Schroeder's Arcadia Press book about ACH describes the painting as "the most famous painting of the surrender." Schroeder, 38.

[252] SR, 18 February 1951.

[253] Robertson and Davis, *Virginia at War, 1862* (University Press of Kentucky, 2007), 113. Boritt, *Jefferson Davis's Generals* (Oxford University Press, 1999).

[254] SR, 16 Jul 1954.

[255] SR, 15 February 1956; 16 March 1956.

APCO should place a label near the portrait highlighting both "merits and defects" of the painting and the guided tour staff should discuss the same.[256] The painting finally returned to APCO on July 9, 1957, having received expert conservation treatments.[257]



Figure 22. Louis Mathieu Didier Guillaume,
"The Surrender of General Lee to General Grant, April 9, 1865".
APCO 2676.

Another unique item came into APCO possession in 1953 when the park displayed the model village created primarily by Joseph Burn in consultation with County Clerk George Peers around 1888. This model village was created to generate interest and tourism in Appomattox Court House in the hope that the 1893 plan could come to fruition. APCO had attempted to purchase the model from Burn previously, but those attempts all fell through. APCO placed the Burn model village on display during the summer of 1953, which immediately generated tourism. Gurney sold the idea of the Burn village as "the best surviving record of the physical appearance of Old Appomattox Court House around the time of surrender." Gurney commissioned A. Van Landeghem, a Lynchburg-based artist, to refurbish and install the Burn village.[258]

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[256] Appleman to Chief Historian, 17 November 1954, APCO 11800/006.004.009, Box 7.

[257] SR, 19 August 1957.

[258] SR, 16 August 1953.

On July 20, 1950, Gurney delivered photographs and maps to Elmo Jones, an artist based in Richmond, so he could create a perspective drawing or painting of Appomattox Court House as it appeared in 1865. Jones was a well-known Virginia artist in his time specializing in historical sketches, maps, and landscapes. He illustrated dozens of historical books and postcards in his career, almost entirely of Virginia scenes. Sentimentality defined Jones's images. His work was, by all accounts, informed by primary sources using photographic images when possible and authoritative first-hand descriptions when not, though he tended to deploy stereotypical characters when depicting individuals.[259] The NPS regional office provided the funding to pay Jones. A September 15th check-in by Gurney reported "very promising" preliminary sketches. Jones completed the painting in February 1951, at which point his work was exhibited at the regional office in Richmond as part of a special exhibit on APCO. On April 19, 1951, Gurney personally picked up the painting along with a marble top table Hudson acquired for the park.[260]

NPS officials consciously sought to balance interpretation, especially in the museum space, and APCO was not a Confederate shrine as so many community members desired. According to NPS Historian Roy Appleman, who toured the site in late-1954, there was no "partiality toward either the North or the South" within APCO museum exhibits.[261] Gurney also sought to improve himself consistently. For example, Gurney and his wife traveled to Colonial Williamsburg in early 1952 as a special guest of the site at the opening of the Brush-Everard House, the first major opening since before WWII. Gurney reported that he took this visit as an opportunity to study the cutting-edge exhibitions for the greater benefit of the NPS.[262] The work being conducted at APCO ultimately made Gurney an NPS expert in historic preservation. By the end of 1954, he taught courses at the regional office on the topic, for instance leading a discussion on December 3, 1954, entitled "Maintenance of Historic Buildings." He also finished five completion reports in that year alone covering the Peers House, Clover Hill Tavern, Tavern Kitchen and Guest House, Building #33, and "two buildings comprising the new Service Area Group." Because of this, it must be assumed that all preservation work conducted at APCO during his tenure was up to the time's standards and adhered to NPS standards.[263]

Little material appeared in park records regarding original tours or exhibits prior to 1950. During September 1949, park staff installed a "self-service distribution box," meaning a kiosk where visitors could obtain park information when no rangers were on duty, usually

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[259] Examples of such artwork can be seen in Jones's illustrations in Gilchrist Waring, *The City of Once Upon a Time* (Dietz Press, 1946).

[260] SR, 13 August 1950; 16 March 1951; 17 May 1951.

[261] Appleman to Chief Historian, 17 November 1954, APCO 11800/006.004.009, Box 7.

[262] SR, 18 February 1952.

[263] SR, 17 January 1954.

after hours.[264] Given the regional office suggested in mid-1953 to create a "self-guiding leaflet and some system of numbers or markers" for wayfinding, it seems that Gurney's "box" needed some additional support.[265] In 1950, APCO received from the Virginia Conservation and Development Commission new markers for the Confederate Cemetery and new Court House so as to guide visitors and clarify old versus new village buildings.[266]

Land acquisition was another major question for Gurney during these years. Gurney traveled to the Regional Office in December 1949 to discuss the best method of enlarging APCO land holdings. The outcome of this meeting was the acknowledgment that Congressional legislation would mandate any new land, so the best course of action in the meantime was to create a Boundary Status Report supplemented with land recommendations.[267] Representative John Murdock (D-Arizona) introduced a new bill in January 1952 with the full support of the Department of the Interior that would authorize new acquisitions by APCO and mechanisms to sell or exchange surplus park lands. The bill passed through subcommittee review in two months and passed the House of Representatives on May 5th as H.R. 6439. However, this bill was not successfully guided through Congress, as Murdock proposed it too late in the session.[268] In late 1952, Gurney successfully appealed to Congressman Abbitt to reintroduce a bill that would authorize land additions to APCO. Congressman Wesley D'Ewart (R-Montana) introduced a new bill (HR 1528) that was "substantially the same" as Murdock's from the previous year.[269] This time, the bill cruised through the legislative process and was signed by President Eisenhower in July 1953.[270] That major legislative hurdle out of the way, APCO could set about acquiring new land.

Land rental and property swaps were also pursued by the NPS in this period. Gurney along with regional staff met and approved a renewal to rent ninety-six acres of pastureland around the park.[271] National (Siler, Lindauer, Quinn) and regional (Perkins) NPS staff traveled to APCO on November 17, 1954, to review land exchanges between the park and unnamed private property. Part of this meeting included a review of exchanging the old Route 24 corridor for the new Bypass Road location, though no formal decisions were made at that time.[272] National planning staff also concerned themselves with ownership of the Confederate Cemetery. The cemetery was the final inholding within APCO

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[264] Gurney, "Superintendent's Narrative Report," 12 September 1949, NACP, Box 122.

[265] Ronald E. Lee to Regional Director, 1 July 1953, APCO 11800/006.004.009, Box 7.

[266] SR, 13 August 1950.

[267] SR, 12 January 1950.

[268] SR, 17 March 1952; 15 April 1952; 16 June 1952.

[269] SR, 14 January 1953.

[270] SR, 19 Aug.1953.

[271] Supt report, 13 February 1950.

[272] SR, 15 December 1954.

boundaries, with no plan to transfer ownership to the NPS. In mid-1953, Ronald F. Lee floated the idea of converting the cemetery into a National Monument, so long as the Commonwealth was willing, but nothing came of the internal proposal.[273]

On March 26, 1954, S. W. Sears reached out to Director Wirth with an offer for the NPS to purchase approximately forty acres of farmland adjacent to APCO. Sears thought the land may be of some use to the NPS, so he reached out first before placing sale advertisements in newspapers. Charles Richey, NPS Chief of Lands, responded that while the NPS is not able to buy the land, a land exchange could be possible if Sears was interested. Meanwhile, Regional Director Lisle had Gurney ascertain the importance of Sears' property for APCO's goals. Gurney found that approximately ten acres of Sears' land plus another 2.5 from the adjacent Diuguid tract would be most valuable and could be more easily acquired under existing regulations. If instead the NPS desired the full Sears tract, then Gurney argued there was "ample justification" given this land was where General Lee's last attack at daybreak on April 9th took place, though he had no interest in any land east of the last battle line or the Tibbs House. Sears responded with no interest in partial sale or swaps—buying the forty acres or not were the only two options. Richey came up with a third option, which was to find an NPS-friendly buyer who would purchase the land from Sears then agree to a partial sale or land swap afterward. This idea was set aside in favor of working on a larger, more important land swap for the Flood-Ferguson land (discussed in the following chapter).[274]

Thinking the matter settled, the Sears issue returned in August 1954 once Sears became aware that Virginia Department of Highway decisions meant the land would be essentially cut off from highway access. Sears understood this was not an NPS decision, but instead asked for help in contacting state officials who could prevent Sears's property from being blocked off. In their own words, "I can't pull political strings, but there are those who can and do." NPS officials, primarily Gurney, were surprised by Sears's complaint. The change in Route 24 was not a new plan by August 1954, having been discussed at public forums as early as 1941. Gurney suggested to his superiors that the NPS grant Sears property access via park roads, but this was a problem between Sears and the State Highway Department. Richey and Gurney agreed on this matter at least—Sears's property would not be isolated.[275] Despite assurances, Gurney worried that preferential treatment provided Sears would earn ill will of other landowners north of Route 24 whom granted the NPS scenic easements at no cost. The belief was that once Sears received a

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[273] Lee to Regional Director, 1 July 1953, APCO 11800/006.004.009, Box 7.

[274] Sears to Wirth, 26 March 1954. Richey to Sears, 31 March 1954. Sears to Richey, 19 April 1954. Gurney to Regional Director, 12 April 1954. Richey to Sears, 23 April 1954. Richey to Regional Director, 29 April 1954. Gurney to Regional Director, 14 June 1954. "Administrative Files," Box 1672, Entry P11, RG79, NACP.

[275] Sears to Richey, 5 August 1954. Gurney to Regional Director, 14 September 1954. Jackson Price to Sears, 5 October 1954. Lisle to Gurney, 22 October 1954.

right-of-way agreement, then those other landowners would ask for scenic easement releases, a likely scenario given one landowner (R. A. Sweeney) who wanted to build a gas station on his property.[276]

As for the few remaining private landholders near the park, Gurney provided national NPS staff with a snapshot in February 1956 of private land ownership around APCO, presumably in anticipation of Mission 66 initiatives but also because of the local public outcry over the Route 24 bypass re-rerouting project. Two landholders were discussed: the descendants of Charles Sweeney and the Ferguson family. Richard Sweeney, an heir of Charles Sweeney, had recently began construction on a house on a tract "opposite the Apple Tree site. . .on the portion covered by the scenic easement granted by Charles Sweeney in 1938," which was fully within the easement that allowed for residence construction without NPS approval. Gurney approached Sweeney to request that the NPS review his building plans to minimize the new structure's visual impact. Gurney also reminded Sweeney that the NPS retained the right to enter his property for the purpose of modifying "shrubbery or trees."[277]

The seventy-six-acre Ferguson tract was jointly owned by Ferguson and Flood families. The NPS desired this land northeast of the village as, according to Gurney, it contained locations important to site interpretation. Initial communications between the NPS and S. L. Ferguson Jr. proved fruitless as Ferguson took issue with the closing of old Route 24 through Appomattox Court House and ended communication in April 1955. Gurney successfully reopened negotiations by adding an offer of "the value of standing timber on the two tracts involved in the exchange," on which Gurney requested regional approval.[278] Other early 1956 land projects included the clearing of fields along Route 24, especially around the Grant Headquarters and Raine Monument. Both locations were also improved by APCO leasing nearby property owned by F. A. O'Brien for agriculture (though Gurney did not specify exactly those uses).[279]

Of course, central to any question of land ownership was management of the land itself. Prior to 1950, APCO staff—namely Gurney and Scott—simply cleared brush, mowed, and allowed cattle to graze to suppress plant growth. In January 1952, APCO plowed and disced about twelve acres of park property in preparation of seeding for the creation of a permanent meadow. Gurney's explanation was that the plowed areas were "maintenance problems since this Park was established," though he did not elaborate in reports. He described the areas of impact as "small tracts south of the Peers House; a small tract south of the Bocock-Isbell House; the triangle west of the McLean House; a tract

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[276] Gurney to Regional Director, 29 November 1954.

[277] SR, 15 Feb 1956.

[278] SR, 15 February 1956.

[279] SR, 15 April 1956.

adjacent and west of the Confederate Cemetery; and a portion of the field between Grant's Headquarters marker and the Monument west boundary."[280] Culvert pipe and catch basins were also installed a few months later on the east side of the Court House Circle because, as Gurney put it, "the open ditch had been an eye sore and maintenance problem since the Monument was established."[281]

Staffing was a concern during the early 1950s with serious needs across the park. Most pressing was a need for more history-oriented staff, such as a McLean House interpreter and museum curator, and a formal maintenance department. Gurney and Scott split duties as the primary McLean House interpreter during 1949 and 1950. Maintenanceman Raymond Godsey recalled that during these years a common event was visits by a Mr. Graves, an octogenarian who lived on the Ferguson property and often rode a two-horse wagon along the stage road to the McLean House. Graves and park staff would then sit on the McLean House porch and tell stories to park visitors, many of which Godsey recognized were likely not historically accurate. After Robert Scott suddenly died of a heart attack in 1950, Gurney hired both seasonal employees and pressed maintenance staff into McLean House interpretive duties. Raymond Godsey recalled giving tours until 1957 and provided a few even before Scott's untimely death, though he noted that his tours were essentially guiding people across the then-active Route 24, chaperoning, and offering to retrieve Gurney for specific questions.[282]

In May 1951, the park hired more maintenance workers when Eddie Woolridge was hired on June 1d, 1951, and moved into Quarters No. 2 about two weeks later following a renovation that included the installation of an electric stove range.[283] Gurney then was able to enact a regular schedule for essential repair work. Projects completed during the summer of 1951 included reinforcement of Peers House north chimney footings and Tavern east chimney footings and replacing old roofing paper installed in 1941 with "mineral surfaced roofing paper" to the Tavern Guest House and Kitchen. Most likely, Woolridge assisted on these jobs.[284] Landscaping projects further developed, as well with the NPS Region One Mobile Tree Crew removing two locust trees at the Park Office building, one at the Bocock-Isbell House, three pine trees at the Farewell Address site, and one walnut tree in the Plunkett-Meeks yard. The two Park Office locust trees had been condemned, but the reasoning for removing the other five trees was not shared by Gurney.[285] Another tree was removed by nature a year later as a forty-year-old locust tree at the McLean House parking

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[280] SR, 18 February 1952.

[281] SR, 18 August 1952.

[282] SR, 16 July 1951; 15 August 1951. APCO Central Files (APCO 11800/006.001, Box 005).

[283] SR, 16 July 1951; 15 August 1951. APCO Central Files (APCO 11800/006.001, Box 005).

[284] SR, 16 July 1951; 19 November 1951.

[285] SR, 13 December 1950.

area was struck by lightning and removed in August 1951.[286] These trees were all replaced in one way or another in January 1953 with the relocation of locusts, tulip poplars, maples, and dogwood from "the fields" to the area around the McLean House, Jail, Tavern yard, and along Bocock Lane. Gurney did not specify exactly how many trees were relocated or from where exactly they came. One dogwood planted in the back yard of the McLean House though was remarked upon by Gurney as "an unusually fine specimen," so APCO staff named it The President Eisenhower Tree because of its installation on January 20th, Inauguration Day.[287] The landscape around the village center was carefully engineered by APCO staff over the years, including trees and shrubs, most of which (excepting those at the parking area) were planted by Raymond Godsey.[288]

As for history-oriented staff, the NPS hired Richard G. Janatka in June 1950 to serve as Ranger-Historian assigned specifically to the McLean House. Janatka's tenure lasted just two months as he resigned for unspecified reasons despite "very satisfactory" work.[289] APCO hired two new historians in 1951. John D. Noechel, an instructor at Robert E. Lee Junior High School in Lynchburg, reported as a short-term Ranger-Historian on June 25, and Dr. William L. Fisk Jr., Assistant Professor of History at Muskingum College, accepted a seasonal Historical Aide position that had been newly created that year (Noechel's last day was September 30th and Fisk's was August 25th).[290] In a welcome return for APCO staff, Douglass Freeman visited the park that same month to view the restored McLean House. According to Gurney, Freeman was pleased by the result, though he reiterated a suggestion he made in April 1950 that "life-size figures of Lee and Grant [be] placed in the surrender room."[291] Noechel returned to APCO seasonal assignments every summer from 1952 through to 1982. APCO hired no less than five different men to also serve in this seasonal position during the 1950s.[292]

Gurney assigned work to these seasonal employees to do more than give tours. For example, during his 1953 seasonal appointment, Ranger-Historian Harold E. Cox was appointed to complete a historical study on the Tavern as APCO intended to convert the structure into a more appropriate office building.[293] In February 1956, the five Civil War

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[286] SR, 17 September 1951.

[287] SR, 17 February 1953.

[288] APCO Central Files (APCO 11800/006.001, Box 005).

[289] SR, 13 July 1950; 13 October 1950.

[290] SR, 17 May 1951; 17 September 1951.

[291] SR, 16 July 1951.

[292] Other seasonal Ranger-Historians hired in this early time period were: Harold E. Cox (28 June 1952), Robert G. Sanner (23 June 1954), Robert H. Reid (10 June 1955), William J. Ahern (28 June 1958), and Joseph L. Byrd (6 May 1956). SR, 16 June 1952; 16 July 1952; 12 June 1953; 16 July 1954.

[293] SR, 16 November 1953. Assistant Director to Regional Director, 1 July 1953, APCO 11800/006.004.009, Box 7.

NPS sites in Virginia convened to discuss a standardized training program for all Ranger-Historians. The idea was to create a short orientation session to be created by the national office and administered regularly at Petersburg.[294] Once APCO hired historians beyond Gurney, these employees also developed relationships and hosted organizations. William Fisk delivered a lecture in July 1951 upon request at the semiannual picnic meeting of the Susan Roche Chapter of the Huguenot Society.[295] William L. Fisk Jr. published an article in *American History* about African American Union soldiers at Appomattox. This article came less than a year after Fisk worked at APCO and was written entirely while he was working there.[296]

Starting in 1950, the seasonal APCO Ranger-Historian position also filed monthly narrative reports along with the Superintendent's report. These generally took the same form each time as a single page with three sections: Research, Planning, and Survey; Interpretive Activities; and Projected Work for the following month. Richard Janatka took this position on June 1, 1950, with primary duties of interpretation of the McLean House. As such, Janatka reported most of his time was dedicated to giving tours, reading, and assisting with furnishing selections. As Janatka was terminated on September 19th, his reports contained little more than lists of books and reports that he provided interpretive tours.[297] John Noechel replaced Janatka starting June 11, 1951, and engaged similar duties—reading Civil War secondary sources and providing tours at the McLean House and museum. Upon Noechel's hiring, the Historical Aide (William L. Fisk Jr. at this point) also began submitting narrative reports. Historical Aide reports were shorter and typically relayed the same information present in Historian reports.[298]

Harold Cox's Historian Reports starting in 1952 contained a bit more detail than the others and provides more insight into regular Historian tasks beyond reading and giving tours. His first report outlined all the following activities undertaken in his month of work: drafting a preliminary museum prospectus, working on a detailed museum prospectus, cataloguing General Custer materials delivered to APCO by Custer Battlefield National Monument, providing guided tours at the McLean House, stationing the Park Office-Museum on weekends, and traveling with Gurney on a seventy-three-mile tour of troop

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[294] SR, 16 March 1956.

[295] SR, 13 August 1950.

[296] SR, 15 April 1952.

[297] Janatka, Historian Report, June 1950; July 1950; September 1950.

[298] Noechel, Historian Report, June 1951; July 1951; August 1951; June 1952; July 1952; August 1952; June 1953; July 1953. Fisk, Historian Aide Report, June 1951; July 1951.

movements in the area. In the following two months, Cox also cataloged library books, conducted preliminary research into Clover Hill Tavern archaeology, and received, along with Noechel, donated furniture for the McLean House.[299]

Underlying all this activity was a general sense of austerity at APCO. This was not readily apparent given the quantity of work projects and public support, but hints of financial concerns run throughout Gurney's monthly reports. A direct confession of tight funds came in October 1950 when Gurney had to cancel his visit to Yosemite for the National Park Service Conference due to a lack of money.[300] Another example was the pine flagpole erected in front of the tavern building in 1940. By early 1951, it showed signs of weakening. Gurney sought a steel flagpole replacement but was unable to secure funding. Instead, APCO staff "went to the woods and cut a 40-foot pine as replacement" and installed it themselves on January 22, 1951. Maintenance staff constructed a new thirty-four-foot pole made from iron pipe, possibly left over from other projects, four years later to replace the last of the wooden poles.[301] APCO purchased a new 1.5-ton dump truck in June 1951 from International Harvester Company, but funding was largely secured through the public sale of other work trucks dating to the 1930s.[302] Semiannual inventories were a regular aspect of Superintendent responsibilities, and in early 1952, Gurney's submitted inventory noted that "our equipment inventory is limited."[303] Thus, despite having many projects funded thoroughly, APCO staff likely considered themselves remarkably thrifty.

Nevertheless, major repair projects picked up in early 1951 and continued for several years. APCO issued purchase orders in May 1951 for "emergency repair" projects at the Plunkett-Meeks Store and House, the Tavern, Old County Jail, Peers House, and Mariah Wright House. Funding for these projects came from the regional office.[304] Painting of all these structures plus the Bocock-Isbell House was included in the project plan and initiated in September. Park maintenance also took the opportunity to paint and lay a new floor in a temporary Women's Toilet building and paint the Men's Toilet building.[305] The following spring APCO hired G. L. Doss to paint the Plunkett-Meeks Store and House, Peers House, Mariah Wright House, and Jones Law Office [Kelley House] in July 1952. The McLean House was also painted during this month, though details were not recorded by Gurney.[306]

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[299] Cox, Historian Report, July 1952; August 1952; June 1953; July 1953; August 1953.

[300] Supt report, 14 November 1950.

[301] SR, 13 February 1951; 16 May 1955.

[302] SR, 15 August 1951.

[303] SR, 17 March 1952.

[304] SR, 16 June 1951; 15 October 1951.

[305] SR, 15 August 1951.

[306] APCO spent $876 on this project. SR, 15 May 1952; 18 August 1952.

Increased staffing also led to a need of storage. In early 1952, Gurney addressed the issue of maintenance and storage. First, APCO staff rebuilt five garage doors on the equipment storage shed to raise its aesthetic appeal. The structure itself was built as a temporary structure about a decade earlier and was in Gurney's words "useful and unsightly." Next, funding for a new maintenance storage building and workshop was added to the following year's fiscal year allocation.[307] This storage-workshop building was "98 percent completed" in September with the only remaining named task being the installation of light fixtures.[308]

The 1954 fiscal year was perhaps the busiest on record for APCO. So active was APCO that Gurney referred to the "Appomattox building plan and program," and the *Lynchburg Advance* published at least one feature article highlighting the plan.[309]The first of several projects was the renovation of Clover Hill Tavern and the Tavern Slave Quarters, the former of which was to become the Park Office and Museum as a "temporary measure" according to Gurney. In February 1953, Gurney met with regional staff to plan NPS-funded rehabilitation of the structure. Assistant Regional Director Edward Zimmer and Regional Director Elbert Cox met with Gurney at APCO several times, and it was thus decided that APCO needed both office space and better accommodation for visitors. Intentions were to repurpose the tavern building as both an Information Center and Park Office. The group also agreed to eventually reconstruct the Tavern Slave Quarters to be used as public restrooms.[310]

First steps on the project were conducted by Regional Architects who visited APCO in May 1953 to make preliminary sketches of work to be done. Assuming funding was in place, the NPS planned to renovate the tavern and reconstruct the slave quarters exterior.[311] Regional Architect Breslin returned a few months later with Archeologist J. C. Harrington to conduct a "minor archeological investigation in the front and back porch areas of the Tavern and Tavern Slave Quarters site," though Gurney did not specify what was found. The regional office approved planning drawings in September, so with preliminary work complete a start date was set for October 1953.[312] Electricity, heating systems, a new roof, siding and battens, concrete floor, new insulation, and external wall lathing, and windows sashes were also installed at this time. Metal toilet partition walls were installed in early 1954 to finalize the transformation from historic slave quarters to modern comfort station.[313]

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[307] SR, 15 April 1952.

[308] SR, 15 October 1954.

[309] SR, 15 September 1953.

[310] Gurney, 25. SR, 16 March 1953; 16 November 1953.

[311] SR, 12 June 1853.

[312] Drawings approved were of the Patteson-Hix Tavern (NM-ACH-2038), Building #33 (Slave Quarters, NM-ACH-2040), and Peers House (NM-ACH-2041). SR, 15 September 1953; 19 October 1953.

[313] SR, 16 November 1953; 18 January 1954; 16 February 1954.

Workers also installed a 200-foot long, 6-inch diameter tiled clay sewer line connecting the Peers House and a 375-foot long, 6-inch diameter tiled clay line connecting the Tavern Slave Quarters to the preexisting sewage lines in the park. A manhole was also installed at an unspecified location to access the Tavern Slave Quarters sewer line.[314]

The Tavern rehabilitation was no less involved primarily with stabilization in mind, such as new roof coverings, floor joist repairs, and new steel floor reinforcements. Modernized heating, power, and telephone systems were also installed at this time.[315] In May 1954, workers finished grading brick sidewalks around both the Tavern and Tavern Slave Quarters.[316] At the same time, workers also completed the Peers House rehabilitation and a two-building garage in the maintenance area. Rehabilitation turned out to be more of a historical partial razing with the kitchen annex, north chimney, and second-floor interior partitions being destroyed in the interest of historical accuracy. The Peers House was converted into an employee's residence, which included the installation of electric wiring, heating, and new plumbing, completed in mid-August 1954, with additional basement finishing completed the following May. Raymond Godsey took up residence in the house as soon as it was completed.[317]

On April 24, 1954, the new APCO museum opened for visitors in the Clover Hill Tavern building. APCO staff offices also officially moved to the Tavern on this same day. Exhibit installation was completed just the day before, as were staff offices from the Ferguson House, where they had been for about fourteen years.[318] APCO also opened the Tavern Slave Quarters public comfort station on this date and abandoned two pit-type toilets.[319] The new usage must have worn on the Tavern Kitchen and Guest House structures as the NPS poured a new concrete footing, re-roofed the entire structure, replaced brick to the window sill bottoms, and installed new doors and window sills on the south-facing side. Further unspecified repairs were also completed in the following two months. Other construction projects included a new south door landing and door painting on the County Jail structure. A $330 APCO purchase order project to repoint the exterior brickwork of the jail completed in November 1955. APCO staff took the opportunity to paint the metal roof and install new guttering.[320]

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[314] SR, 16 February 1954.

[315] SR, 15 December 1953; 16 February 1954.

[316] SR, 16 June 1954.

[317] SR, 15, December 1953; 16 February 1954; 15 September 1954; 17 June 1955.

[318] SR, 17 May 1954.

[319] SR, 17 May 1954.

[320] SR, 15 November 1954; 16 August 1955; 15 September 1955; 16 November 1955.

The opening of the Tavern as a museum space marked a new era of a tourism-centered experience at APCO with all its pros and cons. The site had always offered guided tours, but could now boast modernized facilities, a park office, and museum space. Along with these improvements though came costs for the visitor. Starting July 1st, APCO charged a 25 cent admission fee to enter the McLean House. This decision came from regional staff and against recommendations from Gurney. APCO staff, through Gurney's correspondence with regional staff, believed there to not be enough staff to properly gather fees. Gurney also argued that such a fee would only provide visitors access to seeing two rooms and halls on the second floor (all first-floor rooms could be viewed through a window) and would thus be unfair. Still, Gurney prepared APCO staff to collect the fee if the regional office so instructed, which was done so in early June per the orders of Assistant Director Tolson.[321] Gurney reported admission fee revenue gross as $728 in August and $243.50 in September, a decline likely because of the off-season. Visitors set a new McLean House one-day record on April 10, 1955, with 268 admissions grossing $67. In general, Gurney opened the McLean House for tourists in late April and closed it in early October when seasonal staff departed APCO assignment.[322]

Perhaps the largest silence during this time was the project to rebuild the courthouse. Most NPS officials desired to complete this project, but there was no timeline or funding allocated. During the summer of 1950, Abbitt contacted national officials regarding the courthouse reconstruction plan. First, he intended to facilitate legislative funding, so requested a cost estimate from the NPS. Assistant Director Tolson suggested $200,000. Next, Abbitt suggested that APCO staff, namely Gurney, interview as many people as possible around Appomattox Court House to gather information for reconstruction and interpretation. Beyond these brief moments, the courthouse project received little attention.[323]

With many of the historic structures now renovated and in use, APCO staff turned to all non-historic structures on the property during the summer of 1954. First to go were the old Men's and Women's toilet structures and a shed at the Gray Cabin. All three structures were sold by sealed bid. Altogether they raised $180. Next up was the Ferguson House and two associated frame garage structures, which sold by the same process for $441 to Warren Carter, who in turn used the materials to construct a residence along Route 677. Removal of the six structures began in August.[324] The Ferguson House, which Bessie Ferguson had fought so hard to keep, was razed along with the two garage structures. All

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[321] Gurney to Regional Director, 24 May 1954. Regional Director to Gurney, 4 June 1954. Keith Neilson to Regional Director, 10 June 1954. "Administrative Files," Box 1350, Entry P11, RG79, NACP.

[322] SR, 10 August 1954; 15 September 1954; 16 November 1955. Paid visitation hit 2,998 in July 1955 and 3,058 in August 1955.

[323] Tolson to Wirth, 22 June 1950, "Administrative Files," Box 1456, Entry P11, RG79, NACP.

[324] SR, 15 September 1954. APCO Central Files (APCO 11800/006.001, Box 005).

areas around the former house site were cleaned, and Gurney reported that on October 18th the site was totally cleaned. The NPS intended on razing the Ferguson House for over a decade. Gurney included it on priority lists dating to 1942, but ultimately the plans were delayed as the Ferguson House provided the best option for temporary park residences.[325]

Outreach

McLean House furnishing outreach brought Gurney into close contact with at least a dozen outside organizations. These relationships continued well beyond McLean House work, including public lectures, donations, and public programming. Plenty of regular historical meetings took place at APCO, as did a few VIP visitors. For instance, Hollywood movie star Myrna Dell visited APCO on October 9, 1951, to take some photographs of her in the surrender room and on the McLean House front porch. The connection between Dell and the NPS is that MGM Producer Edwin Knopf was brothers with Alfred Knopf, a member of the NPS Advisory Board.[326] For NPS veterans, Gurney was delighted to welcome Freeman Tilden and John Hussey to APCO on February 22, 1953. Both Tilden and Hussey were instrumental in laying the foundation of historical preservation and heritage interpretation, especially within the NPS.[327] Within months of his return to APCO, Gurney pushed information about the park to AAA, the Virginia State Conservation Commission, and the Virginia Chamber of Commerce to be included in their publications.[328]

The NPS continued to receive suggestions from the public regarding park planning. One of the more unique suggestions came in June 1951 when Secretary of the Interior Oscar L. Chapman received a letter from Samuel L. Dennis, who simply referred to himself as a "Recent PWA Employee," concerning "Ethnical Improvement" at APCO. Dennis's interest in APCO was straightforward—he wished there to be more interpretation of slavery at the park. "It was the end-of-the-road of Slavery in the USA," he wrote, and of course he was correct. Dennis informed Chapman that near to Appomattox Court House there existed a large cache of "old, hand-made, SLAVE-MADE [*sic*] brick" made circa 1838 that could easily be obtained by the NPS. He estimated there were about two million of these bricks in varying conditions. His proposal was for the NPS to acquire this brick, then use it to build a walled enclosure around the APCO perimeter. By Dennis's calculations, between fifty and one hundred acres could be enclosed in this way, which would make the wall between one and two miles long. The logic here was that if National Cemeteries are

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[325] Gurney, 26. SR, 15 October 1954; 15 November 1954. Regional Office Memo to Gurney, 13 September 1942. Lidle to Gurney, 23 September 1942, APCO Central Files (APCO 11800/006.005.002, Box 8).

[326] SR, 19 November 1951.

[327] SR, 16 March 1953.

[328] SR, 12 July 1946.

enclosed, then so too should be the symbolic location where "slavery was buried." Director Demaray responded and politely declined as a wall would be a "modern innovation" no matter the construction materials.[329]

Gurney, Hudson, and Smith both developed a close relationship with the local chapter of the United Daughters of the Confederacy (UDC). A major facilitator in the APCO-UDC relationship was Clerk Smith, who served as Appomattox Chapter President from 1953 to 1957 and again from 1961 to 1963.[330] As previously stated, the UDC provided funding that went toward refurnishing the McLean House and owned and maintained the Confederate Cemetery. Beyond these considerations, NPS staff maintained a friendly relationship. For example, on September 11, 1949, Gurney attended the funeral of Helen Coleman, President of the Appomattox UDC Chapter, who had tragically died in an automobile accident on September 8th.[331] Gurney spoke at the chapter's Christmas party in 1952. His lecture covered "Christmas Events in the South before and during the War Between the States."[332] The group also held regular meetings at APCO, many of which were followed by a guided tour from Gurney and Smith.[333] Scott also worked with the UDC on occasion, though only in an official capacity in Gurney and Smith's absence. When serving as Acting Custodian, Scott cleared fields immediately adjacent to the Confederate Cemetery so UDC members could more easily beautify the cemetery itself.[334] The UDC Appomattox Chapter also conducted exercises at APCO surrounding April 9th as part of anniversary events. Often, the UDC was the only organization involved and APCO turned over control of events to the Appomattox Chapter.[335]

The UDC Appomattox Chapter and the NPS jointly sponsored an annual Memorial Day event at the Confederate Cemetery and McLean House beginning at least by 1942, though sometimes the events only included the cemetery. On May 30, 1950, for instance, Gurney spoke to the crowd, and the organizations held a ceremony that included decorating Confederate soldiers' graves, the reading of Lee's Farewell Address by the Superintendent of Appomattox County Schools Jerry Burke, a pageant put on by schoolchildren, and a final closing ceremony on the porch of the McLean House. About two hundred visitors attended the 1951 event. Attendance doubled to four hundred the

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[329] Samuel L. Dennis to Chapman, 4 June 1951; Demaray to Dennis, 15 June 1951; Dennis to Demaray, 18 June 1951, "Administrative Files," Box 1120, Entry P11, RG79, NACP.

[330] "Appomattox Chapter Presidents," Appomattox UDC Chapter, http://appomattoxudc.com/id28.html.

[331] SR, 13 October 1949.

[332] SR, 14 January 1953.

[333] SR, 12 June 1953.

[334] SR, 15 March 1944.

[335] SR, 13 May 1949.

following year. The 1952 event also included the American Legion as one of the event sponsors that year. Gurney represented the NPS at this event throughout at least the 1950s and provided guided tours and speeches nearly every year.[336]

But Gurney's and Hudson's UDC relationship moved beyond the local chapter. Gurney published an article on the 81st Anniversary of the surrender and 30th of the NPS in the April 1946 *UDC Magazine* at the behest of O. F. Northington Jr., Superintendent at Petersburg National Military Park.[337] Hudson met with Decca West, President of the UDC Virginia Division, to review plans to turn over a McLean House room to the organization for furnishing. As a demonstration of APCO's dedication to this plan, Gurney spoke at the Virginia Division's annual meeting two weeks later at Natural Bridge.[338] Gurney personally gave a park tour to the Mineral chapter in April 1951.[339] APCO also granted meeting space to the Kirkwood Otey (Lynchburg) Chapter on May 14, 1952, for its annual meeting and picnic held jointly with the Appomattox Chapter. Gurney was away on annual leave, so he left Avis Smith to attend in his stead. She welcomed the two chapters and provided a guided tour.[340]

Beyond the UDC, APCO staff also developed relationships with other local organizations. In the years following World War II, tourist groups visited APCO at a rate of about one every week during the tourism season. For example, May 1947 brought four high school groups, one elementary school, and a 4-H Club with an average of twenty-three individuals per group. Groups were primarily local, or at least from within a day trip radius within Virginia, though some came from a significant distance, such as a high school group from Aberdeen, Ohio.[341] African Americans also visited APCO during this period, as Gurney led tours for both African American and white schools and churches as early as 1946.[342] Apparently there was no concern over segregation laws, or at least none stated in the record. Gurney never mentioned segregation in his reports and at least once, such as on May 25, 1946, schoolchildren from both African American and white elementary schools visited APCO on the same date, possibly at the same time.[343] Gurney was also active in

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[336] SR, 13 June 1942; 12 June 1948; 15 June 1949; 14 June 1951; 16 July 1952; 16 June 1954; 17 June 1955.

[337] SR, 12 April 1946, 12 May 1946.

[338] SR, 15 October 1951.

[339] SR, 17 May 1951.

[340] SR, 16 June 1952. *Lynchburg News*, May 15, 1952.

[341] SR, 12 June 1947.

[342] SR, 12 November 1946.

[343] SR, 12 June 1946.

Appomattox County civic life. He served on the Selective Service Board from September 1948 and was elected that body's Chairman in November 1951.[344] He served as an officer in the Appomattox Lions Club both before and after World War II.[345]

Gurney also developed relationships with other local organizations such as the Antiquarian Club of Lynchburg (ACL), the Appomattox Garden Club (AGC), and the Virginia Federation of Women's Clubs (VFWC). The ACL held bimonthly meetings at Appomattox during the 1940s, with the October 1949 meeting involving a Gurney-led tour of APCO, including the McLean House.[346] The AGC held an open house at the McLean House on October 29th and 30th, 1949, primarily to raise awareness for the furnishing campaign but also for the club and park more generally. AGC members installed special flower arrangements within each room of the house, with Gurney commenting in his report that "the mantle and fireplace displays were especially attractive." He continued that "the most outstanding displays were those in the surrender room built around the theme 'Peace.'" The AGC included prints from other "peace cities," meaning locations in which peace treaties or surrender agreements were signed. Despite poor weather, the AGC open house attracted five hundred visitors. Gurney's primary motivation was to garner interest and support from local organizations, especially regarding furnishing the McLean House, to which end he believed the event succeeded.[347]

The VFWC reached out to APCO first in expressing interest in the landscaping projects around the McLean House. Mrs. Roy Kyle, VFWC President, personally visited the park to speak with Gurney. The NPS returned the favor as Gurney and Associate Regional Director Elbert Cox spoke on the history and future of the McLean House at the VFWC's January 1950 meeting.[348] This relationship proved fruitful with the organization donating $550.55 on June 19, 1950, with a goal of raising $800 explicitly for "landscaping and associated projects at the McLean House."[349] Gurney put the donation toward planting shrubs and flowers and restoring the brick walk. By March 1951, he reported that clematis

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[344] SR, 13 December 1951.

[345] SR, 12 April 1946.

[346] Supt report, 14 November 1949.

[347] Supt report, 14 November 1949.

[348] Note that VFWC Officers most often listed their name as their husband's except in the case of an unmarried woman. A few women listed their own names in official records rather than their husband's, but the practice continued into the twenty-first century. General Federation of Women's Clubs of Virginia, "2014–2016 Yearbook" (Richmond, VA: 2014).

[349] SR, 13 July 1950. Ernest G. Whanger to Drury, 22 June 1950; Gurney to Blue Ridge Parkway, 20 June 1950, APCO Central Files (APCO 11800/006.001 Box 004).

and rose bushes were planted around the Well House, lilacs and Japanese quince at the back steps, a black walnut and two red maple trees in the back yard, and plans were in place to plant shrubs in the back yard as well.[350]

The Appomattox Garden Club's annual event included Garden Week tours of both public and private gardens during April of each year. Gurney coordinated with the club to place special arrangements at the park during Garden Week and requested that the McLean House be included in the annual tour route in 1953. Most years, APCO staff repainted walls, woodwork, and porches on the McLean House in preparation for the mass of visitors.[351] In May 1952, Gurney welcomed the Lynchburg Garden Club to APCO for their spring picnic and provided a guided tour.[352] The Appomattox Garden Club returned to the McLean House with special flower arrangements in 1953 and continued this practice for decades after.[353] By as early as 1954, the Virginia Garden Week event had become a major draw to APCO. About 1,000 visitors viewed the "Old Country Store" flower display at the Plunkett-Meeks Store and House during a three-day period.[354] Gurney also provided tours to Home Demonstration Clubs, including those of Campbell County and Appomattox County.[355]

Gurney regularly cooperated with journalists who sought to write publicity articles about the park. In January 1950, two journalists visited the park—W. H. Crockford of the *Richmond Times-Dispatch* and Mary Louise Gills with the *Washington Star*—and published feature articles shortly thereafter.[356] By 1954, Gurney developed a personal relationship with Virginius Dabney, the editor of the *Richmond Times-Dispatch*, and often met with him to assist on articles related to Appomattox Court House or the park specifically.[357] He also wrote articles on his own, such as an article on APCO for the Lynchburg 4-H Farm Show catalog, a large regional event held in September 1949.[358] Gurney also prepared for the 4-H a short talk to be used by enrollees during Vespers, the evening religious meeting.[359] Starting in May 1952, the *Appomattox Times-Virginian* began a weekly column on APCO

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[350] SR, 13 February 1951; 17 April 1951.

[351] SR, 15 May 1952; 16 May 1955.

[352] SR, 16 June 1952.

[353] SR, 18 May 1953.

[354] SR, 17 May 1954.

[355] SR, 15 October 1952; 17 November 1952.

[356] SR, 13 February 1950.

[357] Likely the articles with the most circulation appeared in *Reader's Digest*, *The New York Times*, and *The Saturday Review* commemorating the 90th anniversary of the surrender, though there were no special events at APCO to commemorate the anniversary. SR, 16 June 1954; 18 April 1955.

[358] Gurney, "Superintendent's Narrative Report," 12 September 1949, NACP, Box 122.

[359] SR 18 May 1953.

items, including "reports on special visitors, special groups, and general park activities." This column came about through the cooperative efforts of Gurney and editor-publisher Calvin Robinson.[360]

On November 7, 1948, CBS aired a re-enactment of the Grant-Lee meeting at Appomattox for the series *You Are There*, the forty-ninth episode of the series which ran from 1947 to 1950.[361] The concept for *You Are There* was the CBS newsroom was suddenly warped through time each week to report at the scene of an important historical event. Neither Gurney nor any other NPS staff appeared to have contributed to the CBS program, which was written by Micajah Wrenn and Robert Lewis Shayon of AP Radio and CBS Radio respectively, though Wrenn did visit APCO on April 10, 1948.[362]

Gurney assisted the *Cavalcade of America* in the creation of "Sunset of Appomattox" by providing illustrations and historical interpretation.[363] *Cavalcade of America* was an anthology drama series broadcast by NBC starting in 1952 before transitioning to ABC in September 1953. Episodes ran forty-five minutes and were sponsored by DuPont. The show was originally a popular radio series. Gurney provided the director and episode writer, Robert Stevenson, with furnishing details, room arrangements, and a full script review in March 1953. Stevenson was English by birth, but became an American citizen during WWII. After the war, he would go on to write and direct dozens of Hollywood productions, especially similar TV series such as *Gunsmoke* and *Alfred Hitchcock Presents*, though his largest credit came in the mid-1960s as the director of Disney films like *That Darn Cat!, The Love Bug,* and *Mary Poppins.* "Sunset at Appomattox" first aired on October 20, 1953, as episode four of season two, making it one of the first episodes to air on ABC.[364]

Cavalcade of America producers organized with the Lynchburg Chamber of Commerce and NPS to hold a world premiere screening on October 6, 1953, at the Virginian Hotel, followed by a ceremonial "gift of the film" to the NPS at the McLean House. Guests of honor included Director Conrad Wirth, Regional Director Elbert Cox, US Grant III, Francis Ronalds (Morristown Supt.), and Sam Weems (Blue Ridge Parkway Supt.). The ceremony also included the formal gifting of the promised Virginia 61st Infantry battle flag to the NPS by Douglas Southall Freeman's widow Inez, as he had died four months earlier. Inez Freeman's presence occurred due to Regional Director Cox

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[360] SR, 16 June 1952.

[361] *You Are There* was revived in 1953 as a television program and ran until 1957, then again from 1971 to 1972. "CBS Program Will Relive Meeting of Lee and Grant," *Richmond Times-Dispatch*, November 7, 1948.

[362] SR, 14 December 1948. See "You Are There" recorded at: http://otrrlibrary.org/OTRRLib/Library%20Files/X-Y-Z%20Series/You%20Are%20There.

[363] Copies held at UCLA: https://cinema.library.ucla.edu/vwebv/search?searchArg=Sunset+at+Appomattox&searchCode=FTIT*&setLimit=1&recCount=50&searchType=1&page.search.search.button=Search.

[364] SR, 16 April 1953.

simply writing her asking for the flag as a donation. She replied that the NPS could have it "whenever we can pick it up." The fifty by thirty-nine-inch flag was in poor condition owing to its age and wartime usage, but it possessed value to Freeman, as his father served in the Confederate army under that specific flag. Gurney and other NPS staff believed it an important artifact for the APCO museum that could be flown during certain ceremonies, as it was one of few surviving Confederate flags known to have been surrendered at Appomattox Court House on April 9t, 1865. In return, the NPS gifted Freeman "mementos relating the ceremony held at Appomattox on October 6th, 1953 [that] have a very special meaning and hallowed meaning to the children and me," though the nature of such mementos was not documented.[365]

Conclusions

Before continuing into the next era, it is worth noting that Avis Smith was the invisible figure throughout this period and the next. Avis Smith joined the NPS on June 4, 1941, as a Clerk-Typist, and held this job until her death in 1966. Shortly after her death, the NPS issued a Citation for Commendable service to Smith, received by her husband, in recognition of her "loyal and devoted service."[366] Throughout her tenure, she assisted Gurney on nearly every aspect of APCO management, perhaps most importantly preparing annual budgets for regional review.[367] She was a tireless worker. Most letters in the APCO Central Files from "Gurney" were likely written or typed by her hands, but her name rarely appears on documents. In fact, mentions of her pregnancies occur more in Gurney's monthly reports than praise of her work. Despite this, Avis Smith served a more consequential role at APCO than perhaps any other staff member outside of Gurney himself. Amplifying her importance is the fact that she was among the NPS's first female Superintendents, albeit in an "Acting" capacity. When Gurney was away on annual leave, Clerk Smith served as Acting Superintendent multiple times, such as from July 20th to

[365] SR, 19 October 1953. Gurney to Francis Ronalds, Supt., 20 July 1953. Cox to Ronalds, 18 September 1953. Gurney to Ronalds, 25 September 1953. Inez Freeman to Cox, 15 October 1953. APCO 11800/006.004.003, Box 7. NPS Press Release, 29 September 1953, "Administrative Files," Box 1192, Entry P11, RG79, NACP.

[366] *National Park Courier,* April 1967, 9.

[367] SR, 18 April 1957.

about August 6th, 1951, and September 7th to 20th in 1957. Gurney went on leave at several other points without formally naming an acting staff member, but it can be assumed that Smith was the de facto supervising staff member.[368]

That the NPS chose Smith rather than other male staff is important. She performed tasks in Gurney's stead that he would normally reserve for himself, such as addressing the American Automobile Association Travel Directors' conference in 1947.[369] On occasion, APCO hired local public school librarian Violet Ramsey Harwood for a month-long contract to assist Smith in giving tours. This hiring speaks to at least two realities—Smith's other work took her away from interpretive work, meaning she was involved in time-consuming administrative tasks, and that Smith conducted important interpretive work, a task that was normally not within the domain of the Clerk position.[370] Further, after Ranger Robert I. Scott's sudden and tragic death in 1950, Gurney converted Scott's old position to that of Maintenanceman. All other Historians and Rangers were hired as seasonal employees. Gurney must have had the confidence that any interpretive or administrative work could be completed between himself, seasonal employees, and Smith.

Also obscured in the official APCO record were the contributions of Gurney's family to the formation of the park, especially those of his wife, Georgie (MacCormack) Gurney. Georgie Gurney performed functions that today are handled by NPS staff, such as providing food and drink to guests and welcoming visitors if the Superintendent was away. Director Drury specifically identified Georgie Gurney as worthy of high praise for the "delicious buffet luncheon" she served to a group of VIPs at the McLean House dedication ceremony.[371] Georgie Gurney also appeared alongside her husband in media appearances on occasion, such as on the "Let's Go Visiting" radio program,[372] and she served as the chair of the McLean House Sewing Committee, which was tasked with upholstery and hanging curtains in the house.[373] In August 1946 alone she hosted dozens of local women at APCO for meetings and picnics. She had integrated herself well with both the Appomattox Garden Club and the Lee Home Demonstration Club, the latter being a women's organization dedicated to teaching women in rural spaces skills such as gardening, canning, and

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[368] SR, 15 August 1951. SR, 16 October 1957. As of 1951, just three women had served as Superintendent of any NPS park. All three of Smith's women predecessors served at historic house sites—Vanderbilt Mansion NHS, Andrew Johnson NHS, and Adams NHP. In this context, Smith's service at a Civil War site and battlefield is even more of a milestone. "Women in the National Park Service," *NPSHistory.com,* http://npshistory.com/publications/women-in-the-national-park-service.pdf.

[369] SR, 13 May 1947.

[370] SR, 16 October 1957. *Appomattox Virginia Heritage* (Summersville, WV: Walsworth Publishing, 2001), 28.

[371] Drury to Gurney, 17 April 1950, APCO 11800/006.004.009, Box 7.

[372] SR, 13 April 1948.

[373] Hudson to Gurney, 27 November 1950, APCO 11800/006.004.003, Box 7.

sewing as a gendered partner to agricultural extension services.[374] Without question, she was a significant presence within the park and one that deserves recognition, though she was never technically an NPS employee.

A clear shift began to take place regarding APCO management during the 1950s. At the beginning of 1950, the park was obviously unfinished. The McLean House was yet to be dedicated, most buildings still required massive renovations, and vehicles still traversed Route 24 in the middle of town. There was no exact moment when the park changed, but instead it was a gradual improvement until the site was fundamentally different. By about 1955 or 1956, the park was largely complete in the view of Gurney, except for one glaring, obvious empty space—the courthouse. Mission 66 also began at this point, so a new injection of funding and energy again came to APCO. As will be seen, it also brought a host of controversy, as well as the first change in the Superintendent position.

[374] SR, 12 September 1946.

CHAPTER FIVE

Mission 66: 1955–1966

Visitors were delighted with APCO in the years immediately following the McLean House reconstruction. Superintendent Gurney's records contained letters from dozens of satisfied visitors, both those from the Appomattox Court House area and from far away, which led Gurney to conclude that the park was certainly on the right track. While there was still plenty of work to be done, NPS staff at all levels were content with their APCO achievements over the previous two decades. However, there was always room for improvement. Herbert Nettleton, a tourist from Massachusetts, wrote Director Conrad Wirth in 1955 to express his displeasure with a recent APCO visit:

> In New England there are many 'historical shrines' of interest, but at reconstructed Concord Bridge and at Lexington Green, monuments tell the inspired story which old buildings can never portray.
>
> What message does a reconstructed farm house and a non-descript stone marker convey?
>
> Certainly, Appomattox Court House is not the occasion for mere preservation of rebuilt houses. The stone marker is misleading and hardly worthy of preservation.
>
> I guarantee that no one returns to Appomattox after the initial disappointing visit. This should not be so.
>
> We spend so much money artificially stimulating Patriotism and National Pride, why do we allow a natural, justifiable asset such as Appomattox to remain a dreary, dull, depressing spot?[1]

The visit so distressed Nettleton that he, as the leader of local civic organization The Eastern Massachusetts Toastmasters Organization, delivered a speech on his displeasure, a copy of which was mailed to *Richmond Times-Dispatch* editor Virginius Dabney. The speech, "Lest We Forget," described how Nettleton was "disillusioned, shocked, and disgusted" by his visit. He felt "no inspiration in word or scene—no vision, no consecration, no uplifting prayer of gratitude or pleasure for guidance in the future!" Despite such bombastic language, Nettleton never explained just what caused him such distress.[2]

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[1] Herbert Nettleton to Conrad Wirth, 24 May 1955, "Administrative Files," Box 0362, Entry P11, RG79, NACP.

[2] Herbert Nettleton to Leverett Saltonstall, 20 April 1955, "Administrative Files," Box 0362, Entry P11, RG79, NACP.

"Apparently Mr. Nettleton, like some others, has been misled by the expression 'National Monument,'" wrote Director Wirth to Senator Leverett Saltonstall (R-MA), continuing "which in this case does not mean monumentation in the form of bronze or stone, but connotes the historical preservation of the village of Appomattox as a 'national shrine' in memory of the reunion and peace which began there on April 9, 1865." Clearly, Wirth believed there needed to be better clarification just as to what NPS sites were and what they were not. APCO was far more than a "farm house and non-descript stone marker" after all.[3]

In response to the few complaints Gurney received in the mid-1950s, he invited the visitor back to APCO, as there was a new program launching soon that promised great improvements—Mission 66. Deficiencies alluded to by Gurney in terms of staff and structures were, as he explained to the regional office, soon to be addressed:

> We realize our deficiencies. I think it would be proper to call. . .attention to Mission 66. When this program is completed, Appomattox Court House will have an adequate staff; will have an historian on duty to help all visitors, and will have a new Visitor Center with new exhibits and better floor arrangement. . .I am very sorry that [the visitor] should have driven 300 miles to see Appomattox Court House and then failed to get a chance to talk to the Superintendent, or some other employee. I hope that [the visitor], after reviewing our remarks, will appreciate the urgency of supporting Mission 66, not only for improvements it will make possible at Appomattox, but throughout the Civil War areas administered by the NPS.[4]

Mission 66 formally began at APCO with a press release dated June 17, 1956, announcing the NPS's intention to restore the park in anticipation of the 100th anniversary of the surrender meeting in 1965. Gurney shared several major projects in this press release as APCO Mission 66 objectives: partial restoration of the Appomattox Court House village center, restoration of the Richmond-Lynchburg Stage Road to its 1865 location and appearance, construction of a new entrance and parking area, restoration of fences and grounds to Civil War period appearance, archaeological investigations, expansion of utilities, and increased park staffing. The press release went on to state APCO's projects received special attention from NPS planners, according to Director Wirth, so as to complete all projects by the April 1965 Centennial, a full year before the planned end of the Mission 66 initiative. The NPS announced $66,000 of road and trail funding and $306,000 of building and utilities funding had been set aside for projects. Additional funding would also be supplied for staff increases, maintenance, and existing facility rehabilitation later. In other words, the NPS committed $372,000 (roughly $3,500,000 accounting for inflation to

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[3] Conrad Wirth to Saltonstall, 12 May 1955, "Administrative Files," Box 0362, Entry P11, RG79, NACP.

[4] Gurney to Region One Director, 2 November 1956. "Administrative Files," Box 0362, Entry P11, RG79, NACP.

2020) for new projects with more coming in subsequent years.[5] Long an NPS goal, APCO would soon become a restored 1865 village in total, an outcome long desired by local public leaders as well.

Before going straight into Mission 66 it is helpful to understand who was working at APCO during this time frame. During the Mission 66 years, APCO experienced its first changes in Superintendents since the park's formation, greater stability in support jobs, and a few health tragedies. Excepting Gurney's brief wartime absence, APCO always had Hubert Gurney at the helm. Before 1961, the vast majority of APCO work planning could be attributed to Gurney, Smith, and less than five other permanent APCO employees. After nearly two decades of stability under Hubert Gurney, the park had four new Superintendents by 1966—Thomas F. Norris Jr., Grover Steele, Lloyd M. Pierson, and Alvoid Rector. Rector came to APCO at the very end of Mission 66, but the other three each had a critical role in completing APCO's Mission 66 objectives. As for interim Superintendents, this duty was usually handled by the Historian on staff at the time as APCO also experienced a significant increase in general staffing during Mission 66. During the late-1950s, Avis Smith experienced health concerns that required she be away from APCO periodically, so she no longer served in an Acting Superintendent role, as was common previously. Whenever Gurney left the park for an extended absence, the Acting Superintendent was most often John Noechel, a seasonal Ranger-Historian who worked as a high school teacher most of the year.[6] As for other staff, APCO maintained several maintenance workers and groundskeepers, with most cycling through the job in just a few years or less. Tragedy befell APCO in February 1960 with the sudden, accidental death of Eugene O'Brien, a carpenter who was working on park restoration projects. On February 18th, the Appomattox Court House area sustained "heavy driving rains," so O'Brien left work at about 3:30 p.m. to drive home a neighbor's child. O'Brien parked his car across the street from his home and was hit by a vehicle when crossing the road home. He sustained a serious head injury and died the following day, leaving behind a widow and two children.[7]

A major staffing challenge came when Federal budget cuts hit APCO in 1960 and, for the first time since WWII, the park failed to hire seasonal Ranger-Historians to be stationed at the McLean House. Short-staffed, Gurney then closed the McLean House to all visitors except for scheduled school groups. This situation outraged certain members of the public, namely the Lynchburg Chamber of Commerce, and Gurney appealed to the Regional office for assistance. Members of the public also wrote to Congressman Abbitt extolling the great work being done by Gurney and his staff and calling for more money to

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[5] Press Release, 17 June 1956, "Administrative Files," Box 1021, Entry P11, RG79, NACP.

[6] SR, July 1959.

[7] APCO hired John J. Burke to fill a newly created GS-5 Park Historian position in July 1961. Wescoat Wolfe began duty as Park Historian in on 3 June 1962. SR, February 1960. SR, July 1961. SR, June 1962.

be allocated to the park. Less than two weeks after receiving letters from the Lynchburg Chamber of Commerce, Abbitt forwarded a funding request to Wirth. Wirth responded on May 16, 1960, to explain that the situation at APCO was not unlike the situation at many other parks. Mission 66 intended to address staffing issues by 1966, so the situation was, in Wirth's own words, regrettable, disappointing, and unlikely to change.

Nonetheless, Wirth informed Abbitt that he forwarded the correspondence to Regional Director Cox for consideration and believed that "if at all possible, [Cox] will make some financial arrangement within his region to provide a small amount of funds for opening the McLean House to the general public prior to July 1." A week later, the regional office made funds available to APCO. The McLean House would open with its regular schedule of being open 8.5 hours daily including weekends and holidays as soon as Gurney could hire staff.[8] In response, the regional office secured funds to rehire regular seasonal employee John Noechel and thus allow for opening the McLean House the first weekend in May. A second employee (Gordon Mason) was hired to further assist on weekends, so this allowed for Gurney and Historian staff to cover the McLean House on weekdays.[9] Other than this, there were no shortages or other issues with APCO staffing.

Mission 66 Prospectus

Gurney and the rest of the NPS embarked upon an auspicious Mission 66 program starting in 1955. The reason for Mission 66 was simple—1966 marked the fiftieth anniversary of the NPS, so what better way to celebrate than a great revitalization of park sites? In early 1955, NPS Director Conrad Wirth set forth a long-term program of park renewal. Previous NPS planning typically focused on year-to-year appropriations based on Superintendents' and regional requests. Mission 66 would instead be in terms of master plans and strategic planning. To be more specific, the following passage appeared on the first page of the APCO Mission 66 Prospectus as an explanation of the Mission 66 program:

> Mission 66 is a forward-looking program for the NPS intended to so develop and staff these priceless possessions of the American people as to permit their wisest possible use; maximum enjoyment for those who use them; and maximum protection of the scenic, scientific, wilderness, and historic resources that give them distinction.

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[8] SR, June 1958. SR, April 1960. Lawrence McWane to Abbitt, 22 April 1960. Abbitt to Wirth, 4 May 1960. Wirth to Abbitt, 16 May 1960. Lisle to Director, 23 May 1960. "Administrative Files," Box 1456, Entry P11, RG79, NACP.

[9] SR, May 1960.

> Construction is an important element of the program. Modern roads, well planned trails, utilities, camp and picnic grounds, and many kinds of structures needed for public use or administration, to meet the requirements of an expected 80 million visitors in 1966, are necessary; but they are simply one means by which "enjoyment-without-impairment" is to be provided.
>
> Under this program, outmoded and inadequate facilities will be replaced with physical improvements adequate for expected demands but so designed and located as to reduce the impact of public use on valuable and destructible features. It will provide both facilities and personnel for visitor services of the quality and quantity that the public is entitled to expect in its NPS. It is intended to assure the fullest possible degree of protection, both to visitors and resources.
>
> Mission 66 is a long-range program; it will require at least 10 years to accomplish on a sound and realistic dollar basis. That means completion in 1966—the 50th anniversary year of the establishment of the NPS. The program has received enthusiastic endorsements by the President of the United States and his Cabinet, and well received by the Congress and the Nation at large.[10]

Mission 66 planning officially began at APCO well before the program received funding. On May 9, 1955, Gurney attended his first briefing on the new initiative at the NPS regional office. Follow-up Mission 66 meetings continued over the next few months. Though details of these meetings were unclear in Gurney's reports, he submitted the first APCO Mission 66 Prospectus to Director Wirth in July 1955. It stands to reason these early meetings provided guidance to Gurney on Mission 66 objectives, expected budgets, and how to craft a prioritized project listing.[11] After submitting the draft prospectus, Gurney and other national and regional NPS staff worked to further revise APCO Mission 66 plans over the next year. For instance, Gurney hosted Federal budget officials to review park operation plans for Mission 66 in April 1956.[12]

The basic Mission 66 goal for APCO was to finalize recreation of the park, whatever form that may take, in time for the Centennial anniversary. In May 1956, the regional office formally reviewed and recommended Gurney's prospectus for national approval with only minor changes.[13] According to Gurney's summary, that meant the NPS had less than nine years to complete all the following objectives, verbatim:

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[10] APCO Mission 66 Prospectus, "Records of the Office of the Director, Records Relating to the 'Mission 66' Program, Final Prospectuses," Box 1, RG79, NACP.

[11] SR, 17 June 1955.

[12] SR, 16 May 1956.

[13] The courthouse reconstruction project was listed at third (lowest) priority, but other projects relied upon the completion of the courthouse. The regional office instructed Gurney to reconcile this issue, be it via a secondary plan or reconfiguration of priorities. Cox to Director, 17 May 1956.

1. Partial restoration of the Village of Appomattox Court House, which will include completion of the Tavern restoration and similar work on other buildings,
2. Construction of a new entrance road and parking area south of the McLean House as well as restoring to its 1865 location and alignment of the Richmond-Lynchburg Stage Road from the Appomattox River through the village to the Confederate Cemetery,
3. Expansion of utilities to serve the area adequately,
4. Archeological investigation in the village area,
5. Restoration of fences, and cutting and clearing to restore the historical culture,
6. Staff increases consistent with interpretive and maintenance requirements.

Gurney did not mention a new visitor center, despite its centrality to Mission 66 planning documents. According to the final approved prospectus, "interpretation and visitor service at the Park have been hampered by lack of an adequate Visitor Center, and availability of only a very limited staff." A new APCO visitor center was, at this point, planned to be established inside of a rebuilt courthouse building. Why Gurney left the courthouse off his summary is a mystery, though perhaps it was because the project's high expenses were not yet accepted by all NPS officials involved. Initially, the most popular idea was for the courthouse to appear externally as a faithful re-creation with the interior of a modern office and museum space. However, other projects held precedence in NPS priority lists. This large list, usually referred to as the Building Rehabilitation Program, included the Tavern, Plunkett-Meeks Store and House, the Mariah Wright House, the Tavern Guest House, the New Jail, the Kelley House, and Bocock-Isbell Stable, each of which being either reconstructed or fully restored depending on its status.[14]

Altogether, Gurney's proposed expenditures totaled $66,000 for Roads and Trails, $240,000 for Buildings, $14,000 for Utilities, and $52,000 for Miscellaneous other expenses (primarily archeological investigations and restoring fences) for a grand total of $372,000. Each individual project received a priority of one (high), two (medium), or three (low). The courthouse reconstruction was the largest project in terms of cost—estimates were $153,000—but the Richmond-Lynchburg Stage Road project was the largest in terms of labor. Plans called for removal of the existing black-top road surface to be replaced by gravel and topsoil to recreate an 1865 appearance. Gurney noted the courthouse project's high cost made it so that APCO may be forced to choose—reconstruct the courthouse or fully restore all other structures in the park. If forced to this binary choice, Gurney preferred the latter, a perspective shared by Director Wirth, who believed the courthouse unlikely to be reconstructed before April 1965. This shared attitude provides the likely

[14] APCO Mission 66 Prospectus, p.3, "Records of the Office of the Director, Records Relating to the 'Mission 66' Program, Final Prospectuses," Box 1, RG79, NACP.

explanation for why the courthouse project was placed at the lowest priority tier. Gurney also expected visitation to grow significantly over the decade from about 63,000 in 1954 to 90,000 in 1966, further justifying a need for expanded interpretive facilities and staffing as a 50 percent increase would easily overwhelm the McLean House.[15] Gurney estimated that APCO needed to add several new employees, most important of which being two permanent historians, and to increase seasonal Ranger-Historians from three to six by 1966. Similarly, the maintenance crew would be increased from two to three permanent staff and from two to five seasonal staff. As of 1956, the maintenance crew had two full-time employees—the Caretaker and Maintenanceman—with a goal of hiring an additional Caretaker.[16]

Beyond project planning, Mission 66 encouraged NPS units to think about long-term issues unique to the site. Gurney's Mission 66 prospectus further identified challenges in the "Inventory of Area Problems" section that could be addressed as projects developed. These APCO challenges were, in his original order and summarized for clarity:

1. Legislation—Public Law 136 (17 July 1953) limited the amount of land that could be acquired by APCO and the legal mechanisms through which acquisition could occur.
2. Building Program—The overall Construction Program included the Plunkett-Meeks Store and House, Jail, Tavern Kitchen Building, Mariah Wright House, Kelley House, and Clover Hill Tavern which, as a full program, took precedence over the proposed reconstruction of the old courthouse.
3. Concessions—Staff had not yet decided on the final usage of each building which, compounded by a lack of personnel, meant APCO would rely on self-guided tours. Considering this, APCO opened the possibility for Eastern National Park and Monument Association to open a concession operation within the Plunkett-Meeks Store as a pilot program.
4. Roads and Trails—APCO awaited the official decision of the Commonwealth as to the abandonment of old Route 24 through the village center. Abandonment was expected and any other decision would drastically hamper APCO activities which included a restoration of the Lynchburg-Richmond Stage Road and construction of a new Village Entrance Road from the newly constructed state bypass road to an area south of Market Lane.
5. Restoration of Historic Scene (Forest and Fields)—APCO recommended clearing approximately 200 acres of growth timber from NPS land to reproduce the visual landscape more accurately as it would have appeared in 1865.

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[15] "Summary of Mission 66 Objectives and Program for APCO," 9 May 1956. Gurney to Director, 14 February 1956. Gurney, "Mission 66 Prospectus for APCO," July 1955. Wirth to Gurney, 23 January 1956, "Records of the Office of the Director, Records Relating to the 'Mission 66' Program, Data for Part Two of Mission 66 Report," Box 1, RG79, NACP.

[16] APCO Mission 66 Prospectus, p. 5, "Records of the Office of the Director, Records Relating to the 'Mission 66' Program, Final Prospectuses," Box 1, RG79, NACP.

6. Forest Management Program—A "common-sense program" to utilize mature timber in the park should be initiated.
7. Signs and Markers—The current program was "well advanced," but there were some shortcomings with signs along Route 24 and along other main highways leading to APCO.
8. Utilities—Electrical and telephone lines currently on poles to restored buildings and residences should be placed underground and a new intra-communication system was needed to link all staffed structures (Superintendent's residence, Caretaker's residence, McLean House, Tavern, Plunkett-Meeks Store, Plunkett-Meeks second story residence, and Utility area).[17]
9. Lunch Facilities—Out-of-area visitors had limited options for eating and relaxing, so an area north of the Tavern could be set aside for this purpose.
10. Building Fire Protection—A new general sound alarm should be installed on all historic buildings that would send alerts to the Superintendent and Caretaker residences.[18]

As for the APCO Interpretive Program, Gurney anticipated no major changes. He was satisfied by the current situation of self-guided tours, an orientation center within the museum (that would be shifted to the Visitor Center once constructed), and a staffed McLean House. Regional staff only recommended one change, a point to further discuss the proposed concession stand within the Plunkett-Meeks Store and to incorporate new museum technologies as trends developed over the next decade.[19]

Upon further review by regional and Eastern Office of Design and Construction (EODC) staff, all of Gurney's points were approved except for Area Problem #9 regarding Lunch Facilities. Regional staff believed picnic tables and benches would encourage heavy local usage, which would not be conducive to the re-creation of an 1865 environment. Director Wirth concurred with regional recommendations not to build picnic facilities. Gurney cut picnicking and camping facilities from the prospectus in August 1955, noting that all planning would be mindful to keeping APCO as a day-use area with overnight accommodations in nearby Appomattox and limited picnicking available at the Appomattox Wayside by the river.[20]

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[17] APCO staff installed Sears-branded collapsible fire ladders to all second-story bedrooms reached only by interior stairs in 1962. SR, November 1962.

[18] Gurney, "Mission 66 Prospectus for APCO," July 1955, "Records of the Office of the Director, Records Relating to the 'Mission 66' Program, Data for Part Two of Mission 66 Report," Box 1, RG79, NACP.

[19] Gurney, "Mission 66 Prospectus for APCO," July 1955. Edward Zimmer to Gurney, 11 August 1955. "Records of the Office of the Director, Records Relating to the 'Mission 66' Program, Data for Part Two of Mission 66 Report," Box 1, RG79, NACP.

[20] Lisle to Gurney, 10 August 1955. APCO Mission 66 Prospectus, p. 7, "Records of the Office of the Director, Records Relating to the 'Mission 66' Program, Final Prospectuses," Box 1, RG79, NACP.

The question of APCO land expansion as an official component of Mission 66 was, after initial support, ultimately quashed. Assistant Director Jackson Price reported to Gurney in early 1956 that an additional legislative mechanism existed to allow for APCO land purchases. The act of August 13, 1935 (49 Stat. 613), provided $100,000 for the purchase of lands within 1.5 miles of the "Appomattox Court House Site." To date, approximately $30,000 remained in this fund.[21] Less than two weeks later, a new memorandum came to Gurney from Director Wirth simply stating, "We do not believe we should plan to enlarge [APCO]. We feel that within the exchange authority established in 1953 we can secure the land required for proper development and interpretation." And with that ruling from on high, any APCO land expansion had to be negotiated through officially approved land exchanges.[22]

Despite disagreements regarding the courthouse discussed at length in a later section, the final APCO prospectus planned to reconstruct the courthouse for use as a new Visitor Center. The APCO prospectus laid out a progressive plan—begin archaeological excavations in 1957 to produce an exact location and ground measurements, assemble all historical information as archaeology progressed, and then begin construction work in 1958. The actual construction project would consist of an exterior restoration project to the courthouse's 1865 appearance. The interior would be fully modernized and include a mixed-use office-exhibit space. The second floor would be divided evenly between offices and exhibits, and the ground floor would contain the Historian's office and additional exhibits. The basement would house "additional visitor service space," though Gurney did not clarify just what was meant by that phrase, with a heating system, air conditioning unit, storage rooms, and public restrooms.[23]

Finally, two other problems needed to be resolved in the prospectus—certain building usage plans and funding for historical research. Gurney's first few drafts provided no specific usage of the Plunkett-Meeks Store, Tavern Guest House, or Clover Hill Tavern. Revisions in early 1957, at the behest of regional and national staff, clarified each of these buildings would have ground floors open to the public, with the former two having exhibits in ground-floor spaces. The Tavern Guest House would be used for seasonal employee

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[21] Price to Gurney, 10 January 1956, "Records of the Office of the Director, Records Relating to the 'Mission 66' Program, Data for Part Two of Mission 66 Report," Box 1, RG79, NACP.

[22] Wirth to Gurney, 23 January 1956, "Records of the Office of the Director, Records Relating to the 'Mission 66' Program, Data for Part Two of Mission 66 Report," Box 1, RG79, NACP.

[23] APCO Mission 66 Prospectus, p. 8, 8i, "Records of the Office of the Director, Records Relating to the 'Mission 66' Program, Final Prospectuses," Box 1, RG79, NACP.

quarters.[24] No building in the Mission 66 program though would be devoted entirely to public display; most would have the first floors open to the public with other portions dedicated to residences, offices, or left unoccupied for general storage.[25]

Gurney did not provide an allotment for further historical research despite the significant research needed to reconstruct and renovate historical structures. Assistant Director Ronald Lee noted historical research would be necessary to further area development, so setting aside money was a logical necessity.[26] In response to Lee's critique, Gurney noted that most early research focused exclusively on the McLean House and was for the purpose of reconstruction, most notable that which was conducted by Ralph Happel or Preston Holder supporting CCC workers. Gurney also noted that most of his own research was "in the form of notes and records which time and pressure of administrative work and other circumstances have prevented organization and final drafting in finished form." As of 1957, Gurney identified six quality studies that he found of great use in crafting the Mission 66 prospectus:

1. C. W. Porter, "Preliminary Report on the Old Appomattox Court House Area"
2. C. W. Porter, "Supplementary Report on Appomattox Court House, Virginia"
3. Joseph Mills Hanson, "Research on Preparation of Historical Base Map"
4. Ralph Happel, "McLean House Study"
5. Preston Holder, "Archeological Report"
6. Ralph Happel, Preston Holder, and Raymond Julian, "Combined Narrative Study"

Given the scale of Appomattox Court House's past and Mission 66 plans, Lee was correct in that a large quantity of research would be needed. Going forward into Mission 66, Gurney identified a need for narrative reports (including archeology, architecture, and history) on all structures scheduled for reconstruction or restoration over the next decade. The six studies proposed covered the Clover Hill Tavern and Tavern Outbuildings, County Jail, Plunkett-Meeks Store and House, Mariah Wright House, Court House Building and Village Green, and the Lynchburg-Richmond Stage Road. A new Troop Position Map and authoritative Battle Study was also recommended.[27] Relatedly, the only significant change in staff training was a new plan for Acting Superintendent training that would instruct the

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[24] Gurney to Regional Director, 19 March 1957.

[25] APCO Mission 66 Prospectus, p. 8–8c, "Records of the Office of the Director, Records Relating to the 'Mission 66' Program, Final Prospectuses," Box 1, RG79, NACP.

[26] Lee to Chief of Mission 66 Staff, 25 October 1956, "Records of the Office of the Director, Records Relating to the 'Mission 66' Program, Final Prospectuses," Box 1, RG79, NACP.

[27] APCO Mission 66 Prospectus, p. 27, "Records of the Office of the Director, Records Relating to the 'Mission 66' Program, Final Prospectuses," Box 1, RG79, NACP.

"senior Park Historian" in NPS policies and practices. Previously, Gurney would name a trusted employee as Acting Superintendent when he was away, so this system would establish a formal system.[28]

Building Rehabilitation Program

The national office officially approved the APCO Mission 66 prospectus on December 5, 1956, about six months after regional staff recommended approval.[29] The core of the approved prospectus addressed each individual structure in a Building Restoration Program jointly crafted in a single conference between APCO, the Regional Office, and EODC. And with that, work planning began. Tracking each individual project is somewhat difficult, if not impossible, in some circumstances. APCO staff documented project updates, but no doubt some specifics slipped through the cracks. Some projects moved too quickly to be properly documented in monthly reports as well, going from 0 to 100 percent completed from one month to the next with no details provided. Some projects also changed on the fly, with actual work being changed due to supply, labor, or planning issues that arose as work began. Thus some final projects do not match original planning documents, most obvious of which being the courthouse, but most did. Unless stated explicitly otherwise, planned projects matched the *in situ* reality of completed projects.

An example of such documentation was the first work done on the Tavern Kitchen and Guest House. The NPS conducted an external restoration, which was completed by January 1957, including roofing, brick repointing, foundation reinforcement, and replaced doors. Per a conference between Gurney, Cox, Zimmer, and "other representatives of the Regional Office and EODC," NPS staff agreed to rebuild the exterior staircase to the second floor (which would provide access to seasonal employee quarters off-limits to visitors) and the ground floor would be restored to its 1865 appearance including an interior brick partition wall. The ground floor would house museum displays with no admission fee, including the Burns scale model and others already in APCO's possession, until the courthouse reconstruction was completed. That same conference also decided the Tavern Guest House would house second-floor seasonal quarters with exhibit displays on the ground floor. The Plunkett-Meeks Store, it was further decided, would be converted into a replication of an 1865 country store exhibit, though the store exhibit would generate a lot more debate in the future. An exterior covered staircase to the second floor was

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[28] APCO Mission 66 Prospectus, p. 12, "Records of the Office of the Director, Records Relating to the 'Mission 66' Program, Final Prospectuses," Box 1, RG79, NACP.

[29] Scoyen to Regional Director, 5 December 1956. Cox to Director, 17 May 1956. SR, 16 January 1957. "Records of the Office of the Director, Records Relating to the 'Mission 66' Program, Data for Part Two of Mission 66 Report," Box 1, RG79, NACP.

already in place, as well as a basement room on the western portion of the building. The conference attendees decided that APCO would "secure the backing of a cooperating association to operate the store as an interpretive feature."[30] The Tavern Kitchen and Guest House escaped detailed mention again throughout 1957, only reappearing in early 1958 with internal renovations nearly completed. It stands to reason that work transpired in 1957. Thus any attempt to attach a month and year to specific projects is futile in some cases. In the case of the Tavern Kitchen and Guest House, it is safer to instead state this structure was restored and renovated between 1956 and 1958.

As for other details in the approved Prospectus, the Clover Hill Tavern would have two original additions (Dining Room Wing and Bar Room, never completed) reconstructed and would, for at least a few more years, continue as the APCO Visitor Center. Once the courthouse was reconstructed, then restoration work could begin on the Tavern. The prospectus called for the Tavern to then be converted into an interpretive space for its historical function as a temporary headquarters for General Sharpe, the Union officer charged with paroling Confederate soldiers after the surrender. Furnishings would configure "one or two of the Tavern rooms" to indicate this interpretation, including the field desk used by commissioners who signed the formal agreement of surrender details on April 10, 1865. This exhibit space would be attended by APCO staff. The second floor would remain off-limits to the public owing to the steep, hazardous staircase. Gurney recommended the library remain in this space and the current Superintendent and Clerk offices be converted into research rooms or seasonal employee offices.[31]

The County Jail building would be a more involved restoration effort than any other existent structure. Extensive exterior repairs were needed, including the metal roof, footing, and brick walls, as the structure was near collapse. Interior restoration required re-plastering walls and repairing all doors, windows, and floors. The staircase to the second floor would be rebuilt and public access to the third floor cut off, primarily due to safety concerns, with cells on that floor left in place. Ceiling beams and second-floor cell rooms would also be left as is. The plan would be to leave the structure as a self-guided, unattended exhibit space once restoration was complete.[32]

Three structures—the Mariah Wright House, Kelley House, and Sweeney Prizery—only had plans for exterior restoration to 1865 appearance and interior stabilization and fireproofing. The hope was that eventually these structures would have interiors restored as well, but funding limitations prevented such plans within a Mission 66 context. The

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[30] APCO Mission 66 Prospectus, p. 8e, "Records of the Office of the Director, Records Relating to the 'Mission 66' Program, Final Prospectuses," Box 1, RG79, NACP. SR, 18 April 1957. SR, 19 August 1957.

[31] APCO Mission 66 Prospectus, p. 8k-l, "Records of the Office of the Director, Records Relating to the 'Mission 66' Program, Final Prospectuses," Box 1, RG79, NACP.

[32] APCO Mission 66 Prospectus, p. 8g-8h, "Records of the Office of the Director, Records Relating to the 'Mission 66' Program, Final Prospectuses," Box 1, RG79, NACP.

prospectus did not provide details for the Mariah Wright House beyond intent to repair floors, rebuild an interior staircase, and refinish interior walls with plasterboard or an inexpensive alternative. The Kelley House exterior plan included rebuilding a small north porch, repairing siding and sash doors, and replacing roof shingles, while the interior plan included reconstructing the staircase, repairing and reinforcing all floor and ceiling joists, and refinishing interior walls with plasterboard or an inexpensive alternative. The basement of the Kelley House would also be reinforced as the NPS intended to install "the transformer or other electrical setup for the Village Area underground power distribution system." All electric and telephone lines would be rerouted to underground conduit. The Sweeney Prizery would have "exterior repairs to preserve the building" with no other details specified.[33]

A few other structures were to be rebuilt pending archaeological research projects. The Bocock-Isbell Stable was one and would be used as garage space for the Superintendent. Additional archaeological excavations set to begin in April 1957 would investigate the Dining Room Wing of the Clover Hill Tavern with intentions of rebuilding the structure for additional museum exhibits or Visitor Center staff. Attic rooms of the Dining Room Wing would be finished with plasterboard and used as storage. The Tavern Bar Room would similarly be rebuilt and furnished with displays, though visitors would not be allowed to enter as it would serve as a "look-in exhibit."[34]

Employee housing was at the center of several Mission 66 projects with some staff living within the park already before work began. The Superintendent and family resided within the Bocock-Isbell House since 1948. The Peers House renovation was completed in 1954 for one employee and their family. As of 1956, the Caretaker and his family lived there. As of June 1955, per a letter to Director Wirth, thirteen people lived within APCO, nine of which were children of park employees.[35] Mission 66 would provide two additional residences, on the second floors of the Tavern Kitchen and Guest House, though the Prospectus did not provide a clear timeline for staff to move into these structures. Given that all Tavern-related projects were given Second Priority, it is reasonable to assume that Gurney did not expect any staff to move into these structures for several years.[36]

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[33] APCO Mission 66 Prospectus, p. 8h-i, "Records of the Office of the Director, Records Relating to the 'Mission 66' Program, Final Prospectuses," Box 1, RG79, NACP.

[34] APCO Mission 66 Prospectus, p. 8j, "Records of the Office of the Director, Records Relating to the 'Mission 66' Program, Final Prospectuses," Box 1, RG79, NACP.

[35] Daniel Tobin to Director, 8 June 1955, "Administrative Files," Box 2249, Entry P11, RG79, NACP.

[36] APCO Mission 66 Prospectus, p. 13, "Records of the Office of the Director, Records Relating to the 'Mission 66' Program, Final Prospectuses," Box 1, RG79, NACP.

Mission 66 Work

Considering the size of Mission 66 projects alongside regular NPS projects, it makes most sense to address these projects chronologically and together at once. Separating each individual project makes little sense as projects were dependent on one another and often shared laborers and materials. A chronological approach has shortcomings, but it provides a greater sense of lived realities within APCO at any point in time. It also makes sense to divide APCO work into coherent themes. From 1956 to 1966, all work at APCO could be placed into one of four categories: building projects, public history work, roads and land, and commemorations (primarily the 1965 Centennial). For the sake of organization, each of these four categories appear as subsections through the rest of this chapter with the largest building project—the Visitor Center-Courthouse—having its own subsection. There are also subsections detailing changes that occurred with each subsequent APCO Superintendent, though there was a general continuity with leadership changes than radical shifts in management. Mission 66 brought APCO greater funding for construction, preservation, archeological, museum, and historical work, but the first task was for Gurney and regional staff to rethink park identity itself.

As much as Mission 66 was a building project, it also was a project of the mind. Part of Mission 66 was a reorienting of thought around Appomattox Court House to be more centered upon APCO as an NPS unit and battlefield rather than something else, like an "old village" or "the McLean House and its surroundings." Part of this reorientation was creating new spaces within the park for visitors outside of the McLean House or the small museum space in the Tavern. NPS staff considered a new visitor center necessary for APCO, but it took several years of contested debates for consensus to build. In the meantime, however, plenty of other work carried forward with little debate. Most structures on APCO land—especially those near the village center—received restoration, stabilization, and furnishing work. All these progressed independent of the contentious Visitor Center-Courthouse project, so it is sensible to discuss these projects separate from the near-decade-long courthouse saga.

NPS leadership modified observations within APCO to emphasize the park as part of early Mission 66 work. In April 1956, APCO inaugurated the new park holiday Establishment Day. To be observed on April 10th annually, this day marked the anniversary of the park's founding and superseded surrender commemorations. Part of the reason for this event was because of scheduling confusion. Prior to 1956, anniversary events were largely organized on a year-to-year basis depending on projects, local desire, or NPS personnel. Gurney had, as of December 1955, not intended to schedule any events for April 1956 primarily because of anticipated Mission 66 construction and archaeological work. Gurney's decision was met negatively by the regional office, to which Gurney replied that it was his understanding that no events were to take place unless "official observance" orders

came from some authority above APCO. The matter settled, APCO and regional staff worked together to create Establishment Day as a regular APCO occurrence.[37] The inaugural event, billed as the park's sixteenth anniversary, was held over two days, and marked primarily by the visitation of seven busloads of schoolchildren. Gurney made no mention of any partner organizations in attendance, such as the United Daughters of the Confederacy, American Legion, or local Chambers of Commerce, that characterized previous anniversary observations.[38] Gurney commented in the event aftermath that the intensity of a two-day event may do well to consolidate to a single day in future years.[39]

Starting in 1957, APCO condensed Establishment Day to a single day technically, but expanded anniversary events across three dates—Anniversary Day (April 9), Establishment Day (April 10), and Memorial Day (the last Monday in May)—to provide more structure to park observations. Memorial Day events were jointly sponsored by the UDC and American Legion, most of which were held at the Confederate Cemetery.[40] The April events were technically separate according to park planning but were practically a single event, given they fell on consecutive dates.[41] Anniversary Day during the Mission 66 years typically centered upon a newly renovated park space, such as in 1961 with the public opening of the Woodson Law Office, or upon a single theme.[42] The 1957 observations centered upon schoolchildren; for example. Gurney invited all schools studying Civil War history to visit the site on April 9, which resulted in a crowd of about 1,500 students and teachers. Visitation of this quantity mandated all staff to engage in interpretive work with Avis Smith managing the Visitor Center, Maintenanceman Russell Almond directing parking, and Gurney and Caretaker Godsey welcoming guests at the McLean House and County Jail, respectively.[43] The 1960 Anniversary two-day observations centered on the twentieth anniversary of APCO's founding and hosted an Open House with waived McLean House admission fee. Gurney pushed announcements to the media, specifically all Virginia newspapers and local radio. Haskett gave interviews of the McLean House on local radio followed by Gurney, who also appeared on radio with his son James Gurney

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37 Gurney to Regional Director, 19 December 1955, "Administrative Files," Box 669, RG79, Entry P11, NACP.

38 SR, 16 May 1956.

39 SR, 15 May 1957.

40 SR, June 1958.

41 Gurney to Regional Director, 9 December 1957. Gurney to Regional Director, 12 December 1958, "Administrative Files," Box 669, RG79, Entry P11, NACP.

42 SR, April 1961.

43 SR, 15 May 1957.

and the daughters of Caretaker Raymond Godsey, Betty and Ann.[44] Campfire Day (September 19) became a regular occurrence at APCO during the 1950s, typically centering park history with a presentation by park staff, as part of an NPS-wide regular event.[45]

In 1962, Anniversary Day was held at the Clover Hill Tavern. The highlight moment occurred when a "working copy of the Commissioners Agreement" from 10 April 1865 and General Gibbons' Camp Table on which the document was signed were returned to APCO (agreement cataloged as APCO 3397 and table as APCO 404 respectively). The idea for this donation came from J. Boardman Scovell, who passed away in 1960, who had long wished to donate his copy of the surrender agreement to APCO. Scovell acquired the document, likely a working copy to be circulated among officers, from the estate of Morris Alberger, a Captain in Co. M of the 24th New York Cavalry (with previous service in the 21st New York Infantry). Upon his death, his widow coordinated with the Buffalo Historical Society and the New York Centennial Commission to do so. General Brainard E. Prescott, a friend of Scovell's and former president of the Buffalo and Erie County Civil War Round Table, presented the surrender agreement copy. Despite poor weather, 1,533 people visited APCO on that day. The formal program attracted about 120 people.[46]

Outside of these large regular events, the largest investment of time and labor for APCO staff, especially Gurney and other Superintendents, was the Mission 66 Building Rehabilitation Program. Superintendent Reports began in 1956 to include a separate Monthly Progress Report drafted by a Resident Architect detailing each ongoing project with estimated completion status and monthly accomplishments. Gurney managed three to five projects at any given point, usually with one fully completed awaiting final reporting and two in a planning stage. At any given point, an APCO visitor would have seen park staff and contractors physically laboring to rehabilitate structures in the park. Rehabilitation took many forms, depending on the structure itself, though most at APCO sought to convert unstable, mothballed structures into spaces that could be used for patron-accessible exhibits, storage, or in some cases lodging.

Rehabilitation projects each followed a similar progression. First, APCO staff coordinated with regional and national staff in conjunction with NPS architects to draft working drawings for all construction work. Often, such construction involved reconstructing staircases and creating or removing room dividing walls. The NPS then coordinated into stabilization work, if needed, usually consisting of floor and wall bracing. Sometimes this required the temporary removal of structure components, such as porches and balconies. Next, workers installed basic modernizations, such as new plumbing and

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[44] SR, April 1960.

[45] SR, September 1959.

[46] SR, April 1962. Norris to Regional Director, 9 April 1962. "For Release," 13 June 1961. W. C. Hubbard, "Surrender Paper Presented," *Lynchburg News*, April 9, 1962. "Administrative Files," Box 669, RG79, Entry P11, NACP.

electricity. During this process, any repairs to the core structure, such as walls, doorways, and stairways, were also conducted. Final steps consisted of trimming, installing doors, and installing hardware after reinstalling any temporarily removed structural components. Painting and grading also took place in this final stage.

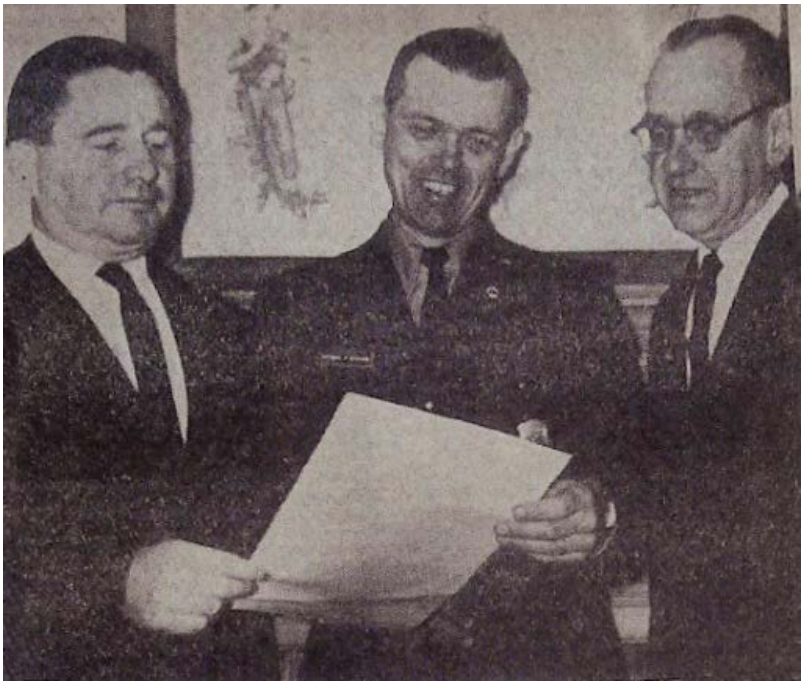


Figure 23. From left to right: Brainard Prescott, Superintendent Thomas Norris, and Dr. W. H. Glover. *Lynchburg News*, April 9, 1962.

Buildings

Rather than deliver a blow-by-blow of every board and nail, it is perhaps more helpful to view the general pattern of work with the Building Rehabilitation Program. From 1949 to 1968, fourteen buildings were either reconstructed or restored at APCO, the majority of which used Mission 66 resources in some way. Regular projects planned before Mission 66, such as painting of the Tavern Slave Quarters and excavation of the Plunkett-Meeks House west yard in July 1956, continued as planned.[47] The Bocock-Isbell House project was perhaps the largest outside of the McLean House initiated prior to Mission 66 and work on that structure continued as well. In August 1956, APCO staff removed the

[47] SR, 17 August 1956.

Bocock-Isbell House's circa 1900 tin roof and installed flame retardant shingles over the next two months.[48] APCO staff made repairs to footings and siding of several structures around the Bocock-Isbell House in August 1958.[49]

The first Mission 66 project officially completed was in February 1958 when staff completed the installation of plumbing, partition walls, and repair of a fireplace in the Tavern Kitchen and Guest House.[50] The project was essentially completed by July, though it was not technically completed as a seasonal employee used it as a residence and construction crews held off on work until the offseason.[51] With several projects officially underway, just three saw activity in Early 1958—rehabilitation of the Tavern Kitchen and Guest House, Tavern Guest House, and the Plunkett-Meeks Store and House including electrification. Hubbard Electric Company from Lynchburg completed this work.[52]

A gasoline-powered heater with canvas-rubber ducts exploded about ten feet away from the Plunkett-Meeks Store on January 2, 1959, at 8:15 a.m. Gurney reported that flames scorched exterior siding on the west-facing side before staff extinguished the flames with handheld carbon dioxide and foam fire extinguishers that had recently been installed. In response, the Regional Office ordered that gasoline heaters be abandoned, which Gurney had recommended and agreed to do. This heater was only in use as the building's flue had yet to be finished. Damage was estimated at just $63.00 to the structure, with the heater valued at $209.30 a total loss. Such a low amount of damage was largely thanks to the annual NPS fire hazard inspection. Gurney had been conducting this annual report at least since 1951. Every year during the 1950s, Gurney advocated for the installation of fire extinguishers and 100-foot garden hoses at most buildings, but funding limitations only allowed for fire extinguishers with hose purchased delayed to 1958. These installations became increasingly important in 1958 when APCO transferred its fire truck to the Appomattox Civil Defense Organization on January 1 as the park secured usage of Town and County trucks in case of emergency.[53]

After the Plunkett-Meeks Store fire, APCO staff worked to rehabilitate the structure in the following months, and Hudson drafted a furnishing plan.[54] For unknown reasons, Hudson's work was delayed until the following year, and then again for several years. Hudson was again assigned in May 1960 to develop (with the assistance of Architect Orville

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[48] SR, 17 September 1956; 16 November 1956..

[49] SR, August 1958.

[50] SR, 18 March 1958.

[51] SR, July 1958.

[52] SR, 20 May 1958; 17 April 1958.

[53] SR, January 1959. Gurney to Cox, 13 July 1956. Gurney to Regional Director, 12 July 1957. Gurney to Regional Director, 31 July 1958. Gurney to Regional Director, 14 July 1959. Gurney, "Individual Fire Report," 9 January 1959, "Administrative Files," Box 645, RG79, Entry P11, NACP.

[54] SR, April 1959.

Carroll) a furnishing plan for both the Plunkett-Meeks Store and Woodson Law Office.[55] Most of Woodson's plan was approved by the end of the year, including a new scheme to establish a "repair and renovation" shop, at the suggestion of Harry Wandrus of the Director's Office, at APCO to prevent delays and save on transportation costs for materials and workers.[56] Some plans, specifically the Woodson Law Office's, received supplementary additions from Haskett.[57] Hudson returned to APCO in March 1961 to deliver upon those plans by acquiring furnishings for the Woodson Law Office and Meeks General Store.[58]

The year 1959 saw a diverse range of projects, both big and small. A major undertaking by Harrington in 1959 was to identify the location of fences around the "Village Green" area, by which Gurney meant the areas subjectively near the village center. The hope was to reconstruct fences as they existed in 1865, especially around core structures.[59] APCO staff completed the stabilization of the Sweeney Prizery in June 1959.[60] National Chief of Maintenance Edwin C. Kenner visited APCO in August 1959 and recommended park staff install rubber floor runners in the Tavern and McLean House and ceiling fans in public restrooms.[61] APCO redirected funding intended for the Jail toward Kelley House projects and stabilizing the Mariah Wright House, primarily because the latter two structures were at risk of falling down. APCO also, just four months after research began, put the Harrington's fence study to use by restoring fences to their historic locations.[62] Four years later, APCO awarded the Restoration of Historic Fences contract to J. E. Jamerson & Sons of Appomattox.[63] NPS Architect Orville Carroll visited APCO to make measurements and review plans for the contractor. [64] Work began in the summer of 1963 with most Post and Plank fences having been completed by the end of July. Other work included several rail fences and a picket fence around the Peers House. All work was completed by the end of August except for the hanging of gates, which was held up by a supplier delay.[65]

A sudden and major blow was dealt to APCO work on December 17, 1959, when historical architect Henry A. Judd recommended shifting APCO Rehabilitation Program architects to Manassas and Fredericksburg. Gurney strongly opposed such a plan, but

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55 SR, May 1960.

56 SR, November 1960.

57 SR, January 1961.

58 SR, March 1961.

59 SR, May 1959.

60 SR, June 1959.

61 SR, August 1959.

62 SR, August 1959.

63 SR, April 1963.

64 SR, May 1963.

65 SR, July 1963; August 1963.

conceded that perhaps architects would gain experience at these other Civil War parks that would make their eventual work at APCO of even higher quality.[66] In January 1960, Gurney worked with Architect Carroll to finalize a construction program so work could resume promptly upon the return of architectural program funding in 1963.[67] In order to complete the projects, Gurney required the assistance of a photographer to supplement architect reports. Jack Boucher, NPS Photographer, visited APCO on March 29, 1960, and spent several days taking photographs.[68] Carroll departed for Manassas National Battlefield on April 2, 1960, having "cleared out" all work projects that could not be mothballed the previous day. The final project completed by Carroll in 1960 was to rehabilitate the Kelley House, which included new flooring and exterior restoration. Park staff did not complete the well house, fences, and walkways around the Kelley House, which were folded into separate projects to be carried forward to the 1963 fiscal year.[69] Work resumed on the Kelley Well House in mid-1963 and completed in September, except for hinges, a well box lid chain, and the water stand pipe.[70] After the architects left at the end of 1960, Gurney delivered completion reports to the regional office for work completed to that point on the Tavern Kitchen and Guest House, Tavern Guest House, Plunkett-Meeks Store and House, Sweeney Prizery, Kelley House, and Mariah Wright House.[71]

Regular maintenance continued at the park after the sudden delay of the Building Rehabilitation Program. APCO hired a contractor to paint hallways of the McLean House and install carpet runners where the wooden floor had exhibited wear. Gurney also increased the ground and building maintenance workforce in early 1960 rather than hire seasonal historians.[72] One of the largest projects was to waterproof the Tavern Kitchen and Guest House, Tavern Guest House, Kelley House, Woodson Law Office chimneys, and the Building #33 (Tavern House Slave Quarters) chimney. This work included stripping mortar joints, applying a waterproof compound to brickwork, and adding a coating to wood siding when needed.[73] The following year, APCO staff installed a temporary platform, railing, and step at the Woodson Law Office per Regional Director orders.[74] In May 1960, Gurney submitted a regular report on quarters for APCO. This was a semiannual report assessing available housing for employees and contractors in the immediate park area. Gurney had

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66 SR, December 1959.

67 SR, January 1960.

68 SR, March 1960.

69 SR, March 1960.

70 SR, September 1963.

71 SR, January 1961.

72 SR, April 1960.

73 SR, May 1960.

74 SR, September 1961.

trouble with this report—expressing "the Superintendent is glad that this is not an annual deal"—apparently due to the lack of housing nearby. Gurney recruited significant help from Lynchburg realtors to sufficiently complete the project. There was an obvious need for better staff accommodation at the park.[75]

Other smaller maintenance projects continued while Mission 66 was on hold. APCO finally shifted to a master key system for the entire park in early 1960. In May, maintenance staff finalized the installation of new modern locks on all buildings served by a single key rather than the old system that required dozens of different keys and different lock types.[76] APCO maintenance staff built a wooden structure to allow for mobility of a "50-gallon slip-on type combination tank and pump with hose" that could be easily transferred to an NPS pickup truck. The idea was that the truck could be used for regular work and quickly converted into a fire truck in case of emergency.[77] In September 1960, Museum Curator Elizabeth Albro reported several repairs needs within the McLean House. Specifically, the gilt and plaster decorations on a mirror frame, four oil paintings, and the paintings' frames were all in poor condition. The NPS deployed Preservation Specialist Harry Wandrus to APCO in early October to make an assessment and, if necessary, bring the items to the NPS Museum Laboratory for restoration.[78] APCO closed the McLean House for two weeks in October and November 1961 to install the reproduced rug and conduct minor repairs. Staff painted the interior and added muslin glass curtains in the surrender room specifically.[79] Campbell delivered funds on time but there was a snag—she donated too much money. APCO had a $350 surplus, with which Campbell granted to APCO to use on the McLean House. The money was then used to purchase replacement drapes and curtains throughout the house.[80]

Water caused plenty of issues at APCO from 1960 to 1962. Even before this time, Regional staff visited the McLean House in March 1957 to assess the impact of rainwater upon the structure. In its current form at the time, rain would flow across the front porch deck. A diversion strip was considered as a low-impact solution, but this did not last.[81] The walkway in the McLean House front yard extending east from the main entrance walk was, according to Gurney's reports, "re-paved with brick and flagstone and a channel to carry surface water to the drain at ground level were installed. Drain tile was installed in the field

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[75] SR, May 1960.

[76] SR, May 1960.

[77] SR, August 1960.

[78] Lisle to Director, 8 September 1960. Frank Buffmire to Regional Director, 5 October 1960. "Administrative Files," Box 1192, RG79, Entry P11, NACP.

[79] SR, October 1961.

[80] SR, February 1962.

[81] SR, 18 April 1957.

north of the McLean House to carry excess water north and away from this field." This was a significant accomplishment in Gurney's view given the previous accumulation of water in this space.[82] The NPS addressed issues with the "disposal field—Park Sewer System" in April 1962 by taking bids from local firms.[83] APCO staff followed up with this project in October 1962 by revising and improving sewer system drainage.[84] Park staff also developed a problem with sewage overflow and pooling in the "field area" in mid-1963 and again in May 1964. Danville Welding Company won the bid for the Improvements to the Water System project. The contractor excavated and installed new valves on the four-inch main as well as a new meter, relief valve gauge, control assembly, and switches.[85] The company completed the project quickly with a final inspection made and approved in July 1963. In early 1964, the NPS brought in Engineer Mike Rumbaitis and staff from the US Public Health Service to develop plans for a "Sewage Disposal Lagoon" to be put out to bid. In June, the NPS awarded the contract to J. E. Jamerson & Sons, who immediately got to work and completed the project in just over two weeks.[86]

Gurney departed APCO in 1961 (discussed in a later section), and while this was certainly a system shock, new Superintendent Norris picked up regular maintenance projects and awaited the return of Mission 66 funding in full. Within months of Norris's 1961 arrival, staff replaced a coal furnace with a modern oil-burning stove in the Bocock-Isbell House, laid brick walkways under the McLean House rear porch to combat the "muddy exit" used by APCO visitors, and managed a "complete overhaul" of the McLean House floor and supports.[87] At least some of these projects were Norris's idea alone and not a continuation of Gurney projects. In early 1962, the regional office allocated funding for Buildings and Utilities (B&U) Rehabilitation at APCO separate from Mission 66 work. Most B&U work consisted of small necessities. In April, staff repaired downspouts from the McLean House front porch roof.[88] In the process of the downspout repair, staff discovered floor sills had rotted enough to necessitate replacement. An unplanned full overhaul of the porch then took place spanning several weeks and interrupting the busy spring tourist season.[89] While the McLean House front porch underwent repairs, visitors could only enter the house through the rear entrance. Norris noted that "oddly enough" many

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82 SR, September 1960.

83 SR, April 1962.

84 SR, October 1962.

85 SR, May 1963; June 1963.

86 SR, July 1963; April 1964; May 1964; June 1964. APCO Central Files (APCO 11800/006.001, Box 005).

87 SR, June 1961. SR, July 1961. SR, August 1961.

88 SR, April 1962.

89 SR, May 1962.

visitors simply refused to walk the extra distance to the back door during this period.[90] APCO staff also installed new paving bricks around the Tavern Kitchen and the McLean House in the summer of 1963 after the previously laid bricks had been worn.[91]

APCO entered a large quantity of projects into the ongoing project list in November 1962 with the expected return of the Mission 66 Construction Program. For about a year, the only ongoing project was the Plunkett-Meeks Store furnishing, and even that was a technicality, as no work was being conducted. All the following project titles were entered, but not necessarily ever completed, by APCO effective September or November 1962:

- Assembly Room, Audio-Visual Court House
- Audio Station to Interpret Painting
- Reconstruct Well House (Kelley House)
- Selective Cutting & Clearing to Restore Hist. Culture (200 Ac.)
- Improvement to Water Supply System
- Construct and Install Signs, Markers, & Wayside Exhs. Park General
- Reconstruct Court House Building Village Area
- Construct Addition to Service Rep. Shop
- Reconstruct Fences, Field, & Farm
- Archaeological Investigations, Court House Building Area
- Furniture & Furnishings, etc. Store and House
- Rehabilitation Tavern Dining Room & Bar Room
- Reconstruct Fences, Village Area
- Reconstruct Bocock-Isbell Stable
- Rehabilitate County Jail Building[92]

Media in Lynchburg, Richmond, and Appomattox all reacted positively to the influx of Mission 66 construction, but Norris noted this news combined with that of President Kennedy's tax cut proposal had locals worried about public spending.[93]

Each of these Mission 66 projects progressed in 1963 and 1964. APCO installed subsurface drain tile and gravel around the Tavern Kitchen and the Tavern Guest House to ease drainage concerns after the installation of asphalt below ground level.[94] Work on the McLean Outside Kitchen and Ice House began in September 1963 when park staff

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[90] SR, May 1962.

[91] SR, June 1963.

[92] SR, November 1962.

[93] SR, January 1963.

[94] SR, August 1963.

uncovered the site so NPS architects could begin a foundation study.[95] After completed, the Ice House was "nothing but a hole in the ground," so APCO suggested and was approved to acquire fake ice to simulate an ice house. The museum branch agreed to construct four epoxy resin blocks approximately 5" x 8" x 17" for about $250.[96] A contract for the Bocock-Isbell Stable was awarded in November 1963 to J. E. Sears & Co., and work began that month.[97] The work completed on 18 March 1964 with a final inspection, approval, and closing of the contract.[98] Staff installed floor tile in the Peers House, now known as Quarters No. 16, in March 1964.[99] In July 1964, J. E. Sears & Co. began construction on the McLean House Outbuildings, including the Slave Quarters, Kitchen, and Ice House. The Ice House project completed in September; the Slave Quarters and House Kitchen reconstructions were "virtually completed" in January 1965.[100] In July 1964, restoration of the Mariah Wright House began. One of the most important parts of this project was repointing stone chimneys and replacing wooden sills and joists.[101] This project progressed with a few delays, ultimately being completed and inspected in March 1965.[102]

Courthouse

Perhaps most important to early Mission 66 planning, the courthouse became a major point of disagreement between NPS officials. As noted previously, Gurney's Mission 66 prospectus included several building projects, with the most expensive by far being the reconstruction of the courthouse. The courthouse reconstruction was also given the lowest project priority (third of three tiers), meaning all other projects would receive funding and labor assignments before even considering the courthouse. Gurney and the Director viewed funding limitations as a potential binary choice—the courthouse versus all other building projects—and, in that view, all other building projects took precedence. Regional staff noted that within Mission 66 planning "almost all the operational planning for Appomattox is keyed to the reconstruction of [the courthouse]," so it made little sense to

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[95] SR, September 1963.

[96] Pierson to Eastern Museum Laboratory, 17 May 1965. Pierson to Director, 8 July 1965. Lewis to APCO, 5 August 1965.

[97] In 1961, Haskett began research into the Bocock-Isbell Stable. APCO staff knew a stable existed in the east yard until about 1935, but knew little else, a problem given NPS intentions of rebuilding the structure. Haskett researched state records and interviewed locals throughout the winter. SR, November 1963; January 1964. SR, February 1961.

[98] SR, March 1963.

[99] SR, March 1964.

[100] SR, July 1964; August 1964; September 1964; January 1965.

[101] SR, July 1964; August 1964.

[102] SR, March 1965.

place it last in priority. Cox specifically urged Director Wirth to reconsider priorities as a reconstructed courthouse "would be of major value in strengthening the administrative and interpretive procedures and programs which are proposed and have been accepted for Appomattox."[103]

Despite the low priority status, APCO moved forward in mid-1957 with the courthouse reconstruction project as initially approved in the prospectus. Gurney placed bid advertisements in local newspapers stating, "proposals will be received, with a view to let the building of a Court House…to be built of brick, covered with tin, and to be 40 by 50 feet in size." Gurney ran the ad six times and expected the project to begin that September.[104] Though Gurney placed these advertisements, the courthouse project was far from breaking ground.

The NPS Division of Interpretation, headed by Ronald Lee, opposed courthouse reconstruction in its current form, and Lee spoke out against the project at least by October 1957. In the Division's review of the APCO Mission 66 prospectus, the core recommendation was to reconsider using the courthouse as a visitor center altogether. First, the courthouse was poorly located as a wayfinding or orientation structure and would thus serve as a poor visitor center. The location was a reality of park geography that interpretive staff believed would fail to account for visitor experience: "A visitor entering what appears to be a period building and finding a modern interior with fluorescent lights, tile floors, and the like…would undergo a psychological shock which might quite probably raise questions in his mind about the authenticity of all the other structures in this historic village." Second, the courthouse was not designed as a visitor center, so any plan to modernize the interior was "tampering with history, and not very likely to convince anybody." And finally, a reasonable alternate recommendation was to build a "modest but functional" visitor center adjacent to the parking area as had been successfully done at Fort Laramie, Fort Union, and Jamestown and Yorktown. Proof of concept had been demonstrated elsewhere, so an APCO structure made perfect sense in the Division's review. The Division understood the politics involved—residents and Congressman Abbitt both desired courthouse reconstruction—but still believed a new visitor center should be constructed before any courthouse reconstruction project launched.[105] W. G. Carnes, Chief of Mission 66, essentially took

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[103] Cox to Wirth, 17 May 1956, "Records of the Office of the Director, Records Relating to the 'Mission 66' Program, Final Prospectuses," Box 1, RG79, NACP.

[104] Gurney to Peterson, 30 August 1957. Lee to Chief of Mission 66, 28 October 1957. "Administrative Files," Box 1456, RG79, Entry P11, NACP.

[105] Ronald Lee to Chief of Mission 66, 28 October 1957, "Records of the Office of the Director, Records Relating to the 'Mission 66' Program, Final Prospectuses," Box 1, RG79, NACP. Lee to Vint, 27 October 1958, "Administrative Files," Box 1456, RG79, Entry P11, NACP.

Lee's suggestions down but reminded Lee that any such revisions must come from APCO or regional staff. Carnes suggested that a "restudy" of the visitor center be undertaken along with input from the Director.[106]

Meanwhile, starting in 1958 and carrying into early 1959, Frank Cauble produced a study of the Village Center and a roughly one-hundred-page report on the original courthouse building.[107] Cauble's report resulted from both the importance of the courthouse structure and the fact that few records of the courthouse survived to the 1950s. The courthouse was destroyed by a fire in 1892 and most local primary sources went with it. Cauble's study came from other primary sources like oral histories, manuscript collections, and newspapers. As an aside, Congressman Watkins "Wat" Abbitt's father served as Clerk of the Court in 1892 with an office in the courthouse building. Wat Abbitt, seventeen at the time, helped his father at work the day of the fire. Abbitt's story always was that he left the courthouse for dinner then learned of the fire just fifteen minutes later. Within a short period, the intense fire had effectively destroyed the structure and all contents, though there were no injuries.[108] The funding of Cauble's study shows APCO staff were clearly interested in telling the story of the Appomattox Court House village during the Civil War with an emphasis placed upon creating a period-accurate landscape. Cauble's task was to research the historical significance of the road, historical appearances in the village center, and how the road affected the surrounding landscape. Cauble's study would be used to inform new avenues for historical interpretation and a more accurate representation of the landscape. APCO intended to complete this work earlier by hiring historian Mendel Heilig to research and prepare a report on the courthouse building, village green area, and the immediate landscape, including fauna and fencing. However, Heilig only worked for ten days in June 1958 and suddenly informed Smith via phone that he "could not continue with his assignment" and did not provide a reason. The NPS voided Heilig's contract immediately and most of his work appears to have been reassigned to Cauble.[109]

A September 1958 Mission 66 update provided to Congressman Abbitt reported that projects progressed according to, if not ahead of, schedule. At that point, the $165,000 allocation for the courthouse reconstruction was included in planning documents, but the NPS did not indicate how much, if any, had been spent. Internally, the NPS still was unsettled on the courthouse's usage. Associate Director Eivind Scoyen wrote to Abbitt a final plan would likely be decided "within the next few months." The Director's office estimated that all APCO Mission 66 projects would be completed by the end of the 1963 fiscal year

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[106] Gurney to Peterson, 30 August 1957. Lee to Chief of Mission 66, 28 October 1957. Carnes to Chief of Division of Interpretation, 10 December 1957. "Administrative Files," Box 1456, RG79, Entry P11, NACP.

[107] SR, February 1959.

[108] SR, February 1961.

[109] SR, 17 July 1958.

barring unforeseen problems.[110] Gurney also reached out to Abbitt, fully knowing Abbitt's personal desire to see the courthouse reconstructed, to brief him on the park's Mission 66 planning in late 1958.[111]

However, plans suddenly changed with Director Wirth's review of the APCO Master Plan just three months later. Wirth stated authoritatively on December 19, 1958, that courthouse reconstruction would not happen as part of the Mission 66 program.[112] "The courthouse building is not to be reconstructed," he wrote, continuing, "The site may be excavated and an exhibit developed around the remains of the walls and whatever is unearthed."[113] Wirth's decision seemed sudden, and it probably felt as much to Gurney, but it was not without precedence at APCO. As early as 1955, NPS officials in the national office, specifically Acting Chief Historian Rogers Young with the blessing of the Director's office, stated in private research requests that "it is not known now whether the courthouse will ever be rebuilt or, if so, when."[114]

Shortly after Wirth's decision, public outcry reached Abbitt's desk demanding the courthouse be reconstructed. In a letter dated January 3, 1959, Calvin H. Robinson of the *Appomattox Virginian* wrote Abbitt to demand a full reconstruction of the courthouse in the name of historical accuracy, especially considering the Centennial. Robinson noted the "perfect" restoration of the McLean House, but heavily criticized the courthouse and Tavern projects and Happel's praise of the projects in NPS literature. In Robinson's view, the Tavern should not be used as an administrative office or host the "inadequate museum," but should instead accurately depict the Tavern as it once was. The same should hold true for the courthouse whenever it is rebuilt. Instead, the NPS should build a new structure away from the Village center specifically for office and museum space akin to the recently constructed Visitor Center at Manassas. The courthouse reconstruction should also go ahead and it and "all other buildings to be restored and maintained AS THEY WERE [*sic*] without the gullible public visiting a Tavern and finding it instead a modern office and a woefully inadequate museum, or the same for an old Virginia court house [*sic*] or jail or residence." Robinson did not indicate if he had knowledge of Director Wirth's decision just a few weeks earlier, but it appears that his concerns had been long held though the timing was suspicious.[115]

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[110] Scoyen to Abbitt, 22 September 1958, "Records of the Office of the Director, Records Relating to the 'Mission 66' Program, Final Prospectuses," Box 1, RG79, NACP.

[111] SR, September 1958. Lee to Vint, 17 October 1958, "Administrative Files," Box 1456, RG79, Entry P11, NACP.

[112] SR, December 1958.

[113] Wirth to Chief of EODC, 19 December 1958, "Records of the Office of the Director, Records Relating to the 'Mission 66' Program, Final Prospectuses," Box 1, RG79, NACP.

[114] Young to Whitcomb, 14 January 1955, "Administrative Files," Box 1192, Entry P11, RG79, NACP.

[115] Robinson to Abbitt, 3 January 1959, "Administrative Files," Box 417, Entry P11, RG79, NACP.

Robinson's letter clearly had an impact upon Abbitt, who forwarded it to Director Wirth while asking for "the benefit of your views on the matter as I am most interested in this situation." Acting Director Scoyen responded a week later thanking Abbitt for the input, but stated plainly the NPS did not believe a modern Visitor Center structure is correct for the Appomattox Court House landscape. "[Appomattox Court House] is the atmosphere of a small nineteenth century courthouse town" intentionally captured, so "a modern building would destroy this setting." He also explained there was no land within a reasonable distance from the Village Center that would satisfy NPS needs. Considering this difficult situation, Scoyen relayed that the NPS chose to maintain the reconstructed appearance of Appomattox Court House by sacrificing the interior of a single building rather than sacrificing the town itself. However, in speaking of reconstructions, Scoyen spoke exclusively of the Tavern; he made no mention or commitment to the courthouse either way.[116]

Scoyen's letter to Abbitt and Mission 66 updates the following year were confusingly out of step. Mission 66 plans were modified according to Wirth's orders. New revised plans included a standalone visitor center, though official approval was withheld pending master plan approval. The submitted Mission 66 plans included a new priority allocation for a Visitor Center structure estimated to cost $215,000. The old entry for courthouse reconstruction still appeared as a third priority project last in order within the Mission 66 Buildings and Utilities section.[117] It is unknown why Scoyen did not inform Abbitt of Wirth's recent decision to abandon courthouse reconstruction as a Mission 66 project. Scoyen carefully did not mention the courthouse specifically but was clear in stating that Appomattox Court House topography had deterred the NPS from building a modern Visitor Center structure in favor of using unspecified "historic buildings." Given the short time frame, about four weeks, between Wirth's decision and Scoyen's letter and that Scoyen was serving in an Acting Director capacity (thus making communication between Wirth and Scoyen potentially hindered), it is entirely possible that Scoyen simply did not have current information at hand. Either way, Mission 66 work continued at APCO in accordance with Wirth's recommendations—develop an archaeological program at the courthouse to contract exhibits around the building remnants.

The courthouse project now in last priority with a new visitor center on the way, the regional office directly funded an archaeological study of the Court House Building site. Regional staff hoped to discover artifacts of use and the old foundation so an outdoor exhibit, likely temporary, could be installed before the Centennial. The NPS hired Edward McMillan Larrabee, a recent University of Washington graduate who would work on many

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[116] Abbitt to Wirth, 9 January 1959. Scoyen to Abbitt, 16 January 1959, "Administrative Files," Box 417, Entry P11, RG79, NACP.

[117] H. Reese Smith to Director, 8 August 1960, "Records of the Office of the Director, Records Relating to the 'Mission 66' Program, Revised Prospectuses," Box 1, RG79, NACP.

more NPS projects, and his assisting team William Hershey and Barbara Woll. Work began in July 1960 under the supervision of Regional Archaeologist Griffin.[118] Local news took interest in the archaeology program, likely because of the general local interest in the old courthouse.[119] Larrabee submitted regular progress reports that detailed the team's work. Contracting staff were provided an office space on the first floor of the Tavern Guest House and Kitchen and a space for artifact cleaning, processing, and storage in the basement of the Plunkett-Meeks Store. The team's first steps were to study terrain and maps, then run a long North-South trench across the courthouse location to locate points noted in a 1930s NPS survey. From there, the team located itself in the Park Base Map and in accordance with a grid system. This first dig found evidence of the western wall, southwest corner, and a fireplace on the north wall. Each found brick was unique with a recessed panel on one side and matching dimensions of bricks salvaged from the McLean House in 1892.[120]

By the end of July, Larrabee managed a regular staff of three plus seven hired laborers. In just two weeks, the team explored most of the foundation and found all four walls' footing ditches with measurements, a brick floor on the building's northern half, wooden floors from the southern half, fence posting on the west side, and that the ground level around the structure was one foot lower than in 1960. Larrabee reported that bricks were generally few. After the 1892 fire, he postulated, wreckers salvaged "all bricks of any value," then filled and covered the area with brick rubble. His team found plenty of materials in the rubble though—locks, hinges, shutter hinges and catches, drain spouting, and roofing tin were all specifically noted. Each item was being cleaned, recorded, and stored for a catalog to be delivered to the NPS.[121]

Larrabee's team completed all excavation by the last week of August 1960. The final few features discovered were north and west fence lines, replacements posts for the west wall, and a brick walk defining the east fence line. That no southern fence evidence was found suggested to Larrabee that fence had been covered by a blacktop road. Larrabee also worked at other locations in the park despite original contracting to just work with the courthouse. His team found fence lines east of the Tavern, McLean House yard post holes, and likely location of the Bocock-Isbell Stable.[122] Larrabee closed out the project on September 19, 1960, with all equipment returned, spaces cleared, and deliverables completed except for the final report, which he expected to be done in about two months. [123]

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[118] SR, June 1960.

[119] SR, July 1960.

[120] SR, July 1960. Larrabee's investigations are included in accession number APCO-00154 consisting of approximately 300 objects.

[121] SR, July 1960.

[122] SR, August 1960.

[123] SR, September 1960.

For reasons of chance, according to Gurney, local media suddenly caught the courthouse story in February 1961, well over a year after Director Wirth made the decision not to rebuild. Local media picked up the story because of Congressman Abbitt. Regional Director Cox reported that Abbitt had called him on several occasions in January 1961 to ask about the courthouse restoration project, claiming that the impetus for his calls came from constituents who heard "word around locally" that the courthouse project had been abandoned. The Appomattox Chapter of the UDC was one local organization that met with Abbitt to implore he do something. Cox informed Abbitt that was indeed true (or at least that it was highly unlikely the courthouse would be reconstructed before 1966) and reminded Abbitt that he himself objected to a courthouse reconstruction if it were to be used as a visitor center. Since there was never any real consideration of reconstructing the courthouse as anything else, Cox surmised Abbitt should be content with the NPS's decision. In response, Abbitt's perspective changed somewhat and insisted the NPS rebuild the courthouse no matter what its use—the very name of the park itself implies the structure is there, hence it must be so. The Director's office, at Cox's request, delivered to Abbitt all Mission 66 details, including original courthouse restoration plans and Mission 66 brochures. According to Acting Director Scoyen, the original Mission 66 prospectus crafted in 1956–57 was the current plan on file along with the updated 1960 development schedule that excluded the courthouse. The NPS also confirmed to Abbitt that since the approval of the Mission 66 prospectus in 1956, the only change had been to add a modern visitor center project and effectively remove the courthouse restoration.[124] Despite Abbitt's objections, NPS staff began preparing for a new Visitor Center in early March, with regional staff examining possible locations in April.[125]

In response to Congressman Abbitt, Director Wirth agreed to hold in Appomattox a public meeting regarding the courthouse on March 3, 1961, attended by at least himself, Cox, and Abbitt. In the meantime, the regional office held at least one internal meeting so Gurney and Cox could brief staff on the history of both the courthouse building itself and the reconstruction project. Newspapers encouraged the public to get involved and attended the March 3rd meeting. The *Lynchburg News* published an editorial in the lead-up to advocate for the courthouse reconstruction and to encourage "interested organizations" to press for action from the House, Senate, NPS, and Department of the Interior. The *Appomattox Times-Virginian* published a meeting announcement alongside a lengthy Abbitt quote imploring the public to turn out in support of the courthouse project with an eye toward the Centennial celebration. When the meeting finally came, newspapers also reported on planned attendees. Other than Federal officials, those announcing their intention to attend included the Virginia Civil War Commission, Lynchburg Exchange

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[124] Cox to Director, 26 January 1961. Scoyen to Abbitt, 24 February 1961. "Administrative Files," Box 1456, RG79, Entry P11, NACP.

[125] SR, April 1960.

Club, Lynchburg Rotary Club, Fort Hill Kiwanis Club, Amherst County Chamber of Commerce, Amherst public schools, Amherst-Monroe Ruritan Club, Kirkwood Otey Chapter of the UDC, Lynchburg Junior Chamber of Commerce, Lynchburg Historical Society, Lynchburg Civil War Centennial Committee, Lynchburg Chamber of Commerce, Lynchburg Business and Professional Woman's Club, and the Old Dominion Chapter of the UDC. Appomattox Mayor Charles Moses and Commonwealth Attorney George Abbitt Jr., the latter of whom chaired the meeting, also attended and provided their support for rebuilding the courthouse.[126]

This public meeting was tense from the NPS perspective. Several hundred individuals attended, according to the *Lynchburg News*, with the vast majority in opposition to the NPS's plan to abandon courthouse reconstruction. Regional Director Cox took the floor to offer an official explanation why the NPS chose to build a new Visitor Center rather than reconstruct the old courthouse for that purpose. One of Cox's strongest points, from the newspapers' assessment, was the courthouse project would cost about $150,000, a sum that could better be spent elsewhere. The attending public disliked the NPS's plan and offered "stiff but polite opposition" in response. The most notable opposition to the NPS came with an official resolution from the Appomattox County Board of Supervisors, an official resolution from the Town Council of Pamplin, and public support of the courthouse by Congressman Abbitt, Commonwealth Attorney Abbitt, and State Senator Charles T. Moses. An Associated Press article appearing in the *Washington Post* offered a harsher interpretation of events in reporting the "throng demands restoration" and that "area people… wanted the old court house restored whether or not a visitors' center is constructed." Clippings of these articles survived in archived NPS documents. In the margins of one of these clippings that was likely exchanged between NPS officials, Assistant Director Hillory Tolson scribbled, "Why not let them have what they want?" It is obvious then that at least the national office was swayed by the incredibly high local support for a courthouse.[127]

Regional Director Cox was candid in internal NPS communications after the meeting. His primary takeaway was a newfound appreciation for local sentiment—"The Court House has become somewhat of a symbol for the Appomattox Folks and there is also quite an emotional attachment for the structure, especially by the Congressman [Abbitt]

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[126] SR, February 1961. Abbitt to Wirth, 23 February 1961. "Appomattox Court House," *Lynchburg News*, February 24, 1961. Scoyen to Abbitt, 24 February 1961. "Important Park Meeting Friday," *Appomattox Times-Virginian*, March 2, 1961. "Meeting Tonight on Court House at Appomattox," *Lynchburg News*, March 3, 1961.

[127] SR, March 1961. John Lair, "Many Urge Restoration," *Lynchburg News*, undated clipping [ca. 4 March 1961], "Administrative Files," Box 1456, Entry P11, RG79, NACP. "Appomattox Group Scores Park Plans," *Appomattox Times-Dispatch*, undated clipping [ca. 4 March 1961]. "Appomattox Throng Demands Restoration," *Washington Post*, March 5, 1961. Gurney to Cox, 6 March 1961. Richard F. Williams, untitled Town Council of Pamplin resolution, copy dated 8 March 1961, "Administrative Files," Box 1456, Entry P11, RG79, NACP.

and his brother [George Abbitt Jr.]. My efforts to persuade those at the meeting out of the plan to reconstruct the Court House were to no avail and I am confident that no substitute plan will satisfy them." Cox also sent to the Director a shorter, more direct message:

> Your instructions were to go to the meeting at Appomattox and "persuade" them that they don't want a reconstructed Courthouse. I don't believe John, the Baptist, could change that group. They want a courthouse, "period."
>
> Sorry I couldn't do better but when the opposition makes its presentations in the name of Robert E. Lee, Stonewall Jackson, and Harry Flood Byrd's mother, one lone agent of a government bureau is at somewhat of a disadvantage!

Thus Cox recommended a reconsideration of the courthouse project and that his office would develop a use for the structure, whether that was as a visitor center or something else.[128]

Director Wirth met with Abbitt in Washington on 28 March 1961 and officially informed the Congressman the NPS had changed directions. The NPS agreed to reconstruct the courthouse "on careful reconsideration of [the] original decision," meaning the 1958 change to construct a new Visitor Center. The meeting in question was between Wirth, Abbitt, Cox, Superintendent Norris, and Chief Historian Herbert Kahles. In NPS communications after the matter, Wirth articulated to Kahles that his intent was to "use the Court House for offices, [a] comfort station and general visitor center" with the NPS to construct a new, small information and contact station area around the parking lot.[129] A new development schedule filed in May 1961 modified both the Visitor Center and courthouse lines by merging them into a single first priority job—"Reconstruct Court House Building (Visitor Center)" estimated at $172,500. No such entry was made for Wirth's parking lot building, so it is unclear exactly when he intended to have this structure completed.[130]

With that, planning moved ahead. After the brief hiccup in Mission 66 funding, in December 1962 APCO and EODC staff worked together to devise a preliminary floor plan for the courthouse, which was then forwarded to the regional director.[131] In February 1963, the NPS secured the J. Everette Fauber firm to complete working drawings of the courthouse set to be completed in two months.[132] Early in July, J. E. Jamerson and Sons was awarded a $125,534 contract to reconstruct the courthouse. On July 26, 1963, APCO hosted

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[128] Cox to Director, 7 March 1961. Cox to Director, 7 March 1961. "Administrative Files," Box 1456, Entry P11, RG79, NACP.

[129] SR, March 1961. Kohler to Wirth, 30 March 1961, "Administrative Files," Box 1456, Entry P11, RG79, NACP.

[130] "Mission 66 Park Development Schedule, APCO," revised May 1961, p. 17, "Records of the Office of the Director, Records Related to Mission 66, Revised Prospectuses," Box 1, RG79, NACP.

[131] SR, December 1962.

[132] SR, February 1963.

a short groundbreaking ceremony attracting about one hundred attendees with Congressman Abbitt delivering a speech. Within a week, the build site had fences, an office building, electricity, and footing excavations completed. Workers officially had a little under two years to complete the reconstruction.[133]

With construction underway, other NPS staff planned the new courthouse interior, especially the Visitor Center components. In February 1963, Historian Wolfe developed a draft script for the Audio-Visual portion of the courthouse. This script was then reviewed by Don Erskine and other regional staff who concluded the script was good overall, but failed to make an impactful connection when written in third person. Regional staff reworked the script, with the blessing of APCO staff, into a first-person letter from an unnamed soldier who was at Appomattox in April 1865.[134] In June, APCO purchased two slide projectors, a tape recorder, automatic control units, and multifocus lenses. By the end of 1963, the visual part of the program consisted of twenty-five images, though park staff expected up to ninety-six to be included in the final version.[135] The following Feb., the NPS ordered a "Motion Picture Projector."[136] After Wolfe departed APCO, Historian Gregorio Carrera took over Wolfe's script and, after editing it slightly, began collecting materials like photos and artifacts to round out the presentation.[137]

The NPS museum branch steadfastly worked on exhibit plans from blueprints while the courthouse was being reconstructed. The only hiccup came with decisions around the Guillaume painting, which receive more details in the following chapter. All NPS staff wanted the painting to be given a prominent location, but there was a small debate over whether that should be at the center of the exhibit space or within the lobby. The former camp believed the painting could be a visually stunning imagery for visitors having just viewed rifles, letters, and artifacts, while the latter believed a lobby location would put more visitor eyes upon the work. The latter won out in March 1963 in part due to space concerns—the museum area was already cramped.[138]

Construction on the courthouse fully began in late July and August 1963. Progress though, which started so quickly, stalled just as fast when it became clear that detail drawings contained several conflicts that needed sorting. The main issue was that façade proportions and historic brick coursing was not consistent in planning. Supplier delays and an unplanned need for further excavation also slowed up the first stages of work. Despite

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[133] SR, July 1963. Ted Thompson, "Old Courthouse Contract Awarded," *Lynchburg News*, July 5, 1963.

[134] SR, February 1963; March 1963. Norris to Director, 5 March 1963, "Administrative Files," Box 1494, Entry P11, RG79, NACP.

[135] Erskine to Regional Director, 14 October 1963. Erskine to Roberts, 12 December 1963, "Administrative Files," Box 1494, Entry P11, RG79, NACP.

[136] SR, June 1963; February 1964.

[137] SR, July 1964.

[138] Lewis to EODC, 4 March 1963. Robert Smith to Lewis, 8 March 1963.

these problems, the contractors successfully built footings, laid block stem walls to the first floor, and laid rough-ins of electrical, sewer, and air conditioning systems in the first month. Within a month, contractors and Project Supervisor Carroll settled conflicts and construction resumed, including sewer pipelines, a four-inch water main, two-inch water lines, concrete blocks, first-floor windows and frames, chimney ducts, column piers, and backfill rock.[139] Over the next few months, work continued at a steady pace, including poured concrete, drain tiles, stone windowsills, and electrical line installation. By the end of 1963, Superintendent Steele estimated the project to be 43 percent complete.[140] Contractors doubled the work completed to an estimated 55 percent in January 1964. By the breaking of spring, the roofing was up and nearly all shingled, chimneys completed, fuel tank installed, and most air conditioning and electricity completed. All that was left was tiling, ductwork, window frames, and finishing.[141]

The courthouse reconstruction project was completed in April 1964, pending final inspection and finishing of the roof and stairs. After a few minor adjustments on the air conditioning system, the NPS signed off on the project and it was officially completed in August 1964. Fencing was installed around the new structure in December.[142]

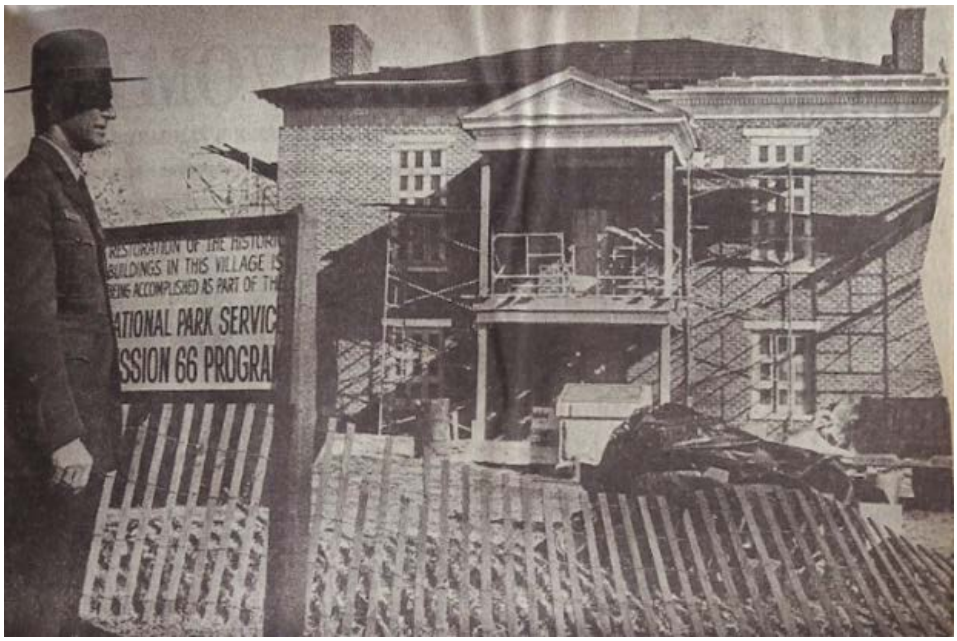


Figure 24. Steele at the nearly completed courthouse reconstruction.
Unknown clipping, ca. 1964, APCO Scrapbook #1, Historian's Office, APCO.

[139] SR, August 1963; September 1963.

[140] SR, October 1963; November 1963.

[141] SR, January 1964; February 1964; March 1964.

[142] SR, April 1964; August 1964; December 1964.

In May 1964, NPS's designer Massey offered recommendations for the Visitor Center, all of which involved either the placement of photographs and paintings to eliminate dead wall space and appropriate draperies to limit light and maintain a historic exterior appearance. The most involved recommendation was to paint a bird's eye scene of Appomattox Court House as it may have appeared in April 1865 on the rear wall of the information counter office area. The museum branch moved forward with this plan during the summer.[143] Museum exhibits were curated by the Museum division and regional staff in conjunction with APCO, primarily Carrera who offered substantial exhibit revisions. Attempts to create an overhead overlay using the Elmo Jones painting were ultimately unsuccessful in no small part due to the many historical inaccuracies, according to Carrera. Given Carrera's assessment, the Eastern Museum Laboratory decided to "re-do" the bird's-eye view as an exhibits rehabilitation project to be painted by an artist on-site.[144] These installations though were not created out of nothing in a few short months, but had been years in planning. Museum division staff worked on exhibits since at least 1962. By Spring 1963, APCO staff had reviewed and accepted Visitor Center exhibits and Wayside exhibits.[145] The following spring, staff did the same for the Sign and Wayside Exhibit Plan.[146] Regional Landscape Architect Bright visited APCO regularly since 1960 to review existing and proposed park signs and markers. At least as early as 1960, Historian Haskett usually handled the sign text and layouts.[147]

The Audio Visual program was first placed into operation on April 6, 1965, and was met with success at Centennial celebrations and afterward.[148] APCO estimated about one-third of all APCO visitors experienced the A.V. presentation in the first few months of its opening.[149] Park superintendents clearly thought of the audiovisual exhibit as a major component of APCO's centennial planning.[150] APCO used the office of the NPS Branch of Motion Pictures and Audiovisual Services to produce the work, specifically the branch chief Carl Degen. The NPS also secured Phyllis Robers as a script writer and Norman Kohn as artist.[151] The A.V. program primarily focused on the Courthouse Visitor Center presenta-

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[143] Robert G. Hall to Regional Director, 1 May 1964. Ralph Lewis to APCO, 17 June 1964.

[144] Carrera to Regional Director, 25 January 1965. James Mulcahy to Regional Director, 4 February 1965. W. Mikell to APCO, 10 February 1965.

[145] SR, April 1963

[146] SR, February 1964.

[147] SR, February 1960.

[148] SR, April 1965.

[149] SR, May 1965.

[150] SR, January 1965.

[151] Degen to Earl Smith, 6 May 1965. Lisle to Director, 7 January 1965. "Administrative Files," Box 1494, Entry P11, RG79, NACP.

tion but also included audio stations in the courthouse exhibit space, Surrender Triangle, and on the McLean House Porch. In July 1965, about three months after each were installed, Carrera estimated the Visitor Center presentation had been shown 703 times to 17,575 visitors. As for the audio stations, estimates were 2,099 for the exhibit space, 1,643 for Surrender Triangle, and 301 for McLean House Porch (only activated outside of park hours).[152] The Visitor Center presentation was so well received that multiple organizations requested it to be loaned out. APCO obviously did not wish to loan the original, but set about in August 1965 to duplicate it via slide show or 16mm film.[153] A few months into the A.V. presentation's existence, NPS officials realized the need to set up a maintenance and repair schedule from a third party. Within six months, APCO secured an agreement with the Altec Company as there was a need at least every few weeks to repair A.V. components.[154]

All other Visitor Center exhibits arrived and were installed at the courthouse in December 1964. The NPS also began construction of the Surrender Triangle exhibit as part of the Sign and Wayside Exhibit Program. The exhibit plan involved constructing a brick pedestal, so the park secured Roach Brothers of Appomattox to do the work.[155] By Superintendent Reports, the courthouse was effectively completed, except for a few minor touch-ups, by the beginning of 1965.

Superintendent Steele organized a formal list of donors who contributed financially or donated or loaned artifacts to APCO museum exhibits in October 1964. That list included the following: Citizens of Appomattox and Lynchburg who donated funds for the purchase of the Guillaume painting included Lottie Bledson, Clementine L. Block, Mrs. George A Custer, Eastern National Park and Monument Association, Mrs. Douglas Southall Freeman, Mrs. L. C. Godsey, Mr. and Mrs. Thomas M. Goldsby, Major-General Ulysses S. Grant III, Mrs. Bancroft Hill, Elmo Jones, Louis J. Jones, R. Jordan Sizemore, Mrs. S. Guy Smith, Mr. and Mrs. E. A. Watson, Ken Riley, Frederick A. Todd, the National Archives, Library of Congress, and West Point Museum.[156]

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[152] SR, July 1965.

[153] SR, August 1965.

[154] SR, October 1965; April 1966; May 1966; August 1966.

[155] SR, December 1964.

[156] Steele to WASO, 9 October 1964, "Administrative Files," Box 1672, Entry P11, RG79, NACP.



—S. B. Robertson Photo

THEIR WORK PRAISED—Visitors to Appomattox Courthouse National Historical Park frequently write letters of appreciation for Park tours conducted by these members of interpretive staff. Recent letter from Ohio man is typical. From left standing: Gordon Mason, Charles Meadows, Wes Wolfe and John Noechel. Kneeling from left: George Reaves, Mrs. Avis Smith, Harold Pugh. Absent: Duane Schrock.

Figure 25. *Lynchburg News*, undated (ca. 1963).

Applied History

While Mission 66 dominated discussion of the NPS future, regular day-to-day park activity continued. The largest project of 1956, according to Gurney, was the compilation of historic building survey reports. The first survey was conducted by a student architectural team headed by Project Supervisor Robert Raley. Students spent about three months at APCO documenting three structures: The Tavern Kitchen and Guest House, Tavern Guest House, and Plunkett-Meeks Store. Next was NPS Historian Ralph Happel, who reported to APCO on August 8, 1956, for the purpose of drafting historical reports on the same three structures.[157] His stay at APCO ended on January 30, 1957, with all reports written, typed,

[157] SR, 17 September 1956.

and assembled. All three structures were also subject to archeological surveys conducted by Harrington and Jackson Moore, an archeologist "on loan" from Ocmulgee National Monument.[158] Workers accidentally discovered in December 1956 the foundation of the Union Academy Dwelling House, which was a private residence in 1865. Maintenance staff employees were clearing brush when they found a large flat stone and further clearance revealed two parts of an obvious building foundation.[159]

There was apparently some confusion with Happel's work, especially with the Plunkett-Meeks House Survey Report. Supervising Architect for Historic Structures Charles Peterson corrected several basic components of the initial report submitted on October 22, 1956, most of which came from disagreements over NPS procedure. First and most problematic to Peterson, Happel worked with Architect Raley in crafting a single fluid document when the practice at the time was to separate the history section from architecture with each section written by two separate individuals. Peterson acknowledged such a process felt unnatural when the pair worked closely together, but it was necessary so NPS officials could use the work for specific tasks. The other issue was that Happel and Raley indicated that Peterson's office had a "contention" over whether the house was moved to its current location from elsewhere. Peterson rebutted that no such contention had been lodged, but clearly there was some discord between Peterson's office and Happel and Raley.[160]

Gurney sided with Happel and Raley by questioning Peterson's insistence that History and Architecture be separated and that photographs used in the Architecture section be removed from Happel's report. Gurney provided examples of other NPS survey reports structured similarly to APCO's and drove his point home by stating plainly, "I do not see the point of assigning a trained historian to prepare an historical study for a structure and then having this material edited and revamped by an architect." Acting Regional Director Lisle agreed with Gurney and concluded, "We can see no reason to prohibit Messrs. Happel and Raley from working together on the various Appomattox survey reports." With regional support, Gurney moved forward with a plan to bound together history, architecture, and archeology in single units for each structure report going forward.[161]

Out of the brief Peterson complaint came a December 11, 1956, meeting in Richmond between Gurney, Happel, regional staff, and EODC staff to discuss the early days of Mission 66 and to hopefully avoid future disagreements. Anterior to the discussion

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[158] SR, 19 February 1957. Superintendent's Annual Report, FY 1957, "Administrative Files," Box 74, Entry P11, RG79, NACP.

[159] SR, 16 January 1957.

[160] Peterson to APCO, 29 October 1956, "Administrative Files," Box 1456, RG79, Entry P11, NACP.

[161] Gurney to Chief, Eastern Office, Division of Design and Construction, 2 November 1956. Lisle to Gurney, 19 November 1956. Gurney to Regional Director, 12 December 1956. "Administrative Files," Box 1456, RG79, Entry P11, NACP.

was the future use of the Plunkett-Meeks Store. All parties agreed it should be used as a combination exhibit space and residence. The first floor would house a "typical country store" exhibit in the east room and a shop, excepting refreshments, in the west room. The entire second floor would be an employee residence. The cellar would be reserved for storage, a toilet, water heater, washer-dryer for the resident, and fire warning system. APCO and EODC would cooperate in establishing this project, especially on the shop component. The group also agreed that all Tavern outbuildings be reconstructed to have historically accurate exteriors and modified interiors. The Tavern Kitchen and Guest House would, like the store, have exhibits downstairs and a residence upstairs, and the Tavern Guest House would do the same with the larger third-floor attic used as storage.[162]

During spring 1957, Jackson Moore visited APCO for four weeks to excavate around the Plunkett-Meeks Store and House, Clover Hill Tavern, and Jail with the intent of recovering their original appearance and structure for reconstruction purposes.[163] Archaeologists also investigated Tavern Guest House, Tavern Kitchen and Guest House, Saddler's Shop, and Sackett's Law Office (a post-Civil War structure built on the site of the Saddler's Shop). Conclusions drawn included, for instance, that the Tavern Guest House ground level floor was originally brick while the Tavern Kitchen and Guest House floor was made of wooden planks and joists.[164] Excavations also found piers and footings of the Saddler's Shop, Sackett's Law Office, and a small structure in the yard of the Plunkett-Meeks Store and House.[165] Excavations for some of these properties continued when weather broke in 1958, such as with the discovery there were no original partitions in the Plunkett-Meeks House.[166]

Archaeological excavations continued in 1962 with the advent of digging at the McLean Ice House and Kitchen (Slave Quarters) in July. NPS Archaeologist John Walker led the dig.[167] Walker's work fed into a Historic Structures Report for the McLean House Dependencies.[168] Other archaeological studies included searches for fences along the old Stage Road, which discovered several pre-Civil War buildings in August 1962.[169] Continued searches in the pre-Civil War Jail made several more discoveries in August 1962. The

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[162] Gurney to Regional Director, 12 December 1956. Cox to Gurney, 30 January 1957. "Administrative Files," Box 1456, RG79, Entry P11, NACP.

[163] SR, 18 April 1957.

[164] SR, 16 December 1957.

[165] SR, 15 November 1957.

[166] SR, 17 April 1958.

[167] SR, July 1962. There are two accession records (APCO-00276 & APCO-00277) at APCO related to McLean House excavations dating to 1962 and 1963, consisting of 240 objects.

[168] SR, August 1962.

[169] SR, August 1962.

conclusion was that the existent structure essentially duplicated the original, which in the end turned out to be a false assumption. Fire destroyed the original, and it was believed that salvage brick and possibly window bars were used in the new structure.[170]

In early 1957, the combination of Mission 66, the successful archaeology program, and Happel's work ultimately led to Gurney's request to create a new historian position at APCO being granted. The park hired Dr. Marvin Schlegel, a Longwood College professor, in early March 1957 as the new Historian and assigned him the task of preparing special reports on historic buildings.[171] His first assignments were to compile reports for the Jail and the Mariah Wright House.[172] The research into the Mariah Wright House had a small, immediate effect—a few months later, NPS staff guided by Schlegel discovered the metal roof on the Mariah Wright House was leaking, so it was removed and replaced with a temporary solution made of roofing paper.[173]

During the late 1950s and early 1960s, the NPS produced a large quantity of APCO historical studies. Frank Cauble produced no less than eight research documents, James Haskett wrote or collaborated on four historic structure reports, and others produced an additional half dozen historic structure and furnishing studies.[174] Topics ranged from the built landscape of Appomattox Court House to a biography of Wilmer McLean, but all were for the benefit of APCO interpretation and preservation efforts. Specifically, this work was meant to support Mission 66 initiatives. Staff had a general sense, of course, of the history of the landscape, but it had been three decades since any foundational historical study had been completed. In some cases, no official historical research had been entered into the NPS record. Mission 66 mandated modernization and expansion of visitor services including improving park presentation. In early 1960, Gurney contracted Cauble to research and review all troop movement and position maps for Appomattox Court House fighting on April 8 and 9, 1865. The idea was that Cauble's research would inform the updated Master Plan.[175] While Cauble worked on this project, regional historian Ed Bearss visited APCO to discuss with Cauble and APCO staff just how the project would inform future NPS work.[176] Cauble delivered his report to Gurney with it meeting APCO approval in January 1961.[177]

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[170] SR, August 1962.

[171] SR, 18 March 1957.

[172] SR, 18 April 1957.

[173] SR, 19 August 1957.

[174] SR, February 1960.

[175] SR, March 1960.

[176] SR, May 1960.

[177] SR, January 1961.

Before any of this historical work, Gurney himself independently produced or was first author of three major studies: the first administrative history of the park and separate surveys of the restoration and rehabilitation of Plunkett-Meeks Store and House and Tavern Kitchen and Guest House, respectively. The restoration and rehabilitation reports were officially printed in mid-1956 and were most likely produced because of Mission 66. The administrative history, being officially produced in February 1955, would have been written well before Mission 66 came into being. As for other research projects, most were undertaken by Gurney or Park Historian Jerry Lowery. Other historian staff, including seasonal employees, also developed reports. In June 1958, Lowery began work on a historic structure report of the Old Jail primarily informed by newspaper archives and local interviews, and the following month a Kelley House report was undertaken by Ranger-Historian Robert Reid.[178]

Museum acquisitions and interpretive tours occupied significant APCO staff time as well, while construction projects expanded around the park. APCO installed during February 1957 an oil painting donated by V. H. Grefe depicting the Army of the James flag bearer riding on the morning of April 9th to deliver word of the surrender to front lines (cataloged in the APCO collection as APCO 1140). The Guillaume painting, which had been in Washington, DC, for conservation since February 1957, returned to APCO in July after treatment by Museum Preservation Specialist Nitkiewicz. Gurney reported to national staff of the painting's "noticeable checking of the canvas" and worried of the potential for serious damage occurring if left untreated.[179] In May 1962, Hudson again returned to APCO to modify the Meeks Store exhibit, primarily small finishing touches and photography. Two important changes included the incorporation of new donated materials: seven original packages of 1863 "Soldiers Comfort Tobacco" donated by Ms. Goodwin, and period "ladies wearing apparel" gifted by Ms. Flippen.[180]

Starting in the mid-1950s, Gurney documented several external organizations granted access to APCO for their own events. In early spring 1957, NPS staff was contacted by Bob Chappelle, a Richmond member of the National North-South Skirmish Association (NNSSA), inquiring about holding an event at APCO. The NNSSA was not a re-enactment organization exactly, but a group more interested in historical military demonstration and shooting competitions. In the proposed event, NNSSA members would use Civil War–era weaponry in sharpshooting competitions with the public invited to attend and observe. After a brief back-and-forth between Gurney, Cox, Regional Chief of Interpretation J. C.

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[178] SR, July 1958; June 1958.

[179] SR, 18 March 1957. Lewis to Nitkiewicz, 20 January 1956. Nitkiewicz to Lewis, 23 January 1956. Lewis to Cox, 19 September 1956. Nitkiewicz to Gurney, 7 February 1957. Gurney to Director, 8 July 1957, "Administrative Files," Box 1192, Entry P11, RG79, NACP.

[180] Goodwin's tobacco donations are documented under accession number APCO-00225. Flippen's donations are documented under accession number APCO-00227. SR, May 1962.

Harrington, and Assistant to the Director Philip King, the NPS allowed Chappelle's request "provided it can be carried out without damaging park values and is not hazardous to visitors." Harrington noted that such events were held at the Richmond battlefield the previous year and attracted large crowds. It was unclear from NPS documents whether this specific event ever transpired at APCO.[181]

On May 5, 1957, APCO hosted the Appomattox County Jamestown Festival, a local manifestation of a statewide program to commemorate the 350th anniversary of the landing of English colonists at Jamestown. Events included religious services, art exhibits, an Appomattox Garden Club flower show, and an open house at the McLean House and APCO visitor center. Approximately 2,000 visitors came to APCO according to Gurney's estimate. Gurney's report also marked the first mention of Confederate reenactors at the site. "Closing exercises held at the flagpole in front of the Visitor Center featured a full-dress military retreat in which the American Legion and a group of Civil War Confederate units participated," wrote Gurney, making no mention of any representatives of Union soldiers.[182] During 1964, APCO hosted a Boy Scout Jamboree of eight districts totaling about 1,000 attendees. APCO staff offered tours to any attendees who desired one.[183] At some point prior to 1964, APCO hosted an annual Peace Service on April 5 that attracted around 200 attendees.[184] Finally, throughout the 1960s and possibly before, the old Country Jail served as a local election station.[185]

Ms. Campbell, the granddaughter of Wilmer McLean, again donated materials to APCO in December 1960. Campbell asked to donate two vases that originally stood on the McLean House mantelpiece and were present on April 9, 1865. Gurney, of course, accepted this donation (cataloged in the collection as APCO 3976). By chance, during the same month APCO secured Miller and Rhoads Department Store to assist in reproducing the McLean House surrender room carpet. Gurney supplied the store with a copy of the Guillaume painting and assisted in placing an order with James Lees & Sons Carpet Company. Gurney credited Ms. Watson, chair of the furnishing committee, with spearheading this effort.[186] Six months later, Campbell agreed to fund the rug purchase in full. With a written commitment secured, Miller and Rhoads moved forward with production.[187]

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[181] Harrington to Gurney, 17 April 1957. Cox to Gurney, 3 April 1957. Cox to King, 12 April 1957. "Administrative Files," Box 684, RG79, Entry P11, NACP.

[182] SR, 18 June 1957.

[183] SR, April 1964; July 1964.

[184] SR, April 1964.

[185] SR, July 1963.

[186] SR, December 1960.

[187] SR, August 1961.

As for the current visitor center in the Tavern, furnishing plans for the Tavern Guest House museum space met delays in 1960. Gurney pulled the Burns model village out of storage, made repairs and new labels, and placed it in the ground floor room.[188]

Regional Museum Curator Albro worked with other APCO staff throughout 1960 and into 1962 on "conversion of Park museum records to the new format" and general cataloging.[189] Albro continued to work with APCO into 1961 providing significant curatorial support. She selected materials on display in the Meeks General Store and provided numerous suggestions for improving the McLean House presentation.[190] Hudson also assisted with Meeks General Store exhibits.[191] Albro worked with APCO staff and WASO Museum Specialist Harry Wandrus to deaccession items from the APCO collection. The group made a list for Hudson's review later.[192] All purchases for the Meeks General Store halted in September as Ms. Wood donated fifty-two apothecary bottles, many of which still contained chemicals and medications. NPS staff halted all acquisitions until those bottles could be reviewed by trained staff.[193] Also donated was an iron buggy whip rack, which staff suspended by chains from the ceiling.[194] APCO installed exhibit barricades in April 1962 and formally opened the exhibit to the public.[195]

Gurney continued to welcome politicians and celebrities with regularity. Governor Lindsay Almond and Nick Adams—then famous for his starring role in *The Rebel*—visited the site in September 1960 for both Almond's first official visit and as a publicity event for Adams's television show. Gurney presented Almond with a photograph of CCC crews working at the McLean House because one contractor clearly visible was Russell Almond, the governor's brother.[196] A previous project that APCO had been so proud of years prior suddenly departed. DuPont suddenly recalled the "Sunset at Appomattox" *Cavalcade of America* film that APCO staff had on loan in March 1963. DuPont sold the rights to a nonprofit educational organization, though they did not provide a name to APCO.[197]

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[188] SR, January 1960.

[189] SR, August 1960.

[190] SR, April 1961.

[191] SR, August 1961.

[192] SR, July 1961.

[193] SR, September 1961.

[194] SR, January 1962; October 1961.

[195] SR, April 1962.

[196] SR, September 1960.

[197] SR, March 1963.

APCO returned museum exhibits to Hampton NHS in January 1961 that had been on loan for nearly a decade, but several objects remained at APCO indefinitely. As of 2020, the following objects are still on display at the McLean House: brass candelabra (APCO 432 & APCO 442), a brass fireplace fender (APCO 704), and four oil paintings on exhibit in the McLean Parlor (APCO 712, APCO 713, APCO 715, APCO 716).[198]

The Plunkett-Meeks Store furnishing project initially in 1960 called for a "brief and tentative" list of items already held by APCO, though noted all were in poor condition and should only be used as a last resort. J. Paul Hudson produced on October 10, 1960, a detailed and cited furnishing plan that included a shelf-by-shelf item listing. This plan was massive, for instance planning 175 pieces of dinnerware for shelving unit nine and one hundred whiskey bottles with period replication paper labels produced by the museum lab for shelving unit eight. In all, Hudson compiled thirty-seven store locations between shelves, counter space, floor space, windows, and outside. Hudson's overall argument was that a period refurnishing was necessary to stay true to APCO's interpretive program of periodizing the space to April 9, 1865. However, Hudson's argument was that it would be impossible to reproduce 1865 conditions given the chaos caused by war, so instead he and other museum NPS staff chose to replicate early 1860s conditions to create "a more realistic presentation." Hudson also chose not to interpret "the personality of the owner, as this is not in keeping with the function of the preservation of this structure. This store was not restored and is not being refurnished as a socio-economic exhibit of the period, not as the home or business establishment of a famous man. It, like all the other original structures of the Village, has been preserved to add to the atmosphere of the McLean House."[199]

Hudson's plan was accepted by Lisle and Gurney both with only one change—that the store be presented as an exhibit with limited visitor access, not as a functioning concession operation. Both Lisle and Gurney felt it reasonable to keep visitors out of the store interior excepting special events.[200] Interior painting completed in the Meeks Store in May 1961 and Museum Preservation Specialist Marilyn Wandrus, assigned to the task by the Museum Lab, got to work identifying period artifacts. Wandrus's first APCO visit in July resulted in the discovery of a powder post beetle infestation that needed to be treated immediately.[201]

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[198] SR, January 1961.

[199] Frank Buffmire to Regional Director, 10 October 1960. J. Paul Hudson, "Furnishing Plan: Meeks General Store, APCO, Virginia," 10 October 1960, "Administrative Files," Box 1192, Entry P11, RG79, NACP.

[200] Lisle to Director, 29 December 1960, NACP, "Administrative Files," Box 1192, Entry P11, RG79, NACP.

[201] Norris to Regional Director, 8 May 1961. Lewis to APCO, 28 July 1961, "Administrative Files," Box 1192, Entry P11, RG79, NACP.

APCO sold a few regular items throughout the park during this period. APCO began selling historical handbooks via coin-operated vending machines using machines acquired from the state prison in April 1962.[202] The store also sold an interpretive booklet, "The Country Store," written by Watson in August 1965. Superintendent's Reports noted it sold "fairly well," though did not supply exact numbers.[203] APCO also installed a new temporary exhibit in January 1966 regarding NPS activities in Virginia, its fiftieth anniversary, and the restoration of the McLean House and courthouse. The intent was for this exhibit to remain for the rest of the 1966 travel season.[204]

By 1964, APCO offered foreign language support for visitors. Visitor Center staff spoke at least four languages, though reports did not clarify which except to note one was not Spanish. Pedro Rissolo and his wife, both from Argentina, visited APCO in 1964 as part of their cross-country bicycling tour. Upon their arrival, given neither spoke English fluently, APCO called upon local Spanish teacher Marion Cathey to translate for the couple. These are the types of regular problems faced by front-line staff that demonstrate the flexibility and creativity of APCO during this era.[205]

In early 1965, NPS staff received a sudden surprise. "The McLean doll does exist," wrote Howard Baker, Acting Director, of course in reference to the "Silent Witness" to the surrender. He reported that it was possessed by Richard Channing Moore of Long Island and, after a telephone conversation between the two, Moore was reluctant to part with the doll until his daughters had a chance to weigh in on the matter. A few days later, Moore indicated that his family's wishes were for the doll to be part of his grandfather's military service souvenirs, all of which were in possession of the family, but they also understood its importance to the story of the surrender. Thus, the family would loan the doll through the rest of 1965 and 1966. Regional NPS staff affirmed the loan would be accepted with great appreciation two weeks later, but the NPS reconsidered upon conference with Pierson. Pierson believed that a Silent Witness exhibit within the McLean House would be problematic due to limited staffing, increased visitor numbers, and a lack of climate control. Security was the main concern though, as such a "notable specimen" would require increased security. APCO suggested to regional staff, who then suggested to the Director's office that a shorter-term loan just long enough to produce a reproduction would be

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[202] SR, April 1962.

[203] SR, August 1965.

[204] SR, January 1966.

[205] "Centennial Center Visitors," Centennial News Letter, Virginia Civil War Commission, Vol. 6, No. 8, November 1964, "Administrative Files," Box 696, RG79, Entry P11, NACP.

preferable. Regional staff disagreed with the reproduction idea and questioned "the advisability of adding another replica item to the room," an opinion supported by museum staff. In the end, neither the long-term nor short-term loan was pursued.[206]

Throughout Mission 66, the McLean House remained a highly popular tourist stop at APCO that only grew throughout the decade. Gurney's Informational and Interpretive Services 1955 report detailed the first year during which APCO had full eight-hour per day coverage of the McLean House and museum, so Gurney and Smith could dedicate all their time to their actual administrative jobs rather than providing museum coverage. Gurney estimated the NPS essentially forfeited around $600 in potential McLean House admission fees due to a lack of total coverage, so in his view additional staffing could nearly pay for itself.[207] Norris submitted in January 1962 a five-page report detailing the first year in which the McLean House was open for the full year with attendance rising from 20,761 to 55,212. Staffing for the park included three Ranger-Historians (GS-5 and GS-4) who worked full-time during the summer and part-time otherwise and one Information Receptionist (IGS-4). Norris also reported that additional staff was needed as soon as possible.[208]

Work orders from the Eastern Museum Laboratory help provide a sense of timelines and cost of NPS-produced exhibits. The earliest of these work orders, dated January 8, 1965, covered exhibits for the courthouse Visitor Center that had been installed over the prior three years. To date, the EML estimated $15,978 in total courthouse costs roughly divided evenly between Personal Services, Contract Work, Exhibit Cases, and Overhead. Given that just $1,265.86 was added to these estimates over the next six months, the Visitor Center exhibits must have been in a more-or-less completed state as of the Centennial events. The Visitor Center exhibits account closed officially in January 1966 with just $54.16 of added expenditures in the previous six months.[209] Other exhibit costs included $14,689.79 for "Interpretive Wayside Devices" spent between January 7, 1963, and June 30, 1966.[210]

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[206] Baker to Richard Rodgers staff assistant, 8 April 1965; Moore to Baker, 12 April 1965; Wayne Bryant to Moore, 26 April 1965; Bryant to Moore, 14 May 1965; W. Mikell to Director, 11 May 1965; Lewis to Regional Director, 17 May 1965. "Administrative Files," Box 1236, Entry P11, RG79, NACP.

[207] Gurney to Director, 15 February 1956, "Administrative Files," Box 1192, Entry P11, RG79, NACP.

[208] Norris to Director, 30 January 1962, "Administrative Files," Box 1494, Entry P11, RG79, NACP.

[209] Russell J. Hendrickson, "EML Work Order," 8 January 1965; 23 April 1965; 15 July 1965; 25 January 1966, "General Correspondence for the Asst Director for Design & Construction," Box 39, Entry P80, RG79, NACP.

[210] Russell J. Hendrickson, "EML Work Order," 8 January 1965; 23 April 1965; 15 July 1965, "General Correspondence for the Asst Director for Design & Construction," Box 39, Entry P80, RG79, NACP.

Roads and Land

Even more so than the courthouse, road and land issues had a transformative effect upon APCO. Ever since the park's creation, Route 24 passed through the center of Appomattox Court House. Vehicles were a natural part of the APCO landscape, a challenge for interpretation for sure when encouraging visitors to view Appomattox Court House as if it were a nineteenth-century village. Making matters even more challenging was that APCO, the NPS, and the Department of the Interior had little, if any, agency in Route 24 decisions; that was up to the Virginia Highway Department. Before 1956, the state informed the NPS that it intended to relocate the Route 24 bypass at some point from the center of Appomattox Court House to another corridor a few hundred yards to the south for safety precautions. The sharp curves through the village center mixed with increased pedestrian traffic meant that area became a potential hazard. This official traffic corridor shift took place in October 1954 when the state completed the new Route 24 Bypass Road. Along with that construction came the installation of a parking area at the Confederate Cemetery, an entrance road for the APCO utility area, and the Peers House Driveway.[211] Otherwise, all visitor parking was along roads and was felt to be haphazard by many NPS staff.

During September 1956, the State Highway Department publicly proposed eliminating all traffic passing through the center of Appomattox Court House and the total abandonment of that Route 24 section. In response, three local landowners—Walter Scott, Winnie Sears, and Samuel Ferguson—appealed the Virginia State Highway Commission decision. The trio argued such a closure could cut off access to their properties and, unsatisfied with the response, sued the Commonwealth. Writing in 1957, Winnie Sears said of APCO, "They are using federal money to create a southern park; the house [on her property adjacent to APCO] has been there at least 125 years, (we have owned it 46 years ourselves, although we are not southerners)," meaning her argument in particular was that her family's tenure in Appomattox Court House was far longer than the NPS's.[212] As the legal case advanced in the Appomattox Circuit Court, it became clear to NPS officials the issue would likely be drawn out for an extended period. Attorney General (and eventual Governor) J. Lindsay Almond intervened, however, with the intent of quickly ending the conflict. At Almond's and Gurney's urging, Regional Director Cox personally contacted each of the three lawsuit plaintiffs to promise that the NPS would "cooperate in providing access to a public highway." Cox delivered on his word and within days the NPS issued all three parties' written assurances that each would have property access over NPS roads.[213]

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[211] SR, 16 June 1954; 15 September 1954; 17 January 1955.

[212] Sears to Price, 29 April 1957.

[213] SR, 15 October 1956. Gurney to Cox, 19 September 1956, "Administrative Files," Box 1672, Entry P11, RG79, NACP.

One of these property owners, Winnie Sears, offered to sell her property to the NPS in 1957 having previously been rejected by the NPS three years prior. Sears wrote to Jackson Price, Chief of Lands, to again offer forty-five acres, as she had no money to care for her recently inherited home "Malin Hall." Her offer was much the same as it had been three years earlier—outright sale of the full property and she would not consider a property swap. She claimed that she had been trying to sell the property for $40,000 as a motel or tourist site, but would sell to the NPS for significantly less. Price wrote Sears to inform her she was misinformed regarding Mission 66 program funding regulations. The NPS could not purchase her full property outright and had to rely on land swaps, smaller purchases, or a third-party agreement, so again the NPS turned Sears away.[214]

But Sears's inquiry directly led to APCO staff pushing to modify NPS land acquisition limitations. Gurney recommended to the regional office that the NPS request modification of the 1953 Act limiting purchases specifically so APCO could purchase new lands and increase total acreage limitations. Gurney believed that Congressman Abbitt would support such a bill and suggested it could be enacted and utilized well before the 1965 centennial.[215] Gurney had floated a similar idea before as part of his Mission 66 proposals. In the APCO prospectus dated July 1955, Gurney's top "area problem" was that of Public Law 136—the 1953 Act—as it limited APCO's ability to accept land donations or purchase additional land in support of interpretation and conservation. Gurney recommended before to remove NPS acquisition limitations and to increase total authorized acreage for APCO to 1,200 acres.[216]

At about the same time in early 1957, the regional office was made aware of a potential legal problem with a 1954 land swap between APCO and the Commonwealth. The conveyance was made under a statute governing transfers from Federal to state ownership of approach roads leading to historical areas (62 Stat. 334, June 3, 1948). The NPS solicitor's office issued an opinion on a land swap at Vicksburg National Military Park that was illegal as the Vicksburg roads were "spur roads" and thus did not qualify under the approach road act. As the layout of the Vicksburg roads was highly like those at APCO, the NPS worried the ruling could apply and impede Mission 66 work. After a brief bit of research by the solicitor's office at the request of the regional office, the solicitor concluded the Vicksburg situation did not apply to APCO. The Appomattox land exchange could instead be authorized by the Congressional Act of July 17, 1953 (Public

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[214] Sears to Price, 29 April 1957. Price to Sears, 6 May 1957.

[215] Gurney to Regional Director, 17 May 1957.

[216] Gurney, "Prospectus for Appomattox Court House National Historical Park," July 1955, "Records of the Office of the Director, Records Relating to the 'Mission 66' Program, Data for Part Two of Mission 66 Report," Box 1, RG79, NACP.

Law 136), allowing swaps provided the properties were of "approximately equal value," so legal wrangling over spur versus approach roads became irrelevant, though not without a few weeks of local anxieties.[217]

May 1957 brought renewed efforts to resolve outstanding ownership questions surrounding Route 24 and access to the Confederate Cemetery. NPS and Virginia State Highway Department staff agreed to exchange the Route 24 bypass road section and right of way for the road from the Confederate Cemetery, through Appomattox Court House, and to the Appomattox River Bridge.[218] Regional Director Cox reported in October that the local UDC chapter "continually pressed" the NPS to construct a small parking area at the cemetery as had been verbally promised by the Director. Wirth's supposed promise became a brief point of contention for the NPS internally. The Appomattox UDC chapter certainly believed Director Wirth made a firm NPS commitment to build a parking area and loop road at the cemetery; Cox and Gurney recalled no such commitment during the meeting in question. Gurney specifically recalled the only commitment made by Wirth was that NPS landscape architects would review current conditions at the cemetery and then "advise the ladies as to the best treatment" with no commitment to construction. Wirth himself recalled making three commitments: to not build a "through road" in the middle of APCO, to build a new entrance and parking area in the rear of the McLean House, and to continue with a complete restoration of Appomattox Court House as it existed in April 1865.[219] About two years later, NPS staff recommended the UDC remove several trees and a chain fence along "the old road north of the cemetery."[220] While the NPS did not lead any construction at the cemetery, APCO staff remained involved with cemetery management—for instance, cleaning the site and removing young pines and overgrowth.[221]

The spring of 1958 was when significant property exchanges formally took place. In April 1958, the Commonwealth notified APCO of its further intention to abandon a section of State Secondary Road 627 from the new Bypass Road to old Route 24 and transfer ownership ("all right, title, and interest") to the NPS effective June 1, 1958. The Appomattox County Board of Supervisors had lodged a protest to this abandonment three years earlier out of concerns for local transportation and property values, but the state proceeded regardless.[222] In May, the NPS and Commonwealth agreed to exchange right of

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[217] Lisle to Director, 13 January 1957. Harry K. Sanders to Director, 28 February 1957. "Administrative Files," Box 1192, Entry P11, RG79, NACP.

[218] SR, 18 June 1957.

[219] Cox to EODC, 11 October 1957. Gurney to Cox, 30 December 1955. Wirth to Cox, 23 December 1955, "Administrative Files," Box 1041, Entry P11, RG79, NACP.

[220] SR, September 1959; 17 December 1956.

[221] SR, December 1961.

[222] SR, 17 June 1958. H. Reese Smith to Director, 26 May 1958. C. W. Smith to Wirth, 19 September 1955, "Administrative Files," Box 1041, Entry P11, RG79, NACP.

ways for old Route 24 and the new Bypass Road. This swap was celebrated by the NPS, as it secured full ownership of the village center after decades of trying. The specific deal resulted in a transfer of 18.2 acres of NPS land for 9.19 of Commonwealth land.[223] Legally, however, the exchange was formally accepted in February 1960 by APCO on the recommendation of the US Attorney General.[224]

Throughout all the questions and minutia of land exchanges and potential sales, there remained the question of a parking area. In mid-1957, APCO and regional staff began planning a "Village Parking Area" and new entrance road south of the village center as called for in the Mission 66 prospectus. With the new state Bypass Road, a new parking area between the road and APCO facilities made logical sense to all NPS staff involved. Initial plans developed by the Eastern Office of Design and Construction placed the parking area north of the village center with an access road that wrapped around the eastern perimeter of the village, which was rejected by Gurney and the regional office. Gurney's reasoning was largely due to the north field's potential historical importance as the assembly grounds for General Lee's "last organized attack against Federal troops," one that ultimately failed and led directly to the surrender. Thus the north fields were one of the last battlegrounds of the Civil War, at least in Virginia, and far too important to be buried under a modern parking lot. Regional office staff agreed with Gurney, also noting that topographic maps for the northern section were "not too accurate," so EODC plans were flawed in assuming flat land where it was highly graded. Gurney and regional staff further agreed the parking area outlined by the EODC was too small; APCO needed at least forty car spaces plus five more bus lanes. The EODC returned to the drawing board and developed new plans relocating the parking area to the south of the McLean House. The new southern location, which had been outlined in the prospectus, was approved by regional staff in November 1957, but was rejected by Director Wirth the following month.[225]

APCO and regional staff were caught off guard by Director Wirth's rejection of the southern parking area plans. The approved prospectus clearly called for "a new entrance road and parking area south of the McLean House." Wirth instead called a surprise audible to his personal preference of the northeast corner of APCO near the Triangle, an area just slightly to the east of the EODC's original plans. In Wirth's understanding, his preferred location was less likely to impact viewsheds and would allow a more gradual transition for visitors from modern highway to old village environment. Wirth's proposal would have the road diverge south from Back Lane, run southeast, move north to Bocock Lane, then cross

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[223] SR, June 1958; 17 June 1958.

[224] SR, February 1960. Jackson Price to Regional Director, 10 February 1960. J. Frederick Imirie to Regional Director, 14 March 1960. "Administrative Files," Box 1672, Entry P11, RG79, NACP.

[225] SR, 17 January 1958; 16 December 1957. SR, 15 November 1957. Cox to EODC, 25 October 1957. Gurney to EODC, 22 October 1957. Gurney to EODC, 7 October 1957. Wirth to Abbitt, 6 January 1956, "Administrative Files," Box 1041, Entry P11, RG79, NACP.

the Richmond Stage Road to a parking area. This longer, winding road allowed visitors an excellent view of the village as they arrived from a modern highway as opposed to the proposed short, direct path with the southern parking lot.[226] Advantages of the southern parking lot were primarily functional. It would be a cheaper project, given the entrance road would be significantly shorter, and the parking lot would be near enough to Market Lane to allow for easy visitor foot traffic and thus greater accessibility. The topography around Wirth's proposed location would mean either significant earth-leveling projects or forcing visitors to manage a steep slope. Wirth's location also raised the question of views from within the village. Visitors would not be able to see the parking lot, but they would clearly see the access road and presumably a regular stream of vehicles entering and leaving the park.[227]

In the fall of 1958, all NPS parties of interest—APCO, EODC, national, and regional—met at APCO to review proposals for the new entrance road and parking area. The outcome was to shift the parking lot location to the field east of the Tavern and north of the triangle.[228] Gurney's description of the plan was for the entrance road to "run from a point on the By Pass Road, swing past the Mariah Wright House, and enter the Village Area over the Prince Edward Court House Road." Visitor vehicles would then move north along the Prince Edward Court House Road, past the triangle, and to the proposed parking area.[229] Drawings were made and forwarded to the Director, who quickly approved in December 1958.[230] In October 1958, workers cleared land around the Lee's Farewell Address location, including spreading crushed stone and installing a new culvert, to widen the area for the planned entrance road.[231]

With these 1958 meetings, all went quiet regarding the entrance road and parking area until August 1963 when $76,000 of Mission 66 funds were allocated to the project. APCO awarded a road contract on December 19, 1963, to Wilck Construction Company for entrance road and parking area work on three wayside parking areas along Route 24—the Grant Headquarters Wayside, "Lee Farewell Site," and Confederate Cemetery area—in addition to a main parking area near the village center. The bid form estimated about 9,000 square yards of parking area, 2,400 yards of sidewalks, and 3,000 lineal feet of curbs with drainage and noted the location to be "about halfway between the Confederate cemetery and the present park entrance" or "about one-quarter of a mile west of the

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[226] Marel Seger to Chief of EODC, 3 December 1957.

[227] APCO Mission 66 Prospectus, p. 10, "Records of the Office of the Director, Records Relating to the 'Mission 66' Program, Final Prospectuses," Box 1, RG79, NACP.

[228] SR, September 1958; August 1958.

[229] SR, December 1958.

[230] SR, November 1958.

[231] SR, October 1958.

present entrance." The actual parking area itself was to be located between the village center and the new Route 24 Bypass Road, with no explanation provided for why the Director Wirth drawings had been discarded. After brief delays caused by bad concrete laying, work progressed quickly with fill, grading, curbs, and culverts complete in the "Lee Area" and the "Confederate Area," nearly completed in April. The project was inspected, accepted, and final payment made between July 6 and July 29, 1964, though due to a clerical oversight the NPS did not formally close the project until November 30, 1964.[232]

The Virginia Highway Department made significant changes to Route 24 around APCO in mid-1960. The most significant changes affected views from the road looking north and west around the Route 24 junction with the Park Entrance Road. Gurney reported changes to the road shoulders improved visibility by about 50 percent. The state also installed new signage both east and west of the park noting the APCO entrance road was ahead, and a few state guideposts for the "McLean House" were replaced with those reading "Appomattox Court House" and "Old Court House." In March 1963, APCO struck a new agreement with the state to change all signs reading "Old Court House" to "Appomattox Historical Park."[233] Also, in late-1959, the Commonwealth began construction of a Route 627 bridge across Plain Run "30 feet downstream from the existing and historic ford."[234]

Starting in October 1961, historian Frank Cauble began a study of the Richmond-Lynchburg Stage Road in APCO under urgency.[235] Cauble's study covered the Richmond-Lynchburg Stage Road with an emphasis placed upon the area of the road in and around Appomattox inclusive of Appomattox Court House from 1860 to 1865. The road was central to the existence of Appomattox Court House—serving as the main street that passed through the center of town—and a critical transportation corridor for the region. The road likely existed at least as early as 1799 and was a developed route by the 1830s. Spanning about 120 miles, it served as the primary travel route between Richmond and Lynchburg, so individuals and companies from central Virginia needing to do business in Richmond likely used the road. According to Cauble in citing activist-turned-local historian Ethel Marion Smith, the road was the first public transportation line across the Commonwealth, further marking its importance.[236]

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[232] SR, November 1964; September 1964; July 1964; June 1964; May 1964; April 1964; December 1963. "Park Announces Road Project," *Appomattox Times Virginian,* January 2, 1964. "Bids Open for Road Project," *Appomattox Times Virginian*, November 21, 1963. "Centennial Building Goals," *Appomattox Times Virginian,* September 26, 1963.

[233] SR, August 1960; March 1963.

[234] SR, August 1959.

[235] SR, October 1961.

[236] Cauble, 4.

Meanwhile, the NPS continued to clear land and unwanted structures, specifically those structures deemed "non-historic" on the Gray Tract, in part to better assess APCO holdings. In May 1957, the Women's Club of Appomattox inquired regarding the possibility of purchasing the "frame building known as 'The Last Shot' [*sic*]. . .part of the property purchased by the NPS from Mr. Thomas Gray." Congressman Abbitt specifically wrote Director Wirth regarding the Women's Club inquiry. This structure was known to APCO at the time as the Storehouse Building, as it had been used as general storage since 1940. Historically, the structure was a "combination dining room and dance hall" built by Thomas Gray. The Women's Club wanted the structure for use as an office or kitchen-dining space as the club had recently taken over the county Emergency Welfare Services for the US Civil Defense. The NPS had no problems parting with the Gray structure, but recognized it may be desired by groups other than the Women's Club so it would be unfair to conduct a private sale. After a brief exchange between local, regional, and national NPS staff, Gurney drafted an invitation for bids to sell both the Storehouse Building and Gray Cabin, the two remaining good condition structures on the Gray Tract. Gurney reported that he received six local inquiries as of early June 1957 and cleaned out the structure in May anticipating a sale. A further conference between national and regional NPS staff and the State Department of Education concluded the NPS could not legally transfer the Storehouse Building directly, so the NPS moved forward with a public sale.[237] In October 1957, the park auctioned the two Gray Tract structures. Fred Robertson purchased them both, the Gray Cabin and the Gray Tract Storehouse, and relocated them away from the park. APCO immediately cleaned up the Gray Tract, meaning removing all evidence of structures including foundations, after Robertson removed his new properties.[238]

Park staff continued to clear land and remove concrete from around buildings throughout the late-1950s. During May 1957, APCO staff cleared eight acres around the Appomattox Wayside along Route 24 near the Appomattox River Bridge.[239] In November 1957, park staff removed concrete around the former Gray Cabin location, trees from five acres around the river east of the highway bridge, and all brush around the Raine Monument. Cleared land was often rented for agricultural use under special use permits to "get the land back in shape" according to Gurney's reports.[240] Clearing land though was, in some locations, an effort to rehabilitate spaces to a better aesthetic. Winter months during

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[237] Elain McD. Spencer to Abbitt, 27 May 1957. Abbitt to Wirth, 28 May 1957. Gurney to Regional Director, 5 June 1957. Hillory Tolson to Abbitt, 13 June 1957. Cox to Director, 28 June 1957. Cox to Director, 5 July 1957. "Administrative Files," Box 1094, Entry P11, RG79, NACP.

[238] SR, 15 November 1957. SR, 16 October 1957.

[239] SR, 18 June 1957.

[240] SR, 16 December 1957.

early Mission 66 years brought regular planting and shrub replacement. During January 1957, for instance, APCO staff planted twenty-seven "fruit and shade trees" and twenty-one shrubs.[241]

In January 1958, the NPS formally signed an agreement with both the Flood and Ferguson families to exchange 98 acres in the park's southeast corner for 76 acres of more valuable land to the east. This transfer was finalized in the following months under the Act of July 17, 1953, allowing for land exchanges when properties were of approximately equal value. With appraisals in hand that satisfied such a criterion (Federal holdings valued at $5,423 and Flood-Ferguson at $5,320), the deal was made and contracts signed. According to Gurney's reports, the exchanged land included the site of Grant and Lee's last meeting, the ford cross of the Appomattox River, and the surrender lot for Confederate artillery.[242] The land swap was years in the making. At times, Gurney believed the exchange would not happen. In July 1956, Gurney wrote to the regional office to inform them that Flood family disagreements threatened the deal despite all parties involved being generally in favor. It took about one year, but Gurney successfully mediated the problems, and the Flood and Ferguson families came to a mutually acceptable agreement by mid-1957.[243] Once the Flood-Ferguson land was acquired, APCO staff went to work making it usable for their purposes. The Grant-Lee meeting site was graded and cleared right away from that spot to the hill crest, down the old road to the Appomattox River.[244]

Gurney proposed in October 1958 for the NPS to acquire the Scott tract, a piece of land on which portions of April 9, 1865, fighting took place. Gurney considered the space an important battlefield worthy of purchase, integration into APCO, and ultimately interpretation for the public. This proposal also included a recommendation that limitations on park size be removed. Gurney's logic was that APCO originally was considered a park to the surrender meeting and little more, but now it included the battlefield and related stories as well.[245]

Acquisition discussion slowed in 1959 and 1960 as other matters took precedence. First, Gurney met with the Appomattox Telephone Company in 1959 and granted a right-of-way along the Bypass Road. This new telephone service, facilitated by a "new cable-type telephone line," reached the APCO village center. Previously, APCO had been served by a multiparty rural circuit, which meant official NPS business was not secured and could be

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[241] SR, 19 February 1957.

[242] SR, 17 April 1958; 20 February 1958. "Agreement for Exchange of Land," 15 November 1957. Gurney to Regional Director, 29 October 1957. Cox to Director, 25 November 1957. Scoyen to Secretary of the Interior, 30 December 1957. William Rogers to Secretary of Interior, 23 April 1958. James Siler to Regional Director, 3 July 1958. "Administrative Files," Box 1672, Entry P11, RG79, NACP.

[243] Gurney to Regional Director, 10 July 1956, "Administrative Files," Box 1672, Entry P11, RG79, NACP.

[244] SR, August 1958.

[245] SR, October 1958.

interrupted at any point by several unrelated locals. The new line was a four-party private line servicing APCO offices and residences, which required new lines servicing APCO and the Vera community. However, the NPS required a $5.00 per year special use permit fee for the Appomattox Telephone Company to run a phone line parallel to the bypass road. The company was unwilling to pay such a fee, so the NPS, Appomattox Telephone Company, and state highway department entered negotiations for placing the new telephone lines on state property instead. The new line was installed, and service switched over in March 1962.[246]

A windstorm destroyed the Tulip Poplar Tree (where it was incorrectly believed that Lee gave his farewell address to soldiers) on June 12, 1960, at about 5:30 p.m. All that was left behind was a stem because of reinforced concrete and iron placed in the 1930s to replace a decayed cavity. APCO staff removed the destroyed sections, and Gurney was left to manage the national publicity at the loss of "Lee's Farewell Tree." Gurney also noted that two "lovely American elm trees" in the McLean House front yard were also removed, though not by wind. Both had succumbed to Dutch Elm Disease, so after a regional office analysis, APCO had both trees destroyed and removed in late June to prevent further spread. Gurney estimated both trees had been planted around 1870. While the trees were a loss, at least they did not date to 1865.[247] A little over a year later, APCO fulfilled a request from Congressman Fred Schwengel of Iowa to provide a piece of the tree to make a gavel. The gavel would be gifted to US Grant III upon his retirement as National Civil War Centennial Commission Chairman.[248]

In May 1960, new studies began to explore further land acquisitions. This time around, Gurney prioritized land west of APCO encompassing the location of the last fighting at Appomattox.[249] APCO secured $1,500 in funding from the Eastern National Park and Monument Association to acquire the Diuguid Tract, assuming NPS staff could secure an agreement from heirs. Norris contacted the family, who were willing to sell. In December 1962, the NPS purchased a 1/6 interest in the tract through the Association; by February, that ownership had crept up to half.[250] The issue went dormant until August 1965 when the NPS secured Harry G. Lawson, a local lawyer, to "file a partition suit on behalf of the Eastern National Park and Monument Association for the Diuguid property."[251]

Finally, Richmond Stage Road restoration to a rock walkway was undertaken during 1964. The NPS contracted Marvin V. Templeton and Sons from July through October to do the job. In July and in preparation for road construction, contractors

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[246] SR, October 1959; September 1959.

[247] SR, June 1960.

[248] SR, November 1961.

[249] SR, May 1960.

[250] SR, September 1962; October 1962; December 1962; February 1963.

[251] SR, August 1965.

removed asphalt from the Stage Road. Ole Route 24 was "obliterated," in Carrera's words, to clear the way for construction. In the meantime, NPS archeologists Rex Wilson and John Griffin excavated around the area and determined fence and well locations. Contractors then graded the road, laid 200 feet of drainage pipes, constructed three head walls, seeded 202,000 square feet, and built 153.64 square yards of brick walkways. The most important component in finishing was laying cover aggregate (129.25 tons), cover prime (66.63 tons), and crusher run gravel (139.95 tons). The final appearance of the gravel road was a light brown color, as recommended by Cauble's research.[252]

Superintendent Changes

For the first time in park history, a Superintendent change came in 1961 when Thomas F. Norris Jr. replaced Gurney effective March 19th. Gurney's final Superintendent Report was February 1961 as he accepted a new job as a Historian in the NPS Regional Office in March. He had served at APCO since April 10, 1940, except for his WWII service.[253] No official park documents denoted a specific reason for Gurney's reassignment, but oral interviews suggested a few theories. First, Gurney family tradition was that Gurney's wife Georgie was outspoken politically. Given that her views were left leaning, she eventually drew the ire of local Republicans and the Gurneys chose to relocate rather than fight with their neighbors. Second, long-time APCO employee Raymond Godsey recalled Gurney's departure was a combination of factors that ultimately drove public opinion against Gurney. Godsey noted two primary causes for the perceived public ire: APCO closed the McLean House during the offseason, and the public belief that Gurney opposed reconstructing the courthouse.[254] One of Gurney's final major actions as superintendent was approving the Master Plan for Preservation and Use of APCO prepared by Park Historian James Haskett. This document, approved in early 1960 and last updated in June 1962, essentially outlined all that was known of site and building histories, park use statistics, and anticipated future needs. Most future needs were historical in nature, namely studies of buildings yet to be researched, the stage road and fences, the surrounding battlefield, and the details of the surrender ceremony, stacking of arms, paroles, and departure of both then former Confederate and Union forces. Haskett served as Acting Superintendent for some tasks to bridge the few days between Gurney and Norris, but formally there was no

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[252] SR, July 1964. Pierson, "Fact Sheet for Completion Report: Restoration of Richmond-Lynchburg Stage Coach Road," 2 February 1966, "Administrative Files," Box 1033, Entry P11, RG79, NACP.

[253] SR, February 1961.

[254] SR, February 1961. APCO Central Files (APCO 11800/006.001, Box 005).

break in succession. Norris was previously working since 1957 as Supervisory Park Ranger (GS-11) at Mammoth Cave NP and as a Ranger with varied assignments at Great Smoky Mountains NP and Shenandoah NP before that.[255]

With Gurney's departure, though, all was business as usual with growing attendance. Since 1954, APCO visits doubled, and McLean House visits increased five-fold.[256] The 1961 calendar year alone saw an 86 percent increase in McLean House attendance to 55,212 both due to general increases and that the house was opened during the winter months for the first time ever.[257] Norris focused on visitations trends far more than his predecessor often providing his believed reasons for any declines. For instance, he blamed declining attendance in 1962 on "the Cuban Crisis," meaning that people refrained from travel due to fears of nuclear war once the Cuban Missile Crisis became public knowledge.[258] The Cuban Missile Crisis also had a direct impact upon the park, as Norris revised the park's Emergency Operations Handbook as a direct result of concerns.[259]

Significant electrification projects began in earnest during Norris's tenure and continued after his departure. In November 1962, NPS installed a "series of small concrete monuments with marked hubs keyed to the Park grid system" at key points of entry to buildings, junctions, or branches of underground utility lines throughout the park.[260] A contract was awarded to New River Electric Company in January 1964 to begin this work. All primary cabling runs were completed by the end of March, all overhead lines removed by the end of May 1964, and the NPS inspected and accepted the completed work on June 17, 1964.[261] In early 1963, APCO embarked on moving all telephone and power lines underground. NPS Supervisory General Engineer Ross F. Sweeney met with both the Central Virginia Electric Cooperative and the Appomattox Telephone Company to facilitate the installation.[262]

Norris reported in March 1963 that APCO possessed five units of "bursting type Civil War ammunition…which apparently contain potentially dangerous charges" donated by an unnamed individual who found the artifacts in the Appomattox-Farmville vicinity. Staff stored the ammunition in an "abandoned construction shack in the woods adjacent to

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[255] SR, March 1961. Department of the Interior Information Service, NPS Memo, 15 March 1961, APCO Scrapbook #1, Historian's Office, APCO. Haskett, "Master Plan," June 1962, APCO Central Files (APCO 11800/006.001 Box 015).

[256] SR, August 1961.

[257] SR, December 1961.

[258] SR, October 1962.

[259] SR, October 1962.

[260] SR, November 1962.

[261] SR, January 1964; March 1964; May 1964; June 1964.

[262] SR, March 1963.

the Utility Area," as it was the remotest location on APCO property that could be protected from the public. Norris recommended safely destroying the ammunition as the APCO story "emphasizes peace and reunion" and live ammunition would not serve this point.[263]

Just as most Mission 66 Development was ready to begin anew with increased funding, Grover Steele became the next Superintendent on June 28, 1963. Norris accepted a transfer to Fort Smith, Arkansas, in May 1963 (officially leaving on June 6th).[264] Prior to APCO, Steele had served as a Ranger at Organ Pipe Cactus National Monument in Pima County, AZ.[265] Like the change from Gurney to Norris, business continued as usual with Steele as Superintendent. Steele, knowing who held the power locally, contacted Congressman Abbitt within days of his hiring.[266]

Another of Steele's first tasks was to address wildlife-related issues starting in July 1963. He noted two incidents that month—a dead deer found on park property clearly having been shot with a gun, and four illegal set steel traps were removed from the Appomattox River upstream from a beaver dam north of the highway. APCO staff turned over the traps to the state Department of Game and Inland Fisheries officer in the hopes the owner could be found and charged. Later that November, hunting patrols traversed park boundaries after the season opened.[267] A beaver dam on the Appomattox River became a problem for APCO staff in early 1964 when a park neighbor complained about flooding. Park maintenance lowered the dam by "a couple of feet" to strike a balance between beaver habitat and neighboring land.[268] Throughout 1964 and 1965, APCO staff discovered significant quantities of trees infected with pine bark beetle. The park hired Carroll "Buck" Ragland to clear the trees when discovered, which occurred roughly four times a year.[269] The NPS issued a new Special Use Permit to Winston D. Walton for grazing on land "behind the Tavern" and other park lands formerly used for grazing by Tommy O'Brien.[270]

In Superintendent Reports to this point, there were no reports of visitors or locals violating the law in any way. A minor incident occurred when vandals hit APCO in December 1963 by spraypainting garbage cans and barrier logs. Park staff called upon the

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[263] Norris to Director, 28 March 1963. Lewis to Regional Director, 17 April 1963. "Administrative Files," Box 1192, Entry P11, RG79, NACP.

[264] SR, May 1963.

[265] At some point Steele was Park Superintendent of Kenilworth Park and Aquatic Gardens, though Kenilworth records do not indicate if this would have been before or after Steele's APCO tenure. "Southwestern Monuments: Monthly Reports, January to June 1951," National Park Service, Internet Archive (https://archive.org/embed/southwesternmonu1951depa). "Environmental Assessment for a Development Concept Plan: Kenilworth Park and Aquatic Gardens," National Capital Parks. Department of the Interior, 1981.

[266] SR, July 1963.

[267] SR, July 1963; November 1963.

[268] SR, February 1964.

[269] SR, December 1965.

[270] SR, January 1966.

Virginia State Police for assistance, who quickly found five persons involved. Four were minors. Two of the accused agreed to repaint the affected items even before their court hearing. The four juveniles received probation; the adult was fined $10 and received a suspended thirty-day jail sentence.[271] Three years later and under the tenure of Lloyd Pierson, APCO closed fire roads throughout the park in early 1966. Staff also closed the road to the North Carolina Monument. The reasoning was the roads had become a night-time hangout for "beer drinkers." Staff considered a parking area at the North Carolina Monument and converting the "present road" into a walking trail at least in part to discourage "beer drinkers" and encourage visitors to walk around the monument.[272]

Historian Wescott Wolfe transferred away from APCO to Harper's Ferry on February 24, 1964. He was replaced by Gregorio Carrera effective March 29th from Roosevelt-Vanderbilt National Historical Park (later renamed as Roosevelt-Vanderbilt National Historic Site) in New York.[273] Throughout 1964, APCO staff—primarily Carrera, most likely—worked to catalog the park library, meaning that any items held to that point had existed in an uncatalogued state. The impetus for this was likely the promise of a more stable office space situation with the pending completion of the courthouse.[274]

Hubert Gurney died in December 1963, a massive blow for the NPS, APCO, and Appomattox. He was buried in the Old Herman Cemetery on December 26th, a site within the exterior boundaries of APCO.[275] Even though Gurney was no longer an APCO employee, he worked in the regional office and was, without question, the best resource for APCO administrative history at that point. Another important APCO figure died just a few months later when Judge Joel Flood passed on April 28, 1964. Flood was of course not an NPS employee, but was a major local APCO booster whose loss was deeply felt.[276]

Centennial

Lloyd M. Pierson became the next APCO Superintendent on January 26, 1965, having previously worked at Aztec Ruins National Monument, Shenandoah National Park, and Desoto National Monument primarily as a Superintendent and archaeologist.[277]

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[271] SR, December 1963; January 1964.

[272] SR, February 1966.

[273] SR, January 1964; February 1964.

[274] SR, July 1964.

[275] SR, December 1963.

[276] SR, April 1964. "Circuit Court Judge Joel Flood Passes Away," *Appomattox Times-Virginian,* April 30, 1964.

[277] SR, January 1965. "Lloyd M. Pierson," Moab Museum, oral history (2001), https://moabmuseum.org/oral-history/lloyd-m-pierson.

Changes came in November 1964 when the NPS placed Steele on detached duty at Catoctin Mountain Park as he awaited transfer to the Job Corps program. Steele and his family officially departed on December 28th, and Carrera took over as Acting Superintendent.[278]

Overall, reconstruction projects occupied most of APCO's day-to-day attention, though the primary concern was a successful Centennial. NPS officials clearly believed Pierson was up to the task, but the reality was that he was new to APCO, with less than three months to get up to speed. The good news for Pierson, however, was that the Centennial had been planned far in advance—all he had to do was guide the ship along a planned course. Pierson felt a bit differently, recalling nearly fifty years later, "Appomattox. I don't know why they sent me there, a damn Yankee. They were doing the Civil War Centennial there and it was barely organized." Pierson also claimed to have become "quite a controversial character" at Appomattox largely because he formally desegregated the park shortly after his arrival. Technically, all NPS sites including APCO desegregated quietly in 1950, though many simply removed barriers to African American access without communicating such changes publicly. System-wide, the desegregation orders of 1950 did not actually change park visitation and access significantly. APCO Central Files records do not indicate there were segregated spaces at the park in its early years; there were no officially designated white or colored toilets, for example. However, the fact remains that Pierson himself remembered negative public backlash against his "desegregation," so there must have been some segregated spaces at least in practice if not by policy.[279]

Virginia planned for the Civil War Centennial long before specific events at APCO, naturally the final to occur, were under consideration. The Commonwealth's Centennial efforts (through the Civil War Centennial Commission) were largely led by prominent white citizens and, like broader national Centennial commemoration efforts, came to be largely overshadowed by the growing civil rights movement. Nationally, the Commission began in 1957 by an act of Congress and was tasked with assisting all states to create their own state-level commissions. The National Commission faltered in its first few years, but ultimately came together under the leadership of historian (and Virginian) James Robertson, who was named Executive Director by President Kennedy in 1961, after the removal of Karl Betts. The Commission's first few years were characterized by in-fighting and attempts by segregationists to "turn the Civil War centennial into a bulwark against integration."[280] Regardless, local Appomattox power brokers served on commissions at all power levels. Calvin Robinson, editor of the *Appomattox Times-Virginian* and supporter of

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[278] SR, November 1964; December 1964.

[279] "Lloyd M. Pierson," Moab Museum, oral history (2001), https://moabmuseum.org/oral-history/lloyd-m-pierson. Susan Shumaker, "Untold Stories from America's National Parks," (2009): 30–33.

[280] See chapter 3 in Cook, 88–119 .

APCO, was appointed to the Federal Civil War Centennial Commission advisory board.[281] Both Congressman Abbitt and State Senator Moses served on the state advisory board.[282] George F. Abbitt Jr. served as the county commission chair until July 1961, when he was replaced by William Hubbard.[283]

In Virginia, the state commission was approved by the General Assembly on March 29, 1958, with a body of seventeen members appointed disproportionately by the Speaker of the House of Delegates (eight), President of the Senate (four), and Governor (five). Five of the seventeen named would also be named as part of the executive committee, with James J. Geary named as the executive director effective November 1958, a position he held through the Commission's expiration in December 1965. Under Geary's leadership, the Commission committed to major programs emphasizing Virginia's role in the Civil War and to honor Virginian Confederate leaders. The Commission created books, pamphlets, and films, most of which focused on Robert E. Lee, Stonewall Jackson, or specific Civil War battles. Events spanned opening day ceremonies on April 23, 1961, to commemorate the date on which Robert E. Lee was selected to command Virginian Confederate military forces to the final surrender observance at APCO on April 9, 1965. The Commission also led construction of the Centennial Dome in Richmond, which was funded by a $1.3 million General Assembly appropriation in 1960.[284]

Given the sheer quantity of Commission activities outside of Appomattox Court House, planning for Commission events at APCO did not begin until 1963. Locally though, Centennial event planning appeared in APCO Superintendent's Reports as early as August 1962. Superintendent Norris met regularly with the local Rural Area Development Committee to provide updates on APCO developments. This committee was a group of Appomattox County residents tasked with assessing economic needs and developing action plans. This local group noted at their October 1962 meeting that APCO Centennial planning was the most important task facing the greater Appomattox Court House community over the next few years and committed the group to assisting the NPS in any way possible.[285] At least at the end of 1963, Superintendent Steele represented the NPS at State Centennial committee meetings.[286] One of the earliest inquiries regarding the APCO Centennial events came in June 1962 when the Daughters of Union Veterans of the Civil War wrote the NPS regarding their interest in erecting a memorial at APCO in 1965. Initially, the Daughters sought to fund a 25-foot diameter memorial fountain near the village center spraying water

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[281] SR, September 1958.

[282] SR, September 1958

[283] SR, July 1961.

[284] www2.vcdh.virginia.edu/civilrightstv/essays/williams.pdf.

[285] SR, October 1962.

[286] SR, December 1963.

at least ten feet into the air, an idea which the NPS kindly rejected. Instead, Acting Regional Director Raymond Mulvany suggested three alternatives: reconstruction of the McLean House kitchen, reconstruction of the McLean House icehouse, or purchase of the Diuguid tract of privately-owned land to facilitate historic road restoration. It was not clear from correspondences which option, if any, the Daughters chose.[287]

Media attention ramped up significantly for the Centennial throughout 1963 and 1964. APCO had a hand in this too by regularly committing staff to outreach efforts in local media. Steele and Wolfe appeared on a WSLS-produced program "Salute to Appomattox" in July 1963 alongside local political leaders. The episode segment was about twenty minutes long and well-received by APCO staff. Historian Wolfe presented a similar story for WXBX radio later that same year.[288] The Virginia Department of Conservation and Economic Development attended the park with representatives of Jack Douglas Productions to film a segment for CBS tentatively entitled "America."[289] Publications ranging from *National Geographic* to *Holiday Inn Magazine* visited the park to develop articles.[290] By January 1965, interest soared in the Centennial with Pierson answering an average of eight public inquiries per day. Multiple media outlets visited the park per week to research newspaper articles, magazine articles, or television stories.[291] *National Geographic, Commonwealth Magazine,* and *Iron Worker* were three mentioned specifically in Superintendent's Reports.[292]

Centennial plans were finalized in March 1965 between APCO, the regional office, and Appomattox Heritage, Inc. The plan was a ribbon-cutting ceremony for the courthouse with a primary address by Bruce Catton and special guests U. S. Grant III, Robert E. Lee IV, and Abbitt. Music would be provided by both the Marine Band (secured by Abbitt) supported by the VMI Color Guard. Policing would be provided by the State plus Park Rangers from Blue Ridge Parkway and Shenandoah National Park.[293] An NPS press release, dated April 8, 1965, invited the public to attend a formal dedication ceremony for the courthouse jointly sponsored by the Virginia Civil War Commission and the Appomattox County Civil War Commission. The highlights included an invitation to view the courthouse exterior

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[287] Ylavaune Howard to Wirth, 22 June 1962. Mulvany to Howard, 24 August 1962. Howard to Price, 31 July 1962. Price to Howard, 17 August 1962. "Administrative Files," Box 1254, Entry P11, RG79, NACP.

[288] SR, July 1963; November 1963.

[289] SR, May 1964.

[290] SR, June 1964; November 1964.

[291] SR, February 1965.

[292] SR, March 1965.

[293] SR, February 1965. Cox to Abbitt, 26 March 1965, "Administrative Files," Box 669, Entry P11, RG79, NACP. Lisle to Abbitt, 5 February 1965, "Administrative Files," Box 1094, Entry P11, RG79, NACP.

("an authentic reconstruction"), visit the first-floor lobby and second-floor exhibit space and seventy-person auditorium, and attend a ribbon-cutting ceremony with U. S. Grant III, Robert E. Lee IV, and Congressman Abbitt.[294]

With less than a month to go, Congressman Abbitt wrote to Director Hartzog to express concerns about the upcoming April 9th event. He recalled the "embarrassing situation" from the McLean House dedication with the lack of parking and traffic jams spanning nearly fifteen miles. According to Abbitt, thousands of people were unable to make the ceremony, so he simply asked the NPS to be more mindful of such concerns with the upcoming event. In summation, Abbitt's concerns were logistical. He was more than happy with the planned day of events and expected an excellent reception from the attending crowd.[295]

In the weeks before the Centennial, Appomattox Heritage Corporation (AHC) requested of the NPS some land. The idea was for the AHC to facilitate exhibition materials that were, at the time, on display at the Virginia Civil War Commission in Richmond. Since there was no space within APCO for these exhibits, AHC's plan was to build an entirely new structure close to the park to attract more visitors to the area. The problem was that the NPS owned all land within close APCO proximity. The request specifically asked for the NPS to lease AHC land across Route 24 from the APCO parking area to build an "architectural-designed building, operated on the right basis" to serve as an exhibit space. Regional Director Cox replied quickly and firmly—"I can see no justification for giving you any optimistic reply to your query.... I doubt very seriously that there is any possibility that this could be worked out." Given the timing, new construction across from the APCO entrance mere days before the Centennial was simply an implausible proposal. To soften the sting of rejection, Cox instead suggested AHC refocus their goals physically away from the park to US Highway 460. It was Cox's belief that many 460 travelers were unaware of their proximity to APCO, given the lack of signage, so perhaps AHC could explore building an exhibits facility along that highway to "bring Appomattox to the attention of those people." Cox also offered a mutualistic relationship where AHC could send their visitors to APCO and vice versa.[296]

At the park, Centennial planning involved the touching up of a few bits of signage and exhibits around the park. APCO installed a few interpretive and informational signs around the park, including a wayside station at the surrender triangle. APCO also painted the wall behind the stacking of arms exhibit a plum color and spotlight to enhance the "dramatic" appeal. The NPS coordinated with the Virginia Highway Department to install

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[294] NPS Press Release, 8 April 1965, "Administrative Files," Box 1094, Entry P11, RG79, NACP.

[295] Abbitt to Hartzog, 17 March 1965. Abbitt to Cox, 23 March 1965. "Administrative Files," Box 669, Entry P11, RG79, NACP.

[296] W. C. Vaughn to Charles S. Marshall, 25 March 1965. Cox to Vaughn, 30 March 1965, "Administrative Files," Box 669, Entry P11, RG79, NACP.

wooden signs along Highway 24 marking the APCO entrance, Grant's Headquarters, and Lee's Headquarters, a long-desired outcome by NPS staff who believed APCO road signage to be lacking.[297] Meetings with the Appomattox UDC chapter continued with a March 18, 1965, lecture by Historian Carrera which was, in part, an outreach event to ensure UDC attendance at the Centennial.[298] Just days before the Centennial, APCO finally received the final furniture delivery. Steele wrote in his monthly report the park suffered a manpower shortage in April 1965, but overall was happy with the courthouse Visitor Center opening.[299]



LEE AND GRANT AT APPOMATTOX — Lee met Grant at the Appomattox Court House again, but the only thing they signed this time was autographs. Major General U. S. Grant, III (L), Virginia Governor Albertis S. Harrison, Jr. C) and Robert E. Lee, IV (R), were on hand here to commemorate the 100th anniversary of the end of the Civil War, and to dedicate the reconstruction of the famous Court House (background). Thousands were on hand for the event. (UPI Telephoto) BRADENTON HERALD, Florida, April 11, 1965

Figure 26. Grant and Lee at the Centennial event. APCO Scrapbook #1, Historian's Office, APCO.

[297] SR, March 1965.

[298] SR, March 1965.

[299] SR, April 1965.

The Centennial event was phenomenally successful in the view of all NPS staff and busy for APCO. Pierson reported approximately 12,200 visitors on April 9 itself, though later estimates of the Centennial ceremony itself pegged attendance at 5,000 driven downward by poor weather.[300] The month saw 10,640 tours of the McLean House, including 3,340 paid visitors.[301] Media outlets including WLVA, WSLS, and WDBJ all covered the April 9th program.[302]

The program for the APCO Centennial event was much like the McLean House Dedication of fifteen years earlier. A major difference though was theming, as elements of the Cold War language were visible. In crafting an overarching story, the NPS placed Appomattox Court House within the 100-year narrative of American empire from reunion to global strength. The program itself read as follows:

> Today a village bespeaks a mood of an April day when fate steered Union and Confederate armies to their historic rendezvous.
>
> Tying the village with the history that made it known throughout the world, Grant's Headquarters at the west end of the park and Lee's at the east end are marked. These and the Surrender Triangle, where Confederate arms were stacked, the small cemetery where 18 Confederates and one unknown Union soldier rest together, are places you will want to visit.
>
> Today we commemorate the 100th Anniversary of that last day and share a bond of understanding with those who have visited Appomattox in years past—and with those who will stop here in generations to come. Here was the end of the struggle and the reunion of North and South; here a reunited nation began again to move in concert toward strength and world power.[303]

The Centennial master of ceremonies was the Chairman of the Virginia Civil War Commission John Warren Cooke, a newspaper publisher and Democratic member of the House of Delegates who would later serve as Speaker for twelve years. Director Hartzog attended, his transportation facilitated by the loaning of the Bureau of Reclamation's plane.[304] William McMilan, Assistant Postmaster General, presented Appomattox commemorative stamp albums, Regional Director Cox introduced the speaker, and then Bruce Catton delivered the keynote address. Catton had just completed his Centennial History of the Civil War trilogy, and his speech focused on the practical and symbolic importance of Appomattox Court House within the Civil War and American memory. Governor Albertis Harrison also spoke, telling the crowd that "Virginians could recall the surrender of 1865

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[300] This 5,000 number was paltry in comparison to the 35,000 at Manassas four years earlier. Cook, "(Un)furl That Banner," 910. Lathan Mims, "Rail Falls at Appomattox," *Daily News Record,* April 10, 1965.

[301] SR, April 1965.

[302] SR, April 1965.

[303] SR, April 1965.

[304] Hartzog to Floyd Dominy, 19 April 1965, "Administrative Files," Box 1094, Entry P11, RG79, NACP.

without bitterness not only because of the passage of time, but also because 'the beliefs and principles for which the Confederate forces fought are still with us.'"[305] The final event of the day was a grand unveiling and ribbon-cutting ceremony for the courthouse. Four men were invited to do the honors—Congressman Abbitt, Grant III, Lee IV, and Director Hartzog.[306]

After the event, Director Hartzog congratulated Pierson and the rest of APCO staff on a "very excellent" dedication ceremony, specifically noting how well staff handled traffic problems.[307] APCO staff too seemed pleased with the event and noted no significant problems. However, events at APCO were received, the Virginia Commission was clearly done with the entire commemorative exercise within weeks of the Appomattox event. The US Civil War Commemoration Commission met one final time in Springfield, IL, on April 30, 1965. Virginia did not send a single representative.[308]

Finishing Mission 66

After the Centennial event, work continued as usual, including a handful of Mission 66 projects that needed to be completed. By the summer of 1965, virtually all Mission 66 projects had been completed according to Monthly Progress Reports. In August, the only remaining projects were the final touches on the A.V. program and wayside exhibits, which were 92 percent and 95 percent complete, respectively, and some furnishing projects. APCO also had yet to complete furnishing of the Meeks Store, for instance, likely because a portion of the structure was used for storage and off-limits to the public. Park staff outfitted the Kelley House with storage materials to "give the appearance of the home of the handyman" with an interpretive marker on construction methods and Lorenzo Kelley installed.[309] The NPS re-tiled the Isbell House upstairs bathroom and installed a new Peers House refrigerator in June 1966 as part of regular quarters maintenance.[310] The Courthouse Well House project was finally completed in June 1966 with final inspections.[311] Finally, a new project was initiated in September 1965 to be completed within a year to install new "Signs and Wayside Exhibits." The primary goal of this project was to install a new brickwork entrance sign, flagpole, and waysides in that area.[312]

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[305] Harrison quoted in Bodnar, *Remaking America,* 226.

[306] SR, April 1965.

[307] Hartzog to Pierson, 19 April 1965, "Administrative Files," Box 1094, Entry P11, RG79, NACP.

[308] Cook, 261.

[309] SR, August 1965.

[310] SR, June 1966.

[311] SR, June 1966.

[312] A brickwork contract was awarded to the Roach Brothers in November 1965. SR, August 1965; September 1965; November 1965..

New road construction from an area around the Triangle to the new Utility Area was planned and approved during the summer of 1964. Initially, there was some confusion as to the usage of the Richmond Stage Road for Utility Area access. The national office recommended a portion of that road be used, but after a conference with regional and EODC staff, it was determined that should be avoided considering the Richmond Stage Road would be renovated to its 1865 appearance and be used as part of the interpretive walking tour. Instead, the access road would branch off the Prince Edward Court House Road at the Kelley House and follow northeast along a slightly curved route to the south of the Peers House. The only other alternative, according to Steele, that would also preserve safe pedestrian access to the Surrender Triangle was a traffic route from Prince Edward Court House Road, up historic Back Lane, and then north along Bocock Lane. Steele preferred the option across from the Kelley House, as it would be the shortest route, cost about half of the other alternative, and would cause the least impact upon the visual scene.[313]

In May 1965, APCO received a surprising letter via the Director's office regarding the last line on the UDC marker at the Confederate Cemetery. The marker originally erected in 1929 read as:

> Here on Sunday, April 9 1865
> After four years of heroic struggle
> In defense of principles they believed fundamental to the existence of our government
> Lee surrendered 9000 men the remnant of an army
> Still unconquered in spirit
> To 118,000 men under Grant

This letter was sent by Ronald D. Ross to the NPS Director, APCO, historian and editor Richard M. Ketchum, and historian Bruce Catton. Ross detailed what he called "a bit of 'un-Americana' that mars the site" by pointing out discrepancies between the marker and the NPS's own literature, which at the time stated the numbers were 28,231 Confederates surrendered to 80,000 Union. Ross's suggested outcome was for the NPS to install a new plaque re-contextualizing the UDC's exhibit that also indicated the inaccurate numbers. After receiving Ross's letter, national, regional, and APCO staff conferred as to the best course of action. NPS policy at the time was to, if possible, not change any plaque placed prior to NPS administration of a location unless supported by both the NPS and the sponsoring body. It is worth noting that Ross's letter was not the first of its type received by the NPS. Mark J. Thompson wrote Superintendent Gurney in 1958 to make the same complaint. Gurney explained in his response that the 9,000 Confederates statistic was taken from a Lee report that did not include cavalry, sick, disarmed, or stragglers. Gurney

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[313] Robert G. Hall to Regional Director, 25 May 1964. Eugene R. DeSilets to Regional Director, 22 June 1964. Steele to Regional Director, 26 June 1964. Cox to Director, 2 July 1964. Edward S. Peetz to Regional Director, 27 July 1964. Steele to Regional Director, 15 September 1964. "General Files of the Philadelphia Planning Service Center," Box 13, Entry P82, RG79, NACP.

also noted to Thompson, "I have been trying for some years to get the UDC to correct the figures shown on their marker. I even got to the point of getting the local presidents to secure quotations on correcting the figures on the bronze slab." Gurney hoped to have the problem fixed by the centennial in spite of the NPS not owning the marker, but he was unsuccessful in making such a change.[314]

The NPS removed the last line "so that one would never know they were here," according to Pierson, but the change was made jointly by the NPS and UDC as part of a mutual agreement. The NPS proposed the textual change to the UDC, who agreed without contest as the numerical inaccuracy was undebatable. The plaque suggested a 12:1 troop ratio, when it was closer to 2:1. APCO invited the local UDC chapter on site in December 1965 to discuss the Confederate Cemetery further, specifically landscaping. The UDC agreed to fund a low brick wall at the base of the already existing iron fence to both strengthen and beautify the structure, though this project was apparently never completed. The chapter also agreed to relocate the gate to the northwestern fence side to shorten the pathing distance.[315] The exact date of the textual change was not documented in NPS records but can be assumed to have occurred in the Spring or Summer of 1965. At about the time too, APCO constructed a few small fences to close the Stage Road at the Confederate Cemetery and around the utility area.

Two significant administrative and museum changes took place in 1965—a Visitor Center sales area and more detailed statistical data gathering. The opening of the Visitor Center also allowed APCO to install a new sales display area which generated significantly more income. APCO reported 1964 gross sales of $5,345.92. Sales tripled in 1965 to $15,806.54. Much of that growth was due to the Centennial, but certainly the new Visitor Center helped things along.[316] The Eastern National Park and Monument Association (now known as Eastern National) managed all sales at APCO starting in April 1961. The US Department of Interior conducted regular audits of Eastern National's activities as a straightforward accounting of funds and materials. The audit for the January 1, 1962, to June 30, 1963, period reported as follows. Historian Wolfe was the responsible APCO party for all Eastern National records on site. Auditors analyzed all check disbursements, paid invoices, bank records, and canceled checks. Eastern National managed all accounts based on monthly NPS checkbook reports. As of the end of 1962, APCO held $4,311.50 in assets which, when summed to surpluses, resulted in a total net worth of $12,586.50 in Eastern National managed holdings. For the 1962 calendar year, about one quarter of APCO sales came from publications, about one-tenth from "slides," about one-fifth from postcards,

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[314] SR, May 1965; June 1965. Ronald D. Ross to NPS Director, 31 March 1965; Bill to Ross, 22 April 1965. Gurney to Thompson, 19 May 1958. "Administrative Files," Box 1254, Entry P11, RG79, NACP.

[315] SR, December 1965.

[316] SR, December 1965.

and the rest from "other items."[317] The Meeks Country Store opened in June 1966 and staff began selling store items. The lone staff member, Louise Martin, served as both interpreter and sales clerk. APCO reported $250.00 in sales per week during its first month. According to Pierson, "the store should make the grade even with only 1965-type sales items." The biggest problem he reported was a lack of cider supplies.[318]

APCO began tracking statistics more often and with more precision during Spring and Summer 1965 as well. Previously, staff only tracked overall visits and McLean House fees paid. Now staff tracked Audio-Visual system engagement, total tours, and group tours. For instance, for the 1965 season, seasonal APCO employees provided 236 guided tours to 9,067 visitors, two statistics never tabulated at the site.[319] In August 1966, Gregorio Carrera, in an Acting Superintendent capacity, submitted a Monthly Public Contact Report (Form 10-769, January 1966) that provided perhaps the best snapshot yet of public engagement at APCO. This form included several questions not applicable to APCO, such as the number of scheduled hikes, cave trips, auditorium programs, and guided automobile tours, but all other applicable data points are replicated in the following table. All non-applicable entries left blank is excluded. Based on the form's fields, primarily date, it can be assumed that this form was submitted regularly, perhaps as often as monthly, but no other such forms appeared in surviving NPS records.

[317] Carroll Thomas, "Appomattox Court House Agency, Eastern National Park and Monument Association, APCO, Financial Audit—Books and Records: January 1, 1962 to June 30, 1963," "Administrative Files," Box 0474, Entry P11, RG79, NACP.

[318] SR, June 1966; July 1966.

[319] SR, September 1965.

APCO Monthly Public Contact Report, Prepared by Gregorio Carrera, August 1966[320]			
Interpretive & Informational Services	Inventory of Kinds of Programs & Services	No. of Times Programs & Services Presented	No. of Visitor Contacts
Unscheduled Trips		8	194
Scheduled Live Talks, Visitor Center & Museum	1	87	3487
Automatic Audio Presentations	4	4711	Unknown
Automatic AV Presentations (No Live Introduction)	1	714	17850
Demonstrations, Cooperating Associations	1	Continuing Sales Demonstration, operating 8 hours daily	15550
Attended Stations, Visitor Centers & Museums	2	95% Visitors Entering	39282
Attended Stations, On-site & Roving Assignments	18		Unknown
Self-Guiding Facilities, Unattended Stations	1		
Self-Guiding Facilities, Foot Trail (With signs or exhibits and leaflets)	1		12218
Self-Guiding Facilities, Building Tours	6		12218
Self-Guiding Facilities, Roadside Interpretation		50% of Visitors Using Exhibits	12218
Self-Guiding Facilities, Wayside Exhibits & Interpretive Signs	31		
Off-Site Services		3	180
Personnel, Permanent		3 Interpretive	4 Total
Personnel, Seasonal or Temporary		4 Interpretive	4 Total

[320] "APCO Monthly Public Contact Report, Prepared by Gregorio Carrera, August 1966," "Administrative Files," Box 81, Entry P11, RG79, NACP.

A final accounting for Mission 66 took years to tabulate. The first, dated January 1966, reported a total of $219,680 of expenditures. Buildings took about half of this fund ($108,980), with the bulk taken up by renovation of employee residence spaces and the Tavern Dining Room.[321] The NPS added another $33,320 in the following year. Much of this came from readjustment of expenditures as some categories shifted costs or disappeared altogether, but the largest expenditures were still within the Buildings category.[322] The 1967 year added just $1,500 for a total of $254,500.[323] A final work order accounting for the courthouse building plus furnishings totaled $122,896.39.[324]

A few other major events marked the end of the Mission 66 era at APCO. First, the death of Avis Smith on July 22, 1966, marked as a symbolic, bitter end of an era at APCO. She had worked as APCO Clerk and occasional Acting Superintendent for 25 years. Six months later the APCO presented her widower, E. Carroll Smith, with a posthumous NPS Commendable Service Award for Avis Smith's twenty-eight years of Federal service, twenty-five of which were as APCO Clerk. This ceremony received plenty of local media attention, specifically from the *Appomattox Times-Virginian* and *The News* out of Lynchburg.[325] Maretta Grace Clark took over as APCO Clerk on August 15, 1966. After a brief training at SERO, she settled into the job fully trained just a week later.[326]

Another APCO leadership change came in mid-1966. Superintendent Lloyd Pierson departed APCO on August 6, 1966, for a new job with the Bureau of Land Management in Denver. Godsey recalled that Pierson's departure was not on good terms. During the summer of 1966, Pierson took a month-long vacation out of the country and left Historian Carrera in charge. A week into this arrangement, Carrera also went on a two-week vacation and did not name an acting superintendent. Regional staff visited APCO for regular business and, finding nobody in charge, appointed Park Guide Shrock as acting superintendent, summoned Pierson to the regional office, and fired Pierson effective immediately. Carrera was transferred out of APCO and replaced by Glen Gray. The new Superintendent was Alvoid Rector, who visited APCO and SERO in August 1966 to be briefed on his new job, starting on or around September 11, 1966. In the meantime,

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[321] "Park Development Schedules, APCO," January 1966, "Development Schedules," Box 01, Entry P43, RG79, NACP.

[322] "Park Development Schedules, APCO," 8 February 1967, "Development Schedules," Box 01, Entry P43, RG79, NACP.

[323] "Park Development Schedules, APCO," 23 February 1968, "Development Schedules," Box 01, Entry P43, RG79, NACP.

[324] Robert G. Hall, "EODC Work Order," 7 June 1965; 6 October 1965; 26 March 1966, "Administrative Files," Box 39, Entry P11, RG79, NACP.

[325] SR, July 1966; January 1967.

[326] SR, August 1966.

Carrera served as Acting Superintendent.[327] Rector was a WWII veteran who began his NPS tenure with the Blue Ridge Parkway as a Park Warden in 1949.[328] The death of Smith in 1966 and Gurney in 1963 mixed with the quick sequence of Superintendent and Historian changes meant that by the end of Mission 66, institutional memory quickly declined at APCO. Surely, APCO in 1966 was a far different place than in 1955 both because of Mission 66 and changing personnel.

Additional Photos



Figure 27. "The Crowd", SR April 1965.

[327] SR, August 1966.

[328] "Alvoid L. 'Al' Rector," *Atlanta Journal-Constitution,* August 16, 2016.

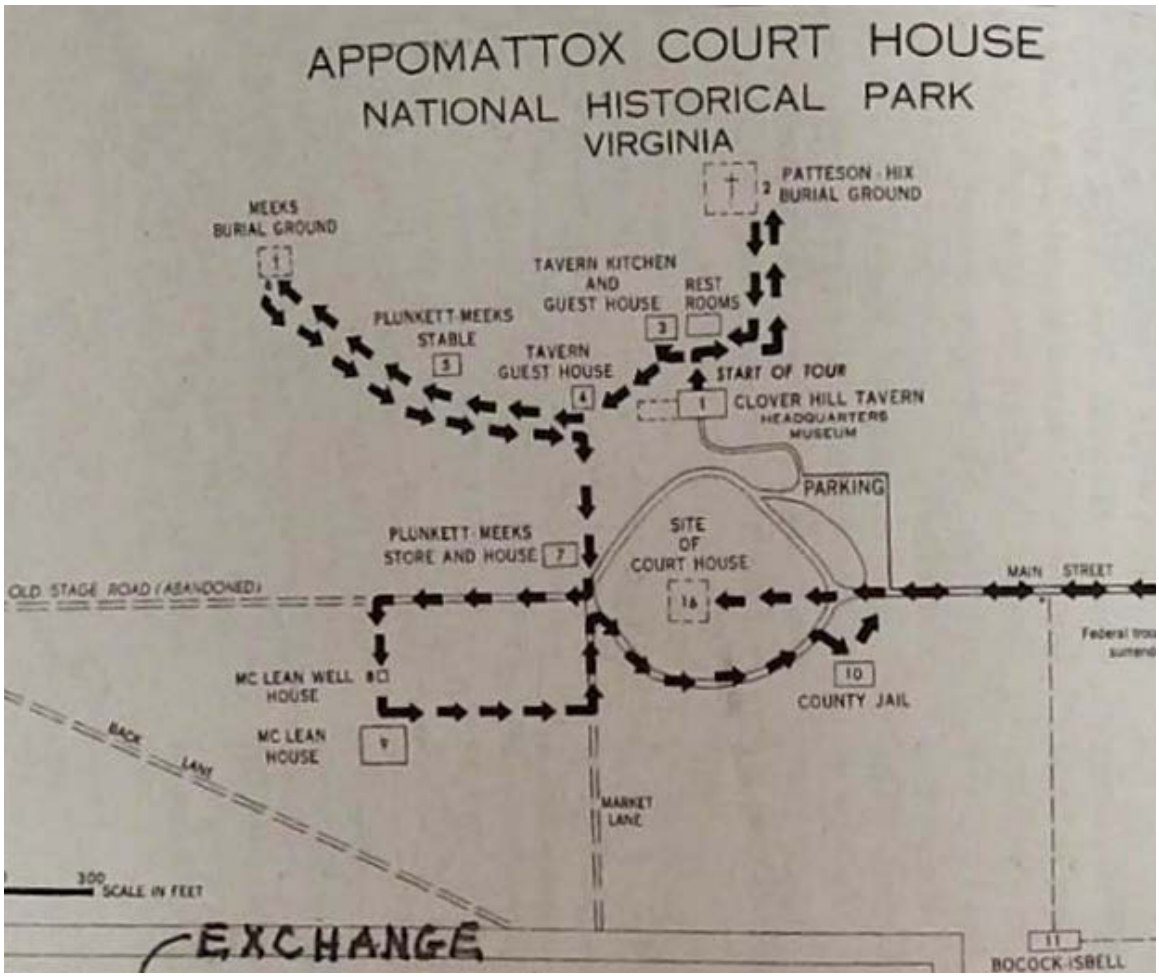


Figure 28. Self-guided tour path, ca. 1957, "Administrative Files," Box 1041, Entry P11, RG79, NACP.

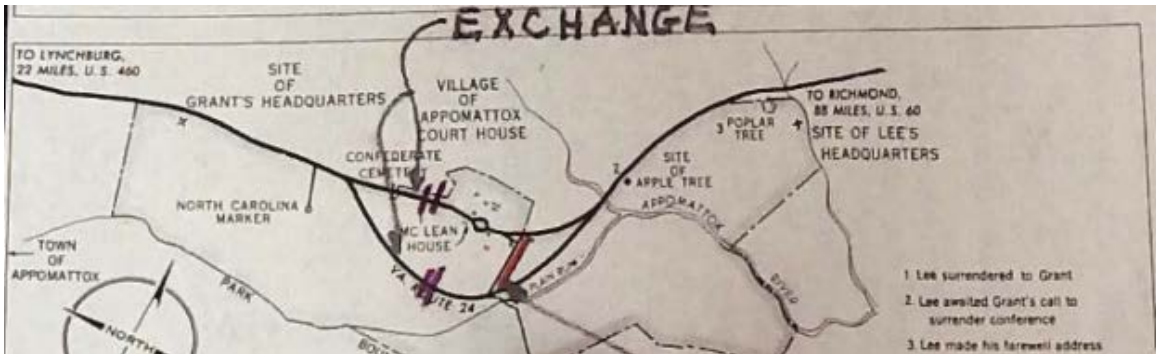


Figure 29. Road alignment, ca. 1957,
"Administrative Files," Box 1041, Entry P11, RG79, NACP.

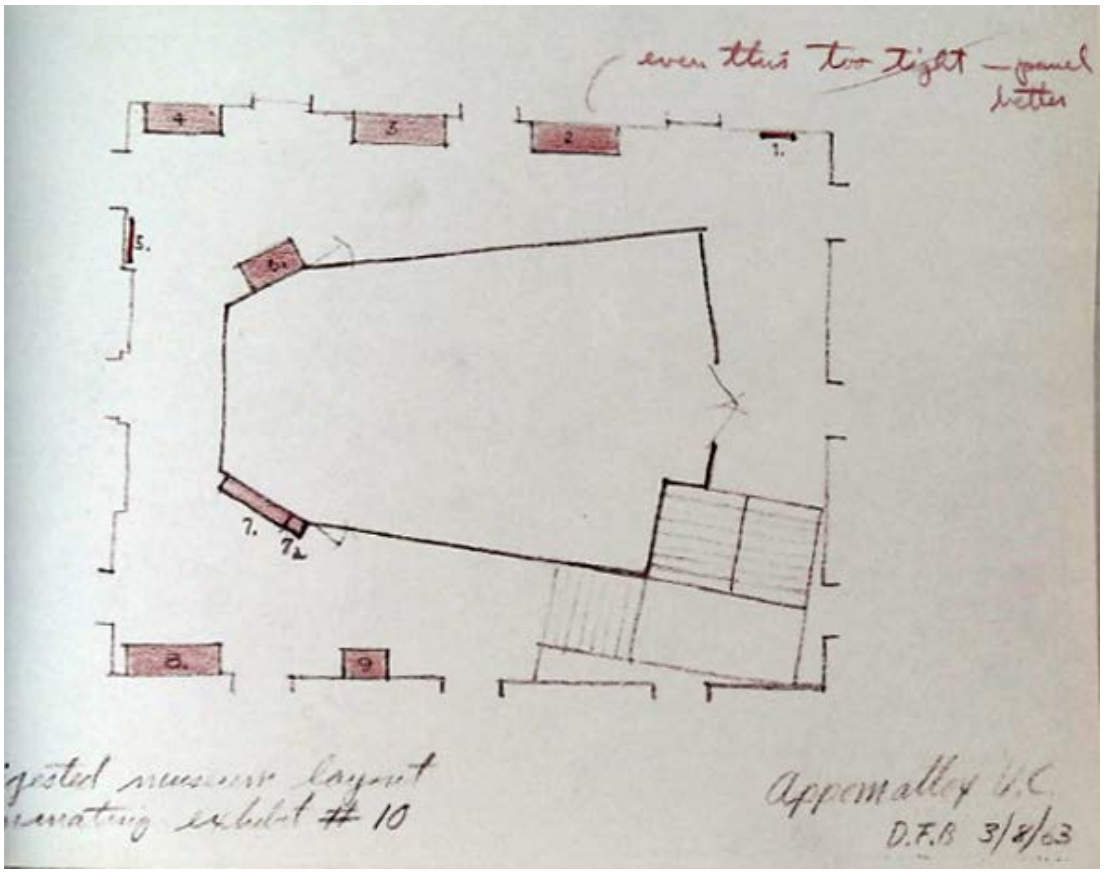


Figure 30. Second-Floor Visitor Center Museum layout, March 8, 1963.
"Administrative Files," Box 1192, Entry P11, RG79, NACP.

CHAPTER SIX

The Living History Program and Continued Stewardship, 1966–1981

Introduction

This chapter begins with a new APCO Superintendent's tenure—Alvoid Rector, who began work at APCO on September 11, 1966. Rector had previously worked with the US Weather Bureau but also had nearly seventeen years of experience with the Blue Ridge Parkway, working his way up from Park Warden to Park Ranger to District Supervisory Park Ranger. Rector was the fourth new person to serve as APCO Superintendent in the past five years, a different situation from the near two decades of Gurney stability. Upon Rector's arrival, APCO staff included the following individuals according to a *Lynchburg News* article on the park: Avis Smith (Park Secretary), Greg Carrera (Historian), Charles Meadows (interpretive staff), Duane Schrock (interpretive staff), John Noechel, Gordon Mason, Ray Wingfield, Edward Johnson, Ray Godsey (maintenance foreman), Henry Chernault (maintenance), Frank Ragland, Earnest Davidson, Gordon Doss, Winnie Martin (storekeeper), and Ava Almond (housekeeping). Curtis Booker was also an Office of Economic Opportunity trainee. Both Wingfield and Johnson were employees of local schools and only worked at APCO seasonally.[1] Rector's first challenge was the immediate departure of APCO Historian Gregorio Carrera, who was transferred to Independence National Historical Park the day before Rector began. APCO's new Historian was Glen Gray, who had most recently served in the same position at Guilford Court House and Petersburg, and he reported to Appomattox in October.[2]

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[1] *Lynchburg News*, 26 June 1966. "Superintendent Named at Park," undated newspaper clipping, APCO Scrapbook #2, Historian's Office, APCO.

[2] SR, September 1966. "New Historian at Court House," undated newspaper clipping, APCO Scrapbook #2, Historian's Office, APCO.

The NPS discontinued the mandatory Superintendent's Monthly Narrative Report for all parks effective June 30, 1967. Instead, regional offices would submit monthly reports and each park unit would maintain logs of important events not covered in other reports.[3] The final APCO Superintendent's monthly report noted nothing out of the ordinary. A self-guided tour study was recently completed and resulted in removal of directional signs, the park hoped to soon acquire the pencil used by Robert E. Lee in the surrender meeting, and the Isbell-Bocock House was painted off-white to finally match the other Appomattox Court House structures.[4] This change is mentioned because from this point forward there was a significant loss of detailed information about day-to-day APCO events. The rich detail provided by Gurney and the Mission 66 Superintendents simply is not present after 1967.

The fifteen-year period of this chapter also brought significant Superintendent turnover. Five people would serve as APCO's top administrator from 1966 to 1981, with all serving between 1.5 and 4 years in that position. The reason for these short tenures was the preferences of the Washington office and a shift to the appointment of short-term superintendents. The effect upon APCO was that the park lost its sense of continuity first created by Hubert Gurney. This continuity essentially carried through 1966 since Mission 66 planning was all initially set by Gurney a decade earlier. Mission 66's end, in many ways, meant the end of Gurney's APCO guidance. The year of 1966 was effectively the end of Gurney's direct influence at APCO.

For ease of reading, Superintendents will be mentioned as they appeared in the historical record. Many projects were started by one Superintendent and finished by another, as was true in the preceding chapter. Like previous chapters, the endpoint for this chapter is somewhat vague but is generally the four-month period between the tenure of Luis Garcia-Curbelo and his successor Jon B. Montgomery. This chapter's Superintendents and their respective official tenures were as follows:

- Alvoid L. Rector: September 11, 1966—January 24, 1970
- Frank Alec Gould: February 22, 1970—August 19, 1972
- Robert R. Madden: September 10, 1972—March 11, 1974
- H. Gilbert Lusk: July 21, 1974—October 10, 1976
- Luis Garcia-Curbelo: December 5, 1976—December 27, 1980

A few additional notes on each Superintendent can help to provide a bit more insight into their careers. Al Rector was also assigned as Superintendent of the Blue Ridge Parkway Management Group from August 1969 to December 1971, which was also his first NPS employment location as a Park Warden in 1946. Rector would eventually work as Superintendent at Kennesaw Mountain National Battlefield Park until his retirement.

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[3] Associate Director to All Field Offices, Memorandum, 12 June 1967, APCO Central Files (APCO 11800/009.001, Box 010).

[4] Alvoid Rector to Director, 5 July 1967, APCO Central Files (APCO 11800/009.001, Box 010).

Gould, just thirty-one years old at his appointment, had been formerly Assistant Chief Park Historian at Colonial National Historical Park since 1967. Gould also worked at Fort Donelson National Military Park (since renamed Fort Donelson National Battlefield) from 1963 to 1967.[5] Madden had previously worked as a historian at Great Smoky Mountains National Park. Gil Lusk came to Appomattox from being the first Superintendent at Wolf Trap Farm Park for the Performing Arts (since renamed Wolf Trap National Park for the Performing Arts) and departed to become the first superintendent at Valley Forge National Historical Park. Lusk went on to work as Superintendent at Big Bend National Park and Glacier National Park. Garcia's most recent experience prior to APCO was as Superintendent of Statue of Liberty National Monument, and previously he had worked at San Juan National Historical Site in Puerto Rico. Garcia departed APCO to become Superintendent at San Juan.[6]

The trend of personnel changes continued with other APCO positions as well. Major additions included all the following. Paul A. Hout joined APCO as the park's Historian about early October 1969.[7] Ron Wilson joined APCO as Historian on November 9, 1975, replacing Paul Ghioto. Wilson had previously served at Lincoln Boyhood National Memorial, Alleghany Portage Railroad National Historic Site, Johnstown Flood National Memorial, and Gettysburg National Military Park.[8] Michael Hughes was hired as a Park Ranger at APCO specializing in Visitor Protection and Resource Management in late-1978. He previously worked at Golden Gate National Recreation Area, Blue Ridge Parkway, and the Jefferson Memorial.[9]

APCO hired a Bicentennial Coordinator, John Huppert, in early 1976. Huppert was a recent Lynchburg College history graduate. This position was designed to communicate and provide to the public "at no expense, a wide variety of historical programs" such as lectures and tours. APCO invited any public or private organization to request the services of Huppert throughout the 1976 season. One of Huppert's first jobs, for example, was to present a lecture at the Appomattox Women's Club followed by Appomattox Middle School just a few days later. Decades later, Huppert himself described his job as

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5 "Park Head Appointed," *Lynchburg News*, 22 February 1970.

6 "Park Service Names New Superintendent," *Appomattox Times-Virginian*, 9 December 1976. Newspapers reported often on Garcia's connections to his native Puerto Rico, for example noting he advocated for Puerto Rican statehood and that his father was one of sixteen Puerto Rican Senators who ratified the Jones Act granting Puerto Ricans American citizenship. *Appomattox Times-Virginian, Lynchburg News*, 9 January 1977. "New Park Post is Change of Pace," *Richmond Times-Dispatch*, undated newspaper clipping, APCO Scrapbook #4, Historian's Office, APCO. "Historic Listing of NPS Officials," National Park Service, www.nps.gov/parkhistory/online_books/tolson/histlist7a.htm.

7 "Historian Involved in 'Here-Now' as Well as Civil War Events," *Appomattox Times-Virginian*, October 9, 1969.

8 "Named New Park Historian," undated newspaper clipping, APCO Scrapbook #3, Historian's Office, APCO.

9 *Appomattox Times-Virginian*, November 9, 1978. *Lynchburg News*, November 19, 1978.

> a great title, which was official, [but] in reality I was a GS-4 seasonal guide, but with some different duties. When needed, I did the same thing everyone else did which was work in the visitor's center and answer questions and run the slide projector. I also worked in the McLean House giving tours. The rest of my time was used to create programs on any aspect of American History and then do outreach. I gave a lot of programs at elementary schools and on one occasion the Lynchburg Lion's Club.

Huppert worked at APCO in this capacity from March through mid-June before accepting a new job in Fairfax County.[10]

The major themes of this period were infrastructure, retail sales, and living history. Rector picked up where his predecessors left off by maintaining and improving the park and connecting with the local community. He was a member of all the following organizations: Appomattox Lions Club, Oakville Ruritan Club (President since 1969), Appomattox Chamber of Commerce (Vice President since 1969), Memorial United Methodist Church, and Methodist Men's Club. He was also a president or chair of the Appomattox Elementary School Parent-Teacher Association, American Red Cross Fund Drive for Appomattox County, and Boy Scouts of America for Appomattox County.[11]

Plenty of post–Mission 66 tasks were ahead of Rector, but it is helpful to sketch out the overarching projects during this fifteen-year period. This will mitigate any confusion that may arise with the onslaught of new names and shifting responsibilities. First, all Superintendents oversaw various infrastructure projects, such as plumbing modernization, remodeling several structures for use as park offices, laying new brick walkways, and general maintenance of all historic structures. Second, APCO initiated a new living history program in the early-1970s that grew rapidly, both in size and popularity, with the support of each subsequent Superintendent. Next, Superintendents Lusk and Garcia developed a new General Management Plan for APCO, so the latter half of the 1970s were dominated by a series of planning meetings that required staff to think deeply about what APCO should look like going forward. Finally, this period was also defined by a commitment to safety and modernization. The entire maintenance division updated processes, procedures, and facilities, and this period's final major project was the introduction of a modern fire system throughout park facilities.

Rector's first major task was important, if not droll—a need to study the APCO water system—and illustrates a consistent theme over the next fifteen years. The oldest APCO infrastructure was nearing obsolescence, so significant staff time was dedicated to practical maintenance more than ever. As of September 1966, the water system pump was

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[10] "Park Appoints Bicentennial Coordinator," *Appomattox Times-Virginian,* March 17, 1976. "Bicentennial Leader for Appomattox Named," *Lynchburg News,* March 21, 1976. *Appomattox Times-Virginian,* April 1, 1976. *Appomattox Times-Virginian,* May 6, 1976. E-mail exchange with Josh Howard, December 27, 2020.

[11] "Superintendent is Transferred," *Appomattox Times-Virginian,* January 15, 1970.

twenty years old and expected to fail soon. Adding to the problem was the park's 25,000-gallon emergency storage water tank that was controlled only by a single pressure relief valve, and it was unknown if this water was safe for human consumption.[12] In January 1967, the newly installed sewage lagoon overflowed for at least the second time, though the problem was not of concern as a US Public Health inspection revealed the overflow was "ordinary branch water." Despite Federal assurances, the county sanitation officer insisted the NPS remedy the problem. APCO organized a meeting between federal, state, and local officials to hopefully develop a mutually acceptable set of sanitation standards. This meeting led to the discovery that groundwater seeped into the sewage line, thus resulting in overflow. The only devised solution was to install a lagoon overflow valve and chlorinate water as it left the pool. A month later, the lagoon water line had receded about eighteen inches but still was not to an acceptable level.[13] NPS staff struggled with both water and sewer problems for about a decade until reaching out to the town. Appomattox town council approved a request from APCO to extend town water and sewer service to the park at the NPS's cost pending system completion, though this did not transpire until 1978–79.[14]

There were also problems with interior plumbing in some structures. A pipe burst in the Meeks Country Store building's second floor (the Historian's residence) in February 1967 resulting in damage to the ceiling, basement, and some "candy and soap products" stored in the basement. APCO staff installed new pipework and insulation around the freeze location. APCO also purchased a new "quick-recovery hot water heater," fire box, and fuel nozzle for the Historian's residence.[15] Staff installed a "hidden gutter" on the McLean House porch that same year to prevent standing water. An issue had been noticed that winter that standing water could freeze, which would result in pulling metal seams loose. This project led to the discovery that ornamental railings around the second-floor porch had deteriorated, so Rector purchased new pressure-treated railings from J. E. Sears Lumber Company.[16]

Another major theme of this time was the exploding popularity of the Meeks Country Store. While it took a few years to take off, the 1965 founding of the Eastern National Parks & Monument Association (ENP&MA) store within the Meeks Store building began by selling small consumables like candy, crackers, and drinks. Gradually, the store expanded into various knick-knacks and Civil War literature.[17] By the end of the 1966 season, Rector considered the Country Store to be "a prime interpretive feature at the Park"

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[12] SR, September 1966.

[13] SR, January 1967; February 1967; March 1967; April 1967; May 1967.

[14] *Appomattox Times-Virginian*, November 9, 1978.

[15] SR, February 1967.

[16] SR, April 1967; June 1967.

[17] APCO Central Files (APCO 11800/006.001, Box 005).

despite only opening on weekends during October. He estimated 3,000 visitors entered the building in total that year. The "sales lady" was expected by APCO to wear a costume, though this was often in flux given that temperatures in the building were often above 90 degrees.[18] A wide range of items were sold out of the Meeks Country Store. Rector reported in January 1967 with delight at local media coverage for the sale of "doughgirl" historical dolls. A local nine-year-old, William Harvey, made these dolls with his grandmother. The doll was based on a family legend that Harvey's great-great-grandmother, whose last name was Woodson, baked bread for three straight days to feed soldiers at the end of the Civil War. Because of that action, Grandmother Woodson's nickname became "doughgirl."[19]

The store was recognized for its quality when William Gray earned an employee commendation with the Special Act Award as an agent for ENP&MA: "[Gray] made unusually valuable contributions to the interpretive and visitor services program at both parks. Of special note is Mr. Gray's outstanding work in organizing and carrying forward the Appomattox Store operation, a pioneer and highly successful venture. Also worthy of special attention is the publication 'End of a Tragic Struggle,' created and edited by Mr. Gray to tell in tabloid format the story of the closing events of the Civil War."[20] Park Technician Charles Meadows also received a Special Achievement Award from ENP&MA for his management of the Meeks Store and Visitor Center in 1971.[21]

All was not perfect at the store however, such as when, in 1970, *Daily Progress* staff writer Jerry Simpson took offense at APCO's welcome brochure. The brochure stated Appomattox Court House "became a symbol, not of victory or defeat, but of peace and a new beginning." His published article ripped the NPS for perceived inaccuracies, opulence, and destruction of history. Descriptions of the park included the courthouse as being "as modern as a New York penthouse"; the Clover Hill Tavern as "now the fluorescent-light office of the park administration"; and the area behind the tavern as where "park personnel park their Cougars, Camaros, Mustangs, and Baracudas." Despite this, Simpson recommended to readers a visit to the park. Perhaps a long gaze upon the McLean House, of which he approved, would allow one to "not learn the lesson of defeat, but to reflect upon the spirit of dignity and calmness, of mercy and forgiveness." While such criticisms were firmly subjective, Simpson was somewhat correct about one thing though—"Park Service officials seem unsettled about what the future of the park should be."[22]

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[18] SR, October 1966; April 1967.

[19] SR, January 1967.

[20] "Historian Receives Service Award," *Appomattox Times-Virginian*, January 16, 1969.

[21] "Receives Special Award," *Appomattox Times-Virginian*, July 1, 1971.

[22] Jerry Simpson, "Can the Agony Ever Be Healed?," *Daily Progress*, undated newspaper clipping (ca. 1970), APCO Scrapbook #2, Historian's Office, APCO.

The leadership changes present in this chapter were so frequent that, in the absence of regional or national programs, APCO was somewhat directionless in the early-1970s. This sense led directly to the APCO Living History program and general reforms to the interpretation at the site. For the first time, APCO staff had time and a mandate to rethink interpretation at the site as well by exploring the broader Civil War story at Appomattox Court House, village history, African American history, and music history through the Joel Walker Sweeney five-string banjo story. Once the program got started, each Superintendent recognized the potential and continued growing the program whenever possible. What began as a single volunteer soldier on a single weekend eventually blossomed into a seasonal program with encampments, multiple dedicated employees, and a short-lived horseback program.

A few other developments affected APCO that are worth considering throughout. The passage of the National Historic Preservation Act of 1966 automatically entered all NPS cultural parks, including APCO, onto the Register. In 1970, APCO and the Blue Ridge Parkway were clustered together with Granville Liles as the general superintendent. This caused significant delays in communication and general management problems. APCO was transferred from the Southeast Region to the Northeast Region in 1971.[23]

Finally, it is worth noting significant developments affecting APCO that did not directly involve the NPS. The Appomattox County Historical Society formed in September 1975 directly because of APCO personnel. The historical society's main purpose as outlined by founding documents was to bring together individuals interested in history with a special focus on the perceived loss of historic structures in Appomattox County. The first general membership meeting took place on October 30, 1975, to approve founding documents and elect leaders. Members elected Gil Lusk to be the Society's first President.[24] Beyond the historical society, several public events took place at APCO with park permission. Most of these events were not well documented as they were not historical, recreational, or otherwise relevant to the park's mission. For example, at least one wedding took place within APCO during this time. Teresa Faye Ragland and Richard Babcock Poe married during the 1977 summer, with the ceremony taking place in the west lawn of the Mariah Wright House. Weddings would become a fairly regular occurrence here for the next fifty years.[25]

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[23] APCO Central Files (APCO 11800/006.001, Box 005).

[24] "Appomattox County Historical Society Established," *Appomattox Times-Virginian,* September 18, 1975. "ACHS Elects First Board of Directors," *Appomattox Times-Virginian*, November 13, 1975.

[25] "Ragland Weds Poe," undated newspaper clipping, APCO Scrapbook #4, Historian's Office, APCO.

Interpretation

Two major changes transpired in the late-1960s that affected APCO visitation. These changes were also in the context of the post-Civil War Centennial, in which time Civil War NPS sites experienced a sharp drop in visitation from the anniversary year to the next. APCO experienced a 58.5 percent decline from 1965 to 1966, which was somewhat expected but perhaps larger than hoped by regional staff. APCO also began to create new financial barriers to accessing the park. At some point in late-1966, APCO raised the McLean House entrance fee from 25 cents to 50 cents to be effective April 1, 1967, resulting in a 36.6 percent decrease in house visitation from the previous year. In 1968, APCO shifted to an overall park fee admission system rather than just for the McLean House and constructed a collection station at the parking lot. There was never an empirical study as to how these changes affected visitation or visitor satisfaction.[26]

This period also saw an increase in third-party tours of Appomattox Court House that did not always involve APCO staff. On May 18, 1969, the "Lee's Route to Appomattox" transportation corridor was dedicated. The project was jointly created by the Appomattox Chamber of Commerce, Petersburg Chamber of Commerce, Farmville Chamber of Commerce, and Historic Petersburg Chamber of Commerce. The project involved erecting twenty wayside markers from Petersburg through Sailor's Creek and to Appomattox with Marker 20 located at "Lee's Tree" in APCO (near the location where Lee camped on April 8, 1865). There were general expectations from the public that this project would generate significant tourism in the Appomattox area.[27] Separate from the Lee's Route project, starting in June 1969, Lynchburg Tours officials offered "Appomattox Tour Number 4" in association with APCO. Patrons would acquire brochures and traveling information from Lynchburg Tours, then visit APCO and receive a guided tour from park staff.[28]

Tourism became a major emphasis for both APCO and Appomattox County during the late-1970s. Of course, both had been attentive to tourism generally for decades, but it was not until this point that a more concerted effort developed to profit on tourist dollars. APCO's involvement in tourism promotion was largely because of Superintendent Garcia. In newspaper articles from the time, he was often quoted suggesting county policy or infrastructure changes that, in his mind, would mutually benefit both park and local economy. For instance, in the *Lynchburg News & Daily Advance*, Garcia essentially accused the county of not having enough facilities to attract visitors for more than a few hours at a time. Thousands of visitors came to see APCO, then immediately departed the area. In his

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[26] SR, November 1966. "Annual Pilgrimage Beings," undated newspaper clipping, APCO Scrapbook #2, Historian's Office, APCO. "McLean House Fee Increased to 50¢," undated newspaper clipping, APCO Scrapbook #2, Historian's Office, APCO.

[27] "Rep. Abbitt Will Speak," *Appomattox Times-Virginian,* May 15, 1969.

[28] "Tour Program Launched," *Appomattox Times-Virginian,* June 5, 1969.

view, if the county had more swimming pools and lodging, then folks might stick around. He met often with local politicians to assist in these developments. To prove his point, he cited that APCO's visitation had historically been about 60 percent from out-of-state, which had declined to just 35 percent by 1980. Such statistics were likely known by other Superintendents and perhaps help explain why each was willing to try something new like living history.[29]

Living History

Before living history interpretation began, APCO experimented with using the environment as a "living exhibit" in 1970. Staff planted tobacco for use as an interpretive space as it grew and was ultimately harvested. Staff would then cut and hang the tobacco in a shed open to visitors. Henry Chernault was the lead in this project, as evidenced by a short newspaper article describing how Chernault demonstrated "topping tobacco" to visitors. "Topping" was an "old-time procedure" that involved cutting off portions of the tops of plants to keep it from blooming and thus using nutrients on non-profitable plant components.[30] A similar idea developed a few years earlier during Gould's tenure. Ray Godsey was instructed to let grass grow a little higher than usual and wait a little longer to paint homes. The idea was to create a more natural setting to better approximate the appearance of 1865. The plan backfired, however, when multiple visitors complained to their Congressmen that the NPS was neglecting park grounds.[31]

Three individuals deserve credit for initiating the living history program—Superintendent Alec Gould, seasonal interpreter Harold Howard, and interpreter and later APCO ranger Chris Calkins. Gould formally and financially initiated the APCO living history program in 1971 by securing a donation from the ENP&MA for the program as a one-year experiment. During this first season, Harold Howard was the only paid interpreter and portrayed surrendered Confederate soldier John Howard. Howard typically wandered up and down the Stage Road interacting with visitors, often stopping under trees or at the Clover Hill Tavern porch. Howard entered APCO service in June and continued through the Labor Day holiday.[32] In contemporary NPS sources, Howard was generally credited with developing the program from his one-person program to the larger program

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[29] Gary Kearns, "Appomattox Tries to Please Tourists," *The News & Daily Advance*, August 31, 1980.

[30] It does not appear that this project continued beyond 1970. "Crop Becomes 'Living Exhibit,'" *Appomattox Times-Virginian*, June 25, 1970. "Topping Tobacco at Park," *Appomattox Times-Virginian*, August 13, 1970.

[31] APCO Central Files (APCO 11800/006.001, Box 005).

[32] "Living History at Park," *Appomattox Times-Virginian*, September 2, 1971.

it became in just a few years by suggesting new characters, recruiting seasonal employees, and generally setting a high standard for living history work.[33] However, Howard was not the only living history interpreter at APCO during 1971.

The original inspiration for the living history program is a bit more difficult to track. Ken Apschrikat, who entered service at APCO as a historian in 1971, recalled that living history was a new technique growing in popularity nationally. APCO staff, in Apschrikat's view, recognized that APCO could be a perfect location for such a program given its small physical size, the concentrated interpretive village space, functional historic buildings, and a mission of interpreting a specific, well-documented date.[34] A possible additional source of inspiration came from Civil War history buffs David Jurgella and Gary Carpenter. The pair visited APCO in June 1970 as part of ABC News special "Road to Gettysburg," wherein Jurgella depicted a soldier in the 2nd North Carolina State Troops. Jurgella's attire consisted of a homespun jacket, homespun blanket, CSA Rifleman buttons, and a Union haversack and canteen. Few details survive of Jurgella's volunteer activities within APCO, though the stated purpose of Jurgella and Carpenter's re-enactments were "to give people a living example of the fighting soldier."[35]

Another inspiration from the 1970 season came from Chris Calkins, a living historian who would go on to a long career with the NPS, and his group of fellow reenactors from Detroit, Michigan. In 1970, Calkins and some friends joined the 3rd Arkansas reenactor group and traveled to several Civil War parks during the summer, including Gettysburg, Antietam, and Appomattox Court House, though their primary intent was to follow Lee's Retreat from Petersburg to the west. Upon arriving in Appomattox Court House, the group disembarked their vehicles in full uniform with Civil War-era firearms in hand. Calkins recalled that his group was initially confronted by an APCO employee upon their arrival for having firearms in the park, but this conflict was quickly resolved by Superintendent Gould. Gould welcomed the group, according to Calkins, because he had been considering the potential of living history interpretation at the park. Calkins remembered that Gould specifically stated he would like to have portrayals of Union and Confederate soldiers as they may have been in April 1865 within Appomattox Court House. Calkins' group agreed, and this began a long-standing relationship between this group, Calkins, and APCO. The 3rd Arkansas group returned to APCO in 1971 as a group primarily to portray Union

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[33] "How It All Began," undated magazine clipping (ca. 1976), APCO Scrapbook #3, Historian's Office, APCO.

[34] Ken Apschrikat, interview.

[35] "'CSA Soldier' Visits Park," *Appomattox Times-Virginian*, June 11, 1970. Note that Jurgella is identified as an "NPS Interpreter" in the Big Hole National Battlefield administrative history when he was always a volunteer, not an official employee. "ABC News Special," Getty Images, www.gettyimages.com/detail/news-photo/walt-disney-television-via-getty-images-news-special-road-news-photo/93410820 (accessed October 12, 2020).

soldiers. Calkins confirmed that he specifically portrayed a Union soldier at APCO during the summer of 1971 as part of park programming but was not a paid staff member. Calkins would go on to portray this character for four years in total.[36]

An early mention of the living history program appeared in the *Appomattox Times-Virginian* on June 10, 1971, in a brief article noting park hours lengthening: "For the first time this summer, the Park will experiment with a 'living history' interpreter in the surrender triangle area to tell visitors about the surrender ceremony and to work in the tobacco patch." This was Harold Howard.[37] During the summer of 1971, there were also several newspaper articles reporting that Helen Talbert and store manager Winnie Martin received new custom-made period dresses and starched white caps for their work at the McLean House and Meeks Store, respectively. Neither Talbert nor Martin was conducting first-person interpretation at this point.[38]

From June 21st through 25th, 1971, APCO hosted a living history program performed by the 3rd Arkansas Regiment Volunteer Infantry re-enactors, the group with Chris Calkins as a member. The men, most of whom were from Michigan, volunteered their time and historical expertise in recreating a soldiers' camp on site at APCO. Their goal was to present as accurate and authentic a presentation as possible for visitors, including in dress, manner of speech, and in food consumed, which newspapers reported as hard tack, parched corn, a little pork, and sassafras tea. Newspapers also reported on "Four members of the reactivated Co. C, 2nd N.C. Infantry Regiment, CSA," who were from Pennsylvania, joining the Michigan re-enactors at some point during this visit.[39]

Following the 3rd Arkansas was a separate group of Union re-enactors in August, who performed living history interpretation on Saturday through Wednesday for at least the last two weeks of the month. Three men—including David Jurgella, Steve Morosick, and Mike Waskul—volunteered their time to portray Union soldiers camped in Appomattox Court House after the surrender. They too wore period-accurate uniforms and equipment and altered their speech to be more accurate to 1865. Harold Howard joined the group at some point to portray a farmer named John Howard wearing an old Confederate uniform (which was a shirt and old wool pants).

On the budding living history program, local newspapers quoted Howard as stating: "I believe the purpose of this pilot program is to in some way make the period come alive for the visitors. I attempt to answer the visitors' questions as though I was a soldier from this area and relate to them why I went to war, my experiences during and after the

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[36] Calkins interview.

[37] "Park Hours Lengthen," *Appomattox Times-Virginian,* June 10, 1971.

[38] "Final Fitting for Costume," *Appomattox Times-Virginian*, April 30, 1970. "New Costumes at National Park," *Appomattox Times-Virginian*, May 13, 1971.

[39] "Civil War Camp at Park," *Appomattox Times-Virginian*, June 17, 1971. "Tenting Tonight," *Appomattox Times-Virginian,* June 24, 1971. "Four Men of Co. C," *Appomattox Times-Virginian,* July 1, 1971.

war and generally speak in the first person on any questions they may have concerning the War Between the States or the farming of that period."[40] From Howard's quote, it appears that the Union 3rd Arkansas Regiment Volunteer Infantry group were in APCO as part of an official APCO program, likely under the guidance of Superintendent Gould. Calkins recalled that the 3rd Arkansas group primarily worked around the courthouse circle and Clover Hill Tavern while Harold Howard, portraying Confederate John Howard, took up a post near the Bocock-Isbell House along the stage road.[41] In describing the program, Howard stated it began with "recreating emotion," though the publication was not clear if this meant recreating emotion in visitors or in the interpretation. Either interpretation though suggests that the re-enactors were trained to deliver interpretation in a specific way favored by APCO.[42] Rounding out the living history activity was a brief event in September 1971 when CBS filmed a segment of television drama "Bullrun to Appomattox" in APCO. Locals were hired as extras so long as they could provide their own period-accurate costumes.[43] This type of local hiring appeared to have driven interest in the program, as by the 1974 season, the program boasted a cast of an ex-Confederate soldier, Union soldier, law clerk, Widow Kelley, and a freeman.[44]

Historian Ken Apschrikat was hired by Gould in December 1971 and arrived at the park early in 1972. One of Apschrikat's primary assignments was to further develop the living history program. Over the next two years, APCO added the following living history characters—an African American freedman (portrayed by Tom Mattocks), a lawyer or an assistant at the lawyer's office (portrayed by George Morris), the "Kelley House grannie" (portrayed by Ava Almond), and a woman stationed at the McLean House (portrayed by Helen Talbert). The Meeks Store clerk was also considered an interpreter at times, though the primary job tasks were retail oriented. By 1975, however, the Meeks Store Eastern manager was Bob Vaughn, who was described in the *Appomattox Times-Virginian* as an interpreter but was not actually part of the Living History program. All staff employed by Eastern National in the store dressed in period costume but did not engage in first-person interpretation. Individuals recruited for these tasks were either directly recruited by Harold Howard in the Lynchburg area or by Apschrikat in reaching out to organizations interested in nonmilitary historical reenactment.[45]

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[40] "Soldiers Make Camp at Park," *Appomattox Times-Virginian,* August 19, 1971. "Living History at Park," *Appomattox Times-Virginian,* September 2, 1971.

[41] Calkins interview.

[42] "How It All Began," undated magazine clipping (ca. 1976), APCO Scrapbook #3, Historian's Office, APCO.

[43] "Local Players on Television," *Appomattox Times-Virginian,* September 30, 1971.

[44] Elizabeth Reynolds, "It's Yesterday One More at Appomattox," *Virginia Journal of Education* (Sep. 1974), magazine clipping, APCO Scrapbook #3, Historian's Office, APCO.

[45] Apschrikat interview. "Mr. Meeks Lives Again," *Appomattox Times-Virginian*, August 7, 1975.

Gil Lusk attempted to bring innovative changes to the living history program. First, Lusk added horses to the park and the living history program. Lusk remembered that a wealthy family from the Eastern Shore donated a herd of Morgan horses to the George Washington Birthplace National Monument. Lusk asked the birthplace if APCO could have three or four horses on loan to be part of the living history program, and the birthplace agreed to loan two. Both horses—Wakefield Denny, an eighteen-month-old gelding, and Julianna, a four-year-old mare—arrived at APCO on about February 2, 1975. Original plans were for the horses to take turns as the mount for a Union soldier living history interpreter who would guide the horse along the outskirts of the park. The interpreter would also care for the horses when not performing interpretive duties. David Spiggle, an APCO maintenance worker, was hired to take on this position. The *Richmond Times-Dispatch* reported the "outskirts" meant along US Route 24. Ultimately, the horseback rider was Susan Williamson, a Longwood College student, who rode "through the park and its outlying areas" to meet and talk with visitors. According to Chris Calkins, the planned "mounted Union soldier" program never came to fruition and the other mounted programs were not particularly popular. The program also involved significant changes to the landscape, such as reorienting fences and constructing a new stable adjacent to the Bocock-Isbell House, that placed a burden upon the relatively meager park budget.[46] Official reports were that the horses added a welcome sense of authenticity, at least for the first couple years. Garcia ordered the two horses away because Juliana kicked at visitors, bit staff, and reportedly kicked his wife in the jaw, resulting in four stitches. Both horses were transferred to Valley Forge National Historical Park during May or June of 1977. According to Garcia, there would be no replacement horses, only cows and calves if the park ever got animals again.[47]

Lusk's second experiment came in 1974 with an "Old Fashioned Christmas" or "Civil War Christmas" event. APCO staff attempted to recreate what Appomattox Court House may have looked like on Christmas during the Civil War by appearing in period costume, installing "primitive decorations," and building bonfires. Local choirs also caroled throughout the park. APCO kept decorations in place from the 21st through the 28th, but only staffed and opened buildings on the evening and night of the 21st. This event attracted about 500 visitors on opening night.[48] APCO put on a similar event the following year, billed as the second annual "Civil War Christmas," on December 20th from 7:00 to 10:00 p.m. The main attraction was an Appomattox County High School choir performance of Christmas Carols and a park open house featuring a decorated village. An example of decorations was

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[46] Lusk interview. *Richmond Times-Dispatch,* 3 February 1975. "Beauty and the Beast," *Appomattox Times-Dispatch,* 7 August 1975. APCO Central Files (APCO 11800/006.001, Box 005).

[47] Larry Flick, "Juliana 'Gets the Gate' for Unbecoming Conduct," undated newspaper clipping, APCO Scrapbook #4, Historian's Office, APCO.

[48] "Appomattox NHP to Host 'Civil War Christmas,'" *Appomattox Times-Virginian,* December 12, 1974. "Old Fashioned Christmas," *Appomattox Times-Virginian,* January 9, 1975. "Christmas Reminder!," *Appomattox Times-Virginian,* December 19, 1974.

the McLean House dining room with a "festive" table setting, tree decorated with popcorn chains and wooden ornaments, and presents beneath the tree consisting of toys popular with children in the mid-nineteenth century. Most other decorations were pine boughs and holly.[49] The sixth annual event again opened the park for three hours as an 1865 recreation, the lone exception being a generator used by a television company, with significantly more details published. All light was provided by kerosene and candles. Harold Howard portrayed a Confederate soldier and greeted guests at the Clover Hill Tavern before eventually being joined by another Union soldier portrayed by Chris Calkins, who was "warming himself by the jailhouse fire." The McLean House was an active scene: two women sat in costume and character in the McLean House dining room near an active fireplace; two couples socialized in the warming kitchen; and servants worked behind the house in the kitchen to tend the fire and cook country ham, beans, corn, sweet potatoes, and apple pie. A Virginia scrub pine Christmas tree decorated with lighted candles, popcorn and nandina berry strings, crocheted ornaments, candy canes, gingerbread men, and a corn shuck angle stood in the courthouse reception area. The Meeks Store was open, as if it were any other regular day. The living history Christmas event continued until at least 1979 and was considered successful by both Lusk and Garcia.[50]

At least one African American person portrayed freemen at APCO. According to Ken Apschrikat, Tom Mattocks was a Lynchburg resident recruited by Howard during the living history program's early years.[51] Mattocks was a full-time Brookville High School teacher who worked as a seasonal living history interpreter at Appomattox in 1973 and 1974. A magazine article quoted Mattocks on the job. "I enjoy it. I can bring out a lot of good things that happened—that blacks did at that time." In the same article, Mattocks also revealed that visitors could, if persistent, coax him out of his first-person interpretation to discuss contemporary issues like Black Power and racial equality.[52]

In 1976 or 1977, the program experimented with a "visitor to Appomattox Court House" character. The idea, as explained by Howard, was for the interpreter to act as an "icebreaker" by asking questions of the other living history interpreters, thus encouraging park visitors to ask questions themselves.[53] Park documents suggest the living history program was popular with visiting school groups, and it also provided a new avenue for APCO

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[49] "Christmas Program Scheduled," *Lynchburg News,* December 14, 1975. "Christmas at APCO," *Lynchburg News,* January 4, 1976.

[50] "Civil War Christmas and Peace Celebration," *Appomattox Times-Virginian,* December 8, 1977. "Civil War Christmas," *Lynchburg News,* December 13, 1978. "Sixth Annual Civil War Christmas and Peace Celebration Planned," *Appomattox Times-Virginian,* December 20, 1979. "Christmas—The Way It Was in 1865," *The News & Daily Advance,* December 23, 1979.

[51] Apschrikat interview.

[52] Elizabeth Reynolds, "It's Yesterday One More at Appomattox," *Virginia Journal of Education* (Sep. 1974), APCO Scrapbook #3, Historian's Office, APCO.

[53] "How It All Began," undated magazine clipping (ca. 1976), APCO Scrapbook #3, Historian's Office, APCO.

to reach into the community through the schools. Howard taught Civil War history in-character at the invitation of schoolteachers, specifically within Campbell County and Appomattox County public schools. Tom Mattocks worked as a history teacher in Campbell County public schools, which also used living history techniques in the classroom.[54]

More group living history sessions continued in the late-1970s. Reenactors of the Co. D 11 Va. Infantry group demonstrated "a typical Civil War field encampment" in the vicinity of Lee's headquarters just off Route 24 during May 1978. This organization performed similar demonstrations at other historic sites, including Fredericksburg and Spotsylvania National Military Park and Sailor's Creek State Park. The same group returned the following August, and a union camp representing Company B, 2nd Rhode Island Infantry also set up a living history camp nearby. Similar events would also take place in the 1980s and continue into the next chapter.[55]

The details of interpretive moments are largely lost to time given the nature of living history interpretation and that park staff did not write scripts in the 1970s. Most evidence suggests that each individual interpreter was given substantial leeway in their work, so long as it was grounded in historical research and they maintained an approved character. Some individuals spoke in dialect and refused to break character, while others moved between first- and third-person interpretation at will during the early years. By the end of the 1970s, all living history staff engaged in first-person interpretation. A newspaper article from 1980 quoted Harold Howard extensively in his John Howard character. The quotes are supposedly a verbatim, dialectic transcript of Howard's opening comments, so this excerpt offers some insight into Howard's approach when he engaged visitors outside the Clover Hill Tavern. Below is the extent of Howard's quotations in order of appearance in the article with dialect spelling:

> We didn't come here to surrender. Most of the boys hadn't et in two days. We was trying to get supplies.
>
> The 2nd Virginia Cavalry was the finest in the world. We didn't surrender here. No sirree, our troops went on to Lynchburg looking for supplies. Course, they later surrendered there. 'Magine his surprise when he saw our troops lined up here and the Yankee officers lined up on the 'tuther side.[56]
>
> The after-effects of the war cast a pall on the face of old Widow Kelly, who lost her son at Sayler's Creek, two days' journey from here. Attorney George Morris, sitting in his one-room office behind the general store, swelters in the heat, concerned that Northern "scalawags" may try to cheat his neighbors of their

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[54] "How It All Began," undated magazine clipping (ca. 1976), APCO Scrapbook #3, Historian's Office, APCO.

[55] "Civil War Encampment," undated newspaper clipping (ca. 1978), APCO Scrapbook #4, Historian's Office, APCO. "Park Service to Host Civil War Camp Life Demonstration," *Appomattox Times-Virginian*, August 9, 1979.

[56] "Area Park Visitors Lend Ear to Voice of Confederacy," *Lynchburg News & Daily Advance*, August 24, 1980.

property rights. Freedman Tom Maddox [*sic*], slowly mending a saddle, works steadily, waiting to see what the future will bring for him and his five children. John Howard, his young face reflecting the years of battles in which he fought, sits on a wagon in the shade of a Virginia red cedar. The widow still suffers foul deprivation of the war, but resolutely repeats, "I can make it; I made it this far, I can make She is dependent on the kindness of the villagers for her livelihood. Her husband died before the war and her son, the local cobbler and handyman, in it. "I'm glad it's all over," she said in a kind voice. "If'n you coulda seen them soljers, that day. They was hongry, raggedy and didn't have nothing. It's all for the best, now ifs over. They was hard times, hard times."

The hardest times of all are reflected in the veteran's face. His voice is soft, the slow movements of his body bespeak an exhausted spirit badly needing healing from the toils of war. He sits languidly, like his hunting dog, Ruby, lying limp under the wagon. He whittles a stick with a Barlow knife, making nothing but a sad pile of shavings. He recounted how, at Sayler's Creek, the 8,000 troops remaining under Lee's command, famished from not having eaten for several days, tried to reach supplies waiting at the railhead three miles south of here. Northern cavalry stopped them. Rather than disband the defeated Southern troops to carry on sporadic warfare, Lee, unknown to his men, surrendered when a heavy early morning fog lifted on defeat. "See, we didn't think he was going to surrender. We didn't want him to. We had throwed up defenses on those ridges yonder. We all knowed 'twas a tight spot, but we'd been in tight spots with Genr'l Lee before." When I Ate returned to announce surrender, his men couldn't believe it, the soldier said. "It warn't no easy thing."

The soldier paused, his head hung low. "The boys had been through the worst of it. Mighty hard men; mighty brave men. They wept, openly and unashamedly. Eight thousand of us had got here with no thought of surrender. One way or t'other we thought we could get through. Boys had given four years of their lives, everything they owned, and a lot of them a brother or a daddy to the cause." He stopped again, smoothing his calloused hands over the hole in his homespun, butternut-colored breeches. "We didn't have no respect for Billy's leaders. You see, last year or so of the war, the Yankees commenced to fighting what they call that new kinda warfare—all the burning and everything. I guess they was getting a mite frustrated, the war dragging on so long and losing all them good men like they was." When the Union army had marched through the Valley of Virginia, he said, "in order for a crow to fly across't, he'd have to carry food with him. That was fine for the crows, but the women, the children, the ole folks, they can't fly."

To this day, he said, "most of us boys can't understand why they did it. Warn't no cause for it. That didn't make no sense, and the Yankees knowed it." lawyer Morris sat on the fence in front of the Wilmer McLean House and watched the generals enter and leave the surrender ceremony. "Biggest thing ever happened 'round these parts was the surrender. Evening of April 8, there'd been artillery fire. Next morning, this here Genr'l Marshall stood on my doorstep asking for a

> place for Lee and Grant to discuss terms of surrender. That was the first we knew of it. "About 1:30 that day—it was Palm Sunday, April 9—Genr'l Lee (a mighty fine looking man, had his head held high and a sword tied with a gold sash at his side) rode up on his horse. Gray, almost white, it was. "'Round four, they came out, saluted, and Lee rode off to his troops on the far side of the river. I think the whole thing that got to me after the surrender, when our boys were stacking their rifles yonder, was this big Confederate soldier, down on his knees, crying. "He looked up, tears streaming down his face, and said, 'I had three brothers and a cousin die in this war, and here I am having to hand my rifle to the enemy without firing a shot.'"[57]

From APCO records, the living history program appeared to be a great success in terms of visitor feedback, visitation numbers, and the assignment of seasonal workers. All NPS staff interviewed from the 1970s remembered the program as successful and exciting to develop. But according to Raymond Godsey, the living history program caused "tensions among the permanent personnel" and with the regional office. Regional staff, though Godsey did not say who specifically, believed the park leaned too heavily into living history and neglected the park's mission, probably meaning maintenance and conservation work. Some staff, again Godsey did not name who exactly, felt living history interpreters were "playing soldiers" and not taking the job seriously despite the overall popularity and high effectiveness by NPS standards.[58] Regardless, the NPS clearly viewed the program as a success. The NPS brought Howard and Calkins to Harpers Ferry at least once to lead instructional first-person interpretation workshops for the benefit of other NPS units. Chris Calkins also noted that in his fifty years of park experience, most interpretive programs—especially those with living history elements—typically have a "shelf life" of about four years. By this, Calkins meant that it takes about four years for interpretive programs to either have outdated interpretation, feel stale to park staff, or there are enough repeat visitors to justify new programming. APCO's living history program is a major exception to this rule. The core component of the program (Union and Confederate soldier characters) has essentially been unchanged since 1971 except for a general adoption of new interpretation as historians generate new material.[59]

A tangential outcome of the living history program was when Harold Howard formed his own publishing company, H. E. Howard Publishing Inc. His goal was to publish histories of every Virginia unit from the Civil War starting in 1982. His secondary goal was to identify and document every Virginia soldier individually. Howard's research began

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[57] *Harrisonburg Daily News Record,* September 14, 1973.

[58] APCO Central Files (APCO 11800/006.001, Box 005).

[59] Calkins interview.

while he was employed at APCO as a living history interpreter though APCO had no direct involvement in the project. The final book in the series was printed in 2004 after over one hundred titles were produced in the series.[60]

Museum/Artifacts/Land

Even though focus was placed upon the living history program, APCO staff still found plenty of time for the museum, historical studies, and anniversary events. The museum had just been renovated as part of Mission 66, so there actually was not a lot of new, groundbreaking work to do in the latter half of the 1960s. Just two notable changes were made to interpretive spaces during 1966. During January of that year, APCO staff installed four flags (reports did not specify exactly which flags) on a previously blank wall at the "end of the museum tour."[61] During the 1966–67 winter, APCO staff installed another audio station at the McLean House, this one to be activated after hours "under the porch."[62] General bookkeeping was also needed in this era. For example, staff took a complete inventory of the McLean House during the winter of 1966–67. Rector discovered that several items were not catalogued previously and thus APCO staff had no provenance for those items. His plan going forward was to catalog all items, then create a detailed floor plan inclusive of an item location file with room contents.[63]

Artifacts and furnishings continued to arrive at APCO regularly just as they had since the late-1940s. APCO continued accepting artifact donations from the public but only after significant research and deliberation, which was somewhat stricter than the donation policy during the Gurney years. Nols Burkey, "a local friend of the Park Service," offered APCO an "old plow" she believed to be from the mid-nineteenth century purchased by her father in Tennessee in about 1908. The regional office sent six photographs of the plow to Museum Operations, who then determined this type of "single shovel plow" likely dated to the 1890s though was like the type used by central Virginia farmers in the 1860s. Records did not indicate whether or not APCO accepted the plow, but it was likely given the positive initial response.[64] In late-1968, B. L. Fields donated a drawing to APCO that was "the only known rendition of the Layne House" at the time which is still in the museum collection (APCO 3407). The 12'x14' drawing reflected the landscape from the

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[60] Marie Dunne, "125 Years Later, Common Soldiers Getting Story Told," *Richmond Times-Dispatch*, June 23, 1988.

[61] SR, January 1966.

[62] SR, January 1966.

[63] SR, December 1966; January 1967; February 1967.

[64] William Gray to Regional Director, 23 December 1966. Ralph Lewis to Regional Director, 23 January 1967. "Administrative Files," Box 1192, Entry P11, RG79, NACP.

perspective of the Peers House porch looking toward the Mariah Wright House.[65] Watson donated the original Meeks Store ledger (APCO 2566) to APCO in March 1968, a donation that Rector considered highly valuable for research and eventual exhibition though staff had no plans for adding it to park exhibits in the short-term. The ledger was eventually put on display and remains in the museum collection.[66] During 1967, the NPS installed a reproduction lamp constructed by Virginia Metalcrafters at the picket fence and gate in front of the Clover Hill Tavern based on historical photographs.[67] Also in 1967, Jamerson Lumber Company reproduced two historical benches to be placed on the McLean House front porch.[68] Gray and Godsey traveled to Washington to develop and record a new audiotape for the new station in the County Jail. Upon their return in March 1967, the new station was put into service, but the furnishings were not installed in the jail until 1969. The jail opened to APCO visits in February 1969.[69]

Rector learned in June 1967 that the NPS was in the process of acquiring the pencil used by Robert E. Lee during the surrender meeting and that APCO should plan to incorporate it into the museum. APCO staff intended to make the object central to the surrender exhibit and wrote a new audio script to reflect as much. Both APCO and regional staff were favorable to the acquisition and curating an exhibition around the artifact, setting aside about $160 to accomplish this. The Eastern Museum Laboratory developed an initial design using a small shadowbox and audio script. Audio narration first noted this was the pencil Lee used to mark changes in the draft surrender terms. The script's second part took the perspective of Union General Horace Porter, who owned and preserved the pencil for decades, in describing the pencil was his own which he lent to Lee when Lee could not find his own writing utensil. The pencil was transferred to APCO from General Grant National Memorial in 1967 and is still in the museum collection (APCO 2775).[70]

In 1966, regional staff set about treating and identifying two framed color lithographs in the APCO collection currently hung in the McLean House. Both were estimated to have been produced in mid-nineteenth-century France. Each had "Nouvelles Etudes Variees" printed in the lower center with one signed by "Yne Ducollet." NPS staff contacted the Bibliotheque Nationale in Paris to authenticate and date both. French experts

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65 "Village Drawing Given to Park," *Appomattox Times-Virginian,* January 23, 1969.

66 Rector to Regional Director, 15 March 1968. Lewis to Regional Director, 2 August 1968. "Ledger Returns to Old Store," *Appomattox Times-Virginian,* May 16, 1968. "Administrative Files," Box 1192, Entry P11, RG79, NACP.

67 "Tavern Lamp Is Restored," undated newspaper clipping, APCO Scrapbook #2, Historian's Office, APCO.

68 SR, January 1967; February 1967; March 1967.

69 SR, March 1967. "Old Jail Open to Visitors," *Appomattox Times-Virginian,* February 27, 1969.

70 SR, June 1967. Russell Hendrickson to Regional Director, 13 June 1967; 14 July 1967. "Administrative Files," Box 1192, Entry P11,7 RG79, NACP. "Pencil Added to Display," undated newspaper clipping, APCO Scrapbook #2, Historian's Office, APCO. "Park Acquires Historic Items," undated newspaper clipping, APCO Scrapbook #2, Historian's Office, APCO.

determined the prints were likely of the 1845–55 time frame published by "Bulla freres et Jouy," painted by Charles Bezin, and drafted by Josephine Ducolloet. However, the prints held by the NPS were in color while the original was monochrome, which further complicated any official dating. It was decided that both possibly dated to after 1865 but could be considered reproductions and would thus be acceptable furnishings for the time being. The two lithographs in question (APCO 86 & APCO 87) were donated by Mrs. A. T. Henderson in 1950 along with 21 other pieces. They are both still in the museum collection.[71]

The first criticisms of the museum exhibits installed during Mission 66 came in spring 1967. Teachers commented that the audio-visual program "seems to be somewhat above the head of most of the young visitors." APCO and regional staff took to rethinking the program. NPS officials also used this as an opportunity to replace the "inaccurate and practically useless" orientation map behind the information desk.[72] APCO developed and launched a new sixteen-minute slide program in September 1975 to replace the old program developed for the Centennial. APCO kept the Centennial program, but only used it for off-site programs and by request.[73]

In 1968, APCO added two "vehicles"—meaning a wagon and carriage—to the park. The intent was for each to be stationary and to allow visitors to climb and take photographs. Both were to be reproductions of the 1850–65 era and "such as a Virginia farmer would have used for trips to the village store." The carriage or buggy was to be of a style more befitting a craftsman, storekeeper, or lawyer of the time and place. Staff initially sought original artifacts but had no luck in locating either. Consultants recommended the NPS acquire more recently constructed vehicles and retrofit them to appear as a reproduction, as this approach would be both cheaper and faster. That recommendation in hand, APCO purchased two mid-nineteenth-century chaises from The Early American Museum in Silver Springs, Florida, which were then transferred to the NPS Museums Branch in New Jersey for restoration. Only one chaise was accessioned and cataloged (APCO 3882), but it was deaccessioned and transferred to Hopewell Village on September 20, 1977. APCO also purchased a farm wagon (APCO 3514) from the Staten Island Historical Society that was repaired and painted by Paul Downling, a horse-drawn vehicle expert, in early 1969.[74]

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[71] Ralph Lewis to Regional Director, 15 March 1966. J. Adhemar to Ralph Lewis, 28 January 1966. Lewis to Regional Director, 2 March 1966. "Administrative Files," Box 1192, Entry P11, RG79, NACP.

[72] SR, May 1967.

[73] "Appomattox Features New Slides," *Lynchburg News*, September 25, 1975.

[74] As of 2021, the wagon was exhibited in the Meeks stable. Lewis to Paul Downing, 2 May 1968. Rector to Regional Director, 18 April 1968. Charles Shedd to Museum Division, 22 April 1968. Downing to Lewis, 6 May 1968. Lewis to Regional Director, 14 August 1968. Lewis to Downing, 13 January 1969. Downing to Lewis, 8 April 1969. Lewis to Regional Director, 16 April 1969.Lewis to Downing, 22 April 1969. "Administrative Files," Box 1192, Entry P11, RG79, NACP.

Anniversary events continued with regularity at APCO but, as was now the trend, with significant year-to-year variation. For the 1970 anniversary events, APCO erected a marker for the apple tree location (as staff removed the location marker a few years earlier according to the *Appomattox Times-Virginian*). The new marker included significant historical inaccuracy and read, "Near this spot stood the apple tree under which General Robert E. Lee rested while awaiting the return of a flag of truce sent by him to General US Grant on the morning of April 9, 1865." It was not noted if this marker was intended to be a permanent installation or just for the anniversary event.[75] The year 1970 also marked the 125th anniversary of Appomattox County at Clover Hill Tavern, so APCO hosted a visit from county officials in May that year as well.[76] The 1976 anniversary events spanned an entire four-day weekend and were part of the broader American Bicentennial celebrations. The park hosted two talks on April 9th, offered four park tours and screened a film three times on both the 11th and 12th, and concluded on April 12th with a lecture and tour at the Surrender Triangle.[77] The 1977 events were similar with most talks provided by Harold Howard or Chris Calkins in first-person.[78] Appomattox County Bicentennial Commission meetings continued into 1979, though in general the organization's meetings had little to do with APCO beyond the Superintendent's presence at most meetings.[79]

Few changes in land use transpired during this period. One exception was a unique project in early 1969 when a national Environmental Study Area was established in APCO for the benefit of schools. This was a Department of the Interior project in conjunction with the National Education Association's Association of Classroom Teachers designed to get students to parks and into the outdoors for study of natural sciences and natural history. The specific location of this area was east of the village center and contained "remains of a dam, an abandoned rock quarry, and farmland." Seventy-five such areas were formed nationwide, all at NPS sites.[80]

The final major donation in this period was in 1977 when the NPS received a strange donation. Gary Stuart Cheatham from Mercer County, West Virginia, willed $80,000 of his estate to the "Lee Tree Wayside at Appomattox Court House." Cheatham left no further instructions and died without ever having explained this bequest to anyone. Mercer County courts were left to interpret the will, but the obvious problem lay in

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[75] "Marker Replaced," *Appomattox Times-Virginian*, April 16, 1970.

[76] "Supervisors Record 125th Anniversary," *Appomattox Times-Virginian*, May 14, 1970.

[77] *Appomattox Times-Virginian*, April 8, 1976.

[78] *Appomattox Times-Virginian*, April 7, 1977.

[79] J. Robert Jamerson, Memorandum, 23 February 1979; J. Robert Jamerson, Memorandum, 18 November 1978; J. Robert Jamerson, Memorandum, 19 October 1978; R. B. Carter, Memorandum, 20 September 1978; R. B. Carter, Memorandum, 8 June 1978, APCO Central Files (APCO 11800/009.001, Box 010).

[80] "Environmental Program Offered," undated newspaper clipping (ca. 1970), APCO Scrapbook #2, Historian's Office, APCO. "Environmental Study Area in Operation at Appomattox," *Lynchburg News*, October 25, 1970.

determining just what the cryptic bequest meant. The will had been written on July 16, 1975, and the man died the following April, so the Department of Interior regional solicitor found the situation unusual and confusing but ultimately in belief that the money belonged to APCO. Newspapers assumed the will referenced either the legendary apple tree or Lee's Headquarters wayside, as there was a notable old tulip poplar tree at that location. Superintendent Garcia indicated that while APCO had no definitive plans yet, the park's intention would be to use all the funding for the Lee's Headquarters wayside.[81] Ultimately, the total bequest came to about $57,000, and NPS staff settled on applying it all to the Lee's Headquarters wayside. Garcia developed renovation plans for the location including Braille signage, a ramp and trail-widening, benches, undergrowth clearing, and a new wayside exhibit "possibly powered by solar panels." Planning began in late-1980 to be undertaken the following year.[82]

Most available staff time, when not manning the visitor center or conducting tours, during this period was spent conducting historical research, though it took a few years to initiate. In October 1966, APCO hired William G. Gray to be Park Historian and immediately presented him with a long list of research projects. Gray had "very little time he could devote solely to research," according to Rector, as Gray was assigned to work the Visitor Center in off-season months and as a Park Guide during the summer. Rector requested that Gray be relieved of any research expectations "until we can be relieved of the tight schedule which the area operation now demands." Likely, this was Rector's way of asking for more staffing. Further complicating matters was the active priority list for the FY 1968 History Research Program. As of November 1966, the priority list included:

1. N.C. Department of Archives and History Studies
2. Furnishing Plan for Jail
3. Peers House Outbuilding
4. Biography of Wilmer McLean
5. Union Commissary Operations at Appomattox—Feeding of Confederate Soldiers
6. Retreat to Appomattox
7. Supplementary Battle Study and Action Timetable
8. Pryor Wright House
9. Tibbs House
10. Cultural and Social Life in a Virginia village of mid-19th Century

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[81] Larry Flick, "Bequest to Park Sets Off Series of Questions," undated newspaper clipping (ca. 1977), APCO Scrapbook #4, Historian's Office, APCO.

[82] Arthur P. Miller, "Philanthropist Aids Appomattox," *Courier: The National Park Service Newsletter* 3, no. 12 (Nov. 1980): 7. "Historical Park Gets $57,000," *Appomattox Times-Virginian*, October 9, 1980.

11. The Mill and Mill Site
12. The Sweeney Prizery[83]

All these projects were assigned to Gray except for "Furnishing Plan for Jail," which was assigned to Frank Cauble. Despite all being assigned to Gray, some must have been re-assigned to other NPS staff at some point, as Frank Cauble completed a report in 1967 on North Carolina Troop movement during the Civil War's final few days. This was possibly the study listed as number one in the list above.[84] The Jail Furnishing Plan was unique in that it had been completed in 1964 but did not meet approval in the national office. After two years of delay, the national NPS office informed APCO that the Jail furnishing plan was "not adequate." Edwin Bearss was assigned the project upon funding approval from WASO of $5,400 for the 1968 funding year, though this initial plan did not include any historical research funding.[85]

Bad news came in December 1966 that four historical research programs—"Retreat to Appomattox," "Union Commissary Operations at Appomattox," "Supplementary Battle Study and Action Timetable," and the "Tibbs House"—were postponed indefinitely by the Division of History studies. The NPS implemented a temporary probation against general research projects in Civil War areas in 1966, so many of these projects were thus put on hold. Four other projects—Peers House outbuildings, Pryor Wright House, the old mill, and the Sweeney Prizery—were kicked back to APCO for further justification and linking to current Project Construction Program (PCP). Two projects met approval—one "concerned with the cultural and social life in a mid-nineteenth century village" and a biography of Wilmer McLean. This created significant delays but eventually all these projects were placed back on the park research agenda.[86]

Beginning in the early 1970s, APCO recognized the need to research the story of Joel Walker Sweeney and the five-string banjo. The impetus for this was twofold. Newspapers reported that "enthusiasts" campaigned for a historical marker along Route 26 marking Sweeney's importance in 1971. The next was that the Sweeney Prizery was deteriorating as of the mid-1970s having only received a single stabilization treatment in 1959.[87] The 1977 General Management Plan, discussed next in this chapter, noted the Sweeney Prizery needed to be studied as it would eventually be stabilized for adaptive reuse as an

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[83] Rector to Director, 10 November 1966. Utley to Chief of Division of History Studies, 17 November 1966. "Administrative Files," Box 1414, Entry P11, RG79, NACP.

[84] SR, February 1967.

[85] SR, October 1966; November 1966. Robert Utley to APCO, 25 October 1966. "Administrative Files," Box 1414, Entry P11, RG79, NACP.

[86] SR, December 1966.

[87] Calvin Robinson, "Sweeney Featured," *Appomattox Times-Virginian,* September 9, 1971.

environmental study center. An extensive study of the Sweeney Prizery began in 1979 when historian Harlan Unrau was given a task directive to complete a historic structure report, which he completed in 1980 with the assistance of Garcia, Ron Wilson, and Ray Godsey.[88]

Garcia recruited a local Boy Scout troop to complete projects in the Sweeney area of the park. In spring 1979, APCO opened a "rough camping area" with no vehicles allowed near the park hiking trail by the Sweeney Prizery. Local Boy Scout Troop 546, of which two of Superintendent Garcia's children were members, installed markers along the 5.5-mile hiking trail and inaugurated the "Sweeney Prizery Primitive Camping Area" on April 21, 1979. APCO required permits for use of the camping area, and some newspaper reports noted it was explicitly for "organized youth groups."[89] The NPS cleared the gravesite marker for Joel Walker Sweeney in 1980 as part of an Eagle Scout project for Luis Garcia-Rodriguez. The grave had been unmarked from Sweeney's death in 1860 to 1954, when George H. Collins of the Fraternity of Five String Banjoists of America installed the headstone. Since then, the NPS acquired the Sweeney property, cleared a trail, installed a wooden bridge, and replaced a dilapidated metal fence. The actual land was rough and full of undergrowth, so Garcia cleared the area to earn his credit.[90]

Also occurring during this time was the removal of the Alvis (Connor) House in the late 1970s. Removing the structure turned out to be a contested issue, as the idea was driven by regional staff and generally against the wishes of park staff. The reasoning behind removal was that the Alvis (Connor) House was not a historic structure dating to 1865 and served no other practical purpose for park staff. The regional office sent an official to the park to conduct a brief analysis of the structure to determine its condition and age. It was determined that the structure was in extremely poor condition and that it had no significance to the events of 1865. Some APCO staff held that razing the building was premature as no rigorous Alvis (Connor) House study had yet been conducted, so it remained possible that portions of the structure (many were obviously twentieth century additions) were original to pre-1865. Regardless, the decision was made to remove the buildings by the regional office. The NPS removed the Alvis (Connor) House at some point between 1978 and 1981 (during Garcia's Superintendency) according to former APCO historian Ron Wilson.[91]

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[88] Unrau, "Sweeney Prizery" (1980).

[89] "Local Camping Area Opens," *Lynchburg News*, June 26, 1979. "Appomattox Historic Park Nears Land Acquisition Goal," *Lynchburg News*, February 25, 1979. "Troop 546 Scouts Install Trail Markers on Appomattox Court House Historic Trail," *Appomattox Times-Virginian*, March 29, 1979. "Scout Troop 546 Inaugurate Camping Area at Appomattox Park," *Appomattox Times-Virginian*, March 29, 1979. "Troop 546 Works on Community Service Projects," *Lynchburg News*, March 19, 1979.

[90] "Sweeney Gravesite Gets Marker," *Appomattox Times-Virginian*, July 3, 1980.

[91] Interview with Ron Wilson with Josh Howard, May 27, 2021.

Planning

The largest administrative project during this time was the creation of several new planning documents, such as a General Management Plan (GMP) and several iterative Operations Evaluation Reports. APCO received a few personnel appraisals during this period as well, at least in 1968, 1971, and 1973, but the most important of which was the 1973 version. The impetus for such studies largely came from the regional office. Regional reviewers found that despite the excellent work being done at APCO, the park generally lagged in following NPS standards. Establishing these planning documents would bring the park up to snuff, so to speak. Beyond this, the general goal of these documents was to set an overarching planning agenda for the park, but a more specific, immediate goal was to finally answer the question of a new visitor center construction and other issues regarding encroaching development. The latter would prove to be the most contentious. It makes sense to explore this issue first before exploring GMP details. Public land acquisition disputes informed the GMP process after all, and the land acquisition process began well before the GMP was completed.

As part of GMP planning, Lusk announced publicly that the NPS intended to acquire 433 acres, which was inclusive of all privately owned land visible from areas of the village center. According to newspaper reports, most locals were generally in approval of such an acquisition, though at least one speaker at public hearings, Virginia Babcock, stated that property owners should not have to "sacrifice their rights" for the NPS. Newspaper articles reported on the "trailer parks, motels, and gas stations" adjacent to the park, implying that it was necessary for the NPS to acquire this land now before even more disruptive developments took hold. Lusk's planning also dismissed a development plan completed in 1971 by Abbott Associates of Williamsburg as implausible. The Abbot plan called for an underground visitor center at APCO, which Lusk ruled out because the proposed location was "the site of the last skirmish between the Army of the Potomac and the Army of Northern Virginia." Lusk's other reasons were because he and other APCO staff wanted to reuse existing buildings rather than impacting the landscape any further. Other Abbott recommendations also discarded were to host carriage rides for visitors and to covert the Clover Hill Tavern into a restaurant, both of which Lusk regarded as "the influences of Colonial Williamsburg on the firm."[92]

Over the next several years, several landholders around APCO expressed their unhappiness with the proposed park expansion, with the most visible being David Nash. The *Richmond Times-Dispatch* published a story on April 10, 1977, amid the GMP public hearing, about Nash's airplanes. Nash owned land and a home near APCO on which he

[92] Joe Stinnett, "Park Plan Nearing Completion," undated newspaper clipping (ca. 1976), APCO Scrapbook #3, Historian's Office, APCO.

maintained a private airstrip. According to newspaper accounts and Ken Apschrikat, the runway was built in 1973 without informing the NPS. Apschrikat remembered Nash flying his plane low to the ground to intentionally disrupt the park setting. Nash's reasons for doing this was because he did not wish to sell his property—which also included an eight-year-old split-level brick house—but was resigned that it was going to happen one way or another. The NPS indicated that after the purchase, Nash's home would be demolished as it did not fit within the nineteenth-century visual landscape. In the meantime, he decided to have a little fun making the NPS miserable. On the situation, Nash's wife (who was not named in the story) was quoted: "We've adjusted to the fact that they are going to buy our place and we will have to move. I personally feel though that the government is just wasting money, but if it's good for the park and Appomattox County, we will move."[93]

The next significant moment regarding land acquisition came when Garcia hosted a public meeting for GMP feedback. Congress specifically raised the maximum size of APCO to 1,320 acres and allocated $1,335,000 for land acquisition. Plans had been tweaked a little since the previous round—now just 379.1 acres were planned—as the park now had no intention of acquiring lands south of the village center. Garcia was quoted in newspapers that he expected no problems, which turned out to be true. This meeting transpired in April 1977 with no public opposition. The *Lynchburg News* reported that fifty-five local residents attended the meeting and only one had any concern at all (a landowner concerned their remaining property would be landlocked, an issue resolved in negotiations). The final plan presented to the public involved acquiring nineteen parcels with forty structures, of which eleven were residences. Of these eleven, just one owner would be immediately evicted (the Nash family) while the other ten would either be gradually relocated or granted a life tenancy. The top priority land acquisition was twenty-two acres owned by Burrus Land and Lumber Company that had been planned for a subdivision. The only questions remaining related to roads, namely the relocation of Route 460 and a bypass and the continued possibility that Route 24 may be relocated again, this time outside of APCO holdings.[94]

However, over a year after these public hearings, one affected landowner—Claudine O'Brien—wrote an *Appomattox Times-Virginian* editorial entitled "Wake Up America!" that seemed at once both hopeless and furious at the outcome.

> While awaiting the negotiator to sign over my heritage—my land and home—to the Federal government, I feel compelled to inform the Appomattox taxpayers what can happen to honest citizens in America.

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[93] "Family Resigned to Loss of Home," *Richmond Times-Dispatch*, April 10, 1977.

[94] "Appomattox Plan Due Tuesday," undated newspaper clipping (ca. 10 April 1977), APCO Scrapbook #4, Historian's Office, APCO. Larry Flick, "No Opposition Expressed on Plans to Expand Park," *Lynchburg News*, April 13, 1977. "Park Hearing Set April 12," *Appomattox Times-Virginian*, March 30, 1977.

> If the government wanted my property for a worthwhile cause, I would gladly sell. However, we were told the government is buying our land to preserve it for the next ninety-nine years.
>
> Two years ago ten landowners near the Park were invited to the Old Court House to a meeting, and were told that the Park wanted to expand. Our land would be included in the expansion, but we had nothing to fear, because we would have lifetime tenancy, would not have to pay taxes nor rent, and furthermore the Park would be responsible for the maintenance, even to the cutting of the grass. Really an Utopian scheme!
>
> Being honest citizens, we believed the integrity of the speaker, but we learned a year later that we had been misinformed. At a second meeting, we were told that a law had been passed in Congress, which meant that the Park would acquire not only our land, but our homes. I could sell my home and then rent it, but with these restrictions:
>
> I must pay in a lump sum rent for each year of my life expectancy, I am responsible for the upkeep of the house and the one acre of land, I must pay the insurance on the house, for which I would receive only my rental part if anything happened to the house. Does this sound like a fair business deal to you?
>
> As soon as I was aware of the law, I started my correspondence. First, I wrote to both my Congressman and Senator with this response, "I am sorry that I can not help you." Surely the President will have power to preserve my heritage, I thought; however from his aide, the answer came back: "The President can do nothing for you." If the Legislative and Executive Departments have no power to help honest taxpayers, then Who Can? What has happened to "the government of the people, by the people, and for the people?"
>
> I realize that I have done all that I can do, but I feel that you should be made aware of the power of the Federal government over innocent taxpayers. Therefore, awake, Citizens, because you, too, could lose your heritage.[95]

The NPS moved forward from this point undaunted. As expected, GMP land acquisitions plans were approved up the bureaucratic chain in early 1978.[96] Initially, the target for all land acquisition was January 31, 1979, but this deadline came and went with 358 acres still outstanding. Condemnation, a potentially controversial tool in the NPS arsenal, was not used during this acquisition process.[97] One minor adjustment to this acquisition transpired in 1982 when the NPS asked the Appomattox County Board of Supervisors to make a boundary adjustment of 8.5 acres in the park's northwest corner. The land came as part of an acquisition but was not originally accounted for because the

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[95] "Wake Up America!," *Appomattox Times-Virginian,* July 20, 1978.

[96] "Park Plans OKd," *Lynchburg News,* January 26, 1978.

[97] "Appomattox Historic Park Nears Land Acquisition Goal," *Lynchburg News,* February 25, 1979.

original owner did not wish to retain the property due to it being timbered, steeply graded, and property locked. With that final adjustment, the land acquisition plan outlined in the GMP process was summarily completed.[98]

There was no exact moment when the planning process began for the GMP. Instead, it should be thought of as a steady continuum of ideas that carried across multiple Superintendents' tenures. The 1968 personnel appraisal was the first study of its kind, though an "area management study" was completed in 1959 that did not include a formal report. Some of the recommendations included the following:

- Superintendent Rector agreed to reinstitute regular staff meetings, though he did believe these to be a waste of time since the relatively small staff all worked together daily and informally updated one another on projects.
- APCO procurement procedures were formalized by creating a system where all purchases would now require signatures from two authorized staff members and staff agreed to establish regular purchasing cycles for maintenance and janitorial supplies.
- A Harpers Ferry lab employee recommended "a complete re-study" of the audio-visual program and to replace the program with either a sound-slide program or a new film. The appraisal noted the program was too long and dwelled on general Civil War topics rather than Appomattox itself. The technology, which consisted of a series of synchronized single-drum "Selectroslides and a Calowa-type tape deck" with several spare backups, was also outdated and gave visitors a poor impression. Rector argued that most visitors enjoyed the audio-visual and had no plans to change it despite most in the NPS wishing for change. As of July 11, 1973, APCO had formally requested a new audio-visual program but it had yet to be funded.
- A conditional recommendation was to eliminate the Historian position if APCO continued to operate on a five-day schedule. If this came to pass, then the next Superintendent would be a historian and the Historian hours would be replaced with seasonal labor. Rector shifted the park schedule to a seven-day week soon after this recommendation.
- As of 1969, the Clover Hill Tavern was still being used as park headquarters. The appraisal recommended a new study to construct a combination headquarters and visitor center next to the parking area. Rector noted the next study was scheduled for 1972 and that such a plan would be considered.
- One of the final notes was that all funds, personnel, and supply protocols to be "Adequate," but the number of employees currently assigned to APCO was deemed "Inadequate."[99]

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[98] "Park Service Seeks Change in Boundary," *Appomattox Times-Virginian*, June 24, 1982.

[99] Leland Ramsdall to Regional Director, 25 April 1969, APCO Central Files (APCO 11800/010.001, Box 011).

The next Operations Evaluation Report came five years and two Superintendents later in early 1973. This report was somewhat longer than the 1968 version and included several more specific recommendations. Each of these recommendations was the responsibility of the Superintendent to address, and this was the first conducted at APCO since the park became part of the Northeast region. The site visits were conducted by Albert Del Pomo (Chief of Staffing, Employee Relations and Records Branch) and Lawrence Bembry (Chief, Classification and Employee Development Branch). Samuel Moore, Regional Equal Employment Opportunity officer, also accompanied the pair but did not contribute to the report, though APCO was in the early days of incorporating the EEO program into daily operation.

Del Pomo and Bembry's goal was to implement a regional concept of personnel management, so their core recommendations were that APCO needed to be professionalized. Their first several recommendations were that staff needed to utilize the NPS Management System rather than doing things their own way. This included using standard terminology and definitions in reports, setting regular work schedules (as opposed to the ad hoc task assignment system used previously), and establishing formalized training needs catered to each individual employee to provide a "growth ladder for career development." Current park literature was similarly outdated, last updated in 1955 with out-of-date information and written in Ralph Happel's unique style, and Joe Cullen of the regional office would work to develop a new version. Finally, interpretation felt disconnected at the park in that APCO staff separated environmental and historical programming. The recommendation was for APCO staff to work more closely with schools to develop a unified educational or interpretative program.

Not all was bad though, of course. Recorded interpretive audio at the jail and McLean House Well were both considered excellent by Del Pomo and Bembry. The McLean House tour was considered exceptional except for an unrealistic-looking fake ham and watermelon in the kitchen area. Exhibits were all considered to be "informative, attractive, and well-maintained." The only suggested museum change outside of replacing the audio-visual program was to move the existing barrier to the Guillaume painting so visitors would be further away. Del Pomo and Bembry also roundly approved of the new living history program, but believed it needed to be regularly studied and audited to determine effectiveness. Initial positive reviews allowed for expansion in 1973 and 1974. No further expansion would be likely without concrete data.

A handful of maintenance suggestions were also made with the most pressing being the need for a Grounds Maintenance Plan. The reason for this was without a plan the park would be subject to "the desires of the incumbent Manager." Reviewers were clear there were no problems with grounds maintenance, just that "with the shrinking dollar and limited personnel, the demand for adequate planning becomes more evident if certain portions of the Appomattox grounds are to be maintained at standard." Beyond this, the

top priority was to install a new fire-burglar alarm system, which APCO had already requested, and new barriers in some buildings to discourage theft. Next was to install benches along Market Lane and possibly at other strategic locations to encourage visitors to walk beyond the village center. Finally, the constant problem of water drainage was addressed. The parking area was not draining properly, the park had no funding to fix the issue, and the sewage lagoon was still a potential problem with no end in sight.[100]

In the aftermath of this review, NPS staff evaluated the employee-labor relations situation at APCO. The report noted a "high level of morale" within APCO with good communication and understanding of opportunities, including training and promotions. A notable report was that union activity "had also been very 'low key', a welcome trend in this era of Union unrest." It was also reported that local union representation and the APCO Superintendent had a good relationship. Plans were for meetings to continue informally as required by an agreement in place between the Regional Office and the National Federation of Federal Employees Local 800. As of this report, APCO positions included the following, listed in order of appearance on the report: Park Ranger (GS-7, Paul Ghiotto), four Park Technicians (2 x GS-5, 2 x GS-6), three Maintenance Workers (WG-5), Administrative Technician (GS-5), General Facilities and Equipment Maintenance Foreman (WS-8), Janitor (WS-1), Farmer Demonstration (WG-6), Park Aid (GS-3), Maintenance Mechanic Leader (WG-10), and three to five seasonal employees (GS-3). Of these, recommendations were to upgrade the Park Ranger position to GS-9 and Administrative Technician to GS-6. These positions were organized into three departments: Office of the Superintendent (Superintendent and the Admin. Tech.), Interpretation (all other GS positions), and Maintenance (all WG positions).[101]

NPS Operations Evaluation Specialist Harry O'Bryant submitted in April 1976 a review of operations at APCO conducted in early November 1975. Most findings were regular workplace affairs—complaints about paperwork, a need for better inter-office communication, and a general need for more studies. Important outcomes included scheduling new Historic Furnishing Studies and updating "inadequate" fire protection systems. As a result, the Regional Office made four commitments: provide technical assistance for replacing the sewer system and upstream trash fence, operations will assist in

[100] Chester L. Brooks to APCO, "Operations Evaluation Report—Appomattox," 18 June 1973; Chester L. Brooks to APCO, "Operations Evaluation Report—Appomattox," 21 November 1973; Chester L. Brooks to APCO, 18 June 1973; Leo Romero to APCO, 1 March 1973, APCO Central Files (APCO 11800/010.001, Box 011).

[101] "Management Appraisal of APCO," December 1968; Rector to Regional Director, 9 December 1969; Leo Romero to APCO, 6 June 1975, APCO Central Files (APCO 11800/010.001, Box 011). "Organization Chart," 9 February 1973, APCO Central Files (APCO 11800/010.001, Box 011).

conveying a power line to a local electrical company, regional security will evaluate security and fire needs, and regional staff will assist in applying asphalt to the parking area and approach road. All these findings were incorporated into GMP development.[102]

Benjamin Zerbey of the regional office visited APCO in February 1977 to review APCO developments with Superintendent Garcia as a sort of final check-in before GMP finalization. Major topics included the following:

- Both parties agreed APCO was in excellent condition, though it could be further improved by moving the "house trailer" parked at the Isbell House to an "out-of-sight" location.
- Garcia requested several new position changes—full-time law enforcement, Park Technician (Interpretive) to replace the Park Ranger (Interpretation) Intake position, a new Park Technician (Interpretive) to support "a minstrel program at the Sweeney property," a full-time Clerk-Typist, and consolidating two maintenance positions. Garcia clarified in revisions that APCO did not wish to establish a full-time minstrel program, but instead a set of exhibits about Joel Walker Sweeney with a music program annually or semiannually.
- Final GMP planning was coming together with no anticipated problems. The major projects were for utilities. APCO would connect onto the Regional Sewage System and do away with the current lagoon. In conjunction with this, a utility corridor would be created at the eastern boundary of the park which would also be used as a bridle path. Headquarters would move to the Maria Wright House.[103]

Garcia completed the GMP that was begun by Lusk. Generally, management goals at any historical park were to "further public understanding of specific historic events that occurred here, and to promote public enjoyment of the preserved environment." This standard was applied in the GMP to APCO in three major areas: to protect and conserve the village area to its 1865 setting as far as the horizon, to preserve the setting so visitors can feel the inherent qualities of the source, and to interpret the story of the surrender for the benefit of the visiting public. Visual aesthetic and perceived authenticity were also of importance as open fields, terrain, and vegetation were all to be managed as accurately to 1865 as possible.

Central to the GMP was addressing the status of all APCO land. All land within the 1977 park boundaries was identified as a historic zone with subcategories of scenic easement, development, and natural environment delineating what treatments should be allowed. The boundaries of these zones were:

- Scenic: West of the village core along the north side of the Stage Road

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[102] Harry O'Bryant, "A Report on Operations Evaluation: APCO, November 4–7, 1975"; O'Bryant to Regional Director, 14 April 1975; O'Bryant to Zerbey, 26 November 1975; O'Bryant to APCO, 8 October 1975; Leo Romero to APCO, 6 June 1975, APCO Central Files (APCO 11800/010.001, Box 011).

[103] Benjamin Zerbey, Memorandum, 18 March 1977; Garcia to Zerbey, [undated, ca. March 1977], APCO Central Files (APCO 11800/010.001, Box 011).

- Development: The maintenance area, maintenance area access road, Prince Edward Court House Road, Bookstore Access Road, Isbell Lane, visitor parking lot, and entrance drive
- Natural: None within the village

Each of these categories mandated specific maintenance requirements and were to alleviate negative impact upon the park space. Scenic easements had for decades prevented commercial development of that land but could not prevent residential expansion due to the way the easements had been written. There was also a lack of county zoning restrictions placed upon land on the western edge of the park, so Garcia especially worried that significant commercial activity could disrupt park ambiance at any time. Other major impacts upon APCO were roads, as Route 24 noise disrupted the historic sound profile.[104] APCO petitioned the Commonwealth several times during the 1970s to alleviate problems caused by Route 24 with proposed solutions of relocation, reduced speed limits, and better signage. The only change accepted was the installation of signage at one intersection between Route 24 and APCO roads. [105]

These landscape issues decided, the GMP set forth three major objectives and several directives grouped into five categories. The three objectives were:

1. Acquire and consolidate land holdings sufficient for the preservation and management of the park's historic resources so that nonhistoric homes and roads can be removed, and the village can be returned to its 1865 setting as far as the horizon;
2. Preserve the park's historic structures, roads, fence lines, and other historic resources, and restore historic structures, as appropriate, to facilitate preservation and enhance interpretive values; and
3. Manage the natural resources subzones in a manner that optimizes their value as a visual barrier between the historic village and adjacent lands to the south and east.[106]

Beyond these three general objectives, specific directives were then listed and grouped into five categories: Buildings and Structures, Circulation, Vegetation, Views and Vistas, and Small-Scale Features. Each of these merits independent discussion.

Buildings and Structures directives included two major recommendations. The first was the relocation of the maintenance area to the north of Route 24 to a new facility constructed along the park's eastern boundary. This would allow for restoration of the "Salute Site" to the east of the Surrender Triangle and the relocation of park headquarters to the Dr. Jack Matthews house. The Dr. Jack Matthews house was a modern on-story brick home

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[104] CLR (2019), 19–20.

[105] Garcia, "Statement for Management," 5 October 1979, APCO Central Files (APCO 11800/006.001 Box 001, Superintendents Records).

[106] CLR (2017), 20.

built in 1970 and was not owned by the park, but it was strongly considered for acquisition simply because of its practical location and modern amenities. A recommendation was also made that no further reconstruction was needed in the village center considering the existent structures were adequate to recreate the historic scene.

Circulation directives centered primarily on vehicular traffic. The GMP encouraged continued efforts to reroute the Route 24 bypass outside of park lands, preferably to the north of the park. It also recommended that the NPS eliminate all park vehicle use of historic roadways to preserve the space and so that park staff could lay a sand and clay mixture on select paved historic roads over base material to create a more historic appearance. Regarding the stage road, safety was prioritized over historical appearance as the GMP called for filling tire ruts caused by the old State Route 24 passing through the park.

Vegetation directives included use of cattle and agricultural special use permits to maintain open fields and to make tree line cuttings about an 1867 Michler topographic map. Both directives were an effort to recreate the 1865 pastoral landscape. Exceptions were made in the interest of safety and financial concerns too, with the plan to not return tree lines exactly to 1865 locations and to maintain regular mowing schedules to control ticks and other biting insects.

Views and Vistas included the acquisition of lands on the park's visual horizon to maintain the park's pastoral setting and visual isolation. The only small recommendation was to continue fencing along Route 24 despite its historical inaccuracy as a necessary livestock control barrier.[107]

A regular operations evaluation in September 1977 made several observations and suggestions regarding shortcomings at APCO, some of which were not included in the GMP. This report provided more detail than most and provides a snapshot of APCO status now just after finalization of the GMP. This evaluation report followed a simple pattern with several "Observations" presented followed by short "Suggestions" for resolving any problems. Each set of observations and suggestions was divided into thematic groupings, each of which are summarized below.

- Management:
    - (1) A new land acquisition program began that year targeting about 300 acres containing eleven dwellings. One landowner, though not named in the report, generally refused to sell. Superintendent Garcia worked to determine which structures should be retained.
    - (2) Superintendent Garcia specifically noted that telephone communication between APCO and the regional office was lacking but improving. The report noted this was most likely an interpersonal issue between Garcia and Chief Harris that could easily be resolved by an in-person meeting.

[107] CLR (2017), 21.

  - (3) A donation for a Lee Wayside exhibit awaited approval from the US Attorney assigned, but otherwise there were no problems anticipated. APCO roundly welcomed the donation.
  - (4) APCO reported a staff shortage problem during the spring and fall seasons. Garcia's desire was to create new seasonal positions as the summer seasonal program, which had been in place since the mid-1960s and typically hired local schoolteachers, functioned well. Regional staff instructed Garcia to draft a potential solution involving all seasonal employees.
  - (5) As part of land acquisition, APCO would incorporate the grave and cabin of Joel Sweeney, the inventor of the five-string banjo. NPS staff acknowledged that although Sweeney's story "has little to do with the park's theme, this new historical dimension has local support and enthusiasm." Recommendations were for APCO staff to formalize both preservation and interpretive plans for the Sweeney banjo story.
  - (6) Superintendent Garcia complained of slow responses from the land acquisition office that were causing him issues with public relations obligations.
- Administrative
  - (1) Regular annual cost increases meant that for Fiscal Year 1978 APCO allocated 88 percent of the budget to personnel. Recommendations were to increase base funding by $10,000 throughout the region.
  - (2) Garcia requested that Federal Procurement and Federal Property Management Regulations copies were needed at APCO.
  - (3) APCO's administrative technician was unable to take a CSC (US Civil Service Commission) correspondence course on personnel because the park lacked a Federal Personnel Manual. The Associate Regional Director committed to securing APCO the requested manual.
  - (4) Job descriptions were outdated and needed to be revised along with the organizational chart.
- Visitor Protection and Resource Management
  - (1) Evaluations of the APCO entrance fee concluded the cost of collection was $13,730 out of a $15,900 "575" allocation all to gather $21,841 in fees.[108] Other problems were that park staff did not maintain proper accounting of the fees and the entry kiosk was a temporary, uncomfortable structure. Suggestions were to continue gathering fees, implement permit and fund control procedures, and have regional staff review and implement a new kiosk design.

[108] A clearer way to explain this was that APCO was allocated $15,900 for staffing to collect fees and only spent $13,730 of this funding in order to gather $21,841 in fees.

  - (2) APCO expressed concerns over security in that the park only employed a single law enforcement technician and had no security system, no fire alarms, no scheduled staff past 6:00 p.m., and no resource management expertise. Maintenance staff also do not report all instances of vandalism, so statistics are inaccurate. Recommendations were to schedule staff after 6:00 p.m. as visitation merited such a schedule, develop a close relationship with local law enforcement, and consider requesting an additional ranger position.
  - (3) The maintenance program is generally well managed.
  - (4) While local fire department response time is good, APCO manages several buildings without alarm systems housing historical artifacts. Fire alarm systems should be installed.
- Interpretation
  - (1) APCO staff believed the most recent Interpretive Prospectus, dated 1973, was inadequate because it called for a new Visitor Center to be constructed at a historically important location. The Visitor Center was highly unlikely to be built, but still the document needed to be updated despite it being an "adequate guide to current operations."
  - (2) Wilson emphasized a village tavern in the Clover Hill Tavern would not be relevant to park themes, so the story of printing paroles should instead be interpreted. Suggestions were to develop an exhibit and furnishing design for the paroles printing story.
  - (3) The value of the model courthouse as an interpretive tool is "not apparent."
  - (4) APCO staff were stretched thin as the Visitor Center and McLean House demanded fourteen "person-days" per week, while the park only had fifteen at their disposal. Thus any sickness, leave, or other absence would result in a short-staffed situation. Suggestions were for a new "resource management type position" to be created.[109]

[109] Note that the model courthouse was a model recreation of the structure that does not appear to exist within the park as of this writing. Little documentation of its existence is present in APCO Central Files. Harry O'Bryant, "Revised Operations Evaluation Report on APCO, 1–2 September 1977," 22 November 1977, APCO Central Files (APCO 11800/010.001, Box 011).

Maintenance and Construction

Godsey remembered "the most embarrassing periods of my time" was a 1968 regional office evaluation. The Regional Chief of Maintenance, as part of regular procedure, requested from Godsey the semiannual maintenance schedule, to which Godsey responded that all of that was handled by the Superintendent since Superintendents to that point handled all planning and purchasing. The regional office informed Godsey and Rector that Maintenance needed to submit semiannual plans to the Superintendent going forward and not the other way around, so Godsey and Rector complied.[110] This problem was likely caused by decades of understaffing at APCO. As previously noted, Godsey often performed interpretation tasks during the 1940s and 1950s, which meant he did not have time to complete planning and paperwork that was common at other parks. This 1968 evaluation was likely the first of its kind since Mission 66 completion (and with it a more reasonable staffing level) and the first time APCO maintenance received direct guidance of how to conduct their business. Either way, it is apparent from park documents that maintenance tasks became more regular going forward and had less involvement of the Superintendent or Rangers.

Despite Godsey's embarrassment, maintenance staff successfully maintained all park space and completed several large projects. A task completed in 1966 was laying two new walkways: a 140-foot brick walk connecting Tavern Slave Quarters and the Kitchen Historical Exhibits to the other walks in the village, and another from the village loop walk to the Kelley House Exhibit. Project notes did not specify if this was done using historic brick or with any consideration to historic appearance.[111] APCO maintenance staff completed construction on a split rail fence across from the park entrance in late June 1971. Most work was completed by workers Gordon Doss and Johnny Carnefix with seasonal workers Russel Pennix and Eddie Pennix.[112] In 1975, the NPS performed a building report for the Bocock-Isbell House that provided a snapshot of building status. The building was divided into seven rooms with plastered and oil paint walls, waxed and stained floors, and painted ceilings. Amenities included all utilities, three bathrooms, a laundry tub, a bathtub, electric stove, refrigerator, hot water heater, oil heating, and two air conditioners. Building structure and mechanics were considered "sound." The only change of this structure since the late-1940s renovation was the disuse of coal heating.[113]

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[110] APCO Central Files (APCO 11800/006.001, Box 005).

[111] SR, December 1966.

[112] "New Fence at Park," *Appomattox Times-Virginian,* July 29, 1971.

[113] "Data for Individual Building Report: Isbell," February 1975; "Data for Individual Building Report: Isbell," 24 October 1975, APCO Central Files (APCO 11800/001.001, Box 002).

In 1980, the Peers House interior was remodeled for use as the park administrative office. Other modernization projects were conducted throughout the park in 1980: new storm windows for the Clover Hill Tavern, McLean House, and Visitor Center; new electric heat pumps to replace oil furnaces in the Visitor Center and Bocock-Isbell House; new wood shingle roofs on the Bocock-Isbell House back porch, Meeks Stable, and Clover Hill Tavern front porch; new painting of the Clover Hill Tavern, Tavern Guest House, Tavern Kitchen, Visitor Center; and about 3,000 feet of historic fencing around the village center. Other projects included planting about 6,000 pine trees at the park's northeast boundary, installing about 4,000 feet of barbed wire, installing about 1,200 feet of split rail fencing along the stage road, and replacing about 400 feet of sewer lines. Most of this work was completed by APCO maintenance staff.[114]

One major maintenance project that involved Superintendent guidance was the fire system. Garcia took issue with the APCO fire system from the beginning of his tenure and ultimately took the problem public in early 1980. The *Lynchburg News & Daily Advance* front Editorials/Features page quoted Garcia, "Our current fire system is so inferior and absurd I have to laugh," and suggested that any structural fire would likely result in a total loss of the building. At the time, the park's fire system was an underground tank connected to three fire hydrants—two of which were underground and not visible with snow or grass—and then connected to a hand-pulled, two-wheel hose cart. The APCO Fire Emergency Plan was updated in 1976 along with the installation of a 24,000-gallon reservoir, hydrant, and fire pump, but this was, in Garcia's view, hardly a stopgap.[115] A call to the volunteer fire department would take about fifteen minutes as there were no fire alarms in the park. The underground pipes, installed in 1948, were too small to handle a modern system's pressure, so without a full replacement, the system could not hook into the Town of Appomattox water supply.

Garcia requested in 1977 a new installation that would include alarms, a 45,000-gallon water tank, additional hydrants near structures, and indoor water and gas sprinklers. According to Garcia, the regional office approved the expenditure in 1979, but the Department of Interior budget office cut the fire system. Garcia also reported that regional staff, including the regional director, traveled to Washington, DC, to appeal for the project but were not successful. No specific blame was tossed around, but Garcia did question his predecessors for adhering too closely to authenticity in not installing a more effective

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[114] SR, CY 1980, 17 March 1981, NACP, Superintendents' Annual Narrative Reports, 1980–2001, Entry P-17, Box 05.

[115] H. Gilbert Lusk to Regional Director, 1 September 1976, APCO Central Files (APCO 11800/010.001, Box 011).

system. Ron Wilson, who took over an acting superintendent role whenever Garcia was on vacation to Puerto Rico, was referenced in newspapers as believing the problem to be not so dire, but certainly in need of immediate attention.[116]

Apparently, Garcia's public pleas were heard in Washington. The NPS scheduled for October 1981 the installation of a $1.2 million (about $3.4 million adjusted for inflation to 2020) water system project, including sprinklers, fire hydrants, fire extinguishers, and smoke detectors for all 28 buildings. It also included a central smoke detector switchboard in the superintendent's home (Bocock-Isbell House), a hose house, and new water lines throughout the park. According to Ron Wilson, the project was the top regional priority and second priority in the NPS budget for that year.[117]

Conclusion

A system-wide effort began in the late-1970s to survey all superintendents regarding threats to each NPS unit. This was a new effort for many parks, though APCO had been performing such surveys since at least a decade. In 1979, Superintendent Garcia completed an "Outline of Planning Requirements" form. The primary goal of this form was to "identify conditions or problems that require decisions for effective park management," first in checklist form followed by the Superintendent's explanation for checked boxes. Garcia checked just seven boxes in the five-page list: inadequate basic knowledge of archeological resources; inadequate basic knowledge of historic structures; inadequate basic knowledge of historic furnishings of interpreted structures; need to move historic structures for protection, interpretation, or to their original site; cannot adequately interpret historic structures due to condition or lack of access; lack of planning decisions as to the use or disposition of historic structures; and architectural barriers existing for the handicapped. [118]

To remedy these seven shortcomings, Garcia proposed eight actions totaling an estimated $115,000. Actions related to historic structures were straightforward in needs—create furnishing plans for the McLean House, Meeks Country Store, and Clover Hill Tavern, none of which ever had such studies conducted. Similarly, Garcia also requested historic structure reports for the Sweeney Prizery and the J. N. Williams House and an archaeological base map, each of which having become necessary in Garcia's view because of recent park expansion. The final two actions—new historic base maps and a historic study on village life—were a bit broader in scope. The base map had last been updated in

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[116] *Lynchburg News & Daily Advance*, April 13, 1980. "National Park in Line for Fire Equipment," *Lynchburg News & Daily Advance*, March 1, 1981.

[117] "National Park in Line for Fire Equipment," *Lynchburg News & Daily Advance*, March 1, 1981.

[118] James W. Coleman, Jr., "Related Lands and the US NPS," *George Wright Forum*, Vol. 10, No. 2 (1993): 33–38.

1962. Given the land acquisitions and additional research since then, especially on the Battle of Appomattox Court House, significant updates were needed. Finally, the proposed village life study would research ACH between about 1810 and 1895 with emphasis placed on the 1845 to 1870 period. This had been a long-desired study by multiple APCO Superintendents who wished to broaden interpretation at ACH beyond the surrender meeting. Garcia specifically wanted to emphasize social, cultural, and economic conditions of the era with information on "transportation, agriculture, schools, churches, politics, and families that lived in the village."[119]

Garcia also submitted the park's "Statement for Management" report on the same date as the "Outline of Planning Requirements." Written in the summer of 1979, this document provides great insight into how Garcia viewed the park. For instance, in describing park resources, he noted the reconstructed Tavern Slave Quarters structure before even mentioning the McLean House. This could have been coincidental but was a notable departure from his predecessors. Garcia also noted that forest spaces were in poor condition. Mature Virginia pine trees built up debris on the forest floor, which is not how such a space would have looked in the 1860s. A section of the forested subzone was being managed with shortleaf and loblolly pine and another with selective cutting to improve general health of the forest, but these treatments were not sufficient in Garcia's view.[120]

As of 1979, APCO consisted of 1,292.14 acres with four inholdings totaling just 36.58 acres classified as "scenic easement subzones." One scenic easement, discussed in previous chapters, was granted in 1938 and traverses the northern side of old Route 24 from the old center line of the road to a line marked 300 feet parallel to the north. According to Garcia, this easement restricted commercial development but not residential, so it was possible that a legal challenge could emerge at some point. The other three easements were for cemeteries (Confederate, Raine, and Patteson-Hix). As of 1979, it was not known who owned the Raine or Patteson-Hix cemeteries, so APCO maintained both due to their proximity and connection with ACH history. The true owner of the Patteson-Hix would likely never be known definitively because of the courthouse fire of 1892. As for the Raine cemetery, it was once owned by C. Hunter Raine, but he died without heirs, and ownership was never adjudicated. The Confederate Cemetery was owned and maintained by the Appomattox Chapter of the UDC. The legislative ceiling for APCO acreage was 1,320 acres set by 67 Stat. 181 in July 1953, though this was repealed and replaced with Public Law 94-578 on 21 October 1976.[121]

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[119] Garcia, "Outline of Planning Requirements," 5 October 1979, APCO Central Files (APCO 11800/006.001 Box 001 Superintendent Files).

[120] Garcia, "Statement for Management," 5 October 1979, APCO Central Files (APCO 11900, Box 001, Superintendent Files).

[121] Garcia, "Statement for Management," 5 October 1979, APCO Central Files (APCO 11900, Box 001, Superintendent Files).

APCO issued twelve agricultural use permits to nine recipients covering 430.6 acres (41 percent for rotational crops, 59 percent for grazing). Special use permits had been issued for two utility corridors, one on the park's eastern boundary and another into the village for service to APCO. Other special use permits are often issued for short time periods, sometimes as little as a few hours. Specific instances mentioned by Garcia included church groups for sunrise services, weddings in front of the Mariah Wright House, youth groups camping at the Sweeney Prizery Primitive Camping area, and Boy Scouts hiking from Petersburg who camped near Lee's Headquarters to conclude their journey. "Commercial film companies" also were granted permits, but Garcia did not specify.[122]

Most striking from Garcia's report was that he claimed both historical and natural resources deteriorated at APCO because of inadequate staffing for interpretation, resource management, and maintenance. This change contrasted with the previous fifteen years, which had generally resulted in better staffing and maintenance at the park. Garcia specifically cited the poor national economy as having an impact upon the park. Inflation plus utility increase meant the supplies and materials budget had declined to less than 15 percent of the overall budget, thus meaning fewer projects completed and staff resorting to cheap "band-aid" solutions. Nearly all "basic structure repairs beyond minor jobs" were supplied by regional reserves and cyclic maintenance funds. His budget did not allow for historic structure repair, natural resource maintenance, or mitigating impacts of visitor use. Security systems were "far below acceptable standards" in Garcia's view, as most historic structures were unprotected from fire, hunting, metal detecting, and joyriding. APCO sat on the precipice of needing emergency rehabilitation programs as a result.[123]

The Garcia era at APCO ended in 1980 after four years of service as he left for his native Puerto Rico to become Superintendent at San Juan National Historic Site. Within a few weeks, Jon Montgomery would take over at the park and would serve for nearly two decades. The next era of APCO was much like this one, just with far more stability at the top.[124]

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[122] Garcia, "Statement for Management," 5 October 1979, APCO Central Files (APCO 11900, Box 001, Superintendent Files).

[123] Garcia, "Statement for Management," 5 October 1979, APCO Central Files (APCO 11800/006.001 Box 001, Superintendent Files).

[124] "Montgomery is New Super," *Appomattox Times-Virginian*, April 1, 1981.

Additional Photos



Figure 31. Front row (left to right): Ray Godsey, Frances Guill, Diana Purdue, Ava Almond, Luis Garcia-Curbelo. Back row (left to right): David Spiggle, Johnny Carnifix, Harold Howard, Mel Dias, Henry Chenault, Helen Talbert, David Williamson, Bill Talbert. Photograph taken at the Clover Hill Tavern Guest house, June 1977.



Figure 32. The Gould family, ca. 1970. From left to right: Haley, Kristy, Lee, Alec, and Amy. *Appomattox Times-Virginian*, March 5, 1970.

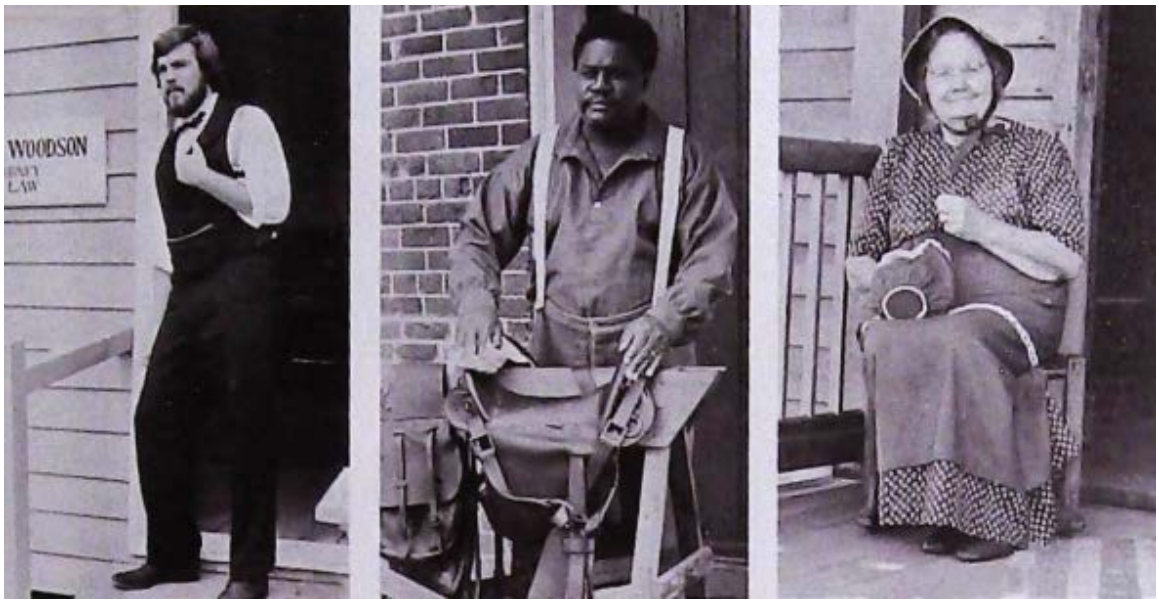


Figure 33. Three APCO living history interpreters, ca. 1974–75.
From left to right: George Morris, Tom Mattocks, and Ava Almond.
Undated clipping, APCO Scrapbook #3, Historian's Office, APCO.



Figure 34. Union living history volunteers.
From left to right: Gary Carpenter, Chris Calkins, and David Jurgella.
Appomattox Times-Virginian, August 19, 1971.



Figure 35. Harold Howard and Chris Calkins posing near the surrender triangle. *Lynchburg News*, July 25, 1971.

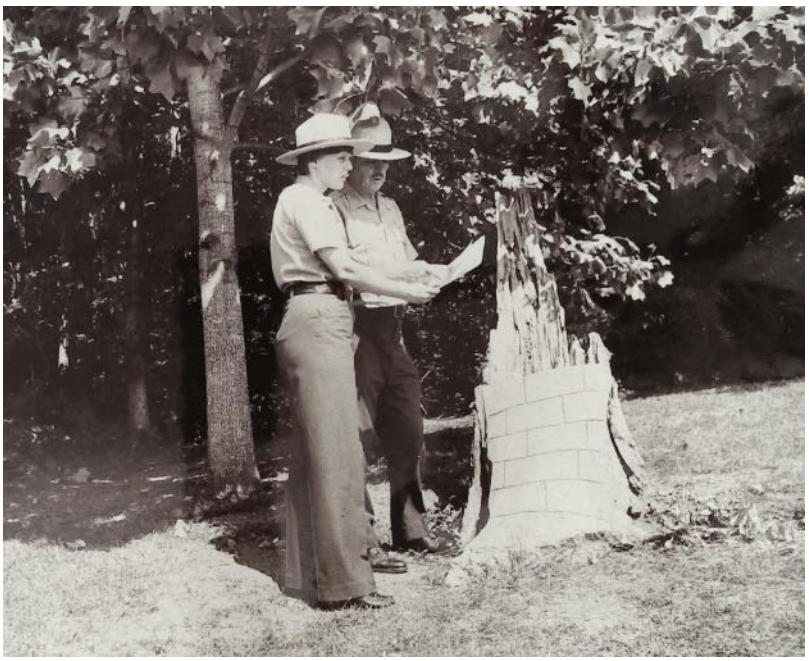


Figure 36. Park Technician Amy Ray and Luis Garcia-Curbelo inspect the poplar tree location while evaluating plans for the Cheatham donation. *Courier: The National Park Service Newsletter* 3, no. 12 (Nov. 1980).

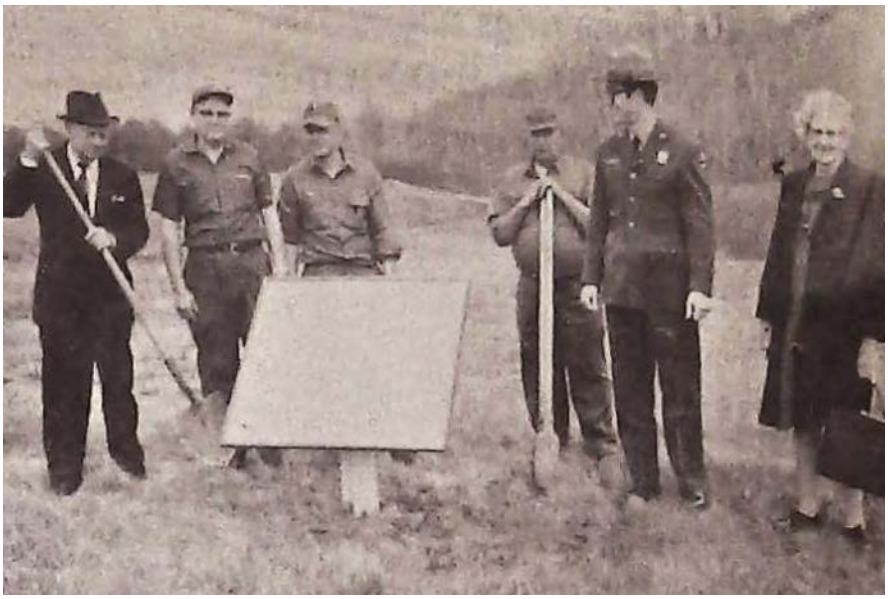


Figure 37. Installation of a historic marker designating the site of the apple tree.
From left to right: Calvin Robinson (retired editor of the *Appomattox Times-Virginian*), Ray Godsey, Gordon Doss, Ernest Davidson, Frank Gould, and A. J. Zastrow (UDC). *Appomattox Times-Virginian*, April 16, 1970.



Figure 38. Arrangement of items at the APCO General Store, photo by Ross Victor Chapple, *The Washington Post/Potomac*, April 25, 1971.

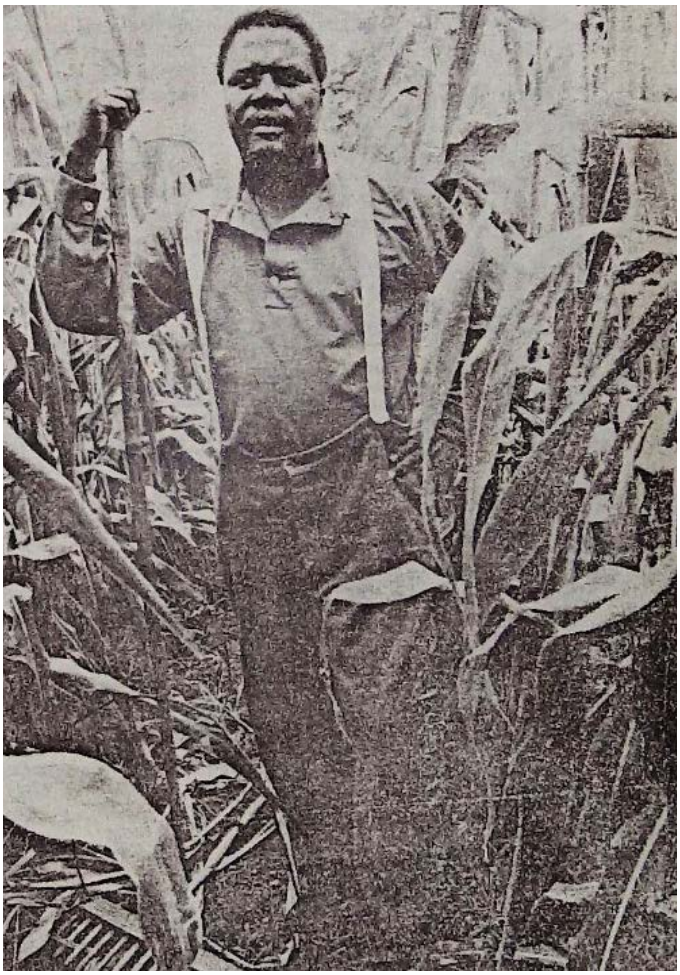


Figure 39. Tom Mattocks. September 1974.
Magazine clipping, APCO Scrapbook #3, Historian's Office, APCO.



Figure 40. Gil Lusk. *Appomattox Times-Virginian,* September 30, 1976.



Figure 41. Luis Garcia on the front page of the *Lynchburg News and Daily Advance*, April 13, 1980.



Figure 42. Harold Howard portraying John Howard. *Lynchburg News & Daily Advance*, August 24, 1980.



Figure 43. Mac Dale (Special Asst. to Regional Director) presents Perfect Record Certificate to Superintendent Alvoid Rector in front of the Clover Hill Tavern.
Standing left: Ernest Davidson (seasonal), Standing right: Curtis Booker (seasonal),
Seated (L to R): Henry Chernault, Winnie Martin, Audtey Bernard (Clerk-Typist), Frank Ragland (seasonal),
Standing read: Duane Schrock (park guide). *Appomattox Times-Virginian,* August 17, 1967.



Figure 44. Superintendent Alvoid Rector presenting Avis Smith's Commendable Service Award to E. Carroll Smith,
Lynchburg News, February 3, 1967.

CHAPTER SEVEN

Long-Term Planning and Anniversaries, 1981–2015

Introduction

This chapter spans the tenures of Jon Montgomery, who served as APCO Superintendent from 1981 to 1997, and Reed Johnson's superintendency from 1997 to January of the Sesquicentennial year of 2015. Montgomery was likely the most influential individual on APCO since Hubert Gurney, and many of his decisions are felt throughout the park well into the twenty-first century. Prior to Montgomery's arrival, he served as Superintendent at Delaware Water Gap National Recreation Area, for which he received a Special Achievement Award for outstanding service, Federal Hall National Memorial, and Castle Clinton National Monument. Montgomery had worked for the NPS since 1963 at another half-dozen park sites as a seasonal interpreter and historian including Fort Union National Monument, Chickamauga and Chattanooga National Military Park, Fort Bowie National Historic Site, Pipestone National Monument, and Great Smoky Mountains National Park.[1] Similarly, Reed Johnson also had significant NPS experience before arriving at APCO with a tenure as Superintendent at Saugus Iron Works National Historical Site and as Chief Ranger at Hopewell Culture National Historical Park.

Both Montgomery and Johnson possessed similar backgrounds and served nearly two decades each at APCO, but they were different types of Superintendents. In an interview marking his tenth year as APCO Superintendent, Jon Montgomery described "success" at APCO being the maintenance of the status quo. That was how APCO, with a few exceptions discussed in this chapter, was managed throughout the 1980s and into the 1990s—a general continuation of activities developed in the 1970s and before.[2] As for Johnson, he described the APCO situation in the early-2000s as one characterized by a "dearth of planning, assessment, and documentation" such that it made it impossible to conduct any long-range planning.[3] This is not meant to accuse Montgomery or his staff of

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1 "Montgomery is New Super," *Appomattox Times-Virginian*, April 1, 1981. *Lynchburg News*, April 2, 1981.

2 Darrell Laurant, "1865 Time Capsule," *Lynchburg News*, August 4, 1991.

3 Johnson, untitled report, ca. January 2006, APCO Historian's Office.

failure or to claim Johnson was overly pessimistic or scrupulous. Rather, the two Superintendents worked within different NPS environments. Montgomery worked during the austere Reagan-Bush years, the political contentious Clinton administration, and during Vice President Al Gore's campaign to reduce government spending waste. Johnson had more requirements and changes to NPS planning standards introduced during his tenure than did Montgomery, though both had new demands placed upon them. In essence, there were two different sets of expectations placed upon the two Superintendents.

This chapter is structured in two parts—one for Montgomery and the next for Johnson—with parallel subsections between these two parts. These subsections divide each Superintendent's tenure into several major sub-themes: Living History & Interpretation, the Visitor Center Museum, Staffing & Land, Major Projects, External Forces, and each era's respective major anniversary event. Significant events that do not properly fit within any of these sections are instead discussed in the chapter introduction or conclusion. A major exception to this thematic grouping comes at the end of Johnson's section where the years of 2010 encompassing the General Management Plan, Sesquicentennial, and Foundation Document are each analyzed as a series of major events. This structure is not as direct a chronology as preceding chapters but allows for a clearer comparison of the two Superintendent tenures between 1981 and 2015. There will be some parts that appear out of order, but it will be more comprehensible to, for instance, view all land acquisition decisions grouped together rather than scattered throughout a chapter.

Before continuing further, a brief note on sources is necessary. There was a change in the types of collected materials in the APCO Scrapbook collection during some of Montgomery's tenure. Before this point, most clippings were from Appomattox or Lynchburg newspapers about APCO-specific events, such as land acquisitions, personnel changes, or events. After, most clippings were general tourism articles from serials across the country. In each of these, APCO would receive a single sentence or sometimes paragraph and nothing more. For instance, the Daytona Beach *News-Journal* published an article by the Virginia Division of Tourism that suggested to its readers that a Virginia historical vacation must include a visit to APCO to experience the costumed re-enactments. The reason for this change, most likely, is because APCO started using the services of the Virginia Press Services News Clipping Bureau and MDDC Press Clips, private companies located in Richmond and Baltimore, respectively. It is unclear from the APCO scrapbooks which clippings came from this service, but the lack of local newspapers suggests there was nobody at APCO saving these clippings from 1983 to 1988 at least. Because of this, the richness of detail is somewhat lost for this brief time. Otherwise, this period is as well documented as any other in APCO's Central Files.[4]

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[4] *News & County Press*, October 8, 1986. *News-Journal*, June 15, 1986.



Figure 45. Jon Montgomery working in his office, ca. 1987. APCO Historian's Office.

Jon Montgomery

The APCO administrative offices moved from the Peers House to the Bocock-Isbell House in 1981, essentially coinciding with Montgomery's hiring as Superintendent.[5] As noted in the preceding chapter, tourism became a driving force in local and park politics by 1980. This context needs to be understood before discussing the details of Montgomery park management. Superintendents in the 1970s, especially Garcia, welcomed this new focus. These Superintendents viewed tourism as a win-win—more visitors, better local relationships, more local revenue, and (hopefully) more Federal funding. Montgomery had a different perspective. One of Montgomery's first quotes appearing in local papers was "If we had too many more visitors, it would be hard to handle them all. We're not really that large." This perspective is one of the keys to understanding APCO development in this era. To be clear though, Montgomery was not a proponent of austerity. APCO projects continued and were perhaps larger in scale than in the decade prior. Nothing quite approached the Mission 66 or Gurney eras of course—there just was no funding to provide that—but nonetheless the park continued to professionalize, research, and expand services.[6]

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[5] SR, CY 1981, 18 March 1982, NACP, Superintendents' Annual Narrative Reports, 1980–2001, Entry P-17, Box 05.

[6] Darrell Laurant, "History Is the Road to Appomattox," *Lynchburg News*, April 24, 1982.

Toward the end of Montgomery's first year, local government continued a small push to attract tourists to the area. Lynchburg City Council allocated $20,000 (of a $70 million operating budget) for "a promotional campaign to attract and assist visitors to Lynchburg." Newspapers and locals who spoke at public events favored spending this allotment on an "outdoor drama" to be staged at APCO depicting the final historical events at the site. These same individuals also campaigned for other municipalities to contribute. The *Lynchburg News* cited as inspiration "The Lost Colony" by Pulitzer Prize–winning playwright Paul Green, which was an outdoor symphonic drama first performed in 1937 under the Federal Theater Project. There was no indication that Montgomery or anyone else with the NPS was particularly thrilled by the idea, and the idea seemed to have quickly dissipated.[7]

As of 1986, Appomattox tourism struggled compared to neighboring counties. The Virginia Division of Tourism estimated Appomattox County tourists spent $2.1 million dollars and created 41 jobs and $15,000 in local taxes, significantly lower than Amherst, Bedford, Campbell, Nelson, Pittsylvania, and Lynchburg. There was little movement to explicitly change this until the 1990s.[8] Starting in 1993, six counties (including Appomattox County) and the Virginia Department of Transportation partnered to construct twenty paved pull-off sites for the creation of Lee's Retreat. This was an interpretive driving tour that roughly paralleled the final retreat of the Army of Northern Virginia. At each vehicle pull-off spot, an AM radio transmitter broadcasted a three-minute-long narrative of each stop, so visitors would simply tune to the correct station and listen. The hope was this would drive regional tourism. Just two of the stops were in Appomattox County, with one near New Hope Baptist Church and the other at Appomattox Depot, so none were within APCO despite its centrality to the story. Even without a physical stop, APCO staff were involved in the project's promotion with APCO Ranger Tracy Chernault and Ron Wilson offering quotes to newspapers. "I don't know of any other campaign that has this anywhere," said Ron Wilson, continuing, "It's going to be a model. Once we get it in place it's going to get a lot of interest."[9]

The question of tourism was also rejected by some members of the community. The common complaint was that an increase in tourist numbers could potentially upset the "stillness" of Appomattox Court House. The "stillness" was considered by many to be a

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[7] "The Lost Colony" is still being performed at Manteo's Waterside Theater at Roanoke Island, North Carolina, and has been performed continuously each summer since 1937 except for two canceled summers (1944 because of World War II and 2020 because of COVID-19). "Appomattox Drama Something to Consider," *Lynchburg News*, June 1, 1982.

[8] Jon Hiratsuka, "All Roads Lead to Lynchburg," newspaper clipping, 8 July 1986, APCO Scrapbook #7, Historian's Office, APCO. "Tourism Thriving in this Region," *Lynchburg Daily Advance*, August 1987, APCO Scrapbook #7, Historian's Office, APCO.

[9] "Lee's Retreat Project Advances," *Appomattox Times-Virginian*, November 30, 1994. Jamie Ruff, "Aims: Preserve, Promote," *Richmond Times-Dispatch*, December 5, 1993.

necessary, if not sacred, feature of the village. Henry Powell, a teacher and historian, wrote that APCO embodied awe and regret contrasted with "unbridled joy and unrestrained elation" felt by the four million enslaved Black Americans who became free people. That said, Powell urged the NPS to never allow the park to "degenerate into the glitzy tourist trap that Gettysburg has become."[10]

Continuing the regular cycle of park planning, Montgomery submitted for approval (and had accepted) the APCO Statement for Management on December 11, 1984. His report was largely the same as Garcia's submitted five years earlier (including several portions copied verbatim) with some notable differences. This document along with Montgomery's other Statement for Management plans provide the best insight into the administration of APCO during his tenure. The first and most obvious revelation was that Montgomery did not seek to imprint massive changes upon the park during his tenure. With this first Statement of Management, he had been Superintendent for over three years, yet there were few changes between his agenda and Garcia's.

A pressing priority was to finalize pending details regarding land acquisition, scenic easements, and occupancy. Montgomery outlined the four land tracts owned by the United States with extended use and occupancy rights. These four tracts were each used for single family residences by members of the Sweeney and Beale families. Occupancy rights all expired in 2003 except for those held by J. Sweeney, which would expire in 2005. Montgomery recommended the NPS acquire rights if funds were available, especially those held by the Sweeney family because of the modern improvements incongruent with 1865 conditions. Beale-controlled tracts were not visible from Appomattox Court House and were considered a lower priority.

An additional four tracts existed near APCO which the US held scenic easements—22.19 acres owned by Burruss Timber Co., 4.28 acres owned by Moon, 4.98 acres owned by Matthews, and 5.13 acres owned by O'Brien. The Burruss tract was the one to which Garcia referenced that may cause legal problems for APCO as there were legal limits on what could be constructed on the land. Montgomery noted he had since consulted a lawyer who concluded the owners could build residences, including access drives, but any roads without NPS consent would violate the easement. The largest concern however was the Burruss tract contained several irreplaceable historic resources, notably a portion of the Richmond-Lynchburg Stage Road used in April 1865, the house site of Dr. Coleman, and line-of-sight to Grant's headquarters. Montgomery reported the tract had been fully timbered outside of the easement and was no longer an effective screen, which was of great concern considering the parcel was for sale. A developer could easily purchase the land and get to work at any point.

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[10] "Appomattox Still Special for Blacks," *Lynchburg News*, July 6, 1988. "The Stillness Is Appropriate at Appomattox," *Lynchburg News*, June 20, 1988.

Other management projects were roads, trails, and the sewer system. Montgomery noted nineteen separate maintained roads and trails terminating within APCO. Of these, three were "sealed" totaling 0.9 miles, eight were paved totaling 1.1 miles, and eight were graded totaling 7.0 miles. Montgomery separated the 6-mile Historic Walking Trail from this list but noted it was also a graded trail. The sewer system at this point was 2,300 linear feet of 6" PVC pipe, forty distribution lines, and one pumping station managed by a third-party.[11] Montgomery did not note any NPS planning documents in major need of revision, though he did note both the General Management Plan (1977) and General Development Plan (1977) needed minor revisions.

Montgomery noted visitation to APCO was predominantly family-oriented with about 71% of all groups being families. Another 15% came from organized tours, 10% from peer groups, and the rest either alone or unsupervised. About 14% of all visitors were local, 45% were from within the region (defined as a day-trip distance), 40% from elsewhere in the United States, and 1% international visitors. Seasonal variations noted were that spring typically brought school groups and fall brought senior citizens, but otherwise visitation composition was relatively consistent year-round.

Despite such a generally stable appraisal, Montgomery noted seven "Major Issues" within APCO. Not all of these "issues" were negative though, just special circumstances that must be monitored. Each of the seven issues are summarized below in the order presented by Montgomery. There was no indication that Montgomery prioritized any of these issues above any other.

- The possibility of residential development on Tract 01-114 (Burruss) which the NPS held a scenic easement that legally could not prevent any modern housing development;
- Areas to the south, west, and north of the village had more trees present than in 1865 and more open fields were needed in the area, so APCO could benefit from significant selective cutting, reforestation, and dead tree removal;
- While not a current problem, APCO managed ten agricultural special use permits around the park following modern agricultural practices (except for a ban on pesticides and herbicides not approved by the national NPS office);
- Highway 24 continued to cause significant noise pollution and safety hazards for park visitors especially given the 55 miles per hour speed limit and the state's refusal to lower the limit within park boundaries;
- Montgomery noted the significant outdoor recreation facilities near to the park provided significant relief from APCO visitors wishing to, for example, camp or hunt within the park, so these external recreation outlets should be maintained;
- APCO enjoyed excellent community support which should be maintained;

[11] Montgomery noted this third-party was "TOA."

- And few archaeological projects had been conducted at APCO despite there likely being significant resources in the area.[12]

Montgomery's next Statement of Management came in 1993 and was largely like the report produced the previous decade. Notes on the composition of visitor groups, points of origin, and ages were all roughly the same as were seasonal variations. The same was true of issues related to roads, trails, and land.

The difference in 1993 was that Montgomery included ten "Major Issues." Again, each of these issues are summarized below. Some of these issues carried forward from the 1983 document, such as a need for new archaeological programs, forest management, and the problem of Route 24.

- A need to update the 1977 General Management Plan to be more in line with modern NPS policies and philosophies;
- Insufficient staffing to "adequately manage, interpret, and maintain the resources at APCO." The last three Operations Evaluations concluded APCO was likely the top candidate for additional staffing in the entire Mid-Atlantic Region;
- Archaeological studies still lagged at APCO and a top priority remained producing an Archaeological Base Map;
- Forested areas in APCO needed to be managed similarly to the park's historic resources in recognition that forests are a historic landscape;
- The historical agriculture leasing program covering 438 acres should continue to preserve as accurate an 1865 landscape are possible;
- A system of identifying natural resource threats and conditions must be established to preserve the park in the long term;
- There is a need for a Cultural Landscape Report for APCO;
- New cooperative management solutions are needed between the NPS and the Virginia Department of Transportation regarding Route 24;
- Rising demand for outdoor recreation will likely impact APCO, so the park needs to ensure external destinations are available for APCO visitors;
- And APCO must continue to work cooperatively with local officials and landowners in land use decisions and with the surrounding community to "enhance the ongoing efforts at the park."[13]

From this list, it is clear the biggest problems facing APCO in the early 1990s were understaffing and a need for landscape protection. Four of Montgomery's ten points related to the park landscape, plus the point regarding public desires for outdoor recreation potential impacting the park. A revised Statement for Management was prepared and

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[12] Montgomery, "Statement for Management," 1983, APCO Central Files (APCO 11800/006.001 Box 001, Superintendent Files).

[13] "Statement for Management," 1993, APCO Central Files (APCO 11800/006.001 Box 001, Superintendent Files).

submitted for public comment in July and August 1994. The public could view the document at the Bocock-Isbell House during regular APCO hours or through a copy provided to the county Board of Supervisors. No significant objections were noted by Montgomery.[14]

A major accomplishment finally came in 1993 when the sewer lagoon was closed with the installation of a modernized sewer system. The approximate contract cost of this project was $50,000.[15] In Montgomery's 1993 Statement for Management, this system was clarified to be the same with 9,000 linear feet of 3" cast iron pipe and connected to the Town of Appomattox's sewer system. Similarly, the park's water system (4,400 linear feet of 8" cast iron pipe, 2,420 linear feet 10" cast iron pipe, 1,335 linear feet of 2" plastic line, 280 linear feet of 0.5" copper line, nine service vaults, nine fire hydrants with hose houses, and ten service connections) was also connected to Appomattox's water system.

Congressional budget cuts during the Clinton Administration threatened the NPS in 1995. The Republican proposal—H.R. 260, or the National Park System Reform Act—called for a reduced Interior budget followed by six years of flat funding to theoretically balance the Federal budget by 2002. Bruce Babbitt, Secretary of the Interior for the entirety of Bill Clinton's presidency, told the Associated Press that 198 of the then 368 parks would be forced to close, including APCO and five others in Virginia (Richmond, George Washington's birthplace, Maggie L. Walker, Booker T. Washington, and Manassas). There was also the issue at the time of the $4 billion backlog in park and monument maintenance needs.[16]

To allay concerns and whip public support against the Republican budget cuts, Babbitt visited APCO later that year as part of a three-day tour throughout Virginia. Babbitt delivered remarks to visitors and Appomattox Middle School students and declared APCO one of the nation's most important historic sites. Admitting this was his first visit to APCO, newspapers quoted him as saying, "I must allow this is the first time I've visited this sacred ground, this monument to history. I'm a little overwhelmed. . . . As long as I am Secretary of the Interior, this site will not be closed." In the end, proposed budget cuts failed in the face of significant bipartisan opposition and ultimately did not close Virginia's parks.[17]

Even though the budget cuts failed, the threat of park closures had a knock-on effect. NPS Superintendents, including Montgomery, were asked to develop slashed alternative budgets just in case of such a nightmare scenario. Marie Rust, NPS Field Director,

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[14] Undated newspaper clipping (ca. 1994), APCO Scrapbook #8, Historian's Office, APCO.

[15] SR, CY 1993, 8 March 1994.

[16] "Administration Says Cuts Threaten Appomattox Park," *Lynchburg News*, June 5, 1995. "Don't Sacrifice Historic Park at Appomattox," *Lynchburg News*, June 8, 1995. Lewis Wood, "Politics Imperil Appomattox National Park," *Appomattox Times-Virginian*, undated newspaper clipping, APCO Scrapbook #8, Historian's Office, APCO. Nicole Ostrow, "Nation's Parks Are on the Spot," *Lynchburg News*, April 28, 1996.

[17] "Interior Secretary Plans Thursday Visit to Historical Park," *Appomattox Times-Virginian*, October 18, 1995. Jessie Martin, "Secretary of the Interior Tells Visitors Appomattox Is Most 'Sacred' of Parks," *Appomattox Times-Virginian*, undated newspaper clipping, APCO Scrapbook #8, Historian's Office, APCO.

instructed Superintendents to create budgets that factored in closing the site during off-season periods and reduced visitor center hours. Such planning would have little impact upon APCO unless the park was forced to cut staff hours or positions altogether. Montgomery, in speaking with the *Appomattox Times-Virginian*, cautioned that a high proportion of the park budget went toward staffing, so any budget cuts would likely result in job losses.[18]

A government shut down closed APCO on November 14, 1995, pending a federal budgetary agreement. Workers reported to the park that morning just long enough to turn down the heat, confirm ventilation and fire systems were operational, and shut down visitor center exhibits. Of the shutdown, it was still unclear to APCO staff and even to members of Congress whether nonessential NPS workers would be paid or not. The *Lynchburg News* quoted Ron Wilson as saying, "We are now on non-work status. We don't check in. We don't call in. We don't come in.... It's very unfortunate. I think it's getting the nation's attention—not that Appomattox is closed—but that the government is at an impasse." The government reopened on November 19th only to shut down again on December 16th through final budget passage on January 6th for a total of 21 days. Other shutdowns during this period included shutdowns of less than one day in 1981, 1984, and 1986, and a three-day shutdown in 1990.[19]

Living History and Interpretation

As of March 1981, APCO staffing consisted of twelve permanent employees, five "subject-to-furlough" employees, six seasonal employees, and one work-study student from Clemson University. There were also 83 volunteers (almost entirely reenactors from encampment weekends) working at APCO throughout the calendar year, though this number would decline through the decade and not all volunteers were assigned to interpretation. APCO participated in the Title 4 Comprehensive Employment and Training Act (CETA) Program, which provided work for seventeen students during the summer. The CETA program was established by Federal law and was designed to train workers, generally anyone classified as low income, long-term unemployed, or students needing summer work, for public service jobs with funding administered by state and local government. The 1980 annual report (the final report prior to Montgomery's tenure) emphasized diversity in seasonal hires and the CETA program. Five of six seasonal hires were racial minorities or women and of the seventeen students, twelve were minority women, three were minority

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[18] Lewis Wood, "Park Superintendents Being Asked to Look for Budget Cuts," *Appomattox Times-Virginian*, November 8, 1995.

[19] Cindy Smith, "The Government Shuts Down Appomattox Historical Park," *Appomattox Times-Virginian*, November 15, 1995. Jessie Martin, "Appomattox Opened Only Long Enough to Close Down the Park," *Lynchburg News*, November 15, 1995.

men, one was a non-minority woman, and one was a blind non-minority man. Three of these seventeen continued to work in the park in training positions, including a full-time janitorial assistant, part-time cooperative education student, and part-time laborer assistant.[20] Many living history and other seasonal workers were recruited by word of mouth or simple newspaper advertisements explicitly offering work to college students.[21]

Similar patterns in employee totals and minority seasonal and CETA employment continued in 1981 through 1990.[22] The Reagan Administration reduced funding for Federal job training programs like CETA throughout the decade, so Montgomery replaced that labor with workforce programs like career services corporation Telamon and Piedmont Court Services. Other park staffing costs were further defrayed as some seasonal living history employees were paid by ENPMA throughout the 1980s.[23] A maintenance position was eliminated in 1982, which Montgomery noted caused "a severe strain on the grounds crew in trying to keep up the park's standard of appearance."[24] In 1984, APCO hired four Youth Conservation Corps (YCC) enrollees who assisted with maintenance projects that would have otherwise gone undone, such as clearing twenty-two acres of scenic easement land along Route 24. YCC enrollees worked for about two months at APCO for the next two years as well.[25]

To provide a bit more detail about how this labor was deployed, the chart below was generated by Ron Wilson in 1991 in response to Congressional requests for reports on NPS interpretation. From this chart, it was clearly apparent that the APCO interpretive program steadily reduced interpretive staffing over the years while both visitation and budget numbers increased.[26] During the 1980s, park rangers and living history interpreters presented, on average, about 500 public talks per year.[27]

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[20] CETA was passed into law in 1973 and has been replaced by a sequence of similar legislation, including the Job Training Partnership Act (1982), Workforce Investment Act of 1998, and the Workforce Innovation and Opportunity Act (2014). SR, CY 1980, 17 March 1981, NACP, Superintendents' Annual Narrative Reports, 1980–2001, Entry P-17, Box 05.

[21] Undated newspaper clipping (ca. 1996–7), APCO Scrapbook #8, Historian's Office, APCO.

[22] CETA was replaced by the Job Training Partnership Act of 1982, though there was little practical different at APCO initially.

[23] SR, CY 1981, 18 March 1982, NACP, Superintendents' Annual Narrative Reports, 1980–2001, Entry P-17, Box 05. SR, CY 1982, 6 April 1983, NACP, Superintendents' Annual Narrative Reports, 1980–2001, Entry P-17, Box 05. SR, CY 1984, 21 February 1985, NACP, Superintendents' Annual Narrative Reports, 1980–2001, Entry P-17, Box 05.

[24] SR, CY 1982, 6 April 1983, NACP, Superintendents' Annual Narrative Reports, 1980–2001, Entry P-17, Box 05.

[25] SR, CY 1984, 21 February 1985, NACP, Superintendents' Annual Narrative Reports, 1980–2001, Entry P-17, Box 05. SR, CY 1986, 1 April 1987, NACP, Superintendents' Annual Narrative Reports, 1980–2001, Entry P-17, Box 05. SR, CY 1987, 7 April 1988.

[26] Ronald Wilson, NPS Interpretive Summary, 1977–1991: APCO; Chief of Interpretation to Regional Chiefs of Interpretation, 11 December 1991, APCO Archive: Resource Management Records, Box 001.

[27] SR, CY 1989, 2 March 1990.

Year	ONPS Interp. Budget	Permanent FTEs	Number	Temporary FTEs	Number	Visitation
1977	91,190	4.0	4	3.0	9	263,090
1978	96,248	4.0	4	2.9	9	259,018
1979	104,024	4.0	4	3.3	9	208,411
1980	108,137	4.0	4	3.0	9	218,724
1981	110,476	4.0	4	2.1	7	245,068
1982	108,384	4.0	4	1.4	5	240,405
1983	111,168	3.8	4	2.0	6	251,277
1984	117,367	3.9	4	1.9	6	318,027
1985	121,969	3.6	4	2.2	5	277,613
1986	116,454	3.7	5	1.8	6	323,784
1987	108,712	3.6	4	1.3	5	336,075
1988	126,080	4.0	4	1.8	5	312,693
1989	137,540	3.9	4	1.9	5	377,440
1990	127,339	3.8	4	1.6	5	402,947
1991	140,463	3.8	4	1.5	5	321,668

During the 1980s, the living history program was largely the same as during the 1970s, though management had become a matter of routine. Most living history interpretation was provided by seasonal employees. The season typically began in mid-May and ended in mid-September, to include both Memorial Day and Labor Day weekends. Seasonal funding was provided by the ENPMA and generally approved in April on a year-to-year basis, but all management was provided by APCO staff. Seasonal APCO living historian Mark Greenough recalled that six living history presentations were offered daily on a set schedule typically spaced one hour apart and almost always at the Clover Hill Tavern porch (the primary exception being the Widow Kelley character at the Kelley House). During Greenough's years, these six programs were divided evenly into three each from a Northern and Southern perspective. Talks lasted about thirty minutes with an open-ended question and answer session afterward. Living history interpreters were required to stay in first-person throughout this entire process. Some basic historical research was provided to interpreters by park staff, but each employee was expected to conduct their own research to better flesh out their characters.

In the early 1980s, interpreters acted as if they were living on a nonspecific date during the summer of 1865. However, owing to the general repetitiveness of such an approach, Greenough suggested that interpreters follow an 1865 timeline to interpret each

present date on its corresponding 1865 date (i.e., on June 1, 1987, interpreters acted as if it were June 1, 1865). To make this change though would obviously require intensive research into the minute details of daily life in 1865, as such details had never been explicitly compiled by APCO. Greenough set about this involved extensive research into the day-to-day events in Appomattox Court House during 1865. His work resulted in a baseline historical document for village conditions from May to November 1865 intended to support the APCO living history program. Greenough also published his research findings in *Civil War History* in 1985.[28]

Mark Greenough worked as a seasonal living history interpreter from 1982 to 1985, and his experience illustrates the evolving nature of living history work at APCO. He also both worked and volunteered through the decade to revitalize the living history program. Greenough initially portrayed a Federal infantryman of the 188th Pennsylvania Volunteers for his first two years. He then switched in 1984 to portraying the same infantryman for the second half of the summer and a Federal cavalryman in the 21st and 8th Pennsylvania Volunteers for the first half. In 1985, Greenough introduced the George T. Peers character to the living history program and portrayed him for that season.[29]

Greenough organized three special living history events that "repopulated" Appomattox Court House occurring on August 3rd and 4th, 1985, August 2nd and 3rd, 1986, and November 11th and 12th, 1989. The goal of these events was to bring dozens of living history interpreters to Appomattox Court House so that visitors could experience the recreated village with a full population as it may have appeared in 1865. The NPS recruited volunteers, usually through newspaper advertisements, to visit APCO on specific weekends to take on historical identities. Volunteers provided their own period-accurate costuming and did their own character research, though NPS staff would provide guidance when needed. Greenough recalled the largest number of volunteers for any one day was fourteen interpreting civilians with several more portraying military characters. Some military character volunteers also camped on APCO grounds overnight. The program was initially piloted in November 1984 by Greenough and other living history staff as a small-scale, informal event, which was then continued into a formalized large-scale event based on its initial success. Living Historian Patrick Schroeder continued to organize this event for several years after Greenough departed starting in 1987.[30]

Harpers Ferry and the regional office collaborated on an Interpretive Prospectus for APCO, approved in November 1985, which also included a study of visitors. A core finding was that most visitors to APCO are not Civil War enthusiasts, but instead recognized the

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[28] Greenough emailed addendum to oral history, 2 December 2020. Mark K. Greenough, "Aftermath at Appomattox: Federal Military Occupation of Appomattox County May-November 1865," *Civil War History* 31, no. 1 (1985): 5–23.

[29] Greenough emailed addendum to oral history, 2 December 2020.

[30] Greenough emailed addendum to oral history, 2 December 2020.

importance of Appomattox Court House to the nation's history and American identity. In the authors' words, "[Appomattox Court House] is a place to re-examine our past—and to learn something about ourselves too." The suggestion provided from this revelation was that APCO should do more interpretation about the broader importance of Appomattox Court House in public memory and less with military maneuvers. With that perspective in mind, the authors recommended that interpretive programming first address the story of April 1865, including all the chaos and nation-reuniting importance, and then encourage visitors to consider the resonate meaning of Appomattox Court House across time.

Beyond this somewhat philosophical recommendation, the document was largely complimentary of APCO interpretive programming. First-person interpretation was provided at Clover Hill Tavern during summer months. Two interpreters (a Union and Confederate soldier) depicted conditions in April 1865 about six times per day with a roughly thirty-minute presentation. Outside of these presentations, interpreters engaged visitors in conversation and held informal question and answer sessions. The authors also made four relatively small recommendations for improving wayside interpretation. First, APCO should include wayside exhibits on the knoll where Grant and Lee met on April 10, 1865, to provide more thorough interpretation and allow for restoration of the Surrender Triangle area by the removal of an interpretive sign, concrete pad, and brick walkway. Second, add a new audio program at Lee's Headquarters location interpreting events of the April 8th through 12th period. This would preferably be accomplished with an interpreter, but in the absence of staff an audio station could be included. Third, staff should erect interpretive markers along the six-mile nature trail as much of this space was traversed by Civil War soldiers. Finally, a "Travelers Information Station" was suggested for the approach to APCO, though the authors did not specify what exactly this would entail.[31]

Possibly in response to the interpretive prospectus, APCO produced a handout for visitors in 1985 to serve as a primer for how to engage with the living history program. The handout was a single-fold piece of paper that included a brief introduction, which is reprinted in full below. The bolded text appeared in the original document. The text within square brackets is Mark Greenough's edits from an unspecified later date, and he was not sure which versions were printed in the end:

> The Living History program at Appomattox Court House wants to take you back to the summer of 1865. Various characters in period dress [clothing] present people who lived during the era [period] of the American Civil War. **They will answer all your questions as if this was indeed summer in 1865.**

[31] "Interpretive Prospectus," 1985, APCO Central Files (APCO 11800/006.001 Box 001, Superintendent Files).

> The success of this program depends not only on the knowledge and skills of the characters, but also to a large extent on the active participation of you—the park visitor. You are encouraged to engage these people in conversation in order that you may more fully understand the historic events which occurred at Appomattox Court House.
>
> Background sketches of some of the characters you may meet are on the opposite page.
>
> National Park Service

And on the opposite page, a numbered list of Character Sketches included each of the following:

1. **Robert M. Fields** (Union Soldier)—is a corporal from Pennsylvania serving with the Federal provost guard stationed at Appomattox Court House after the surrender. He was also present on April 9, 1865 at the time of the surrender of the Army of Northern Virginia.
2. **William K. [J.] Hubbard** (former Confederate soldier)—served as a private in the Appomattox Greys, 18th Virginia Infantry during the war and was paroled [*sic*] at Appomattox Court House. Since the surrender he [has] returned to his former occupation as a farmer.
3. **Widow Kelly** (village resident)—from the [her] frame house next to the surrender triangle, the Widow Kelly watched the formal surrender on April 12, 1865
4. **George T. Peers** (village resident)—during the war Peers served as Clerk of the Court for Appomattox County. On April 12, 1865, he witnessed the formal stacking of arms on the stage road in front of his house.[32]

The living history program continued to interest locals well into the late-1980s, as evidenced by regular articles in newspapers. An article by Darrell Laurant, a fixture in Lynchburg newspapers, profiled the early career of Troy Harman, a living history interpreter at APCO. Harman would go on to a long career as a ranger at Gettysburg, but at APCO he depicted Nathaniel Maddox, a soldier in the 42nd Virginia Infantry from Campbell County.[33]

Outside of the living history program, APCO interpretive programming settled into a somewhat regular pattern primarily under the guidance of Ron Wilson. Wilson did not typically perform living history interpretation but was tasked with managing this program and all other interpretation at the site. A 1991 newspaper article only referenced two living history interpreters, Patrick Schroeder and Ernie Price performing as Confederate ex-private William T. Hubbard and Union Corporal Robert M. Fields. The article also noted that Harold Howard was no longer working at the park, as both he and Calkins moved on from

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[32] "Living History Program," ca. 1985, original held by Mark Greenough.

[33] Darrell Laurant, "In the Park Service, This LC Graduate Is History," *The News & Daily Advance*, undated clipping, APCO Scrapbook #4, Historian's Office, APCO.

APCO in the early-1980s.[34] Civilian portrayals returned to APCO by the late-1980s with Joe Service portraying George Peers and Cynda Carpenter portraying Mary Hix. From 1999-2001, Schroeder managed evening tour programs on Friday and Saturday entitled "A Visit to Old Appomattox with County Clerk George Peers." This was a walking tour that began at the Confederate Cemetery and went to the Clover Hill Tavern and back totaling nearly two hours typically. These were private tours with the blessing of APCO but not a formal NPS program.[35]

Closely related to the interpretive programming were reenactor events at APCO. From 1980 to the late-1990s, there was a steady presence of reenactor events most years, though the quantity generally declined over time. About 3,000 reenactors attended an April 9th surrender reenactment in 1984, including about 500 members of the Saylor's Creek Committee group, who was listed in newspaper announcements as a co-host to the APCO 119th Anniversary event.[36] More groups of reenactors were brought into the park later that year. Company H, 23rd Regiment Virginia Volunteer Infantry presented a living history program on June 30th and July 1st, and the 5th New York Volunteer Infantry reenactor group set up in APCO for July 7th–8th. Each group sought to interpret from 10:00 a.m. to 5:00 p.m., "a typical day in the life of a Civil War soldier in the field."[37] Interpreters portrayed the Confederate Stonewall Brigade, local civilians, and military medical personnel as part of a "Confederate Military Encampment" program in August 1988.[38] Similar programming was hosted at the park into the late-1990s, such as an event on August 22–23, 1998, performed by the 18th Regiment Virginia Volunteer Infantry with scheduled activities including military drills, battlefield maneuvers, parades, and a religious service.[39]

Moving into the 1990s, APCO regularly held special living history weekends with additional interpreters in place. All living history programs except for one during build to the 125th anniversary (1988–90) had military themes. After this build, all living history programs had nonmilitary themes. Each year typically had six or seven of these events, though in 1992 there were thirteen roughly evenly spaced throughout the entire year. All the 1992 events were focused on Village Life except for the annual Christmas event and a "Military Camp" event on Veterans Day weekend.[40]

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[34] Darrell Laurant, "1865 Time Capsule," *Lynchburg News*, August 4, 1991.

[35] *Lynchburg News*, August 25, 2000.

[36] *Appomattox Times-Virginian*, April 11, 1984. "Ceremony Slated at Historical Park," *Appomattox Times-Virginian*, March 28, 1984. "Ceremony to Mark Anniversary of Surrender," *Lynchburg News*, April 5, 1984.

[37] "'History' Set for this Weekend," *Appomattox Times-Virginian*, July 4, 1984.

[38] "Encampment Planned," *Appomattox Times-Virginian*, August 18, 1988.

[39] "Civil War Camp Re-enactment," *Farmville Herald*, August 19, 1998. "Re-enactments Slated," *Appomattox Times-Virginian*, August 19, 1998.

[40] SR, CY 1992, 3 March 1993.

A critical living history interpreter that was occasionally overlooked in newspapers was Ava Almond, whose work was discussed in the previous chapter. As of 1987, Almond worked as a volunteer four days a week at APCO portraying Widow Kelley. Most articles failed to note Almond in their assessments of the living history program. In a newspaper interview with Frances Abbitt, Almond noted that much of her inspiration and knowledge came from her grandmother, who was a teenager during the Civil War in the Appomattox area. She took on the Widow Kelley role at some point in 1972 just as the living history program began, and she volunteered for ten years prior to that. Raymond Godsey recalled that Almond was APCO's part-time janitor from 1962 to 1977, contradicting local newspaper profiles.[41]

Outside of regular interpretive work, APCO increased accessibility for blind and deaf visitors during Montgomery's tenure. During 1981, Rich Mitchell, a blind student working at APCO through the CETA program, was an interpreter at the McLean House. He capably guided visitors and performed interpretive duties by accounts. In the park's annual report, Ron Wilson noted that "program content and visitor acceptance still remained good," but noted there could be problems with building security and visitor movement even though there had not been any problems yet. Wilson also wrote that the use of a guide dog would be "counterproductive" to the McLean House interpretative program, though Mitchell did not use a guide dog.[42]

During this period, APCO staff gradually made the park more accessible for all types of visitors. William G. "Bill" Nine, an APCO volunteer, helped secure a $1,000 grant award from Exxon in 1985 for APCO to caption the visitor center slide program. In 1987, the park recorded the museum slide presentations to tape so visitors who could not ascend stairs could view the program in the first-floor lobby and added subtitles to the recorded video. Copies of the same video were also distributed to teachers interested in field trips for pre-trip preparation. Staff also created a forty-one-page Teacher's Guide and Resource Book for distribution to teachers who brought students to APCO at about the same time. Also in 1987, the park installed handicapped restroom facilities in the Tavern Slave Quarters restrooms and a handicap-accessible water cooler in the Visitor Center. The Harpers Ferry Center installed new audio-visual equipment in the auditorium on October 22, 1991, and a new glass exhibit case on November 13, 1991, both of which were designed to make those spaces more visible. In 1992, APCO installed wheelchair ramps throughout

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41 "Ava Almond Regales Park Visitors with Old Tales," *Appomattox Times-Virginian*, August 26, 1987. APCO Central Files (APCO 11800/006.001, Box 005).

42 SR, CY 1980, 17 March 1981, NACP, Superintendents' Annual Narrative Reports, 1980–2001, Entry P-17, Box 05.

the park, with Montgomery specifically noting new ramps at Grant's Headquarters, the Confederate Cemetery, Lee's Headquarters, the visitor parking lot, Courthouse, Clover Hill Tavern, Clover Hill Tavern Kitchen, and the Tavern Slave Quarters.[43]

While the APCO museum is clearly related to interpretation, museum management was generally separate from the interpretation program with some staffing overlap. Most commonly during Montgomery's tenure, museum changes were spurred forward by regional staff visits or surprise artifact donations. For instance, regional Museum Curator William Jedlick visited APCO in early December 1982 to review McLean House furnishings and Clover Hill Tavern structure stability. Many small recommendations were made for the McLean House (such as replacing carpets, slip covering the dining room sofa, replacing various drapery). Jedlick agreed to meet with Bill Seale again to detail the cost and process of making recommended changes. The only outcome of Clover Hill Tavern investigations was to do a study of the "Parole Room" as Seale believed there were room partitions in place as of 1865. This was an example of a common outcome. Regional staff recommended additional research and APCO staff complied. Usually, any implementation took several years to accomplish due to funding limitations.[44]

A scattering of donations and acquisitions came to APCO during Montgomery's tenure. Not all are highlighted here, just those considered major acquisitions by park staff. In March 1983, museum curator Jedlick traveled to Washington, DC, and Baltimore to authenticate and view a pair of vases purported to have been on the McLean House mantel in April 1865. The owner as of 1983 was R. McLean Campbell, the great-grandson of Wilmer McLean. Jedlick viewed and photographed the vases, then conferred with Dr. William Seale, who was then under contract for the McLean House Furnishing Study and Plan, who confirmed the vases were indeed authentic. The vases (APCO 3976) are still in the museum collection.[45] A Union Army printing type chest was acquired by APCO in 1989 by purchase from Beltrone & Co. Reports did not include a purchase cost. This chest (APCO 3975) is also still in the museum collection.[46]

John Montgomery spent $3,000 on a sword in 1991. According to a *Lynchburg News* article, the sword came up for sale in a Charlottesville antique shop, and Art Beltrone, a local dealer-appraiser specializing in militaria, contacted Montgomery. The sword once belonged to officer Jesse B. Kimes, Acting Adjutant General of the 2nd Brigade, 2nd Division, 25th Corps of the USCT, who was a white Pennsylvanian once held in a

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[43] "Park Receives Exxon Grant," *Appomattox Times-Virginian*, November 7, 1985. Meg Hibbert, "Deerfields Man Helps Hearing Impaired Citizens," *Amherst New Era-Progress*, December 19, 1985. SR, CY 1991, 26 February 1992. SR, CY 1992, 3 March 1993. SR, CY 1980, 17 March 1981, SR, CY 1984, 21 February 1985, SR, CY 1987, 7 April 1988.NACP, Superintendents' Annual Narrative Reports, 1980–2001, Entry P-17, Box 05.

[44] Jedlick to Regional Director, 16 December 1982, APCO Central Files (APCO 11800/001.001).

[45] Jedlick to Ass. Regional Director, 29 March 1983, APCO Central Files (APCO 11800/001.001).

[46] From a receipt in the accession file, it looks like the Friends of Virginia Civil War Parks contributed $1,000 to the $4,500 cost of the chest. "Park Acquires Artifact," *Appomattox Times-Virginian*, April 13, 1989.

Confederate prison. Montgomery asked Beltrone to hold the sword while he raised money, which he did from a variety of donors including Exxon, First Colony Life, Babcock & Wilcox, Friends of Virginia Civil War Parks Inc., and the Virginia Militaria Collector's Association. APCO then purchased the sword, the Harpers Ferry Center restored it, and it went on display in the APCO museum space in 1992. As of 2021, the sword (APCO 3993) is still in the museum collection. To be clear, Montgomery did not spend NPS or APCO funds to acquire this sword.[47] Another sword came to APCO in 1992 when Herbert Abbitt, grandson of Confederate Captain George W. Abbitt of the 46th Virginia Infantry, donated his ancestor's sword to the park. This Captain Abbitt was the same man who would later be elected Appomattox County Clerk and was in office when the original courthouse burned. APCO Curator Joe Williams and Jon Montgomery received the donation in a small ceremony. As of 2021, this sword (APCO 4013) is also still in the museum collection.[48]

The Silent Witness doll, long desired by APCO staff for the collection, entered the park's collection in May 1993. APCO Curator Joe Williams brought the doll from the possession of Marjorie Moore in Mt. Kisco, New York, to be placed on display at the APCO Visitor Center starting May 29th, 1993. The donation decision came shortly after Marjorie's husband Richard Moore died. Richard Moore had long rejected NPS requests to part with the doll, but Marjoie was open to the idea. She visited APCO to evaluate the park herself. According to Williams, Marjorie Moore visited the park incognito without contacting anyone and being satisfied with the NPS's work, decided the Silent Witness would be properly cared for and appreciated. The Silent Witness doll (APCO 4014) is still in the museum collection as of 2021.[49]

On November 22, 1994, Director Kennedy issued Special Directive 94-6 (Ensuring that Projects Generating Museum Collections Fund Cataloguing and Basic Preservation), which instructed parks to ensure any projects that would generate museum collections projects also include funding for cataloging and "basic preservation." The reasoning for this directive was that many NPS sites held massive artifact collections with no mechanism for cataloging or otherwise using those collections in a timely fashion. The motivation for this instruction was the NPS generally had a resource management problem even beyond collections. A substantial backlog of projects of all types existed in many parks. All budgetary responsibility in carrying out this Special Directive fell upon Superintendents and other project managers.[50] Staff began inventorying all museum artifacts and updating curatorial

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[47] Darrell Laurant, "Cutting a Deal for Jesse's Sword," *Lynchburg News,* July 15, 1991. SR, CY 1991, 26 February 1992.

[48] Frances Abbitt, "Herbert Abbitt Presents Sword," *Appomattox Times-Virginian,* December 10, 1992.

[49] Darrell Laurant, "From the North, A Final Prisoner," *Lynchburg News,* May 28, 1993.

[50] Special Directives 87–3 (Conservation of Archeological Resources) and 91–4 (Ensuring that Natural Resource Projects Fund the Curation of Collections) already covered a similar issue related to curation. "Special Directive 94–6," 22 November 1994, APCO Archive: Resource Management Records, Box 001.

records in 1987, so this Directive had less of an impact upon APCO than other NPS sites.[51] Starting five years later in February 1992, APCO staff began entering museum catalog records into the Automated National Catalog System via a computerized system. To give an idea as to the speed of this process, Montgomery reported that staff logged 500 records in 1993, though he did not clarify if this meant individual items, collections, or artifacts.[52]

There were few changes to exhibits during the 1980s and early 1990s, most of which related to audio-visual components of the museum space. In 1983, the museum space added new exhibits. A contract for new museum exhibits to replace originals installed as part of Mission 66 was awarded to Color-Ad from Manassas with work beginning in 1983.[53] The largest of the new exhibits included a fiber-optic map of Lee's retreat route and a "sound and light" program of the surrender using an eight-foot image of Thomas Lovell's painting. The core highlight of this installation was the fiber-optic map depicting Lee's retreat route and the eight-foot semicircular version of Thomas Lovell's painting with audio narration.[54] This exhibit turned out to be difficult to maintain and costly. Just five years after installation, APCO spent about $2,600 to restore the map and sound and light program to full working order.[55] A new fiber-optic map was installed in the Visitor Center on September 28, 1992, though Montgomery did not note the cost.[56] New text for the Clover Hill Tavern exhibits was completed and installed in early 1984. Clover Hill Tavern exhibit installation was completed on April 16, 1984, with the final UF-3 Plexiglas installed in all windows.[57] In 1994, APCO acquired environmental monitoring hardware and software for the Visitor Center exhibit spaces and the curatorial storage area.[58] Also in 1994, APCO staff planned, designed, and helped to install six exhibits in the newly constructed county visitor center within Appomattox. These exhibits took the form of tall panels, roughly four feet by two feet, with minimal interpretation and several photographs on each.[59]

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[51] SR, CY 1987, 7 April 1988.

[52] SR, CY 1992, 3 March 1993. SR, CY 1993, 8 March 1994.

[53] SR, CY 1982, 6 April 1983, NACP, Superintendents' Annual Narrative Reports, 1980–2001, Entry P-17, Box 05. SR, CY 1983, 29 February 1984, NACP, Superintendents' Annual Narrative Reports, 1980–2001, Entry P-17, Box 05. SR, CY 1984, 21 February 1985, NACP, Superintendents' Annual Narrative Reports, 1980–2001, Entry P-17, Box 05.

[54] "Exhibits Added to Park," *Appomattox Times-Virginian*, March 31, 1983.

[55] SR, CY 198, 2 March 1989.

[56] SR, CY 1992, 3 March 1993.

[57] SR, CY 1983, 29 February 1984, NACP, Superintendents' Annual Narrative Reports, 1980–2001, Entry P-17, Box 05. SR, CY 1984, 21 February 1985, NACP, Superintendents' Annual Narrative Reports, 1980–2001, Entry P-17, Box 05.

[58] SR, CY 1993, 8 March 1994.

[59] SR, CY 1993, 8 March 1994.

The APCO store continued to be an important presence during Montgomery's tenure and grew exponentially. By 1980, ENPM sales activities shifted from the Meeks Store to the Clover Hill Tavern Kitchen. Sales during both 1979 and 1980 were about $54,000 and nearly tripled to $141,749 in 1986 and quadrupled to $202,625 in 1989. To put this number into context, the total park budget in the late-1980s hovered around $500,000. Montgomery did not speculate the reason for such growth but implied it was likely due to increased visitation and an improved selection of books for sale. One possible explanation was that prior to 1989, staff closed the Clover Hill Tavern Kitchen store during the offseason and relocated the store to the Visitor Center. By not doing that in 1989, visitors had a wider selection of items to purchase during winter months, though Montgomery did not report a monthly sales breakdown. Another explanation given was the build to 125th Anniversary events and, at least in 1990, the popularity of the Ken Burns series airing on PBS. Montgomery further estimated that each visitor spent, on average, $1.56 at the park store during a visit in 1986, but that figure had risen to $3.75 in 1991, one of the highest in the entire NPS system. For comparison, APCO brought in $31,643 in entrance fees during 1986, or approximately $0.33 per visitor.[60] To give a sense of scale, APCO received 76,000 copies of the full-color park folder issued in 1981.[61]

[60] SR, CY 1980, 17 March 1981, NACP, Superintendents' Annual Narrative Reports, 1980–2001, Entry P-17, Box 05. SR, CY 1986, 1 April 1987, NACP, Superintendents' Annual Narrative Reports, 1980–2001, Entry P-17, Box 05. SR, CY 1989, 2 March 1990. SR, CY 1990, 27 March 1991. SR, CY 1991, 26 February 1992.

[61] SR, CY 1981, 18 March 1982, NACP, Superintendents' Annual Narrative Reports, 1980–2001, Entry P-17, Box 05.



Figure 46. APCO Ranger Mark Carsley speaks with Federal Provost Guard soldiers during living history weekend, 1987. APCO Historian's Office.

Staffing and Land

Though reasons were not apparent, APCO suffered a decline in volunteers during the early 1980s from about 80 in 1981 to just 28 in 1983 in part because reenactors were no longer counted in these statistics. It becomes difficult to track APCO volunteerism in Montgomery's reports once encampments become a regular part of anniversary events as each reenactor was considered a volunteer (e.g., Montgomery reported 900 volunteers for 1984, which included about 800 reenactors).[62] Montgomery continued allowing Boy Scouts and Girl Scouts troops to work within the park, such as when fifty troops consisting of 902 scouts used the APCO History Trail to receive either a patch or medal during 1983.[63] Similar programs continued in the following decade as APCO hosted a History Day Camp for

[62] SR, CY 1983, 29 February 1984, NACP, Superintendents' Annual Narrative Reports, 1980–2001, Entry P-17, Box 05.

[63] SR, CY 1983, 29 February 1984, NACP, Superintendents' Annual Narrative Reports, 1980–2001, Entry P-17, Box 05.

children aged 6 to 12 on July 9th, July 23rd, August 6th, and August 20th, 1997. Attendance was free for children and $4.00 for adults who wished to tour the park. Attending children would all receive a Junior Ranger badge at the end of the four-hour program.[64]

A major loss for APCO came when Ray Godsey retired from APCO effective July 4, 1987, after nearly forty years of service. He had been APCO's Chief of Maintenance since 1964. Godsey told the *Appomattox Times-Virginian* that his career highlights were working the 1950 McLean House dedication and working closely with Watson to acquire McLean house furniture. Godsey recalled that he regularly drove to Virginia Beach, Roanoke, and Lynchburg to pick up pieces and escort them back to the park.[65] The year prior to his retirement, Godsey wrote a twenty-five-page document detailing his memories of working at APCO, a particularly valuable first-hand account for the earliest days of the park. Godsey was first hired at APCO on 10 December 1947 as a temporary laborer and assigned to clearing brush, cutting trails, and assisting with McLean House reconstruction.[66]

David Vela entered service at APCO in 1984 as the Park Ranger responsible for supervising the living history program and as APCO's first official law enforcement ranger. Prior to Vela's service, APCO staff all retained some ability to enforce Federal law on park lands, but generally used the services of local police to enforce laws such as trespassing, public drunkenness, and vandalism. The NPS provided Vela with a .357 revolver and training. Most of Vela's law enforcement duties were to patrol the park area, monitor the relatively new security system headquartered in the Peers House, and reside in the park after hours to protect from vandals. The presence of a modern weapon in the park caused problems though. Superintendent Montgomery did not approve of a park ranger armed with a pistol in view of visitors, so the gun was kept in a locked safe in administrative offices. Montgomery also required Vela to keep the park's "patrol car" (a pickup truck) in the maintenance area. This caused some strain between the two as, in the case of an emergency, Vela was forced to walk to the maintenance area, drive to the administrator offices, and then open a safe to retrieve the service weapon. This process would take at least ten minutes, an unacceptable delay in view of both Vela and his successor Gerry Gaumer. Gaumer took over this position in 1986, having worked with Vela since January 1985. By this time, Montgomery had softened somewhat on the presence of a service vehicle and

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64 "History Day Camp," *Lynchburg News*, June 24, 1997.

65 "Raymond Godsey Will Retire," *Appomattox Times-Virginian*, June 24, 1987. David Vela transferred to APCO from San Antonio on 14 October 1984 as a GS-5 Park Ranger. Vela transferred away from APCO to Independence National Historical Park in July 1986 and would later become NPS Interim Director during the Trump Administration. Gerry Gaumer was promoted to GS-7 to replace Vela. Other individuals holding the Park Ranger position included Mark Carsley and Tracy Chernault. SR, CY 1984, 21 February 1985, NACP, Superintendents' Annual Narrative Reports, 1980–2001, Entry P-17, Box 05. SR, CY 1991, 26 February 1992.

66 APCO Central Files (APCO 11800/006.001, Box 005).

firearm within the park. Gaumer successfully convinced Montgomery to allow him to carry the revolver in a hip-mounted holster during the rest of his tenure and park the pickup truck at the Peers House most of the time.[67]

Montgomery managed several bids for usage of APCO land and surplus buildings. In October 1983, the NPS solicited bids for surplus buildings described as a structure on the "O-Brien-Alvis property located at the VA-24 and VA-656 intersection."[68] The NPS issued a call for bids for the sale of sixty acres of mature pine for timbering due May 30, 1986.[69] At the end of the 1990 tourist season, the NPS issued a call for proposals for leasing 423.5 acres within APCO for farming purposes. Bids were opened on October 4, 1990.[70] A near-identical call went out again in 1995 for 476 acres, this time explicitly noting the land was divided into twelve parcels and the lease would be for five years.[71] In 1992 and 1993, new land donations were accepted into APCO (106 Stat. 3565), including the Burruss Timber and Conservation Fund tracts to the north of the stage road and a noncontiguous tract containing remains of the New Hope Church breastworks about three miles north of the village.[72]

As of 1993, maintenance staff (seven permanent and four seasonal) were responsible for 56 acres of "Class A lawns," 121 acres of field, 735 acres of forest, 435 acres of leased pasture, 31 historic structures, 6 modern structures, 6 miles of hiking trail, and about 15 miles of fence.[73] In 1983, APCO issued eleven agricultural special use permits to eight recipients covering 453 acres (181 for crops, 272 for grazing).[74] Staff planted fruit trees in 1993 at the McLean House and Sweeney Orchard so as to recreate the historic orchards at these locations.[75]

Bill Graham of the Morris Arboretum (Philadelphia) completed a Historic Vegetation Inventory of APCO primarily around the village area in 1995. Graham photographed, named, numbered, and assessed each plant and tree. The primary immediate

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67 Vela interview. Gaumer interview.

68 Undated newspaper clipping, APCO Scrapbook #7, Historian's Office, APCO.

69 Undated newspaper clipping (ca. 1986), APCO Scrapbook #7, Historian's Office, APCO.

70 *Appomattox Times-Virginian*, September 6, 1990.

71 *Appomattox Times-Virginian*, September 6, 1995.

72 Boundary Adjustment Study, 17–18.

73 SR, CY 1993, 8 March 1994.

74 SR, CY 1983, 29 February 1984, NACP, Superintendents' Annual Narrative Reports, 1980–2001, Entry P-17, Box 05.

75 SR, CY 1992, 3 March 1993.

outcome was that several trees required maintenance, such as removing limbs or entire trees with the assistance of bucket trucks loaned to the park by the Virginia Division of State Forests.[76]

Likely the first computer at APCO was installed during 1989 for use by the Clerk-Typist position. The NPS built and installed a computer station along with carpeting within the Clerk-Typist's workspace within the Bocock-Isbell House. Montgomery's CY 1992 report was the first at the park obviously created using word processing software rather than typewriters. Several staff members, including Montgomery, received a five-week WordPerfect training the year before, so it appears the Superintendent put that training to use.[77]

Major Projects

While it is true that there were fewer major projects within APCO under Montgomery that is not to say there were no major projects at all. Regular maintenance on APCO historic structures continued in 1981, including all of the following major projects: replacing Clover Hill Tavern front porch columns due to rot, new gutters on the Clover Hill Tavern, Tavern Kitchen, Tavern Guesthouse, and Kelley House, replacing steps and hand-rails at front and rear Peers House, replacing mortar on the Jail, Tavern Guesthouse, Tavern Kitchen, and Bocock-Isbell House, and painting a half-dozen buildings and extended sections of fence.[78] APCO staff repaired, replaced, and painted hundreds of yards of fences every year throughout the park. Of all staff projects, this was one classified as a special project (rather than routine maintenance) that took place every year since at least 1980.[79]

For each subsequent year in the 1980s, APCO installed similar replacements of rotted, deteriorated, or leaking parts of historic buildings. Montgomery's annual reports made no mention as to mitigation strategies or thought put into material selections. As time progressed though, some installations were more invasive or involved full replacements. In general, buildings received minor treatments regularly, such as painting, removing rough wood, replacing shingles, applying preservatives, or repairing highly trafficked floors. In 1983, staff installed UF-3 Plexiglas storm windows in many of the McLean House window frames with a Velcro fastening system. These new windows would block ultraviolet light and would be easier to remove for cleaning. In 1984, modern guttering was installed on the Tavern Slave Quarters. In 1986, the Clover Hill Tavern received two coats of Hydrozo, a

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[76] SR, CY 1995, 30 January 1996, APCO Central Files (APCO 11800/015.001, Box 014).

[77] SR, CY 1989, 2 March 1990.

[78] SR, CY 1981, 18 March 1982, NACP, Superintendents' Annual Narrative Reports, 1980–2001, Entry P-17, Box 05.

[79] SR, CY 1991, 26 February 1992.

water-repellant penetrating sealant, to prevent further moisture-related problems.[80] In 1988, APCO installed new copper guttering on the Visitor Center, Tavern, Tavern Kitchen, and the Slave Quarters.[81]

The Williamsport Preservation Training Center began restoration work on the Conner-Sweeney Cabin in 1986 with the support of a single APCO staff member. This work was "approximately 95% complete" as of the end of 1989 with the final steps being applying exterior preservatives, white washing the chimney, installing door thresholds, and installing felt paper under siding.[82]

In 1988, APCO installed a new "false chimney" on the Bocock-Isbell House to match findings from archaeological investigation. A large renovation of the Bocock-Isbell House took place in 1992. George Fore and Associates first conducted a historic paint analysis, then removed all paint, sanded rough spots, primed, and painted the house white with green trim. Next, workers installed copper gutters, storm windows, and a cypress wooden shingle roof, repointed two chimneys, replaced the basement exterior door and hot water heater, and constructed a brick walkway from the back porch to the entrance gate.[83] That same year, workers reroofed and replaced front and rear steps at both the McLean House and Clover Hill Tavern. Brick walkways in front of the McLean House, Clover Hill Tavern, and Visitor Center were all replaced during this time as well.[84]

Comparatively few changes were made to roads during the Montgomery tenure. A 1000-foot access road to the maintenance area was finalized in 1981, thus eliminating all vehicle traffic from the surrender triangle area.[85] The state installed a left turn lane on Route 24 for eastbound visitors approaching the main APCO entrance in 1988, a long-desired modification sought by the NPS.[86]

The exception to the lack of road changes was the stage road. The stage road was treated often during the 1980s, especially within the corridor visible from the courthouse circle. The NPS treated the road with six inches of a sand-clay mixture in 1981. Montgomery did not note the exact composition of the treatment nor the color at this

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[80] SR, CY 1982, 6 April 1983, NACP, Superintendents' Annual Narrative Reports, 1980–2001, Entry P-17, Box 05. SR, CY 1984, 21 February 1985, NACP, Superintendents' Annual Narrative Reports, 1980–2001, Entry P-17, Box 05.

[81] SR, CY 198, 2 March 1989.

[82] SR, CY 1986, 1 April 1987, NACP, Superintendents' Annual Narrative Reports, 1980–2001, Entry P-17, Box 05. SR, CY 1989, 2 March 1990.

[83] SR, CY 198, 2 March 1989.

[84] SR, CY 1992, 3 March 1993.

[85] SR, CY 1981, 18 March 1982, NACP, Superintendents' Annual Narrative Reports, 1980–2001, Entry P-17, Box 05.

[86] SR, CY 1987, 7 April 1988.

point, but did two years later. The 1983 treatment included about 1,300 feet of "historic appearing brown stone" according to Montgomery.[87] A 1993 treatment was "a special mixer of material (sand, clay, gravel)" on contract at a cost of $9,097.[88]

A major project in 1982–83 was the installation of a water, burglar, and fire alarm system, a project initially began by Garcia. Private contractor bids opened in April 1982 with work to begin in May and concluding within about 120 days. Plans called for a 20-inch water line running about 2,400 feet from the park boundary to village, another 5,000 feet of 8-inch and smaller line connecting buildings, and nine fire hydrants.[89] The bid was awarded to Southern Air of Lynchburg and D. S. Nash Construction Company of Appomattox. The final project also included installation of sprinklers in the maintenance shop area and burglar alarms for the McLean House, Meek's Store, Clover Hill Tavern, Tavern Kitchen, Court House, and Isbell House library. The same security system was enabled full-time at the Museum Storage Area at the Maintenance Building.[90] D. S. Nash installed about 10,500 feet of 12-inch water line from the town water source to the park. According to Montgomery, this was the first comprehensive fire protection ever installed at APCO and finally provided "drinking water that meets the compliance requirements of the Virginia State Health Department." Four years after the initial installation of this new system, it was further expanded to include alarms on the two upstairs McLean House bedrooms.[91] After completion of the new fire prevention system, the NPS transferred old fire-fighting material installed in 1948 yet described as "like new" to the Appomattox Volunteer Fire Department headed by Hugh Mitchell. Materials included a 30-horsepower pump, heavy-duty hose cart, and several hundred feet of hose.[92]

The maintenance area received a full renovation during 1989. This included the installation of new lighting, removal of interior walls and garage doors, an electrical system upgrade, and purchase of a 16-inch radial arm saw and 16-inch table saw.[93]

A few other major projects included the following three. A half-mile nature trail opened within APCO in 1984 as part of the Civil War history trail on the park's eastern edge beginning near Lee's Headquarters parking area. The key component of this trail was about thirty interpretive plates identifying nearby trees and other plants. The NPS worked

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87 SR, CY 1981, 18 March 1982, NACP, Superintendents' Annual Narrative Reports, 1980–2001, Entry P-17, Box 05. SR, CY 1983, 29 February 1984, NACP, Superintendents' Annual Narrative Reports, 1980–2001, Entry P-17, Box 05.

88 SR, CY 1993, 8 March 1994.

89 Darrell Laurant, "History Is the Road to Appomattox," *Lynchburg News*, April 24, 1982.

90 "Interpretive Prospectus," 1985, APCO Central Files (APCO 11800/006.001 Box 001, Superintendent Files).

91 SR, CY 1982, 6 April 1983, NACP, Superintendents' Annual Narrative Reports, 1980–2001, Entry P-17, Box 05. SR, CY 1987, 7 April 1988.

92 *Appomattox Times-Virginian*, May 19, 1983.

93 SR, CY 1989, 2 March 1990.

with the Society of American Foresters to create the trail.[94] Park staff removed five underground fuel oil tanks and one gasoline tank in 1991 and initiated a mitigation strategy around the areas where two had begun to leak.[95]

External Forces

A few events took place at or near APCO that was outside of NPS control. Most of these events had little impact upon the park in the end, but could have drastically re-shaped the park's physical landscape. For example, during the early 1980s, the town of Appomattox held many meetings on a national-level project to re-route Route 460 to bypass the town. Local business owners worried the relocation would have a negative impact on commerce, while others felt reducing downtown traffic would result in a safer community, especially during evening rush hours. APCO officials generally did not comment on the project positively or negatively, despite it having an obvious impact upon the park.[96]

In October 1983, the Friends of Virginia Civil War Parks formed in Richmond to support APCO, Fredericksburg and Spotsylvania, Manassas, Petersburg, and Richmond NPS sites. Bylaws were adopted at a November organizing meeting, with officers elected including Dean Warner (President), Dana Elizabeth Rice (Vice President), Homer Musselman (Secretary), and Dennis Madison (Treasurer). Jon Montgomery had a hand in this organization's creation in that he, while the group was being organized, received all communication for the group via letter and telephone. The original bylaws stated the purpose of the organization was "to assist the present and future NPS Civil War Parks in Virginia. . .to protect and interpret the historical resources therein contained for the benefit of this and succeeding generations and to promote the historical, scientific, education, and interpretive activities of the Civil War Parks and generate private donations of cash and in-kind for these parks." By-laws also dictated a fifteen-member board with three representatives from each of the five parks. Annual dues for Charter Membership ranged from $10.00 for an individual to $500.00 for a corporate sponsor.[97]

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[94] "Park Has New Nature Trail," *Appomattox Times-Virginian,* November 7, 1984.

[95] SR, CY 1991, 26 February 1992. SR, CY 1992, 3 March 1992.

[96] Frances Abbitt, "Bypass Issue Examined by Appomattox Officials," *Appomattox Times-Virginian,* February 1, 1984.

[97] There was a regular media and entertainment presence at APCO similar to previous years, though not as much as during the Gurney era. Corinthian Production from Channel 13 out of Hampton, VA, filmed a one-hour television special "Appomattox: The Last Four Days" at the McLean House on April 13th and 14th, 1981. "'Friends of Park' Group Forms," *Appomattox Times-Virginian,* November 16, 1983. "Be a Friend," clipping (ca. 1983–4), APCO Scrapbook #7, Historian's Office, APCO. SR, CY 1981, 18 March 1982, NACP, Superintendents' Annual Narrative Reports, 1980–2001, Entry P-17, Box 05.

Starting in 1988, a local debate raged regarding a potential landfill in Southside Virginia with a location within a few miles of APCO becoming a prime candidate. John Notestein, owner of Appomattox Disposal Company, was the primary local driver of the project, while other locals organized as Citizens for a Better Appomattox to oppose the landfill. Jon Montgomery recalled years later that county officials requested the landfill be placed on NPS property, which the NPS promptly rejected.[98]

A rare instance of vandalism struck APCO in 1988 when unknown parties destroyed the signs marking the Confederate cemetery and Lee's Headquarters.[99] The next documented case of vandalism came in May 1996 when Jon Montgomery took to the newspapers to announce the end of night parking due to increased problems. Montgomery noticed during the previous winter that beer cans littered APCO parking lots, and several signs had been knocked down. The Appomattox Sheriff's Office would now patrol APCO parking areas and issue trespassing citations for all vehicles there between 9:00 p.m. and 6:00 a.m.[100]

125th Anniversary

The promise of tourism excited APCO staff and local leaders as the 125th Anniversary neared. According to Montgomery's reports, the Virginia Department of Tourism estimated $2.5 million were spent by tourists in Appomattox County during 1988, a figure that bode well for the upcoming 125th Anniversary events. The first anniversary planning meetings took place during 1988 when Montgomery met with Harold Wyatt and Chuck Hillman of the Sayler's Creek Committee regarding the Stacking of Arms ceremony tentatively scheduled for April 15th, 1990. The reason why the Sayler's Creek Committee was engaged was likely because they had successfully coordinated reenactment events in APCO many times before. Their work also included the 119th anniversary event (1984) highlighted by about 850 reenactors participating in a stacking of arms ceremony before about 3,000 visitors. Most other large-scale reenactment events in the 1980s were organized by the Sayler's Creek Committee in partnership with APCO. At the time, both parties agreed the 1984 reenactment program was a huge success but should not be done every year to retain a special feel.[101]

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[98] Tracy Wheeler, "Appomattox Landfill Investors Revealed," *Lynchburg News*, September 4, 1988. Darrell Laurant, "1865 Time Capsule," *Lynchburg News*, August 4, 1991.

[99] "Vandals Hit Here," *Appomattox Times-Virginian*, July 21, 1988.

[100] "Vandals Mar Civil War Landmark," *Lynchburg News*, May 31, 1996.

[101] SR, CY 1984, 21 February 1985, NACP, Superintendents' Annual Narrative Reports, 1980–2001, Entry P-17, Box 05.

Montgomery put far more effort than usual into military living history programs during the 1988–90 seasons. APCO hosted seven living history weekend programs during the summer, with six dedicated to interpreting single military units and one as a "Living History Weekend." The 1989 season was about the same as the previous, with six additional living history weekend programs specific to military units. In both years, there were five Confederate and one Union unit interpreted during these weekends. Even with the 125th anniversary events in April 1990, APCO hosted six additional military reenactment groups during the year. Similar events continued after the 125th but were instead advertised as civilian events such as "Village Life," "Old Time Music," and "Evening Stroll in the Park."[102] An additional attraction completed before April was a renovation of the Clover Hill Tavern. This work included a reproduction of the original wall stenciling, graining the woodwork, and fireplace marbling.[103]

The 125th Anniversary events were held at APCO from April 7th through April 14th, 1990, with the theme of "The Dawn of Peace." Planned events were as follows:

- Saturday, April 7—Civil War Camp, 9:30 to 5:00, historical interpretation of a military camp performed by the 26th North Carolina infantry re-enactors group
- Sunday, April 8—Commemorative Ceremony, 1:30 p.m., an estimated 4,000 participants will recreate the Stacking of Arms
- Monday, April 9
    - Battle of Appomattox Court House Walking Tour, 10:00 to 11:30, Chris Calkins and Ed Bearss will lead a two-mile walking tour beginning at the Courthouse Visitor Center
    - First Person Soldier Presentations, 11:20 a.m. / 2:20 p.m. / 3:20 p.m., Corporal Robert M. Fields (Union) portrayed by Patrick Schroeder presents a first-person perspective on his Appomattox Campaign experiences at the Clover Hill Tavern
    - Post Office Stamp Cancellation, 9:00 to 4:30, at the Meeks General Store
    - Talk on the Surrender of General Lee, 1:30 p.m., Ed Bearss presents this talk at the McLean House
    - Appomattox Lecture Series, 7:30 p.m., Chief Historian Ed Bearss presents "The Generalship of Lee and Grant" at the Appomattox County High School Auditorium
- Tuesday, April 10

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[102] The interpreted units were the 11th Virginia Infantry (all years), 9th Virginia Cavalry (1988), 26th North Carolina Infantry (all years), Stonewall Brigade (1988), 8th Maryland Infantry (1988), 33rd Virginia Infantry (1988), 2nd Virginia Cavalry (1990), 21st Virginia Cavalry (1990), 3rd Virginia Infantry (1989), 1st Confederate Regiment (1989), Company D of the 188th Pennsylvania Infantry (1990), and 20th Maine Regiment (1989). SR, CY 1988, 2 March 1989. SR, CY 1989, 2 March 1990. SR, CY 1991, 26 February 1992.

[103] "Tavern Gets New Look," *Appomattox Times-Virginian,* March 1, 1990.

    - Film "Surrender at Appomattox, 10:00 a.m. / 2:00 p.m., presentation of the documentary film at the Visitor Center Theater
    - First Person Soldier Presentations, 11:20 a.m. / 2:20 p.m. / 3:20 p.m., Corporal Robert M. Fields (Union) presents a first-person perspective on his Appomattox Campaign experiences at the Clover Hill Tavern
    - Appomattox Lecture Series, 7:30 p.m., Dr. Gary Gallagher presents "Why Appomattox" at the Appomattox County High School Auditorium
- Wednesday, April 11
    - Film "Surrender at Appomattox," 10:00 a.m. / 2:00 p.m., presentation of the documentary film at the Visitor Center Theater
    - First Person Soldier Presentations, 11:20 a.m. / 2:20 p.m. / 3:20 p.m., Corporal Robert M. Fields (Union) presents a first-person perspective on his Appomattox Campaign experiences at the Clover Hill Tavern
    - Appomattox Lecture Series, 7:30 p.m., President of the National Historical Society William C. Davis presents "Roads from Appomattox: Warriors Waging Peace" at the Appomattox County High School Auditorium
- Thursday, April 12
    - "Honor Answers Honor," A Talk on the Stacking of Arms, 10:00 a.m. / 2:00 p.m., Chris Calkins presents a talk along the stage road from the Visitor Center to the Surrender Triangle
    - First Person Soldier Presentations, 11:20 a.m. / 2:20 p.m. / 3:20 p.m., Corporal Robert M. Fields (Union) presents a first-person perspective on his Appomattox Campaign experiences at the Clover Hill Tavern
    - Appomattox Lecture Series, 7:30 p.m., Chris Calkins presents "On the Road to Appomattox: The Final Campaign" at the Appomattox County High School Auditorium
- Friday, April 13
    - First Person Soldier Presentations, 11:20 a.m. / 2:20 p.m. / 3:20 p.m., Corporal Robert M. Fields (Union) presents a first-person perspective on his Appomattox Campaign experiences at the Clover Hill Tavern
    - Appomattox Lecture Series, 7:30 p.m., Dr. James I. Robertson, Jr. presents "Johnny Reb and Billy Yank at Appomattox" at the Appomattox County High School Auditorium
- Saturday, April 14

- Sailor's Creek to Appomattox Tour, 8:00 to 5:00, follows the route of Lee and Grant to Appomattox April 6-9, 1865. Tours were $22.00 including a lunch and refreshments and were led by Chris Calkins and Ron Wilson. Destinations included Sailor's Creek, Farmville, High Bridge, Cumberland Church, and APCO.[104]

Of all these events, the primary attraction was the April 8th Stacking of Arms Ceremony. About 10,000 visitors observed 3,500 re-enactors perform the ceremony. The atmosphere was described by many as eerily quiet and somber. One newspaper headline read "125 Years Later, Men Still Weep Over Lost Cause." Visitors and reenactors alike were described as incredibly quiet. This event attracted reenactors from organizations based in the mid-Atlantic primarily, though some traveled from as far away as Germany, for example.[105]

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[104] 125th Anniversary schedule, APCO Scrapbook #6, Historian's Office, APCO. "Events Planned for 125th Anniversary," *Farmville Herald*, March 14, 1990. "Varied Slate of Events Planned at National Park," *Appomattox Times-Virginian*, February 15, 1990.

[105] Note that newspapers estimated between 1,000 and 4,000 re-enactors. An exact count was not made. Jon Montgomery to APCO Staff, 21 December 1990, APCO Archive: Resource Management Records, Box 001. Allen Austin photo, undated newspaper clipping, APCO Scrapbook #6, Historian's Office, APCO. Thomas Boyer, "125 Years Later, Men Still Weep Over Lost Cause," undated newspaper clipping, APCO Scrapbook #6, Historian's Office, APCO. Edward Colimore, "Army in Gray Re-Creates Surrender," *Philadelphia Enquirer*, April 9, 1990. SR, CY 1990, 27 March 1991.



Figure 47. Stacking of Arms Ceremony, 1990. APCO Historian's Office.

An outside organization attempted to halt the APCO 125th Anniversary events in early 1990, though the likelihood of a cancellation was low. Pat Massengill, President of Napoleonic Tactics Inc., made two claims—that APCO's April events would directly compete with his organization's event taking place outside of Fredericksburg, and that APCO had an unethical working relationship with the Sayler's Creek Committee to organize reenactors for the 125th. The Sayler's Creek Committee had members who, at one point,

owned companies in direct competition with Massengill's, so the accusations carried some weight of bias and impropriety. Either way, Superintendent Montgomery was clear in media reports that there was no intention of changing course for the NPS events.[106]

The NPS recognized APCO with a Departmental Unit Award in 1990 for the "work performed to commemorate the 125th anniversary of the surrender of General Robert E. Lee and the Army of Northern Virginia to General Ulysses S. Grant." Superintendent Montgomery nominated the park in April of that year, shortly after the 125th anniversary event, and the award came six months later. The award included a description of the event which highlighted what national NPS staff and Montgomery believed to be the most important components. The award noted the intense planning put into the Stacking of Arms, including regular meetings with reenactors and state and local agencies for nearly a year before the event. APCO staff further handled thousands of media requests, extensively cleaned the park, removed and replaced fences, produced special brochures and posters, secured shuttle buses, and solicited local business donations.[107]

Other Anniversaries

Anniversaries were largely the same from year to year during this time period except for the 125th anniversary event in 1990. A major, though subtle, change during the 1990s was that anniversary events became far more standardized than those in the 1980s. For example, the only special events mentioned in newspapers announcing the 1982 surrender anniversary was a historical lecture at the McLean House.[108] Compare this to the 1991 126th Anniversary. APCO staff screened "Surrender at Appomattox" on April 9th; on April 13th, Wilson and Calkins led a bus tour from Sailor's Creek to APCO; and finally, on April 14th, Calkins led walking tours, Wilson delivered a special lecture at the McLean House, and then Calkins spoke on the stacking of arms at the Surrender Triangle. These events were nearly identical, barring a few minor scheduling differences, to anniversary events in 1992, 1993, and 1994.[109]

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[106] Deborah Fitts, "Friction Is Continuing Over Appomattox Observances," *The Civil War News* (Jan./Feb. 1990), 20.

[107] Note that newspapers estimated between 2,000 and 4,000 re-enactors. An exact count was not made. Jon Montgomery to APCO Staff, 21 December 1990, APCO Archive: Resource Management Records, Box 001. Thomas Boyer, "125 Years Later, Men Still Weep Over Lost Cause," undated newspaper clipping, APCO Scrapbook #6, Historian's Office, APCO. Allen Austin photo, undated newspaper clipping, APCO Scrapbook #6, Historian's Office, APCO.

[108] "Anniversary Observance Set," *Appomattox Times-Virginian*, April 8, 1982.

[109] "Park Sets Events," *Appomattox Times-Virginian*, April 4, 1991. "National Park Events," undated newspaper clipping, APCO Scrapbook #6, Historian's Office, APCO. "Anniversary Observance Slated Here," *Appomattox Times-Virginian*, April 7, 1983. "Park Plans Observances," *Appomattox Times-Virginian*, April 9, 1986.

Some years, usually those with anniversaries divisible by five, brought Civil War reenactors to the area and APCO staff began planning special events accordingly. The 1995 130th Anniversary events again brought large numbers of reenactors to APCO, though observers did not note how many.[110] The 2000 135th was much larger than usual:

- Saturday, April 8th
    - Talk on Appomattox Campaign by Ron Wilson, 11:00 a.m.
    - Living History presentation by Union soldier Patrick Schroeder, 12:20 p.m. & 3:00 p.m.
    - Walking tour of the Battles of Appomattox Court House by Chris Calkins, 2:00 p.m.
    - Book signing in Clover Hill Tavern with Chris Calkins and Patrick Schroeder, 4:00 p.m.
- Sunday, April 9th
    - Living History presentation by Union soldier Patrick Schroeder, 11:20 p.m. & 2:20 p.m.
    - Talk on surrender of General Lee to General Grant by Ron Wilson, 1:30 p.m.
    - Confederate Memorial Day Commemoration by United Daughters of the Confederacy at Confederate Cemetery with address by Rev. James N. Williams, 2:00 p.m.
    - Lecture on the formal stacking of arms by Chris Calkins, 3:00 p.m.
    - Book signing in Clover Hill Tavern with Chris Calkins and Patrick Schroeder, 4:00 p.m.
- Saturday, April 15th
    - Civil War Seminar at Longwood College jointly sponsored by NPS and Longwood College Department of History and Political Science with lectures by Dr. James I. Robertson, Jr., Dr. Brian Wills, Dr. William Marvel, Dr. William C. Davis, and Dr. David Coles
- Saturday, May 13th
    - Bus tour from Sailor's Creek to APCO hosted by Chris Calkins and Ron Wilson[111]

Also, during 2000, APCO and Petersburg National Battlefield partnered together to deliver special programs on the relationship between the two sites. At the end of March, Petersburg staff presented a walking tour of their site focused on the Battle of Fort Stedman followed a week later by living history interpretation and lectures on the Battle of Five Forks. These events were followed by "a variety of programs" at APCO.[112]

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[110] "Civil War's 130th Draws to a Close," *The Civil War News* (Feb./Mar. 1995), 1.

[111] "135th Anniversary of Lee's Surrender at Appomattox Marked by Many Events," *Farmville Herald,* April 5, 2000.

[112] "Two National Parks Join Forces," *Farmville Herald,* February 25, 2000.

There was no consistency in the annual Christmas program during Montgomery's tenure. By the early 1980s through the 1990s, the formal Christmas celebration at APCO had been replaced by a simpler open house with a waived entrance fee and cider, coffee, and cookies available for guests. Buildings and fences were decorated with greens, holly, and mistletoe, and each window had a single electric candle. Living history interpreters would also be on staff from 1:00 to 4:00. Some years, such as in 1983, local businesses donated decorations and volunteer hours to assist with preparations. Others, such as in 1997, the Appomattox Garden Club decorated the village with native greens, holly, magnolia leaves, dried flowers, and ribbons along with a lighted candle in each window. In 1998, Montgomery's successor Reed Johnson reported that the event was simply a mid-December open house offering cookies and cider prepared by park staff.[113]

APCO hosted a few other special events throughout this period. One example was a special July 4th event in 1992 entitled "An Evening Stroll Through Appomattox Court House." This event began at 7:30 p.m. and consisted of an hour-long walking tour where living history interpreters presented both civilian and soldier perspectives on how the Civil War affected their characters' lives. Characters included Wilmer McLean, George Peers, Mr. and Mrs. Meeks, Wilson G. Hix, and soldiers from the 188th Pennsylvania Volunteer Infantry. Near-identical events took place on two more weekends (October 10–11 and November 7–8) later that same year.[114]

Reed Johnson

Jon Montgomery retired in 1997 after thirty-four years of NPS service with sixteen at APCO. His parting words demonstrated pride in his work at APCO, but cautioned the park had "an excellent staff but we are underfunded and understaffed. We need additional money." Specifically, Montgomery believed APCO needed a Resources Management Specialist and Educational Coordinator.[115]

Reed Johnson took over as Superintendent in May 1997 and served to January 3, 2015. Prior to APCO, Johnson worked at Saugus Iron Works National Historic Site as Superintendent since 1992. Other experience included Prince William Forest Park,

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[113] "Park Plans Open House on December 15," undated newspaper clipping (ca. 1991), APCO Scrapbook #6, Historian's Office, APCO. "Historical Park Sets Open House," *Appomattox Times-Virginian*, December 10, 1992. "Park to Be Dressed Up for Holiday," *Appomattox Times-Virginian*, December 14, 1983. *Appomattox Times-Virginian*, December 14, 1994. "Open House Set at Historical Park," undated newspaper clipping (ca. 1997), APCO Scrapbook #8, Historian's Office, APCO. SR, 26 February 1999.

[114] "Take a Stroll through the Past," *Appomattox Times*, July 1, 1992. "Visit the National Historic Park This Fall," *Appomattox Times*, October 8, 1992.

[115] Frances Abbitt, "Montgomery Retires after 34 Years with NPS," undated newspaper clipping (ca. 1997), APCO Scrapbook #8, Historian's Office, APCO.

Shenandoah National Park, the National Mall, Hampton National Historical Site, Lincoln Home National Historical Site, and Hopewell Culture National Historical Park. Johnson and his wife were both native Virginians with a young child, all of which factored into the decision to accept transfer.[116]

Shortly after Johnson began work at APCO, Congress passed the National Parks Omnibus Management Act of 1998. This law mandated that all NPS units prepare and make publicly available Strategic Plans (reviewed every three years) and Annual Performance Plans (reviewed annually). Guidelines further mandated that plans follow the Government Performance and Results Act such that long-term and short-term goals be measured and evaluated in terms of objective, quantifiable, and measurable outcomes. Thus the management contexts within which Johnson worked were significantly different than his predecessors. Of course, each Superintendent followed Federal guidelines for planning and reporting, but as of 1998 there was a stricter set of regular guidelines to follow. It was within this framework that Johnson set about to craft a new GMP for APCO.[117]

One of the first major items on Johnson's agenda was to follow Montgomery's final pleas for more funding. This, in Johnson's view, could be achieved by beginning a new GMP that emphasized the need for additional labor and maintenance project funding. On the first page of Johnson's first annual report, he described a distressing scene at the park:

> While we experienced no funding shortages per se during the most recent fiscal year, Appomattox Court House continues to operate with a level of staffing so skeletal and inadequate as to be characterized as, "both shocking and appalling" by a Superintendent from another Civil War park. We have endeavored to rectify this situation through the Operations Formulation System and it remains the primary object of the current management team to resolve this imminent threat to both our resources and service to the public.

Within the same annual report, Johnson noted the APCO labor force consisted of fourteen permanent employees, nine seasonal employees, 5,590 volunteer hours, a local community employment service, and the occasional local court service assignment. This staff completed 1,073 tours and walks, a Junior Ranger Program and Children's Civil War Day Camp to 1,515 children, and a new regular winter season ranger talk at the McLean House.[118]

The first scoping meeting for Johnson's GMP was in October 1999, and Reed Johnson noted problems right off. He wrote that it "became readily apparent to all participants what I was already aware of. Namely, the dearth of planning, assessment, and documentation in the park made it unfeasible to begin the GMP." The GMP was thus

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[116] "Changing of the Guard at ACHNHP," *Appomattox Times-Virginian*, June 4, 1997.

[117] "Strategic Plan for Appomattox Court House National Historical Park: October 1, 2007—September 30, 2011."

[118] SR, CY 1998, 26 February 1999.

delayed a year so staff could work on several needed projects, such as a Collections Management Plan, an Archeological Overview and Assessment, and a Transportation Study related to Route 24.

A draft of the Collections Management Plan was completed in 1999 with the assistance of Museum Services staff. It took just two weeks to finish the first draft, and the Northeast Museum Services Center completed the final plan in 2003. The Transportation Study began in 1999, with a first draft issued the same year as well. The first recommendation issued from this study was to lower the speed limit on Route 24 as it passes through the park from 55 MPH to 35 MPH, though this was revised to a 45 MPH reduction in the final draft. NPS staff presented the Transportation Study to Virginia Department of Transportation representatives at two separate meetings, and both times the state rejected any speed limit reductions. The archaeological program was completed in 2000 jointly by Colonial Williamsburg and the College of William and Mary. This project was so successful for both parties that they immediately entered discussions to open an annual field school.[119] Route 24 issues returned five years later when Johnson petitioned the county for a formal resolution in support of a traffic calming pedestrian trail or bike path concept for Route 24. The idea was to mark out a clearer pedestrian and cycling path, along with a reduction in speed limit.[120]

Before going further into the planning process, it may be more helpful to address other aspects of the park, namely interpretation, land management, major projects, and external forces acting upon the park. The reason for this ordering is because planning and projects are an iterative process. Plans inform projects, but so too do projects inform plans. Projects at APCO during the Johnson era generally were only undertaken because of planning. Similarly, some decisions made in planning processes only make sense when viewed through the lens of ongoing projects. To be clear, there is no correct ordering of these events, but this method provides the most clarity.

Living History and Interpretation

Most APCO work continued as before largely unchanged within such a stricter set of planning guidelines. As part of the Historic Furnishings Plan implementation process, Johnson along with HFC representatives (Bill Brown and Andy Chamberlain) met to discuss the McLean House in late 1999 and early 2000. The outcome of this meeting was a plan to design and install a slavery exhibit in the McLean House Kitchen and Slave Quarters. The impetus for such a decision stemmed, in part according to Johnson, from "our mandate" from Senator Jesse Jackson for the NPS to "interpret slavery as a cause of

[119] FY 2000 "State of the Park" Summary, APCO. FY 2001 "State of the Park" Summary, APCO.

[120] Johnson, untitled report, ca. January 2006, APCO Historian's Office.

the Civil War." Johnson referenced new language in the Department of the Interior's appropriations bill passed in November 1999 that called upon parks "to recognize and include in all of their public displays. . .the unique role that the institution of slavery played in causing the Civil War and its role, if any, at the individual battle sites."[121]

A focus on African American history continued into the 2000s at APCO. On October 10, 2001, Johnson met with the Historian for the African American Education Heritage Trail (AAEHT) and county administrators to plan possible waysides for the under-construction trail. AAEHT planners intended to make APCO a stop along the trail, and Johnson intended to cooperate in every way possible. This new emphasis would only be expended once APCO completed a Long-Range Interpretive Plan in 2010, as discussed later.[122]

The Living History Program generally ran daily from mid-May through early September, then on weekends only through the end of October during the Johnson era. Portrayed characters were largely the same as in previous decades. Historian Patrick Schroeder managed the program beginning with his hiring as the park's historian in 2002. During the six-month period between Ron Wilson's retirement and Schroeder's hiring, Johnson split certain responsibilities away from the Historian position and into the Chief of Interpretation position. The Historian position was at this point responsible for all historical research, supporting the living history program, managing the park bookstore, and providing regular support to all other curatorial and interpretive needs. This new labor division also allowed Schroeder to conduct far more research than was ever possible during Wilson's extended tenure. Returning to living history, when Schroeder took over there were typically two living history interpreters scheduled per day. For instance, in 2005, living history characters included George Peers, Federal Provost Guard soldiers, former Confederate soldiers, and Mary Hix, the daughter of the Tavern owner. As of 2006, three of the four employed living history interpreters lived at the Moon House. About halfway through the summer, banjo musician and living historian Corbin Hayslett joined the program portraying George Hix and informally developed a Sweeney interpretive program that incorporated banjo playing. The first attempts to develop official NPS banjo-related interpretation occurred during the summer of 1996 when APCO Museum Technician David Wooldridge proposed such a program to Ron Wilson. Wilson approved, and since then the park has had some type of interpretation centered upon the banjo at Appomattox Court House. Schroeder also incorporated more civilian characters into the program starting in the early-2000s, including African American women characters portrayed by Dominique Wardell and Ebony Mayo.[123]

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[121] FY 2000 "State of the Park" Summary, APCO. Kate Masur, "Changes in the Offing for Civil War Sites," *Perspectives on History* (1 March 2000).

[122] FY 2001 "State of the Park" Summary, APCO.

[123] Schroeder, Monthly Activity Report, April 2005; May 2006; July 2006, APCO Historian's Office.

Encampments reduced in frequency and size during the 1990s. The decade began with about a half-dozen military reenactment events. In 2001, for example, there was just one—the 26th North Carolina Regiment held a special event on Columbus Day weekend in conjunction with Appomattox Railroad Day. The volunteer reenactors performed infantry drills, combat medic and field hospital demonstrations, fife and drum drills, and a stacking of arms. In general, reenactment events were reserved for anniversaries.[124]

Sales at the store began to decline in the mid-2000s, likely due to competition from online outlets. Schroeder noted a decline in FY 2006 despite a good evaluation of the store manager. Exact sales figures were $264,364, a drop of $28,871 from the preceding year likely from the 27% decline in park visitation that year. Another possible cause was that most of the park's top-selling items were out of stock, such as the Silent Witness dolls, pins, and ornaments. Throughout this period, Eastern National continued to maintain the program.[125]

Artifacts continued to find their way to APCO as well. In 2007, William Marvel (author of *A Place Called Appomattox*) contacted Joe Williams to inform him that he knew of the location of George Frankenstein's painting "Head of the Appomattox River" (APCO 11830). It was owned by art collector Michael Callis. Through Marvel and APCO staff's work, Callis initially offered to loan APCO the painting but "being touched by the reunification of the Nation which took place at Appomattox in 1865 decided to donate the painting in honor of the spirit of Barack Obama and John McCain."[126]

In 1998, APCO began a full Visitor Center and Museum rehabilitation project as core museum elements had been largely unchanged for about a decade. Curator Joe Williams, during the 1990s, did secure loans of objects for display and regularly rotated some exhibit cases, but most of the museum remained roughly the same year to year. The largest exception to this rule both figuratively and literally was the exhibit case constructed on the first floor in the early-2010s. The original intention was to display the original surrender tables, but loan agreements fell through and the case was repurposed for other large artifacts. Returning to 1998, in February, staff updated environmental conditions and monitoring. In March, Phase I of a new storage plan consisting of reorganization and installation of additional storage equipment was implemented with the assistance of the Northeast Museum Services Center. Johnson considered Phase I to be a stopgap measure after years of neglect. Later that same year, staff began a Furnishings Plan Implementation Project overseen by Harpers Ferry Center Division of Historic Furnishings. The core of this project was to apply conservation treatments to artifacts within the McLean House and Clover Hill Tavern, painting, cleaning, and sealing McLean House interiors and windows, and installing

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[124] FY 2001 "State of the Park" Summary, APCO.

[125] Schroeder, Monthly Activity Report, May 2007; Memorandum, 29 November 2006, APCO Historian's Office.

[126] Johnson, untitled report, ca. 2009, APCO Historian's Office.

"reproduction 'Scotch Ingrain' carpet." This project also included the acquisition of about 460 objects in 1999 for the McLean House and Clover Hill Tavern furnishing plans (APCO 523), some of which were never cataloged by APCO or other NPS staff.[127]

Staffing and Land

As for management, Johnson's tenure essentially kept the same maintenance program in place from the Montgomery years. A typical year consisted of multiple structures painted, new electrical and plumbing systems installed, and the removal of dead trees and brush throughout the park. An example of special projects was, for example, visits by the Williamsport Training Center in 1997 to work on the County Jail (remove and replace cracked mortar and brick) and the Mariah Wright House (remove and replace south chimney footer).[128] APCO received emergency funding in 2001 for asbestos abatement within the Clover Hill Tavern so staff could move forward with a new furnishing and exhibit project. The primary problem involved asbestos insulation applied to old steam heating pipes.[129]

Johnson noted in his FY 2000 report that visitor and resource protection "continues to be a major concern." None of his predecessors noted any significant or recurring problems with law enforcement, trespassing, or vandalism, so it is not clear what, if anything, changed. Regardless, Johnson's top priority going into FY 2001 was establishing concurrent jurisdiction, Visitor Management Resource Protection Assessment Program, and a Law Enforcement Needs Assessment.[130]

Johnson made a minor shift in the park's hours during the summer of 2001. Since about 1990, APCO's hours of operation were from 8:30 a.m. to 5:00 p.m. during most of the year and from 9:00 a.m. to 5:30 p.m. during winter months. This caused confusion with visitors and annoyance with staff, both of whom had to manage two sets of signs and remember when the shift in times occurred. Johnson made it so that APCO eliminated the special summer hours and was open 8:30 a.m. to 5:00 p.m. year-round.[131]

An internship program for college students began in 2003 by circumstance of a conference meeting between Patrick Schroeder, who had been recently hired as Historian, and Peter Carmichael, then professor at the University of North Carolina-Greensboro (UNCG). The two immediately corresponded during the winter of 2002. The first UNCG intern, Karmen Bisher, began in June 2003 just a few days after other interns began their

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[127] SR, CY 1998, 26 February 1999. APCO Central Files (APCO 11800/015.001, Box 014).

[128] SR, CY 1997, 21 January 1998, APCO Central Files (APCO 11800/015.001, Box 014).

[129] FY 2001 "State of the Park" Summary, APCO.

[130] FY 2000 "State of the Park" Summary, APCO.

[131] FY 2001 "State of the Park" Summary, APCO.

work. Schroeder worked with Bisher to develop new materials for the Slavery at Appomattox exhibit. The formal name of this project was "A Spirit Unbroken: Slavery to Emancipation at Appomattox," and it was ultimately completed by the NPS Harpers Ferry Center.[132]

One of the largest changes during Johnson's tenure was the retirement in 2001 of Ron Wilson, who had shaped much of the park's interpretation and programming for the past decades. APCO's next historian would be Patrick Schroeder, hired in January 2002, having worked at APCO under previous historian Ron Wilson for nearly two decades. It was also at about this time that Joe Williams joined APCO staff as the park's Curator. In this role, Williams was responsible for the entirety of APCO's museum services, including museum exhibits, cataloging, acquisition, and storage of artifacts.

APCO hired its first Natural Resources Manager in 2001, which precipitated a new era of land use planning. Brian Eick entered this new position with the challenge of stewarding roughly 1,700 acres and ensuring the park's landscape was in line with the park's overall mission. APCO management approach to lands outside of the village center had changed significantly in the past few decades as well. The general plan in the 1970s, as set forth in the 1977 General Management Plan, was to use forests as a barrier between the park's landscape and modern development. This idea was further developed into the 1980s, but there was a significant change in the 1990s. APCO began leasing large tracts for farmland usage, specifically pastures with high standards for cultural landscape management and conservation.

Johnson also oversaw the expansion of the internet and the park's digital presence. The internet of course existed during Montgomery's tenure, but it was not until the late 1990s or early 2000s that internet access became a mainstay in American life. Along with other NPS sites, APCO managed a website that offered information on the park, including its history, operational hours, and services provided. APCO was honored in 2000 as one of the best websites on the Civil War by the editors of "The Civil War on the Web: A Guide to the Very Best Sites." Johnson had boasted in his annual report two years earlier that the website included over 40 pages with a full inventory of park bookstore items for sale. The 1998 web traffic was 18,473 website hits. Johnson credited APCO Museum Curator Joe Williams with most of this work during the late 1990s at least.[133] APCO hosted David Segiun, Valley Forge National Historical Park Computer Specialist, in September 2001 for about a week so he could upgrade the IT infrastructure at the park. Primary upgrades included additional networking and general local area network upgrades. Johnson was particularly concerned by the NIMDA computer virus, which was one of the most invasive and damaging malicious software attacks to that point. Regular infrastructure updates

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[132] Schroeder, Monthly Activity Report, October 2002; May 2003; Jul 2003, APCO Historian's Office.

[133] FY 2000 "State of the Park" Summary, APCO. Alice Carter and Richard Jensen, *The Civil War on the Web* (2003).

continued from this point forward, especially within the Bocock-Isbell House and Visitor Center.[134] Ironically, despite having a highly respected website, APCO employees did not have regular internet or email access within the park until about 2003. From the late 1980s through this point, employees were typically assigned a personal computer running Windows for regular office work needs.[135]

As for changes with APCO land ownership, Congress authorized new boundaries for the park in 1992. All acquired lands were authorized to be acquired by donation. Two large tracts (Burruss Timber and Conservation Fund tracts) were acquired in this way in 1992–93. These acquisitions dramatically expanded the park's boundaries to the north and primarily incorporated land significant to military actions in April 1865.[136]

Two significant land acquisitions also developed in the early 2000s. APCO neared acquisition of the Roy Moon property in 2000, the top priority inholding at that point. Plans were to present Moon with an offer in early 2001 with the promise that the home would be used as seasonal housing going forward. Moon accepted the park's offer in July 2000, and APCO moved forward with converting the house into seasonal quarters.[137] In early 2004, a cooperative plan between APCO, the Civil War Preservation Trust, and the town of Appomattox took shape that would involve a forty-seven-acre plot of battlefield land being incorporated into the park. This plot of land was listed for sale by the private owner, and town leadership envisioned the land being a cornerstone of new tourism initiatives. The problem was that neither the town nor APCO had funds available for the purchase, so Schroeder suggested getting the Civil War Trust involved.[138]

The impetus for land acquisition became more readily felt with commercial expansion around the Town of Appomattox and the destruction of two historic properties. The Robertson House and Pleasant Retreat were dismantled in 1992 and 2008, respectively. The Robertson House, erected in 1842, was dismantled with the Highway 460 bypass project and was considered a significant loss due to its nearness to Appomattox Campaign cavalry combat along the stage road and the scene of the last fighting at Appomattox. Pleasant Retreat was located about one mile from Lee's Headquarters and formerly owned by Joel Walker Flood Jr. Its construction date was unknown, but its importance was as General Longstreet's headquarters. As of 2000, the home site was overgrown and the house in disrepair. Tommy O'Brien owned the home as of that date. In 2008, the structure was

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[134] FY 2001 "State of the Park" Summary, APCO.

[135] Schroeder interview.

[136] Boundary Adjustment Study (2017).

[137] FY 2000 "State of the Park" Summary, APCO. FY 2001 "State of the Park" Summary, APCO.

[138] Deborah Fitts, "Appomattox," *Historic Preservation News* (Feb./Mar. 2004), 19.

dismantled and sold online as architectural salvage. The loss of these two historic structures would lead to Civil War Trust acquiring land in the area and an APCO boundary adjustment study.[139]

Perhaps the most significant change during the mid-2010s was the purchase of historically significant land tracts along the APCO southern border. Park staff had argued for incorporation of these lands for years, for instance recommending in the most recently developed General Management Plan to acquire these properties because portions of the Battle of Appomattox transpired there.[140] Significant acreage was purchased by way of the Civil War Trust, though there were other stakeholders at play as well. The first property acquired by the Civil War Trust was the 47-acre property referred to as Appomattox Station Battlefield near the Town of Appomattox and the intersection of Route 460, Old Courthouse Road, and Oakville Road. The Civil War Trust acquired this tract through a combination of fundraising and both Federal and state grants, which set a precedent for how most other properties would be acquired.[141]

APCO and the Civil War Trust were awarded a $250,000 grant from the Virginia Civil War Site Preservation Fund in 2013 to purchase the 90.5-acre Hunter Tract outside the park's boundaries. Another grant, this time for $93,000, was awarded by the American Battlefield Protection Program in 2014 to purchase a three-acre tract that "connected" the APCO boundaries to Trust-acquired lands outside park boundaries.[142] As of June 2014, the Civil War Trust had acquired 234 acres around APCO. This total more than doubled to 512 acres as of 2020. The problem, also as of June 2014, was that APCO's size was limited by its enabling legislation, so a boundary adjustment study was needed to justify further park expansion.[143]

The NPS initiated a boundary adjustment study in 2014 that focused on a wide area abutting the park's southern border and along Route 24 to the east and west. While the study officially concluded in 2017, it began before this Administrative History's 2015 cutoff date and was important enough to park planning to be included here. The study area encompassed land owned by about sixteen different individuals and a wooded tract just inside the Route 460 bypass curve on the northern end of Appomattox. This latter tract included some of the last undeveloped landscape nearer the western edge of the Battle of

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[139] APCO Boundary Adjustment Study, 2017, 4. "Trip Report on Buckingham and Appomattox County, Virginia, May 20–23, 2000," floodfamily.org, 4.

[140] Note that even though the most recent GMP was not formally completed (it was never formally adopted and signed), Johnson still used it as a guide for work at APCO.

[141] Katrina Koerting, "90 Acres of Appomattox Battlefield to Be Preserved," *The News & Advance*, August 21, 2013. Katrina Koerting, "New Fronts Opened at Appomattox Battlefield," *The News & Advance*, May 30, 2014.

[142] Katrina Koerting, "90 Acres of Appomattox Battlefield to Be Preserved," *The News & Advance*, August 21, 2013. Katrina Koerting, "New Fronts Opened at Appomattox Battlefield," *The News & Advance*, May 30, 2014.

[143] Stephanie James, "Civil War Trust Pursuing Property," *Appomattox Times Virginian*, June 18, 2014.

Appomattox. The entire western tract was owned by the Civil War Trust and most of the southern properties were as well, though many were still held by private owners. Land tracts of interest totaled about 786 acres unevenly divided across 28 parcels. A major factor in initiating the boundary adjustment study in 2014 was that land around Appomattox and APCO was targeted for development. Route 460 expansion, the construction of a new Walmart, and the destruction of the Robertson House and Pleasant Retreat precipitated the NPS to move on developing land protection strategies.[144]

The first step in the boundary adjustment study process was a three-day workshop in June 2014 with APCO and Northeast Region staff to establish the boundary adjustment study area and relevant historical information. Immediately following this workshop, the NPS opened the process to public comment from June 13th to August 4th, including a public scoping meeting on June 19th, 2014. Approximately thirty individuals outside of NPS staff attended the meeting. A few members of the public expressed concerns over the NPS's intention to expand APCO boundaries because it meant less tax revenue for the county in theory with some further suggesting scenic easements in lieu of outright acquisition. Overall, media depictions of the event suggested public concerns were minor compared to overall support in protecting the park.[145]

After public input, the NPS moved forward with the boundary adjustment study process. The first two steps were to determine if the APCO study fit within NPS boundary adjustment criteria and to evaluate feasibility, cost, and the need for direct NPS management. With these requirements satisfied, the study team developed two alternatives—No Action (Alternative 1) and Proposed Action (Alternative 2). Alternative 2 would result in a recommendation to Congress that APCO boundaries expand to include all lands in the study. Direct land purchases were preferred for lands where significant battle actions took place or with significant historic resources, while conservation easements would be pursued for other lands. With these alternatives selected and others ruled out, the study team then analyzed direct and indirect impacts for both alternatives. The team then took their work to outside parties, first to ensure environmental compliance. The Virginia Department of Historic Resources, US Fish and Wildlife Service, the Town of Appomattox, and other relevant government agencies were all consulted in this process. Finally, the study was distributed for public comment, it received further NPS approvals, and was transmitted to the Department of the Interior and Congress for recommendation.[146]

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[144] APCO Boundary Adjustment Study (2017).

[145] Katrina Koerting, "Residents Debate Study to Possibly Add Land to Appomattox Historical Park," *The News & Advance*, June 20, 2014.

[146] APCO Boundary Adjustment Study (2017).

The boundary adjustment study found that Alternative 2 (acquiring outright or easements for studied lands) was preferred to Alternative 1 (No Action). In essence, the study team concluded Alternative 2 "would protect significant resources and values associated with the Appomattox Campaign, expand opportunities for public enjoyment related to the park purpose, and be feasible to administer. Ongoing state and local resource protection efforts would be enhanced and supported by a boundary adjustment." Congressional approval of this boundary adjustment and land acquisition would change APCO in that the park could more effectively preserve and interpret lands relevant to the final battles of the Army of Northern Virginia. As Patrick Schroeder said in a public comment session for this boundary adjustment study, "The battles at Appomattox Station and Appomattox Court House aren't major battles like Antietam and Gettysburg, but they are significant because they cause Lee to surrender."[147]

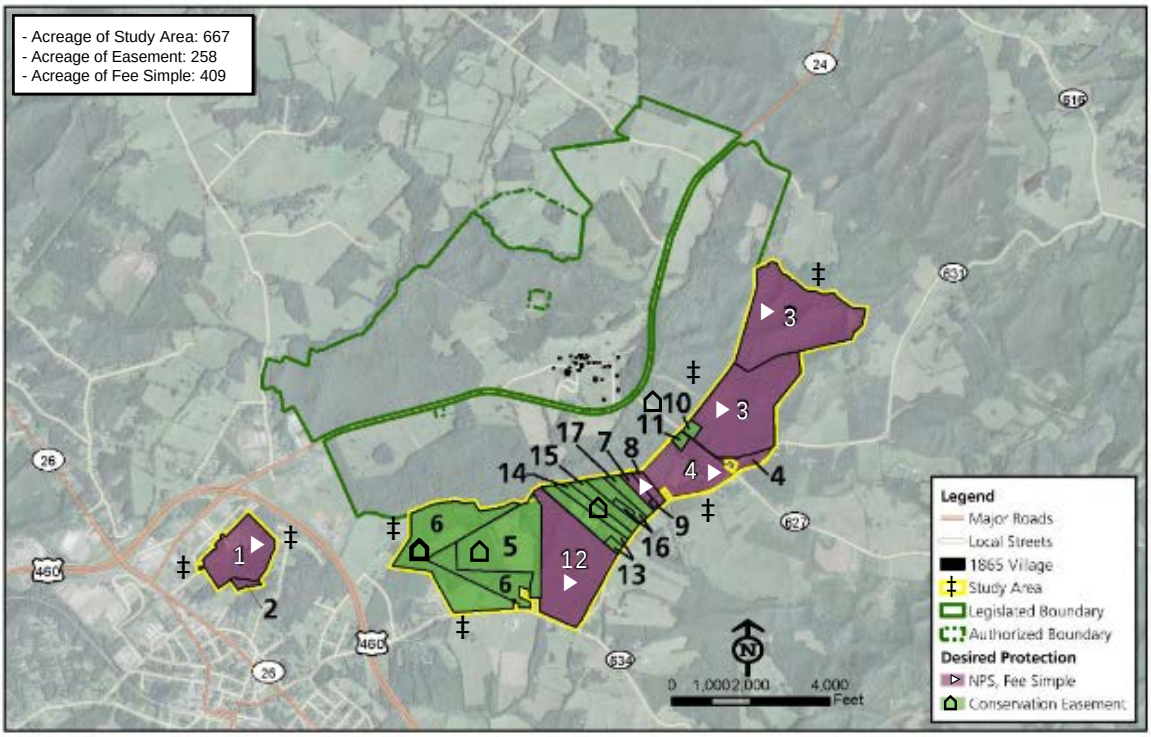


Figure 48. Alternative 2: Boundary Adjustment Identified Land and Resource Protection Strategies, from "Appomattox Court House National Historical Park: Boundary Adjustment Study / Environmental Assessment," December 2017, p. 41.

[147] APCO Boundary Adjustment Study (2017), 55. Katrina Koerting, "Residents Debate Study to Possibly Add Land to Appomattox Historical Park," *The News & Advance*, June 20, 2014.

Major Projects

Johnson was more strategic in treatments to the stage road and historic roofs within the park. In October 2001, APCO hosted two NPS Northeast Regional employees (Civil Engineer Mark Spadea and Mark Alexander) so they could provide recommendations for both.[148]

Each year saw several mid-sized projects undertaken. For example, in 2006 the park began a Phase II archival backlog project in 2006, completed by Joe Williams with Northeast Museum Services Center staff the following year. Staff installed a new museum exhibit on Private William S. Pilcher. Staff also undertook a tree planning project as part of a long-term goal to develop a tree plan for the village area that would properly place trees in historic locations and provide a better plan for tree maintenance.[149] Facility Manager John Spangler worked with the Denver Service Center to find suitable new designs for a Maintenance Facility for a Project Management Information System (PMIS) project statement.[150]

Interpretive exhibits were consistently added throughout the park on occasion, but there were significantly more developed and installed between 2005 and 2015 than any other decade. The largest of these exhibits was the "From Slavery to Emancipation" exhibit that was installed and finished in 2012. NPS staff worked for nearly a decade on this exhibit by focusing exclusively on African Americans who lived in Appomattox during the nineteenth century. As this local history was not well documented, this required a high amount of new research, community outreach, and oral histories with descendants, most of whom had to be identified through additional genealogical research. Historian Patrick Schroeder, Joe Williams, and Ranger Robert Dunkerly worked together in bringing this project to fruition.[151]

A further seven wayside exhibits were developed and installed between 2005 and 2015, including waysides on the North Carolina Monument, Charles Minnigerode, Goron's attack, the Confederate Artillery surrender, Lord's Guns, the Raine Monument and Cemetery, and the Connor House Field Hospital.[152]

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[148] Reports did not note Alexander's title at the time of the meeting, but he was referenced as a transportation expert and project manager. FY 2001 "State of the Park" Summary, APCO.

[149] Johnson, untitled report, ca. January 2007, APCO Historian's Office.

[150] Johnson, untitled report, ca. January 2006, APCO Historian's Office.

[151] Sally Delta, "New Exhibit Shares African-Americans' Stories," *WSET*, 29 November 2012.

[152] Correspondence with Patrick Schroeder, APCO Historian, by email, April 2021.

External Forces

Three major developments impacted APCO operations since 1992: the Route 460 bypass, the Appomattox Walmart complex, and the creation of the Museum of the Confederacy (renamed as the American Civil War Museum in 2013). The Route 460 bypass, while not directly infringing upon NPS property, affected the historic landscape relevant to the greater Appomattox Campaign. The Robertson House, constructed in 1842, was removed in 1992 to accommodate road construction. A further development in this area was when a Walmart Supercenter facility opened in Appomattox near the Highway 460 bypass in 2010. Walmart acquired the Robertson property in 2008 with the agreement that the Robertson House site would be preserved and interpreted in some way. Ultimately though this promise was not held, and the Robertson home site was destroyed by the construction of an access road. Two interpretive waysides written by Schroeder and funded by Walmart were installed at the site five years later as part of Civil War Trails.[153]

APCO staff (Schroeder and Natural Resources Manager Brian Eick) and representatives from Gray and Pape archaeology group toured the proposed Walmart site on December 6, 2006. Schroeder supplied information such as the presence of buried Confederate dead around the Widow Robertson House property to a final report from Gray and Pape. The following April, Walmart representatives held a public information session attended by Schroeder and Chief of Education and Visitor Services Doyle Sapp. Walmart officials, namely Kelly Hobbs, at this meeting confirmed "the [Robertson House] site will be left as open space, and a sign erected to interpret the significance." Schroeder also reported that a suggestion to include the site along the Civil War Trails' "Lee's Retreat Route" was met with enthusiasm. Schroeder further submitted multiple comments and concerns to Walmart over the next months and went so far as to obtain an estimate from Civil War Trails Executive Director Mitch Bowman for the cost of a Robertson House wayside exhibit. In the end, two Civil War Trails historic markers were placed near the Walmart. Both are titled "Robertson House Fight" and detail the military actions that took place near the Robertson House on April 9, 1865.[154]

Starting in the mid-2000s, the Museum of the Confederacy in Richmond developed an idea to open a new museum in Appomattox. The Richmond museum was founded in 1894 and operated out of the White House of the Confederacy. In 1976, the organization opened a gallery and archival space adjacent to the White House of the Confederacy. The Town of Appomattox unanimously voted to purchase land for the Museum of the Confederacy to use in October 2008, with a transfer of eight acres being completed shortly thereafter. Construction on the site began over the next few years with the museum

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[153] APCO Boundary Adjustment Study, 2017, 3.

[154] Schroeder, Report, May 2007; July 2007; Johnson, untitled report, ca. January 2007; ca. June 2007, APCO Historian's Office.

opening in the spring of 2012. The organization's name was changed to the American Civil War Museum with the merger of the Museum of the Confederacy and the American Civil War Center in 2013, though the name of the Appomattox museum did not officially change until 2017. The NPS and the American Civil War Museum have generally enjoyed a cordial relationship over the years with several NPS employees, such as Ed Bearss, serving on the organization's board and a range of joint programming ventures.[155]

APCO developed partnerships with institutions beyond the American Civil War Museum during the 2010s as well. After leaving APCO, former ranger Chris Calkins took a job at Sailor's Creek State Historical Park east of Farmville, VA. Calkins' good relationship with APCO staff led to numerous partnered activities, such as visits to Sailor's Creek during the annual Civil War Seminar at Longwood College and bus tours from APCO to Sailor's Creek. Another partnership developed between APCO and the largest Civil War surrender place in North Carolina. The Bennett Place is a wooden cabin in Durham, North Carolina, where Confederate General Joseph E. Johnston surrendered to US General William T. Sherman over several meetings between April 17 and April 26, 1865. Bennett Place State Historic Site is managed by North Carolina and was fully restored by locals in 1960. John Guss (Site Manager, Bennett Place State Historic Site) presented several lectures about Bennett Place as part of APCO's 150th Anniversary programming. Another example of the increased partner cooperation was that Chris Calkins (Park Manager, Sailor's Creek Battlefield), John Guss, Linda Lipscomb (Director of Administration, Museum of the Confederacy), and Waite Rawls (President, Museum of the Confederacy) all participated in the development of the APCO Long Range Interpretive Plan completed in November 2010.

Other significant partners included the Appomattox 1865 Foundation, a nonprofit organization formed in 2012 to serve as a philanthropic partner to APCO. Since then the Foundation has raised money and secured grants in support of park initiatives. A temporary exhibit was constructed as part of the Sesquicentennial to exhibit publicly for the first time Robert E. Lee's copy of the surrender documents. That document was present at the park for about six months in 2015 along with other special items, such as the American flag draped over President Lincoln's casket. This Sesquicentennial exhibit was a joint effort of the NPS and the Appomattox 1865 Foundation.[156] Another successful program initiated by the Appomattox 1865 Foundation program was the "Lantern Tours," a special event where visitors "can step back in time and explore the village by lantern light" during early autumn evenings. Tours changed annually. For instance, the 2016 tours focused on the long development of a park at Appomattox Court House covering the period from 1866 to 1949, and

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[155] Schroeder, Monthly Activity Report, September 2006, APCO Historian's Office. Elizabeth Tyree, "Appomattox Civil War Museum Re-brands to Tell the Whole Story of the War," *ABC 13 News* (18 August 2017).

[156] Katrina Koerting, "Surrender Documents to Return to Appomattox Court House," *The Roanoke Times*, November 21, 2014.

the 2018 tours with six presentations on six women central to the Appomattox Court House story. Other major events organized by the group included art and music in the park series, a Christmas Open House with a "Civil War Santa," and an annual "Civil War Ball." Outside of events, the Foundation supports the installation of permanent markers and exhibits, conducts community outreach, and promotes local business through its membership in several chambers of commerce.[157]

2010 GMP

One of the first programs related to GMP work was a workshop held in Richmond "to reexamine the significance of the park" in 1999. Johnson helped establish the annual Civil War Symposium in partnership with Longwood College. Johnson's stated goal was for this event to establish a "true partnership" between the park and college. The event was moderated by NPS historian Dwight Pitcaithly, and presenters included Civil War historians Gary Gallagher, Ed Ayers, David Blight, and Catherine Clinton. The next step was to host two scoping sessions to garner GMP input from about twenty different Federal, state, and local agencies and three public scoping sessions. In 2003 Schroeder took over the management of the Appomattox Court House National Historical Park/Longwood University Civil War Seminar and continued to develop the program as a successful annual event for partners and participants.[158]

Johnson also reached out to universities to complete projects stemming from the GMP process. During 2000–2001, Virginia Tech carried out a Visitor Survey at APCO. This involved the development of a questionnaire approved by the Office of Personnel Management administered to park visitors at three different times and dates. This study was a replacement for the typical visitor studies projects conducted by Gary Machlis of the University of Idaho, but the timing simply was not compatible with APCO's GMP schedule. Johnson considered it more prudent to involve Virginia Tech, which has experience with such projects.[159] APCO worked with North Carolina State University to develop and process GIS data within the park. This project was supported in part by Northeast Regional office and was intended to support the GMP.[160] David Magee, a professor at Central Virginia Community College, and his students worked with APCO historian Schroeder

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[157] Ashlie Walter, "Annual Lanterns Tour," *The News & Advance*, 22 September 2016. "Appomattox Court House NHP News Release," 17 September 2018, www.nps.gov/apco/learn/news/2018-lantern-tours.htm. "What We Do," Appomattox 1865 Foundation website, www.appomattox1865foundation.org/press.

[158] FY 2001 "State of the Park" Summary, APCO.

[159] FY 2001 "State of the Park" Summary, APCO.

[160] FY 2001 "State of the Park" Summary, APCO.

APCO in 2003 to create a database of the parole list for Appomattox, Lynchburg, Farmville, and Burkeville from NARA documents. The original idea was to create the database for uploading to the park website for broadest access.[161]

In 2009, John Milner Associations produced a Cultural Landscape Report (CLR) for APCO. The primary function of this document was to give recommendations for implementing the management strategies present in the GMP currently in development by Johnson. Primary recommendations for landscape treatments centered upon "rehabilitation" that balanced conservation and "enhancement of the site's historic Civil War-era integrity with contemporary park visitor access and interpretation improvements and the implementation of sustainable land management practices." This general recommendation was in line with Johnson's work with the draft GMP.[162]

Another important document produced at this time was the park's Long-Range Interpretive Plan (LRIP) completed in November 2010. This document was produced in conjunction with the GMP and was, in many ways, considered an extension of the GMP itself. For instance, it was defined in the introduction as "one of the first post-GMP planning documents," which was confusing as the GMP had not been formally completed and was never finalized. It was described in this way because the GMP draft was completed in 2005–6, but the official approval stalled due to personnel changes. In the meantime, the NPS shifted to a different planning model, but staff at APCO used the GMP draft as an informal park management guide. The purpose of an LRIP was to provide "foundational elements (e.g., purpose, significance, interpretive themes, audience experience goals) and recommendations for personal and non-personal services throughout the park and for partnerships that support the delivery of the interpretive, education, and visitor services program." A special function of the APCO LRIP was to provide guidance for the Sesquicentennial.

First, the LRIP defined a thematic framework within an Overarching Idea, which was as follows:

> The ending of the Civil War witnessed the failure of the South to become a separate nation and confirmed the United States as a single political entity—outcomes backed by constitutional changes that have re-defined the nature of American law and society. It was experienced by many as the end of slavery. The people of Appomattox experienced the promises, fears, and expectations brought about by the economic, social, and political upheaval, as did others nationwide. The struggles and negotiations among different groups arising from this upheaval have been continually re-evaluated as society's values and views on the war have evolved.

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[161] Schroeder, Monthly Activity Report, April 2003, APCO Historian's Office.

[162] Clr-v2.pdf, 21–23.

Following this framework, the LRIP presented three park interpretive themes, which were as follows with a summary of theme content:

1. From Petersburg to Appomattox: The Final Days & Surrender

   Theme Content: This theme focuses on the surrender—the campaign from Petersburg to Appomattox, the events of April 9, the immediate aftermath, including the stacking of arms on April 12, and the paroling of Lee's army. It examines the choices made by the commanders and their political leaders as well as the soldiers within the context of the times, and how these choices influenced the outcomes of the Civil War. The nuances of this watershed event can be explored from many different perspectives including military strategy, politics, the leadership and personalities of generals Grant and Lee and their civilian superiors as well as the personal stories of the soldiers and villagers who participated in the dramatic events.

2. The Legacy of Appomattox

   Theme Content: The idea of peace with honor and national unification, symbolized by the Appomattox surrender, was replaced by fear, chaos, and violence (different from the wartime violence that preceded it) which gripped the nation in the wake of President Abraham Lincoln's assassination. A period of readjustment followed, known as Reconstruction (1865-1877), in an attempt to restore order, protect the rights of freedmen, and reorder the social and economic structure of a devastated South. This theme explores how the expectations, hopes, and promises of Appomattox were played out in a larger political context. It explores whether the expectations and hopes held by the villagers, as well as by the soldiers involved in the surrender or even the country at large, were met or remained unachieved.

3. Memories and Meanings

   Theme Content: This theme focuses on the evolution of thought and perspectives related to the surrender, and the meanings Americans have imposed on both the physical setting of Appomattox Court House and the events that occurred there in April 1865. It introduces the first-person accounts and recollections of eyewitnesses as well as varied reactions from observers throughout the nation. It explores the ways that Americans have chosen to remember and commemorate the surrender since 1865, including the re-burial of soldiers, the introduction of monuments, scholarly investigation, preservation and reconstruction of buildings, and creation of the national historical park. It further explores the values and symbolic attributes that different groups have applied to Appomattox over time.

Beyond these themes, the LRIP established existing conditions and actions the park staff would take over the next five to ten years. Some major highlights included to reconsider the pedestrian approach to the village, redistribute exhibits throughout village buildings, complete an accessibility assessment, and identify new interpretive techniques for use throughout the park. Each potential interpretive location received an extensive discussion with several questions and actions for each discussed. Other key points were to find strategies to get visitors to use the park outside of the village core, increase local outreach, and incorporate emerging technologies.

As of early 2010, the draft GMP was complete and awaiting approval. However, before this could happen, the NPS changed its underlying management and planning documents from a General Management Plan to a "Foundation Document." This meant that Johnson had to basically drop all the hard work that went into the GMP and begin work on the first Foundation Document for the park. It would take an additional five years for the work that went into the GMP to become the Foundation Document.[163]

Sesquicentennial

A significant staffing development occurred just before the 150th Anniversary—Reed Johnson retired. Officially, Johnson retired from APCO on January 3, 2015, for personal reasons. Even though there was just three months to the 150th Anniversary, much of the planning was already in place with staff ready to deliver. Similarly, the Foundation Document was not complete, but a significant amount of groundwork had been laid.

Robin Snyder took over as Acting Superintendent in February and became permanent Superintendent in June. Snyder, who also grew up in Appomattox County, had previously worked as chief of interpretation and visitor services at New River Gorge National River and Bluestone National Scenic River. Snyder also served at Petersburg National Battlefield, Assateague Island, and the Northeast Regional office. Even though Johnson was Superintendent through most of the planning years, Snyder was the APCO Superintendent who carried both the Sesquicentennial and Foundation Document to completion. Snyder's tenure also saw completion of a Boundary Adjustment Study and Cultural Landscape Treatment Plan, so she stepped into an extremely active administrative period at APCO.[164]

The environment around the Sesquicentennial could be described as intense. The contexts in which overall Civil War sesquicentennial planning began witnessed preservationists and developers battling over the future of several sites, including those around

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[163] Clr-v2.pdf, 21–23. "Foundation Documents: What They Are; Where They Fit in the NPS Planning Framework," www.npshistory.com.

[164] "Native Daughter Robin Snyder Named Superintendent of Appomattox Court House National Historical Park," *Appomattox Times-Virginian* (6 May 2015).

APCO. Congress authorized the Civil War Sites Study Act in 1991, which classified APCO as needing additional protection, a classification that held with the 2009 report revision. Meanwhile, Walmart, the Virginia Department of Transportation, and the American Civil War Museum all engaged large construction projects to the west of APCO and near park-held land. Much like other moments in APCO's past, it felt like the commercial world was slowly encroaching upon historic spaces set aside for permanent preservation.[165]

Before the Sesquicentennial planning began, anniversary events had by Johnson's tenure become standard fares at APCO, though the quantity of events had grown somewhat by the early-2000s. Reenactor encampments were a relatively standard presence at most years despite their general absence from the park the rest of the year. The 138th (2003) Anniversary events included lectures by Gary Gallagher and Ed Ayres, organized by Joe Williams, and special living history programs organized by Schroeder and performed by Steve Abolt, Mike Hudson, and Schroeder, with accompanying lectures by Ron Wilson and Wayne Bean. About 800 visitors attended the events. The 2003 event was also the first when Schroeder began coordinating interpretive programs with the visitor services division for the anniversary events. These events have been very well received generally and are nearing two decades of the format as of this writing.[166] The 139th (2004) anniversary events lasted for four days from April 9th through the 12th. The schedule was primarily a series of ranger programs interspersed with living history demonstrations. Schroeder hosted final events, which were a living history presentation immediately following the ceremonial stacking of arms.[167] The 142nd (2007) anniversary was, according to Schroeder's reports, a "full schedule of events" from April 4th through the 15th, including living history programs, stacking of arms, and PowerPoint lectures.[168]

The 140th (2005) Anniversary event was perhaps the first where staff reported disappointing outcomes. Schroeder's report noted plenty of positives—ten programs led by himself, quality talks by Ron Wilson and David Coles, high visitor turnout, and over $14,000 in bookstore revenue. The negative was in the anniversary's high point event, the Stacking of Arms. Schroeder reported that reenactors lacked the quality and numbers of previous years.[169]

Planning for the Sesquicentennial began in the late-2000s. Obviously, as with other system-wide anniversaries, APCO had more time to plan than other Civil War parks, but there was also more attention placed upon the park to be the Sesquicentennial's summative

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[165] *Civil War Sites Advisory Commission's Report on the Nation's Civil War Battlefields* (1993). *Update to the Civil War Sites Advisory Commission's Report on the Nation's Civil War Battlefields* (2009).

[166] Schroeder, Monthly Activity Report, February 2003; April 2003, APCO Historian's Office.

[167] "Surrender Anniversary Events, 2004," APCO Central Files (APCO 11800/001.001, Box 001).

[168] Schroeder, Monthly Activity Report, April 2007, APCO Historian's Office.

[169] Schroeder, Monthly Activity Report, April 2005, APCO Historian's Office.

event. At the 2007 meeting of the American Association of State and Local History, David Blight and Dwight Pitcaithly provided several recommendations for the upcoming Sesquicentennial. The first recommendation was that the NPS should frame the anniversary as not an anniversary at all. Instead, focus should be placed upon "150 years," meaning the 150 years since 1865 and all that had happened since then in terms of how the Civil War and Reconstruction affected the intervening decades while engaging "all groups."[170]

During the late-2000s, APCO staff completed the park's Long-Range Interpretive Plan (LRIP), which was formally completed in 2010 and included a list of planned actions for staff to complete in preparation for the Sesquicentennial. To be clear, the LRIP provided a plan for staff, but annual programming was not dependent on the LRIP. A park's LRIP is a guiding document that projects what the site's interpretation, education, and visitor experience will be like over the next five to ten years. LRIPs include recommendation but are not proscriptive. APCO's 2010 LRIP was particularly important as it included the entirety of the Sesquicentennial and offers great insight into views of APCO staff regarding the upcoming anniversaries. First and foremost, the LRIP noted that the 150th Anniversary offered a unique opportunity to "Take a Long View," which essentially meant "to explore important themes from a variety of different and fresh perspectives and to mainstream those points of view."

The LRIP planned for each APCO anniversary even from 2011 to 2015 to have a specific focus related to park themes. These were, in order: the start of the war and mobilization of Confederate troops, Union soldiers with an emphasis on African American soldiers, Appomattox's Confederate soldiers, the local community and home front, and finally the surrender of the Army of Northern Virginia and beginning of peace. The plan also called for the 2016 anniversary to continue themes began during the Sesquicentennial by focusing on Reconstruction and how the Civil War and Appomattox Court House function in American public memory. All years from 2011 to 2016 would also include a lengthy schedule of regular events within and outside of the park. Some of these events included special events every April and October (corresponding to the Appomattox Railroad Festival), sponsorship of a three-day Longwood University Seminar in February or March, assisting the public with identification of personally-held Civil War items, engaging local African American communities in search of oral histories and artifacts, a temporary exhibit space within the Visitor Center first floor, and to retain close relations and continue to work with the Museum of the Confederacy going forward. Each individual year was also planned out in detail. The Appomattox 1865 Foundation also contributed significantly, including funding the purchase of the large first-floor exhibit case.[171]

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[170] Beth Hager, "Seeking Common Ground," *History News* (Winter 2008): 16–19.

[171] LRIP, 55–60.

Beyond these event-focused goals, LRIP planning also called for several actions with a longer view in mind. An example of such actions was a need for further research into African Americans near Appomattox during the Civil War, to determine if visitors walked straight from the parking lot to the Visitor Center along the entry pathway (or if they deviated to other resources), and gather information to create a Reconstruction exhibit within the Jail. The LRIP also called for additional staffing, namely a volunteer coordinator and outreach coordinator, in support of Sesquicentennial actions.

In general, the park's anniversary events generally followed what was outlined in the LRIP, though with some minor deviations. Each anniversary event from 2011 through 2014 carried out smoothly with no major problems recalled by any staff. The 2015 event was expected to be the largest, so more detail is provided here. Like other large APCO anniversary celebrations, staff planned a full slate of events for 2015, including reenactments, guided talks, and historic lectures. The full series of events as represented in official APCO published documents available to the public is replicated below:

- Wednesday, April 8
    - Hourly Ranger Programs, Author's Tent, and Parole Pass Printing Demos
    - A three-phase reenactment of the Battle of Appomattox Station narrated by Patrick Schroeder and Chris Calkins from three locations.
        - Phase One ("In Search of the Battle of Appomattox Station"), 3:30 p.m., Liberty Baptist Church near the railroad tracks where Union Army forces captured Confederate supply trains, Calkins describes efforts to locate the battlefield
        - Phase Two ("Real Time Event / Battle of Appomattox Station"), 5:00 p.m., on the Town of Appomattox's battlefield property, Calkins and Schroeder narrates the battle with the support of reenactors
        - Phase Three ("Real Time Event / Program in NPS Historic Village"), 6:30 p.m., inside the APCO village, Schroeder narrates the closing scene of the battle and sets the stage for the next day's fighting
- Thursday, April 9
    - Hourly Ranger Programs, Author's Tent, and Parole Pass Printing Demos
    - Real Time Reenactment Event of the Battle of Appomattox Court House, 7:30 a.m. to 10:30 a.m.
    - Lectures: "Why Appomattox / The Campaign" at 8:00 a.m. and 9:00 a.m. at the Surrender Triangle; "Battle of Appomattox Court house" at 7:45 a.m. and 9:00 a.m. at the Tibbs House; "The Surrender Meeting" at 10:00 a.m. and 4:00 p.m. at the Surrender Triangle; "Ely Parker, A Warrior in Two Camps" at 4:00 p.m. at the Tibbs House; "US Colored Troops at Appomattox" at 5:00 p.m. at the Surrender Triangle; and "The Confederate Cemetery" at the Confederate Cemetery at 5:00 p.m.

- Appomattox 150th Commemoration Program at the Main Stage starting at 11:00 a.m.
- Stacking of Arms Ceremony at 1:00 p.m.
- Surrender Meeting Commemoration Program starting at 1:30 p.m.
  - Speakers included Superintendent Robin Snider, Postmaster General Patrick Mendonca, FRSP Chief Historian John Hennessy, FRSP Historian Frank O'Reilly, APCO Historian Patrick Schroeder, Dennis Bigelow (a descendent of Lee's aide Charles Marshall), Al Parker (a descendent of Grant's Military Secretary Ely Parker) and University of Richmond President and historian Ed Ayers
- Bells Across the Land Ceremony at 3:10 p.m., marked by the ringing of church, school, temple, city hall, public building, historic sites, and other bells in Appomattox rung for four minutes to mark the ending of the meeting between Grant and Lee (other locations nationwide were encouraged to participate at 3:15 p.m.)
- North Carolina Monument ceremony at 5:00 p.m.
- Lantern Tours beginning at the Flagpole from 6:30 to 9:00 p.m.

- Friday, April 10
  - Footsteps to Freedom, 6:30 p.m., a candlelight vigil with a choir at the APCO main stage to honor Hannah Reynolds
- Saturday, April 11
  - Lecture entitled "Joel Sweeney, Indeed a Wonder", 2:00 p.m. at the Tibbs home
- Sunday, April 12
  - Two separate, paired lectures entitled "Grant After the War" and "Lee After the War", 10:00 a.m. and 12:00 p.m.
  - Stacking of Arms Ceremony, 3:00 p.m.[172]

Estimates of the total visitors to APCO over the five days were about 25,000, with more than 7,000 visiting on Thursday, April 9th. About 1,000 reenactors participated in events and NPS staff was buttressed by 300 volunteers. The park also reported about $75,000 in store revenue when a typical five-day revenue was about $5,000. News reports after the events were generally extremely positive and noted great support from the surrounding community and businesses.[173]

One special event that took place in 2015 which received special attention was that related to the interpretation of Hannah Reynolds, an enslaved woman who lived near Appomattox Court House and was the only civilian casualty during the fighting in April

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[172] Katherine Flynn, "Bells, Banjoes, and Bullets at the Appomattox Sesquicentennial," *Saving Places* (6 April 2015), https://savingplaces.org/stories/bells-banjos-and-bullets-at-the-appomattox-sesquicentennial.

[173] Katrina Koerting, "Appomattox Sesquicentennial Hailed as Success," *News Advance* (14 April 2015).

1865. Reynolds was just one of approximately 4,600 enslaved people honored as part of APCO's Footsteps to Freedom program. The core of this program was a living history interpretive event of Reynolds' funeral. Planning for this event was a joint effort between APCO staff, local churches, and the Carver-Price Legacy Museum.[174] Another special event was the 150th Anniversary Appomattox Campaign bus tour sponsored by the Appomattox 1865 Foundation. This was a multiday event with Ron Wilson, Chris Calkins, and Patrick Schroeder serving as guides. The core aim of the tour was to offer interpretation of the entire Appomattox Campaign that transpired during the final days before the surrender at Appomattox Court House. The three-day bus tour traced the military action from March 31 through April 12, 1865, and included stops in Farmville, Jetersville, Sailor's Creek State Park, and other locations before ending in APCO.[175]

It was for this Sesquicentennial work that Ernie Price won the 2015 Freeman Tilden Award for the Northeast Region and was the overall National Recipient as well. The Freeman Tilden Award is the highest NPS honor for interpretation excellence and "recognizes creative and exemplary work that enhances the visitor experience." The summary of Price's work as it appeared in the NPS press release was as follows:

> Ernie Price for his exemplary leadership in Appomattox Court House commemoration of the 150th anniversary of the Civil War. Past commendations have focused largely on the military history and famous generals involved. As planning began in 2010 for the 150th event, Ernie Price encouraged park staff to include the "Civil War to Civil Rights" theme. He recognized that the 150th was an opportunity to go beyond the military story and tell the story of the legacy of emancipation because of Lee's surrender to Grant. Price reached out to local black community leaders and invited them to participate in the commemoration. Together, Price and the Carver Price 1865 Committee co-created and presented the Footsteps to Freedom Program, which drew over 1,000 attendees to follow the funeral procession and walk along the stage road illuminated by 4,600 candles - one candle for every enslaved person in Appomattox County who realized freedom with the surrender of Lee's army and the war's end.[176]

In receiving the award, Price spread the honor around by crediting the entire APCO staff for a job well done, telling the *Lynchburg News & Advance* "For us in this business, it's a big deal, amazing, overwhelming. . .the most amazing part was to see Appomattox Court

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[174] Ernie Price interview. Katrina Koerting, "'Wounded as a Slave, Died as a Free Woman'," *News & Advance* (7 March 2015).

[175] "Appomattox 1865 Foundation presents the Appomattox Campaign—The Tour," Appomattox 1865 Foundation, undated itinerary and registration form (ca. 2015).

[176] "2015 Freeman Tilden Award Recipients," www.nps.gov/articles/2015-tilden-winners.htm.

House get this amount of attention nationally." Price's award alongside other internal NPS praise meant the APCO 150th anniversary events were widely recognized as the best 150th event held by the NPS.[177]

2015 Foundation Document

The final event to be discussed within this Administrative History is the creation of the 2015 Foundation Document. This document had been nearly two decades in the making, and perhaps longer depending on how much of Montgomery's work was carried forward by Johnson. The 2015 Foundation Document outlined key issues for the park, many of which were the same faced by early administrations with just as many caused by them.

The Foundation Document outlined three major purposes justifying APCO's existence: to commemorate the surrender of Lee to Grant and the effective termination of the Civil War, to preserve and protect park resources including landscapes, structures, archaeological sites, cemeteries, monuments, archives, and collections, and to provide spaces for the public to learn about the Civil War, Appomattox Campaign, people affected by both, and "the beginning of peace and national reunification."[178]

The Foundation Document also grouped fundamental resources into six groups, which were as follows with contributing resources listed alongside:

- Buildings and Structures Associated with the End of the Appomattox Campaign, the Surrender, and Its Legacy.
    - Resources: the McLean House, Clover Hill Tavern complex, Peers House, Isbell House, Mariah Wright House, Meeks Store, Appomattox County Jail, Kelley House, Woodson Law Office, and "numerous barns, storehouse, stables, and outbuildings. . .found throughout the village"
- Sites, Roads and Lanes, Cultural Landscape Features, and Archeological Resources Associated with the End of the Appomattox Campaign, the Surrender, and Its Legacy
    - Resources: remnants of field works built by Confederate forces at New Hope Church, campsites of Union and Confederate forces, the headquarters sites of Lee and Grant, and the apple orchard site where Lee waited before meeting Grant at the McLean House.
- Archives and Museum Collections Associated with the End of the Appomattox Campaign, the Surrender, and Its Legacy

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[177] Ashlie Walter, "Appomattox Sesquicentennial Program Receives National Award," *Lynchburg News & Advance* (21 November 2015), https://newsadvance.com/news/local/appomattox-sesquicentennial-program-receives-national-award/article_61482232–41b9–551a-b33d-1728e6afaa35.html.

[178] Cultural Landscape Report (2017), 22.

    - Resources: APCO museum collection
- Commemorative Resources
    - Resources: North Carolina Monument, Raine Monument, other commemorative resources, tablets, and plaques throughout the park
- Viewshed Values
    - Resources: All visible space from within APCO boundaries
- Contemplative Atmosphere
    - Resources: the "unique sense of place ideal for provoking thought on the causes and consequences of the Civil War" created by the village's and surrounding rural landscape's unique qualities

After outlining resources and themes, Foundation Documents move into an analysis of major issues facing the park, future planning needs, and future data gathering needs. There were four "key issues" identified. A "key issue" was defined as "a question that is important for a park" that can "often…raise questions regarding park purpose and significance and fundamental and other important resources and values."[179]

The first key issue involved adaptive reuse of historic structures, both in the present and past, causing a loss of "historic fabric" of resources. Most buildings within the park were used by park staff at some point for their contemporary, short-term needs, and thus some of the historic structures' integrity was lost. The core example in the Foundation Document was the Bocock-Isbell House, which as previously superintendent's residence and then park headquarters, had significant load-bearing stress with the installation of informational technology hardware, electricity, heating, ventilation, and air conditioning systems. Another problem was the maintenance complex erected during Gurney's tenure. The complex is an obvious modern structure built upon a historic landscape, and as of 2015 did not even meet the maintenance, facilities, or museum storage needs of APCO staff.[180]

The second key issue was the adequacy of the existing park boundary. Cultural resources important to the Appomattox Campaign had recently become under threat with some being destroyed. Historical research conducted prior to boundary expansions found that military actions occurred in a wider area to the south and west of APCO. In 2017, a Boundary Adjustment Study was completed for APCO that proposed a preferred boundary adjustment including acquisition or conservation easements for seventeen land tracts along the park's current southern border.

[179] Foundation Document (2015), 29.

[180] Foundation Document (2015), 29.

The third key issue related to Route 24 and safety. The speed limit though the park area is 55 mph, and motorists often travel much faster than this given the relatively straight roadway. There was also the lingering possibility that the state may expand Route 24 someday. There was also the problem of sound and light pollution caused by vehicles.[181]

The fourth key issue was accessibility. Since most of the park's attractions are within historic structures, including the visitor center and museum, much of the park is not accessible, such as the second-floor museum space, several narrow restroom facilities, and other historic structures with stairwells and uneven terrain. Further, the parking area is down a steep slope from the village center, which was ironically the conscious decision of past NPS planners to preserve Appomattox Court House view sheds while providing access.[182]

The 2015 Foundation Document concluded with a series of high, medium, and low priority needs from both a planning and data gathering perspective. In total, the authors identified fourteen planning needs and fifteen data needs. Planning needs considered high priority included the following:

- Complete a conceptual schematic program site analysis plan for relocating facilities, specifically the contemporary maintenance facility, public restrooms in the Tavern Slave Quarters, and second-floor museum accessibility. A new plan would document space and cost analysis and make sense of potential operational changes.
- Complete a comprehensive site and pedestrian access trail plan to address access to spaces outside of the village center, visitor safety concerns, primary trail access points, and Route 24 crossings.
- Complete a self-evaluation and transition plan for accessibility to assess barriers to the core park experiences. Parks cannot immediately make all aspects of the park experience available, but the plan will allow for prioritization of accessibility-minded changes.

Other planning needs were five of medium priority (visitor use management plan, comprehensive housekeeping plan, updated invasive plant management plan from 2005 update of plan written in 2000, updated wildland fire management plan from plan written in 2005, resource stewardship strategy) and six of lower priority (concept plan for transportation circulation, updated collection storage plan, updated historic furnishing report for the Clover Hill Tavern from plan written in 1984, Cultural Landscape Report for Appomattox Court House NHP, Volume II: Treatment Implementation Plan, published in 2018, site wide storm water management plan, updated housing management plan).

There were comparatively more identified high-priority data needs than planning needs, meaning where APCO staff needed information before any decision could be made. Seven high priority needs identified included the following:

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[181] Foundation Document (2015), 29.

[182] Foundation Document (2015), 29.

- Complete a historic structure report for the Richmond-Lynchburg Stage Road to better inform management decisions related to the road, appropriate resurfacing treatments, and general maintenance challenges.
- Conduct a formal archaeological research and survey of the park to confirm troop movements for the final days of the Appomattox Campaign possibly involving metal detecting surveys and ground penetrating radar.
- Draft an administrative history of APCO to better provide data on the expanding role of the park from the surrender meeting to the broader Appomattox Campaign.
- Study and survey historic fence lines for the entire park to inform interpretation and construction decisions.
- Complete a historic structure report for the Peers House to better inform management decisions regarding adaptive reuse and maintenance.
- Assess existing IT systems in the park and develop a new strategy to address current and future technology needs especially with an eye toward better communication and virtual visitor access.
- Complete a cultural resource condition assessment of all existing data and information on APCO cultural resources in support of a resource stewardship strategy and best practices related to cultural resources.

An additional five data needs were medium priority (collect baseline data on the soundscape, functional space use analysis, identification and survey of 1865 structure foundations, comprehensive breeding bird survey, and special history study of the "peace and national reunification" themes used in reconstruction, reconciliation, and commemoration eras at the park), and three were considered low priority (formal legal boundary survey of the Confederate Cemetery, geophysical survey of all cemeteries within the park, and comprehensive collections storage assessment).[183]

Conclusion

From 1981 to 2015, APCO was managed with two different Superintendent approaches. Jon Montgomery believed in continuing the status quo, while Reed Johnson encouraged planning, boundary expansions, and new staffing. Both approaches had (and still have) pros and cons. Montgomery's approach allowed for more staff time dedicated to interpretation and preservation, while Johnson's had a strong view to the park's long-term sustainability and previously unaddressed needs. Johnson's approach also tracked with the top-down requirements placed upon Superintendents by WASO and regional staff.

[183] Foundation Document (2015), 31–35.

Other than increased planning, the most significant events of these thirty-five years were the periodic expansion of park boundaries. In essence, these land additions changed the park from one almost exclusively centered upon events that transpired *in* the village to one that tells the story of those from *in and near* the village. Specifically, the park can now better interpret, preserve, and protect resources relevant to the final battles fought between Union forces and the Army of Northern Virginia. This change will require an immense amount of work from APCO staff to accomplish, but it is obvious that the park staff has been up to the task given the quantity of research, planning documents, and new interpretation generated by park staff.

Additional Photos



Figure 49. APCO Historian Ron Wilson, ca. 1986.
APCO Historian's Office.



Figure 50. Chris Calkins. Undated newspaper clipping (ca. 1990), APCO Scrapbook #6, Historian's Office, APCO.



Figure 51. Patrick Schroeder presenting a living history interpretive program. *Waynesboro News-Virginian*, September 21, 1990.



Figure 52. Herbert Abbitt (left) presenting sword (APCO 4013) to Joe Williams (center) and Jon Montgomery (right). Photo by Lewis Wood. Undated newspaper clipping (ca. 1992), APCO Scrapbook #6, Historian's Office, APCO.



Figure 53. Frances Guill and Dawn Deaner, ca. 1986. APCO Historian's Office.



Figure 54. Cannon being fired as part of a battle demonstration event as part of the APCO Sesquicentennial. April 9, 2015. NPS Photo.



Figure 55. Living history performers depicting General Grant and General Lee departing the McLean House after the surrender during the Sesquicentennial. April 9, 2015. NPS Photo.



Figure 56. View of the stage erected for the Sesquicentennial during the commemoration program with Superintendent Robin Snyder speaking. April 9, 2015. NPS Photo.



Figure 57. Scene from the Stacking of Arms ceremony, April 12, 2015. NPS Photo.

CHAPTER EIGHT

Conclusion

The surrender meeting between General Ulysses S. Grant and Robert E. Lee was not a long one, yet it cast a long shadow upon the next 150 years (and counting) of American history. Like so many other locations throughout the country and especially Virginia, these two men would forever affect their place within the historical narrative. But Appomattox Court House is unique. This relatively small village and park embodies what no other Civil War parks can claim. It is a place where the war ended, the nation reunited, slavery ended and a new struggle for freedom began, and the formal end of a long and bloody war.

Commemoration of the momentous surrender event was a long time coming with several failed private efforts, multiple contentious projects, and a full twenty years from Congressional authorization to McLean House reconstruction. It may be surprising that such an important moment in American history took so long to achieve protected status. After all, innumerable Civil War histories carry "Appomattox" in the title as the story's natural endpoint, and any summary of the war will include Appomattox alongside other major battlefields like Fort Sumter, Gettysburg, Vicksburg, and Antietam. It returns then to Appomattox Court House's uniqueness. People died at Appomattox Court House due to military conflict, though the casualties paled in comparison to other locations. Regardless of the exact death count, Appomattox Court House is a hallowed ground where American blood watered the earth in the struggle for freedom and the death of slavery.

The core of Appomattox Court House's administrative history is that the village's symbolic meaning has provided difficult, if at times insurmountable, challenges to administrative leadership. It took decades for Congressional protection and Federal administration. Likely the primary factor for this was austerity politics of the 1920s, but also because Appomattox Court House was a contested landscape with many competing visions for its future. What better example of this contestation than the McLean House as a pile of rubble for about fifty years?

Appomattox Court House was a highly politicized landscape, perhaps more so than most Civil War sites. A typical battlefield landscape is a sacred place. People from both sides of a conflict fought and died. In the aftermath of the Civil War, both Northerners and Southerners came together—albeit eventually—to remember the past and mourn the dead. Appomattox had elements of this, as demonstrated by annual ceremonial events, but more dominant were disagreements over how Appomattox should be remembered.

As this Administrative History has demonstrated, the high politicization regressed significant by about 1970. The biggest obstacles—the McLean House and the courthouse—had been addressed by then. With no hot political issue at hand, APCO leadership could finally get to work preserving the park and interpreting historical events. It is no coincidence that the highly successful living history program began in 1971 once park staff had time to breathe after controversies and the hustle of Mission 66. It may be helpful then to think of the park as having three eras—the political era from 1930 to the 1960s, the formative era from the 1960s to the 1990s, and the planning era from 1990s to the present.

Major goals for the future of the park are to improve accessibility throughout the park, develop new adaptive reuse strategies for the existing park buildings, and continue developing new interpretation outside of the traditional surrender narrative. Administrators at APCO should look to the past decisions of Superintendents and other leaders for lessons in how to navigate similar challenges. APCO is a unique Civil War park originally dedicated to interpreting a single meeting and its aftermath that is now expanding its scope to include battles, social history, and the history of slavery. American demographics will certainly continue to change, as will interests and perspectives about the Civil War, slavery, and Appomattox Court House.

Additional Photos

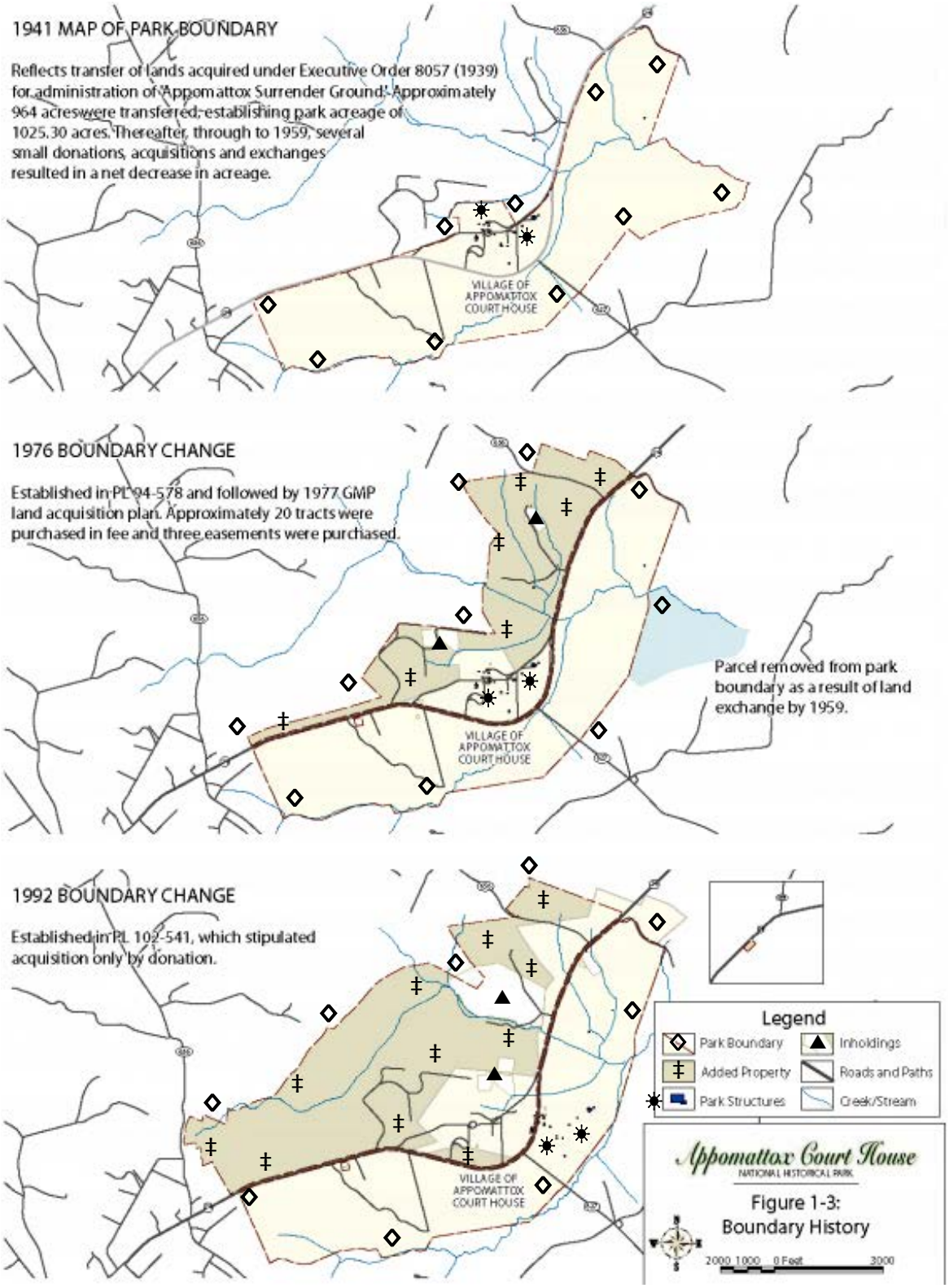


Figure 58. Evolution of Park Boundary, from Boundary Adjustment Study (1997).



Figure 59. Ava Almond decorating for the 1984 Christmas event.
Lynchburg News, December 22, 1984.

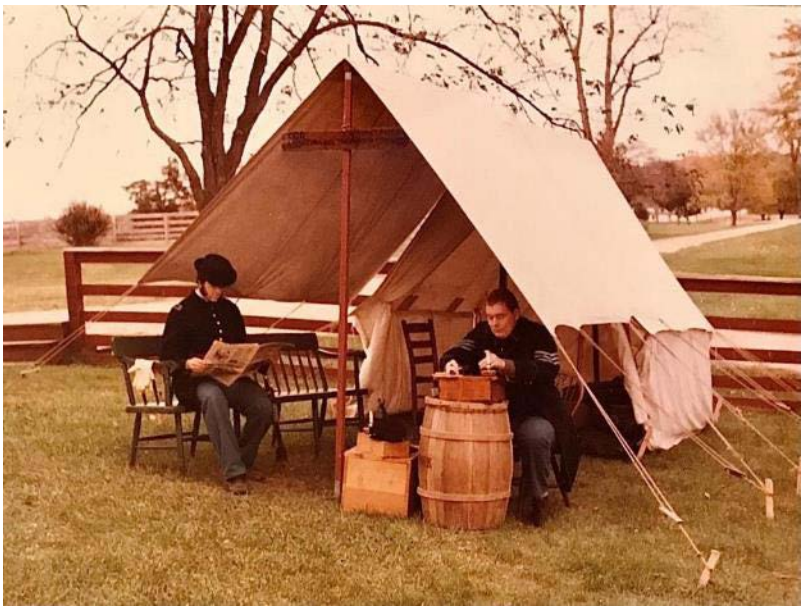


Figure 60. A wall tent for the 188th PA Vol. Infantry on provost guard duty with Mark Greenough (left) as Lt. Henry Cogan and Peter Kingsley (right) as a company clerk working as volunteers in parks for a small inaugural living history special event weekend. November 1984.
Photo courtesy of Mark Greenough.

Appendix A

List of Chief Administrators

Hubert A. Gurney	Acting Sup't	4/11/1940—6/30/1941
Hubert A. Gurney	Superintendent	7/1/1941—3/2/1943
Hubert A. Gurney	Custodian	3/4/1943—2/29/1944
Robert I. Scott	Acting Custodian	3/1/1944—8/2/1944
Robert R. Budlong	Acting Custodian	8/3/1944—3/16/1946
Hubert A. Gurney	Superintendent	3/17/1946—3/18/1961
Thomas F. Norris, Jr.	Superintendent	3/19/1961—6/8/1963
Grover E. Steele	Superintendent	6/9/1963—12/26/1964
Lloyd M. Pierson	Superintendent	1/17/1965—8/12/1966
Alvoid L. Rector	Superintendent	9/11/1966—1/24/1970
Frank A. Gould	Superintendent	2/22/1970—8/19/1972
Robert R. Madden	Superintendent	9/10/1972—3/11/1974
H. Gilbert Lusk	Superintendent	7/21/1974—10/10/1976
Luis Garcia-Curbelo	Superintendent	12/5/1976—12/27/1980
Jon B. Montgomery	Superintendent	4/5/1981—5/1/1997
Reed Johnson	Superintendent	5/1/1997—1/3/2015
Robin Snyder	Superintendent	6/28/2015—Present

Appendix B

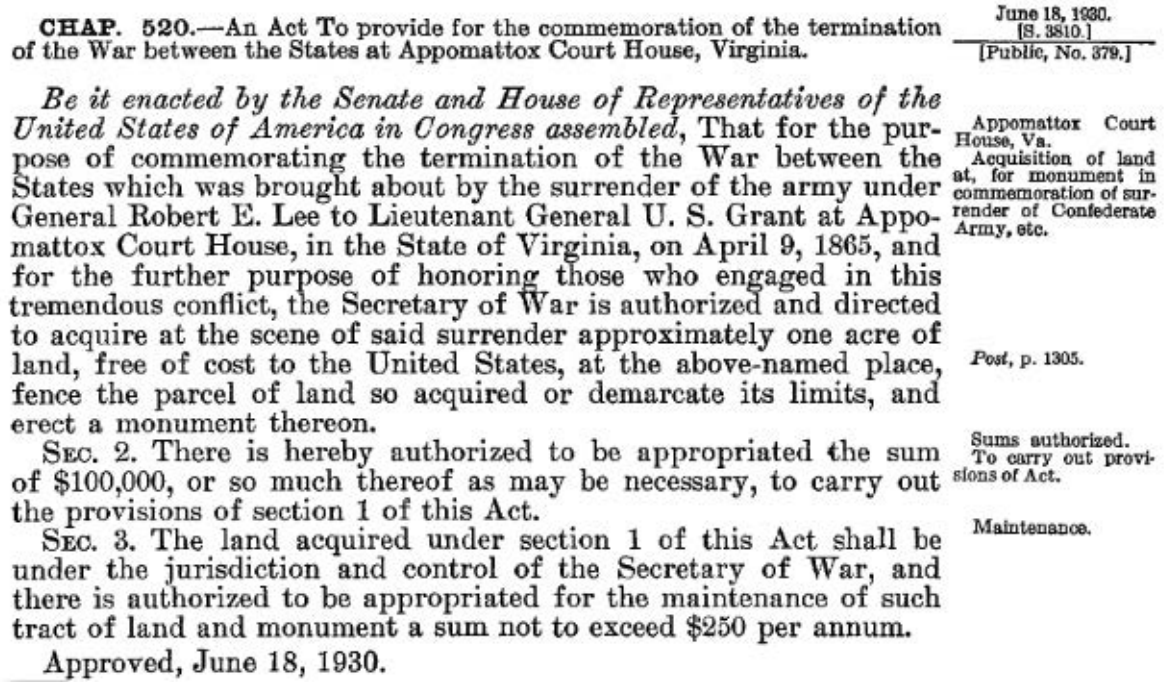
Visitation Statistics

Year	Recreation Visitors
1941	50,000
1942	9,750
1943	3,125
1944	5,450
1945	7,850
1946	19,400
1947	25,250
1948	27,750
1949	34,150
1950	55,400
1951	44,900
1952	57,600
1953	63,000
1954	62,200
1955	62,500
1956	64,200
1957	86,000
1958	78,500
1959	98,700
1960	124,300
1961	156,400
1962	152,200
1963	141,000
1964	131,900
1965	148,800
1966	129,900
1967	122,000
1968	125,000
1969	129,800
1970	148,300
1971	240,100
1972	260,391
1973	265,000
1974	245,300
1975	291,900
1976	220,800
1977	263,100
1978	259,000
1979	208,411
1980	218,724
1981	244,968
1982	240,405
1983	246,277
1984	318,027
1985	277,613
1986	323,784
1987	336,075
1988	312,693
1989	377,440
1990	402,947
1991	321,668
1992	311,921
1993	211,557
1994	273,768
1995	223,288
1996	205,938
1997	204,862
1998	201,874
1999	198,665
2000	196,363
2001	190,422
2002	177,219
2003	155,031
2004	152,453
2005	136,827
2006	145,804
2007	149,255
2008	178,748
2009	185,443
2010	216,220
2011	258,917
2012	320,668
2013	317,660
2014	278,776
2015	412,640
2016	303,139
2017	113,960
2018	103,044
2019	102,397
Total	**14,166,807**

Appendix C

Park Legislation

- An Act of February 25, 1926 (44 Stat. 9) Authorized an expenditure of $3,000 for an inspection of the battlefields and surrender grounds in and around old Appomattox Court House, Virginia.
- Act of June 18, 1930 (PL 71-379, 46 Stat.777) Authorized the acquisition of one acre of land, at no cost to the government, and the appropriation of $100,000 for the erection of fences and a monument to be maintained by the War Department at a cost not to exceed $250 per year.



CHAP. 520.—An Act To provide for the commemoration of the termination of the War between the States at Appomattox Court House, Virginia.

June 18, 1930.
[S. 3810.]
[Public, No. 379.]

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That for the purpose of commemorating the termination of the War between the States which was brought about by the surrender of the army under General Robert E. Lee to Lieutenant General U. S. Grant at Appomattox Court House, in the State of Virginia, on April 9, 1865, and for the further purpose of honoring those who engaged in this tremendous conflict, the Secretary of War is authorized and directed to acquire at the scene of said surrender approximately one acre of land, free of cost to the United States, at the above-named place, fence the parcel of land so acquired or demarcate its limits, and erect a monument thereon.

Appomattox Court House, Va.
Acquisition of land at, for monument in commemoration of surrender of Confederate Army, etc.

Post, p. 1305.

Sec. 2. There is hereby authorized to be appropriated the sum of $100,000, or so much thereof as may be necessary, to carry out the provisions of section 1 of this Act.

Sums authorized.
To carry out provisions of Act.

Sec. 3. The land acquired under section 1 of this Act shall be under the jurisdiction and control of the Secretary of War, and there is authorized to be appropriated for the maintenance of such tract of land and monument a sum not to exceed $250 per annum.

Maintenance.

Approved, June 18, 1930.

- Act of February 23, 1931 (46 Stat. 1277) Authorized $2,500 for the design, plan, and cost estimates for the monument. Design of the monument is subject to approval by the National Commission of Fine Arts.
- Act of August 13, 1935 (PL 74-268, 49 Stat. 613) Amended the act of June 18, 1930, to allow the Secretary of the Interior to acquire by donation, purchase, or condemnation title to all the land, structures, and other property within a distance of 1.5 miles from the Appomattox Court House site deemed necessary or desirable

for the establishment of a national historical monument to be administered by the National Park Service. The sum of $100,000 was appropriated to carry out the provisions of this act.

[CHAPTER 520.]

AN ACT

August 13, 1935.
[H. R. 4507.]
[Public, No. 268.]

To amend sections 1, 2, and 3 of the Act entitled "An Act to provide for the commemoration of the termination of the War between the States at Appomattox Court House, Virginia", approved June 18, 1930, and to establish the Appomattox Court House National Historical Monument, and for other purposes.

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That sections 1, 2, and 3 of the Act entitled "An Act to provide for the commemoration of the termination of the War between the States at Appomattox Court House, Virginia", approved June 18, 1930, are hereby amended to read as follows:

Appomattox Court House National Historical Monument.
Vol. 46, p. 777.

"That when title to all the land, structures, and other property within a distance of one and one-half miles from the Appomattox Court House site, Virginia, as shall be designated by the Secretary of the Interior in the exercise of his discretion as necessary or desirable for national-monument purposes, shall have been vested in the United States in fee simple, such area or areas shall be, and they are hereby, established, dedicated, and set apart as a public monument for the benefit and enjoyment of the people and shall be known as the 'Appomattox Court House National Historical Monument.'

Establishment.

"SEC. 2. That there is hereby authorized to be appropriated the sum of $100,000, or so much thereof as may be necessary, to carry out the provisions of this Act as amended hereby.

Appropriation authorized.
Post, p. 1794.

"SEC. 3. That the Secretary of the Interior be, and he is hereby, authorized to accept donations of land and/or buildings, structures, and so forth, within the boundaries of said park as determined and fixed hereunder and donations of funds for the purchase and/or maintenance thereof: *Provided*, That he may acquire on behalf of the United States, by purchase when purchasable at prices deemed by him reasonable, otherwise by condemnation under the provisions of the Act of August 1, 1888, such tracts of land within the said park as may be necessary for the completion thereof within the limits of the appropriation as authorized in Section 2."

Acquisition of land.

Proviso.
Purchases; condemnation proceedings.
Vol. 25, p. 357; U. S. C., p. 1785.

Vol. 46, p. 777.

SEC. 2. Such Act of June 18, 1930, is amended by adding at the end thereof a new section to read as follows:

Jurisdiction.

"SEC. 4. The administration, protection, and development of the Appomattox Court House National Historical Monument shall be exercised under the direction of the Secretary of the Interior by the National Park Service, subject to the provisions of the Act of August 25, 1916, entitled 'An Act to establish a National Park Service, and for other purposes', as amended."

Vol. 39, p. 535; U. S. C., p. 591.

Approved, August 13, 1935.

- Executive Order 8057, February 23, 1939 (3 CFR 460) Provided for the transfer of approximately 963.93 acres from the Secretary of Agriculture to the Secretary of the Interior. The land was acquired under the authority of the Emergency Relief Appropriation Act of 1935, approved April 8, 1935 (49 Stat. 115), in connection with the Department of Agriculture's land utilization and land conservation project in Virginia known as the Surrender Grounds Forest Project, LAVA2. The right, title, and interest of the United States in these lands were transferred to the Secretary of Agriculture in accordance with the provisions of Title III of Bankhead-Jones Farm Tenant Act, approved July 22, 1937 (50 Stat. 522, 525).
- Secretarial Order Designating the Appomattox Court House National Historical Monument, April 10, 1940 (5 FR 1520) An order from Secretary of the Interior Ickes creating the park (approximately 970.30 acres).
- Act of July 17, 1953 (PL 83-136, 67 Stat. 181) Authorized the Secretary of the Interior to exchange lands of the Appomattox Court House National Monument for nonfederal lands of approximately equal value within a distance of 1.5 miles of the Appomattox Court House site. Restricted the total area to 1,027.11 acres.
- Act of April 15, 1954 (68 Stat. 54) Changed the designation of Appomattox Court House National Historical Monument to Appomattox Court House National Historical Park.

Public Law 334 CHAPTER 142

AN ACT

April 15, 1954
[H. R. 4024]

To change the name of the Appomattox Court House National Historical Monument to the "Appomattox Court House National Historical Park".

Appomattox Court House National Historical Park.

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That the historical site known as the "Appomattox Court House National Historical Monument", located near Appomattox, Virginia, shall hereafter be known and designated as the "Appomattox Court House National Historical Park". Any law, regulation, document, or record of the United States in which such site is designated or referred to by the name of the "Appomattox Court House National Historical Monument" shall be held and considered to refer to such site by the name of the "Appomattox Court House National Historical Park".

Approved April 15, 1954.

- Act of October 21, 1976 (PL 94-578, 90 Stat. 2732) Adopted new boundaries on map dated September 1976 and modified the land acquisition ceiling, increasing the maximum acreage.
- Act of October 27, 1992 (PL 102-541, 106 Stat. 3565) Adopted new boundaries on map dated June 1992 and authorized the acquisition of lands within the boundary by donation. The park now comprises approximately 1,743 acres.

Public Law 102-541
102d Congress

An Act

To expand the boundaries of the Fredericksburg and Spotsylvania County Battlefields Memorial National Military Park, Virginia.

Oct. 27, 1992
[S. 225]

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled,

SECTION 1. FINDING.

16 USC 425k note.

Congress finds that the land area near Fredericksburg and Spotsylvania County Battlefields Memorial National Military Park, Virginia, located south and west of the intersection of the Orange Plank Road and Brock Road in Spotsylvania County was strategically significant ground associated with the battle of the Civil War known as the Battle of the Wilderness, and that the tract of land adjacent to such area known as "Longstreet's Flank Attack" was also strategically significant to that battle.

SEC. 2. ADDITION TO WILDERNESS BATTLEFIELD.

(a) Section (2) of Public Law 101-214 (16 U.S.C. 425k(a)) is amended—

(1) by striking "326-40072E/89,"; and

(2) by striking "1989." and inserting in lieu thereof "1989, and the map entitled 'Fredericksburg and Spotsylvania National Military Park,' numbered 326-40072E/89/A and dated September 1990.": *Provided,* That this subsection shall not be effective until the lands included within the proposed new boundaries of the Fredericksburg and Spotsylvania County Battlefields Memorial National Military Park pursuant to this Act have been donated to the Secretary of the Interior.

16 USC 425k note.

(b) Lands included within the boundaries of the Fredericksburg and Spotsylvania County Battlefields Memorial National Military Park pursuant to this section may be acquired only by donation.

16 USC 425k note.

SEC. 3. ADDITION TO APPOMATTOX COURT HOUSE NATIONAL HISTORICAL PARK.

(a) Section 308(a) of Public Law 94-578 (16 U.S.C. 450e-1(a)) is amended by striking "numbered 340-20,000A, and dated September 1976," and inserting in lieu thereof, "numbered 340/80,015 and dated June 1992,": *Provided,* That this subsection shall not be effective until the lands included within the proposed new boundaries of the Appomattox Court House National Historical Park pursuant to this Act have been donated to the Secretary of the Interior.

16 USC 450e-1 note.

(b) Lands included within the boundaries of the Appomattox Court House National Historical Park pursuant to this section may be acquired only by donation.

Approved October 27, 1992.

- Addendum to Legislative Summary Congressional testimony supporting the 1992 legislation (PL 102-541) Senate hearing on S. 225 before the Subcommittee on Public Lands, National Parks and Forests of the Committee on Energy and Natural Resources, June 23, 1992.

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