National Park Service
U.S. Department of the Interior

Richmond National Battlefield Park

Virginia



Historic Resource Study

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RICHMOND NATIONAL BATTLEFIELD PARK
HISTORIC RESOURCE STUDY

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COVER IMAGE: View north across Malvern Hill Battlefield from July 1, 1862, Federal artillery position (Stephen Olausen, PAL).

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By The Public Archaeology Laboratory, Inc. and Kenah Consulting

Presented to National Park Service Richmond National Battlefield Park

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EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

This report presents the results of a Historic Resource Study (HRS) conducted for Richmond National Battlefield Park (Richmond NBP, or the park). Richmond NBP commemorates, interprets, and actively manages cultural and natural resources across more than 4,000 acres of historical landscapes associated with the American Civil War in Virginia's Piedmont and Coastal Plain (also called Tidewater) regions. Each year, over 170,000 people visit the park's battlefields, fortifications, historic houses, and museums.

The HRS was conducted to assist the National Park Service (NPS) in meeting its obligations under Section 110 of the National Historic Preservation Act of 1966, as amended, which requires that federal agencies establish a program for the identification and protection of historic properties and ensure that such properties are maintained and managed with due consideration for preservation of their historic values. This HRS report was prepared in accordance with the requirements and standards set forth in the *Cultural Resource Management Guideline (NPS-28)*. Its purpose is to provide an overview of Richmond NBP's history, identify and evaluate historic resources within their appropriate historic contexts, and update the status of historic properties already listed in the National Register of Historic Places (National Register). By identifying significant historic contexts and related historic properties, this report serves as a planning and resource management tool that guides Richmond NBP's preparation of National Register nominations; completion of Historic Structure Reports (HSRs), Cultural Landscapes Inventories (CLIs), and Cultural Landscape Reports (CLRs); updating of records in the Cultural Resource Information System (CRIS); and preparation of interpretive programming.

The HRS encompassed all resources 50 years of age and older and addressed any resources less than 50 years of age that are exceptionally significant. The NPS identified five historic contexts as a framework for the HRS evaluations:

- Indigenous Settlement in Richmond and Surrounding Area
- Colonial Era to Civil War, 1607–1861
- Civil War, 1861–1865
- Reconstruction and Beyond, 1865–1920
- Commemoration and Preservation of Richmond's Civil War Battlefields, 1921–Present

This HRS report describes these contexts and the evaluation of over 130 park resources, including 80 contributing resources and 30 non-contributing resources identified in the National Register documentation for the Richmond National Battlefield Park Historic District (NRIS 66000836) accepted by the Keeper of the National Register on April 27, 2018. Two properties in Richmond NBP are also listed under separate National Register nominations: Rural Plains (NRIS 75002021), individually listed on June 5, 1975, and the Richmond Weather Station/Chimborazo Hospital, listed as a contributing resource in the Oakwood-Chimborazo Historic District (NRIS 04001372) on March 18, 2005.

The Maggie L. Walker National Historic Site (NHS), established in 1978 at the Richmond house of Black civil rights activist and businesswoman Maggie Lena Walker (1864–1934), shares a superintendent and operates in collaboration with Richmond NBP but is a separate entity within the NPS. This HRS did not cover the resources at Maggie L. Walker NHS, but this report includes information on Walker where relevant.

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ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

The completion of this HRS report required substantial contributions by NPS cultural resource management staff and facility managers at Richmond NBP. NPS Region 1 Historians Jo Holt and Bethany Serafine managed the HRS project at the NPS regional level and shepherded it from contracting through completion. Bob Krick, Historian at Richmond NBP, served as the NPS project manager, assisted PAL's research and field survey efforts, and reviewed products. Kristen Allen, Integrated Resources Program Manager at Richmond NBP, also participated in the development of the HRS scope and managed aspects of the contract. Research assistance was provided by Katie Yashiro, Archivist with the NPS Denver Service Center's Technical Information Center. We also thank NPS Park Ranger Nathan Hall, Park Ranger Mike Gorman, Museum Curator Ethan Bullard, and Regional Historian Jo Holt for their review and comments on the HRS report.

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CHAPTER ONE: INTRODUCTION

This report presents the results of a Historic Resource Study (HRS) conducted for Richmond National Battlefield Park (Richmond NBP or the park). This HRS report identifies and evaluates historic resources within the park and is intended to serve as a tool for planning, resource management, and development of interpretive programs at the park.

AUTHORITY AND PURPOSE

The HRS was conducted to assist the National Park Service (NPS) in meeting its obligations under Section 110 of the National Historic Preservation Act of 1966, as amended, which requires that federal agencies establish a program for the identification and protection of historic properties and ensure that such properties are maintained and managed with due consideration for preservation of their historic values. As custodian of the National Park System, the NPS is the steward of many of America's most important natural and cultural resources and under its enabling legislation (the Organic Act of 1916) is charged with the special responsibility to preserve them unimpaired for the enjoyment of current and future generations. The NPS Management Policy regarding cultural resources states that the agency "will protect, preserve, and foster appreciation of the cultural resources in its custody and demonstrate its respect for the peoples traditionally associated with those resources through appropriate programs of research, planning, and stewardship."[1] The policy is carried out through the implementation of the *Cultural Resource Management Guideline (NPS-28)*, which in concert with the *Secretary of the Interior's Standards and Guidelines for Archeology and Historic Preservation* establishes the various types of documentation required to inform and maintain NPS cultural resource management programs.

Within the framework of NPS-28, the HRS report serves as the basic source of information about the nature and extent of cultural resources within a unit of the National Park System. Its purposes are to provide an overview of the unit's history and to identify and evaluate historic resources within their appropriate historic contexts. The HRS report synthesizes cultural resource information from various disciplines in a narrative that is designed to serve managers, planners, interpreters, cultural resource specialists, and the interested public as a reference for the history of the resources within an NPS unit. It can form the basis for the preparation of National Register of Historic Places (National Register) nominations, Historic Structure Reports (HSRs), and Cultural Resource Information System (CRIS) entries for those properties that meet the National Register Criteria for Evaluation. Additionally, the historic contexts and significant historic properties identified in the HRS report provide a foundation for the identification of related cultural landscapes through Cultural Landscapes Inventories (CLIs) and/or Cultural Landscape Reports (CLRs). An HRS report may also include recommendations for special history studies or other NPS efforts to enhance resource management and interpretation.

[1] National Park Service, *Management Policies 2006* (Washington, DC: US Department of the Interior, National Park Service, 2006), 59.

This HRS report was prepared in accordance with the requirements and standards set forth in *Cultural Resource Management Guideline (NPS-28)*. Chapter Seven of this report presents the findings of the HRS, a summary of the park's current National Register status, and a table of resources in the park. The information in this HRS report can be used in conjunction with the Richmond NBP Historic District National Register documentation prepared in 2016 and approved in 2018 to evaluate the eligibility of additional historic resources within the park for listing in the National Register.[2]

STUDY SCOPE

NPS regional staff developed the scope of the Richmond NBP HRS in conjunction with park staff. The goals were to produce a multi-chapter, chronological narrative history and context for identifying, evaluating, and interpreting the significance of the park's natural and cultural resources.

While the HRS focused on resources within the park boundary, the analysis in this report references related properties beyond park boundaries to frame contexts. The HRS builds on thematic work accomplished to date—including military, social, environmental, economic, and industrial history—to document, analyze, and contextualize Richmond's Civil War-related resources in light of new scholarship and perspectives. To complete a more holistic, multicultural, and intersectional study of the park's historic resources, this report considers additional topics, including those relating to Indigenous settlement, political organization, and agricultural development; relationships between Indigenous peoples and the early colonists; Colonial-era history leading to the American Revolution and early American/antebellum period; under-addressed topics related to the Civil War period, such as the experiences of women and free and enslaved Black people; and the relationship between park resources and segregation.

DESCRIPTION OF RICHMOND NATIONAL BATTLEFIELD PARK

Richmond NBP encompasses 15 sites and approximately 4,088 acres in and around the city of Richmond, Virginia, within Henrico, Hanover, and Chesterfield counties (Figure 1-1). Conceived as a state park in 1932 following a series of land purchases by the Richmond Battlefield Parks Corporation beginning in 1927, Richmond NBP was established by an act of Congress on May 2, 1936 (Public Law 49 Stat. 1155). The park is primarily associated with major events in the American Civil War related to Federal attempts to take the Confederate capital city of Richmond during the Peninsula Campaign in 1862, the Overland and Bermuda Hundred Campaigns in 1864, and the Richmond-Petersburg Campaign in 1864–1865. The Richmond National Battlefield Park Act of 2000 (114 Stat. 2373–2376) expanded the park to encompass the New Market Heights battlefield; amended the park's maximum authorized boundary to 7,307 acres; provided for the establishment of a monument or memorial to the 14 Medal of Honor recipients from the United States Colored Troops who served in the Battle of New Market Heights;

[2] Stephen Olausen et al., *National Register Nomination – Richmond National Battlefield Park* (On file, Virginia Department of Historic Resources, Richmond, VA, 2016).

and directed the park to include the role of Black Federal soldiers in historical interpretation.[3]

Administrative Units

Richmond NBP is in the Piedmont region of Virginia along the fall line of the James River at the waterway's highest navigable point. The park's 12 administrative units form a wide arc that stretches from the North Anna River north of the city southeastward around the eastern side of Richmond to Parker's Battery on the James River south of the city. The area around Richmond is heavily developed with suburban housing, light industrial sites, and major transportation corridors, including US Interstates 95 and 295; the presence of major highways has accelerated housing and industrial development in the area. The park units are predominantly in suburban settings, with the exception of Parker's Battery, which is surrounded by light industrial sites, and Chimborazo, which is near the center of Richmond. These areas were predominantly farmland during the Civil War. Since that time, extensive suburban, commercial, and light industrial development has altered the landscape and prompted efforts by the Civil War Trust and other private and public organizations to preserve battlefield sites outside Richmond NBP.

The 12 Richmond NBP administrative units from approximately north to south are

- The **North Anna** unit (Figure 1-2) is in Doswell, approximately 30 miles northwest of Richmond, and is associated with Ulysses S. Grant's 1864 Overland Campaign and the May 23–26, 1864, battles at the North Anna River en route to Totopotomoy Creek and Cold Harbor. The NPS acquired the land in 2016.
- The **Totopotomoy Creek** unit (Figure 1-3) is in Mechanicsville, approximately 14 miles northeast of Richmond, and is associated with Ulysses S. Grant's 1864 Overland Campaign and the May 29–31, 1864, battles at Totopotomoy Creek that preceded the battle at Cold Harbor. The NPS acquired the land in 2006.
- The **Cold Harbor** unit (Figure 1-4) is in the unincorporated community of Cold Harbor in Hanover County approximately 11 miles northeast of downtown Richmond. It consists of five discontiguous areas associated with the Battle of Cold Harbor (May 31–June 12, 1864). Most of the land at Cold Harbor, including the Garthright House, belonged to the original state park established in 1932 and later was transferred to the NPS, which acquired the Turkey Hill property in 2005 and additional parcels in 2013, 2015, and 2017.
- The **Gaines' Mill** unit (see Figure 1-4) is approximately 1.5 miles south of Cold Harbor and is associated with the June 27, 1862, Battle of Gaines' Mill, which was part of the Seven Days' battles. A portion of the land belonged to the original state park established in 1932 and was later transferred to the NPS, which acquired additional acreage at Gaines' Mill in 2012, 2016, and 2017.
- The **Beaver Dam Creek** unit (Figure 1-5) is in Mechanicsville, approximately 6 miles northeast of downtown Richmond on the south side of Cold Harbor Road. Associated with the 1862 Seven Days' Battles, the Beaver Dam Creek area was the site of fighting on June 26, 1862, between A. P. Hill's Confederate troops and the Federal Fifth Corps under the command of Fitz John Porter. A portion of the land belonged

[3] National Park Service (NPS), *Foundation Document* (Richmond: Richmond National Battlefield Park, May 2017).

to the original state park established in 1932 and was later transferred to the NPS, which acquired additional acreage at Beaver Dam Creek in 2004 and 2008.

- The **Chickahominy Bluff** unit (see Figure 1-5) is 1 mile southwest of Mechanicsville and south of the Chickahominy River. The unit is associated with the 1862 Seven Days' Battles, and Robert E. Lee witnessed the beginning of the Battle of Beaver Dam Creek from this location. The NPS acquired the property in 1960.
- The **Chimborazo** unit (Figure 1-6) is on the north side of Chimborazo Park in the city of Richmond and functions as the park's administrative headquarters. In 1957, the NPS acquired the property, which is associated with the Chimborazo Civil War military hospital and a Freedmen's Bureau school and refugee camp. The site is in the Oakwood-Chimborazo Historic District, which is significant primarily for its association with speculative residential development at the end of the nineteenth century. Chimborazo Park and the Richmond Weather Station on the NPS property are listed as contributing resources to the Oakwood-Chimborazo District.
- The **Glendale** unit (Figure 1-7) is in Henrico County approximately 12 miles east of downtown Richmond and is associated with the June 30, 1862, Battle of Glendale. The NPS acquired most of the property at Glendale in 1992–1999 and additional land in 2014, 2016, and 2022.
- The **Malvern Hill** unit (see Figure 1-7) is immediately south of the Glendale Battlefield in Henrico County, approximately 12 miles east of downtown Richmond, and is associated with the July 1, 1862, Battle of Malvern Hill. A large portion of the land belonged to the original state park established in 1932 and was later transferred to the NPS, which acquired additional property at Malvern Hill in 2013, 2016, and 2022.
- The **Fort Harrison** unit (Figure 1-8) is approximately 8 miles southeast of Richmond in Henrico County. It is associated with the September 29–30, 1864, Battle of Chaffin's Farm/New Market Heights and with the Intermediate and Outer Lines of Richmond defenses built in 1862–1864. The property belonged to the original state park established in 1932 and was later transferred to the NPS.
- The **Drewry's Bluff** unit (see Figure 1-8) is 7 miles south of Richmond on the west bank of the James River in northeastern Chesterfield County. It contains the remains of fortifications that successfully guarded the James River approach to Richmond from March 1862 to the end of the Civil War. The strategic value of the bluff made it the target of Federal assaults during the Peninsula Campaign (1862) and the Bermuda Hundred Campaign (1864). The land belonged to the original state park established in 1932 and was later transferred to the NPS.
- The **Parker's Battery** unit (Figure 1-9) is 10 miles south of Richmond in Chesterfield County and is the southernmost unit in the park. Parker's Battery was constructed as part of the 1864 Howlett Line, which stretched south from the James River to the Appomattox River, after the retreat of the Federal army to Bermuda Hundred to the south. The property belonged to the original state park established in 1932 and was later transferred to the NPS.

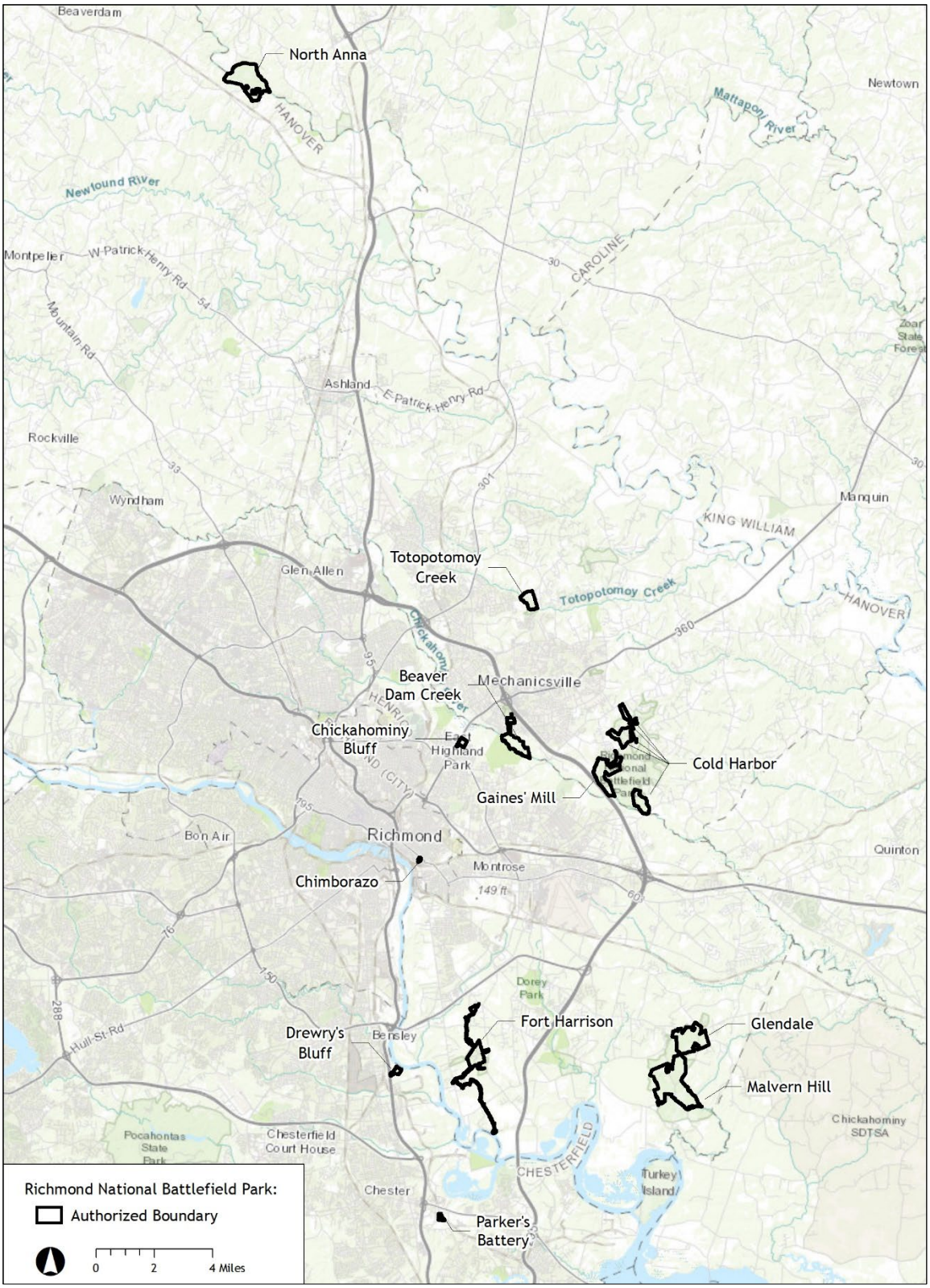


Figure 1-1. Overview map of Richmond NBP. Source: PAL.

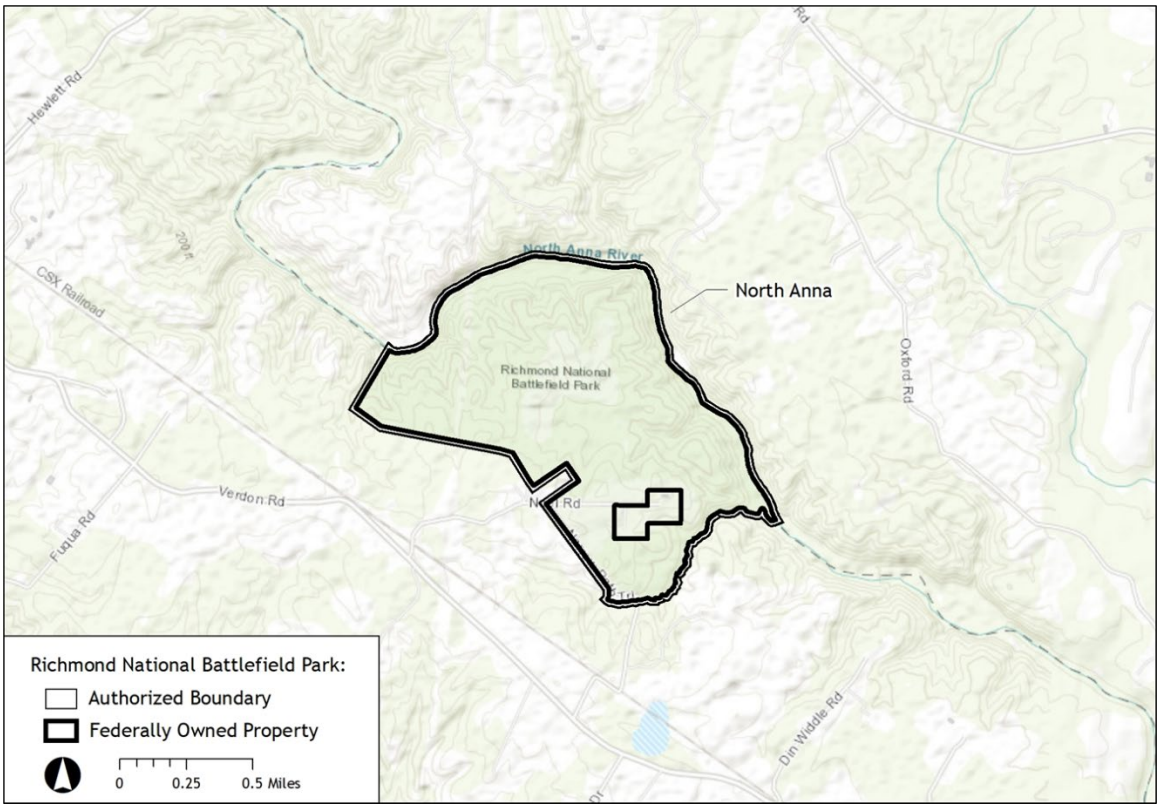


Figure 1-2. North Anna unit. Source: PAL.

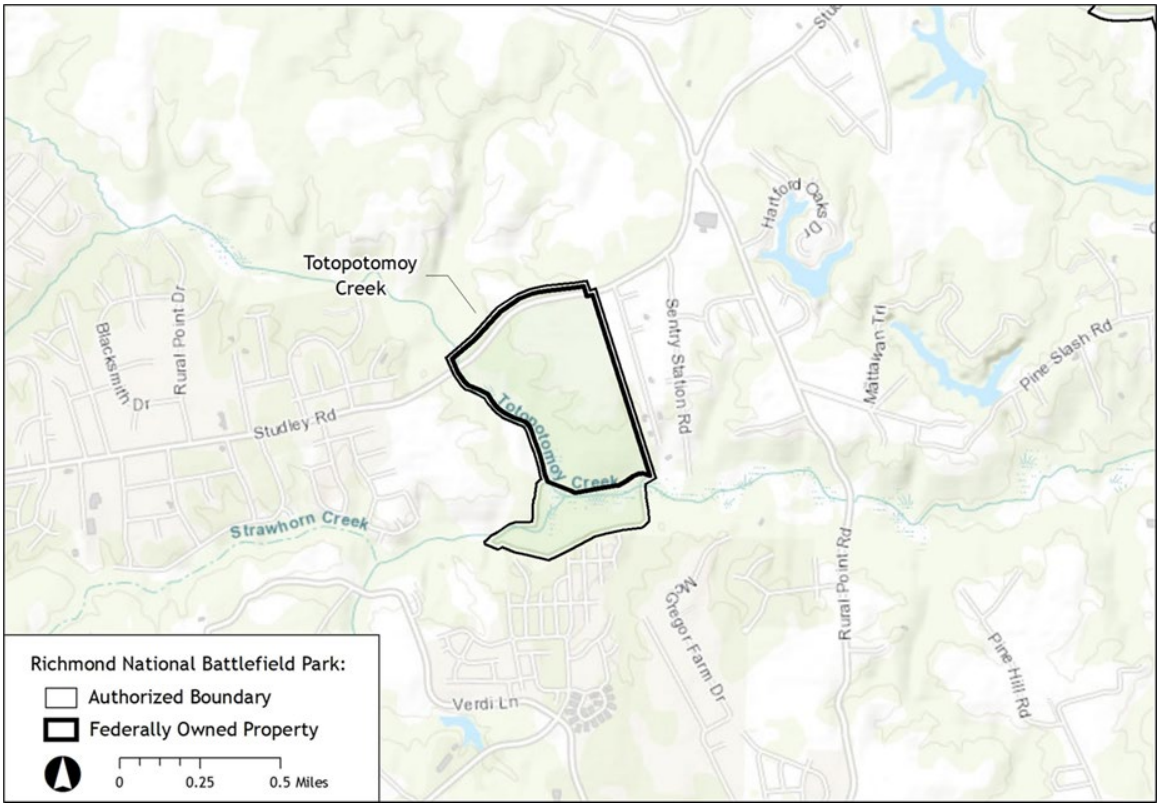


Figure 1-3. Totopotomoy Creek unit. Source: PAL.

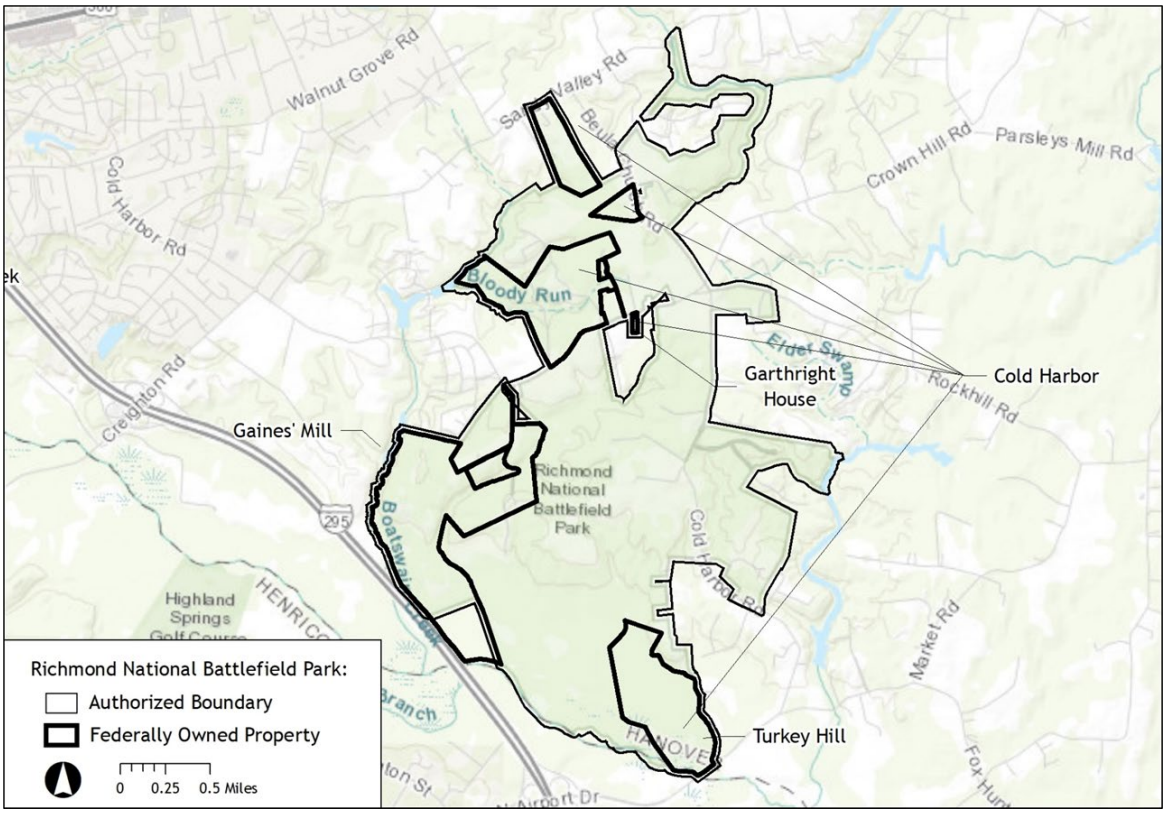


Figure 1-4. Cold Harbor and Gaines' Mill units. Source: PAL.

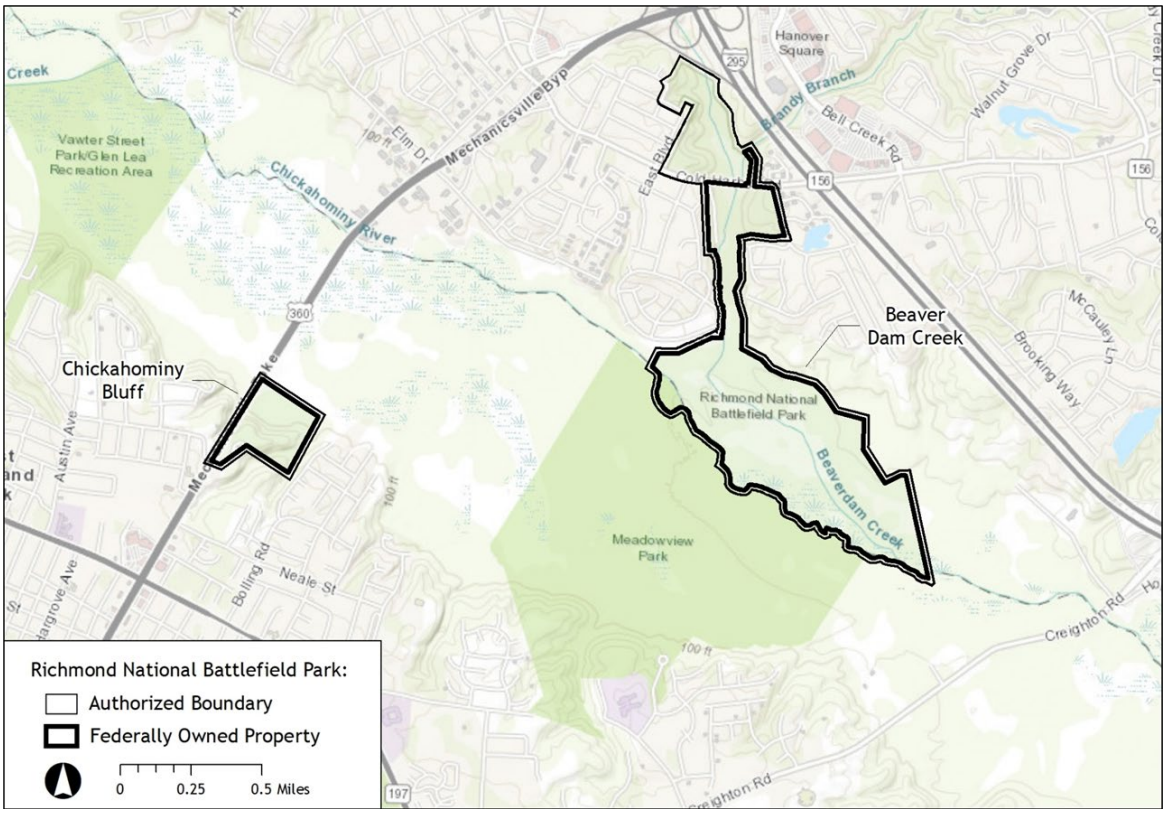


Figure 1-5. Beaver Dam Creek and Chickahominy Bluff units. Source: PAL.

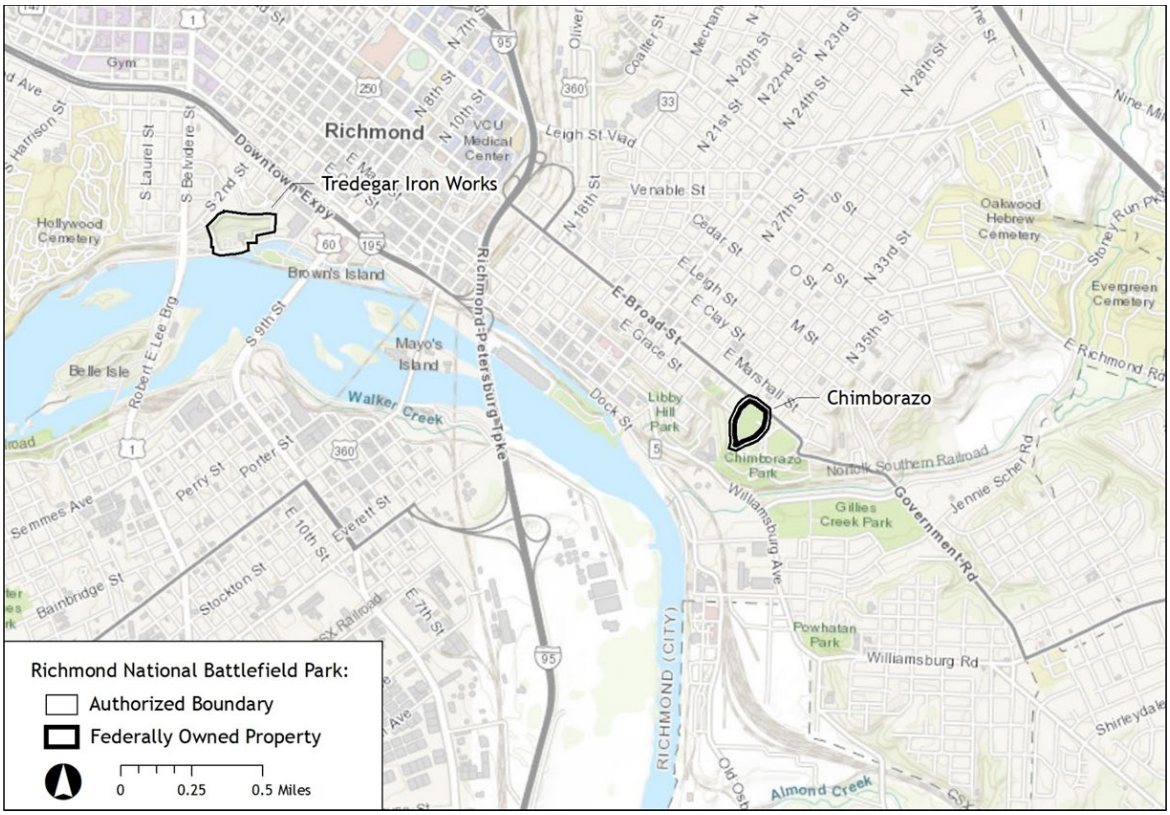


Figure 1-6. Chimborazo unit. Source: PAL.

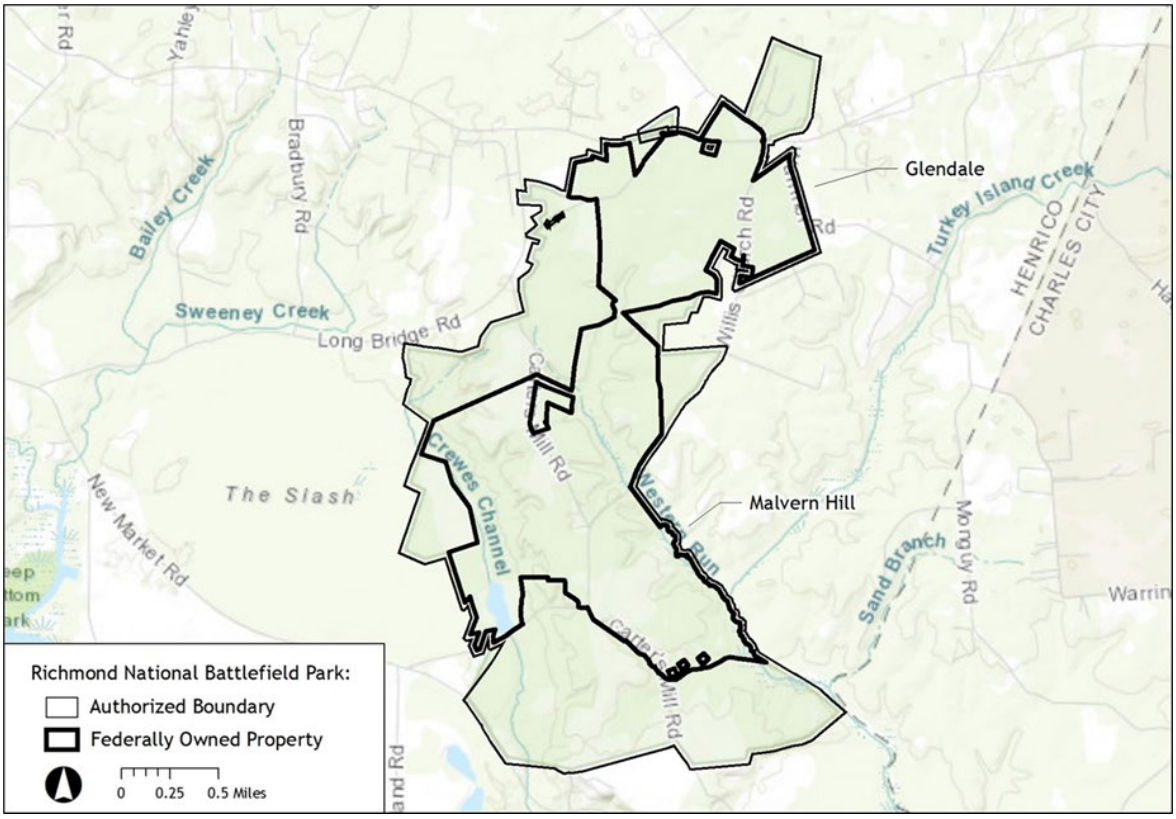


Figure 1-7. Glendale and Malvern Hill units. Source: PAL.

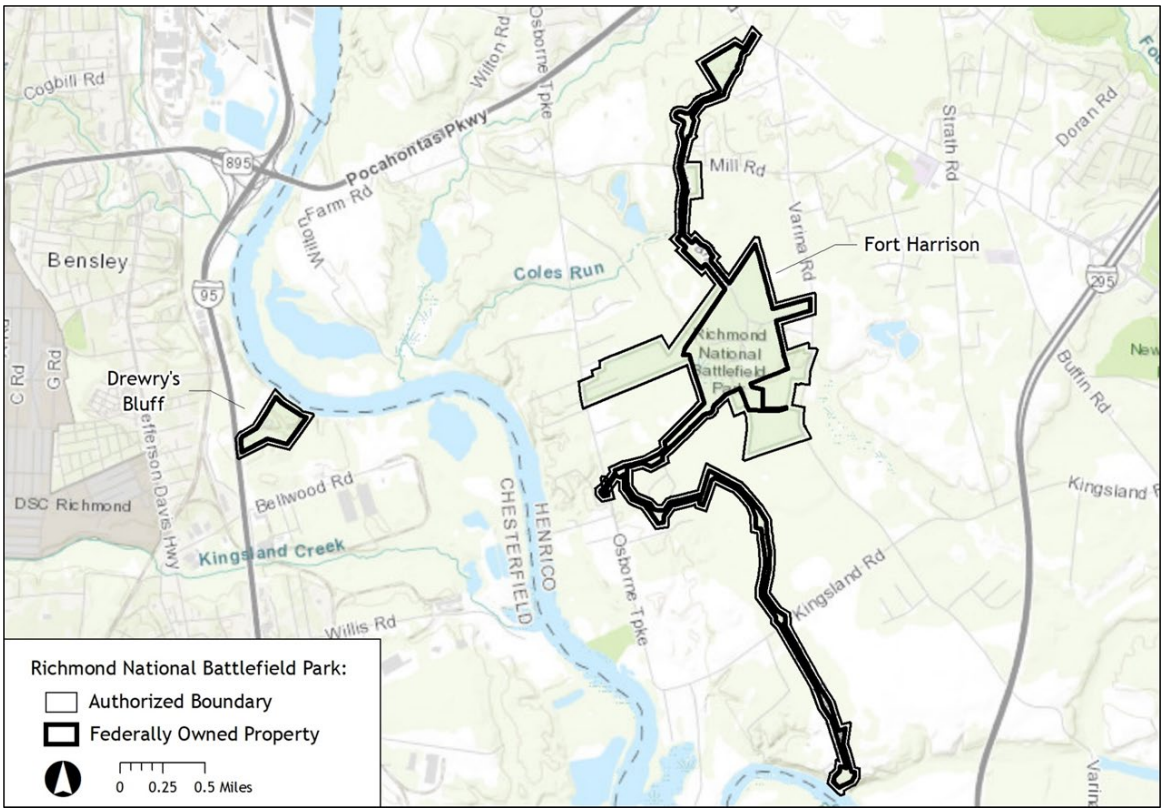


Figure 1-8. Fort Harrison and Drewry's Bluff units. Source: PAL.

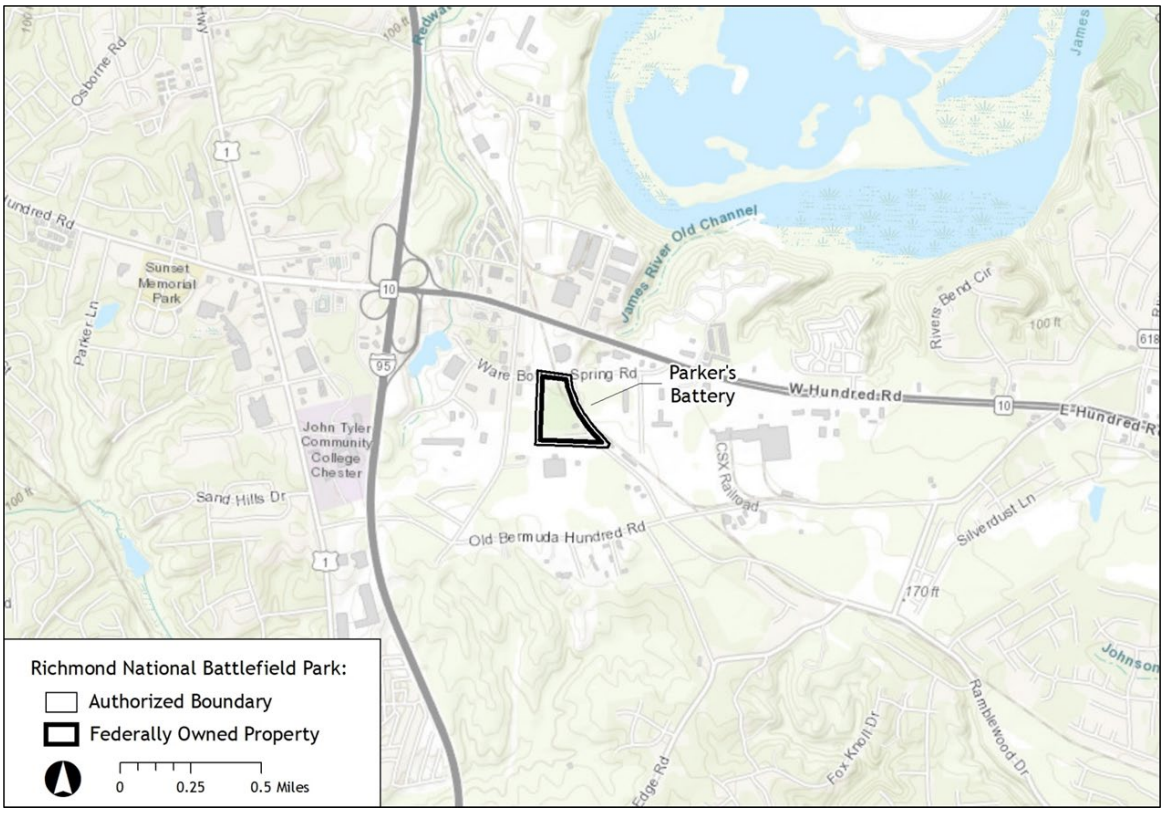


Figure 1-9. Parker's Battery unit. Source: PAL.

Vehicular circulation around and through the park is via several major highways, including Interstates 64, 95, and 295; US Route 60; and Virginia Route 156. Roads built by the Civilian Conservation Corps in the Cold Harbor and Fort Harrison units (the Cold Harbor Battlefield Tour Road, Hoke-Brady Road, Picnic Road, and portions of Battlefield Park Road) remain in use for vehicular traffic. Pedestrian access is via dirt or chip sealed paths laid out by park staff to protect fragile earthworks while still allowing visitor access. Three visitor contact points are in park units: the park headquarters at the Richmond Weather Station/Chimborazo Medical Museum and seasonal visitor centers at Cold Harbor and Fort Harrison.

Successional tree growth and encroaching development have obscured historically open views and vistas across open battle lines in the park. Through preservation and restoration efforts, portions of some battlefields, including Gaines' Mill, Cold Harbor, and Malvern Hill, more closely resemble how they may have looked during the 1862 and 1864 campaigns, i.e., as open grasslands surrounded by trees. The viewshed over the James River at Drewry's Bluff is maintained, although encroaching development and vegetation and erosion of the bluff threaten it. The installation of a high-tension power line altered the view from Lee's vantage point at Chickahominy Bluff over the Chickahominy River. Smaller sites, particularly Turkey Hill (in the Cold Harbor unit) and Parker's Battery, are in more incongruous settings, i.e., surrounded by industrial sites and/or wide utility corridors.

Geology

The discontiguous units of Richmond NPB straddle the rolling uplands of Virginia's southern Piedmont and northern Coastal Plain. The area is known as the fall line, which refers to a geologic transition zone between the Piedmont's metamorphic rocks and the soft, generally unconsolidated sediments of the plain. The fall line roughly corresponds to the route of Interstate 95 between Emporia, Virginia, and Washington, DC.[4]

Ten of the 12 park units are within the Coastal Plain area in the Atlantic Southern Loam Hills subsection, which consists of smooth plains with elevations of 100–300 feet (ft) above sea level (asl). The two other park units—Drewry's Bluff and Parker's Battery—are in the Piedmont in the Western Coastal Plain-Piedmont Transition subsection, which consists of irregular plains at the same elevations as the units in the Coastal Plain area. Fort Harrison is at the lowest elevation at 5 ft asl; Chickahominy Bluff is at the highest at 170 ft asl.[5]

Five geologic units underlay the park: the Bacons Castle Formation, Chesapeake Group, Chuckatuck Formation, Potomac Formation, and Winsor Formation. Each of these was formed by marine and fluvial deposits. Soils in the park are moderately well to excessively drained, generally acidic soils in layers of sand, loam, and gravelly Coastal Plain sediments.[6]

[4] Karen D. Patterson, *Vegetation Classification and Mapping at Richmond National Battlefield Park, Virginia*, Technical Report NPS/NER/NRTR–2008/128 (Philadelphia, PA: Northeast Region, National Park Service, US Department of the Interior, 2008), 21.

[5] Patterson, *Vegetation Classification and Mapping*, 21, 25.

[6] Patterson, *Vegetation Classification and Mapping*, 24.

Climate, Flora, and Fauna

The park's mean monthly minimum temperature from 1948 to 2007 was 47.2°F, and the mean monthly maximum temperature during the same time period was 69.0°F. As of 2019, the annual mean low temperature had increased to 48°F, and the high mean temperature was 70.0°F.[7]

Virginia's Piedmont plateau has historically been a locus of farming, where widespread land clearing occurred to grow tobacco and grains and to provide pastures for grazing stock animals. Areas where farming is no longer practiced are a combination of suburban and urban development and successional-growth forests comprising Virginia pine (*Pinus virginiana*), loblolly (*Pinus taeda*), and shortleaf pine (*Pinus echinate*), as well as hardwoods like sweetgum (*Liquidambar styraciflua*) and tulip tree (*Liriodendron tulipifera*). Other tree species found throughout the Piedmont include American beech (*Fagus grandifolia*) and various oak varieties (*Quercus* spp.). Near the rivers that flow through and around the park, tree species include American elm (*Ulmus americana*), silver maple (*Acer saccharinum*), and box elder (*Acer negundo*). The Coastal Plain area is particularly characterized by stands of American beech, chestnut (*Quercus prinus*), and mountain laurel (*Kalmia latifolia*). Wetlands, such as those near the Chickahominy Bluff, Totopotomoy Creek, and Beaver Dam Creek units, include seasonally flooded ponds and depressions, tidal estuaries, and tidal and palustrine swamps.[8]

SUMMARY HISTORY

The lands currently within the boundaries of Richmond NBP are part of the ancestral homelands of Indigenous groups that have lived in Central Virginia for over 15,000 years. By the late sixteenth century, Algonquian-speaking communities in the region, which they called Tsenacomoco, coalesced into an alliance known as the Powhatan paramount chiefdom. Beginning in 1607, English colonists engaged with the tribes of the chiefdom as they explored the region and established settlements around the falls of the James River at present-day Richmond. In 1614–1677, colonial and tribal leaders negotiated various treaties to establish tribal rights to self-governance and to the lands that sustained them. Simultaneously, the colonists developed a robust plantation economy that relied on indentured and enslaved labor.[9]

Richmond became the capital of Virginia in 1780 and developed into a major regional commercial center surrounded by agricultural communities by the early nineteenth century.[10] At the start of the Civil War, farmsteads; fields cultivated with tobacco, wheat, oats, and corn; and forests covered almost all the current park lands in Hanover, Henrico, and Chesterfield counties. Most households included enslaved Blacks who provided domestic or farm labor; however, free Black communities, such as Henrico's Gravel Hill, also were established. Turnpikes and railways connected the rural areas to markets in Richmond, where white and

[7] US Climate Data, "Climate Richmond – Virginia," https://www.usclimatedata.com/climate/richmond/virginia/united-states/usva0652, accessed May 2023.

[8] Patterson, *Vegetation Classification and Mapping*, 21–24.

[9] Christopher J. Shepard, David W. Lewes, Elizabeth E. Bell, and Charles M. Downing, *Archaeological Overview and Assessment, Richmond National Battlefield, Virginia* (Williamsburg, VA: William and Mary Center for Archaeological Research, The College of William and Mary, 2019), 36, 81, 162, 316, 318.

[10] Marianne Patricia Buroff Sheldon, "Richmond, Virginia: The Town and Henrico County to 1820," PhD diss. (University of Michigan, 1975), 227.

Black farmers, as well as Virginia Indians still living in the region, bought and sold produce and handmade goods. The Tredegar Iron Works, established in 1837 in downtown Richmond, grew into one of the largest industrial sites in the country by manufacturing ordnance and railroad components.

US Army forces targeted Richmond as the Confederate capital throughout the Civil War, and pivotal battles occurred across the landscape around the city during the 1862 Peninsula Campaign, the 1864 Overland Campaign, and the 1864–1865 Richmond and Petersburg Campaign. The first major effort against Richmond began in the spring of 1862, when General George B. McClellan's Federal army advanced up the peninsula and reached the city's outskirts in mid-May. The US Navy failed to get past the defenses at Drewry's Bluff on May 15. On June 1, General Robert E. Lee was given command of the Confederate Army of Northern Virginia and began planning a counteroffensive that became known as the Seven Days' Battles, which included the battles of Beaver Dam Creek, Gaines' Mill, Glendale, and Malvern Hill and prevented the US Army from capturing Richmond. Two years later, Lee again engaged the US Army, now under the orders of General Ulysses S. Grant, outside Richmond. From May 23 to June 12, 1864, the two forces met north of the city at the North Anna River, Totopotomoy Creek, and Cold Harbor. Grant's troops then turned their offensive on Richmond and Petersburg simultaneously and succeeded in taking Fort Harrison, the largest Confederate fort south of Richmond, in September 1864. United States Colored Troops (USCTs) also took New Market Heights to the east, and the US Army remained at Richmond's door through the following spring.

During the period of post-Civil War recovery known as Reconstruction (about 1865 to 1877), overall economic decline characterized much of the South, including the Richmond area. By the end of the nineteenth century, however, white and Black residents in the current park region once again engaged in farming and manufacturing and established primarily segregated communities. Commemoration of people and sites associated with the events of the Civil War took on more importance as the South rebuilt. Amid the national battlefield preservation movement of the 1920s, Richmond-area citizens installed a series of roadside commemorative markers and started to acquire battlefield lands to protect them from development and to create a memorial park. Initially wary of federal involvement in the effort, the Commonwealth of Virginia created the Richmond Battlefield Park as its first state park in 1932. The NPS became involved in park management through its oversight of a Black Civilian Conservation Corps (CCC) camp established near Fort Harrison in 1933 as part of the New Deal Emergency Conservation Work program. The CCC enrollees did much of the early park development work, including clearing vegetation, rehabilitating earthworks, and constructing roads. Virginia's government began transferring the state park lands to the NPS in 1934, and President Franklin Delano Roosevelt formally authorized the creation of Richmond National Battlefield Park on March 2, 1936.

Park development consisting mostly of restoration work continued with assistance from the CCC through 1941, but post-World War II austerity measures throughout the National Park System curtailed development for several decades. The size and overall appearance of Richmond NBP remained static for much of the second half of the twentieth century, even during the Mission 66 period (1956–1966) of NPS infrastructure investments throughout the National Park System. The primary development at Richmond NBP was the acquisition of the former US Weather Bureau Station at Chimborazo Park and its conversion into a visitor center. In 1990, the park encompassed 732 acres. Twentieth-century growth and development in and

around Richmond prompted conservation advocates to revisit the park's authorized boundary, and Congress passed legislation to expand it in 2000. The NPS added thousands of acres of undeveloped battlefield lands to the park about 1995 to the present (2024), most recently by acquiring portions of the North Anna Battlefield and more land at Malvern Hill.

DISTRIBUTION OF HISTORIC RESOURCES

Archeological sites associated with Indigenous settlement in and around Richmond (see Chapter Two) have been documented at 6 of the 12 park units: the North Anna, Totopotomoy Creek, Gaines' Mill, Malvern Hill, Fort Harrison, and Drewry's Bluff units. No buildings or aboveground structures from the earliest period of European settlement (see Chapter Three) remain within park lands, but residential/domestic archeological sites associated with the Colonial era have been identified throughout the park. Buildings, roads, road traces, fields, structural ruins, and potential archeological sites from eighteenth- and nineteenth-century agricultural properties also exist throughout the park.

Most of the park's historic resources are primarily associated with the Civil War (see Chapter Four) and include the battlefield landscapes on the fields and wooded areas around Richmond; the extant eighteenth- and nineteenth-century houses in the north area of the park in the Totopotomoy Creek, Cold Harbor, and Gaines' Mill units; and the site of the former Confederate military hospital complex at Chimborazo. Those historic resources in Richmond NBP that have direct associations with the Reconstruction and Jim Crow eras (see Chapter Five) are present in the Chimborazo, Glendale, and Parker's Battery units, although all 12 park units contain resources associated with these time periods. Early twentieth-century resources associated with the initial state and national park development (see Chapter Six) are concentrated at Fort Harrison but also include commemorative markers from the 1920s in eight of the park units. Mid-to-late twentieth-century resources built by the NPS are in the Cold Harbor, Malvern Hill, and Fort Harrison units.

PREVIOUS CULTURAL RESOURCE STUDIES

The 2014 *State of the Parks* report for Richmond NBP classified the park's understanding of its cultural resources as generally good and improving.[11] The NPS has made considerable effort to research and document the resources in the substantial amount of park land acquired since the beginning of the twenty-first century. The Olmsted Center for Landscape Preservation has prepared nine CLIs and two CLRs for areas in the park: Chickahominy Bluff (CLI 1999), Drewry's Bluff (CLI 1999), Parker's Battery (CLI 1999), Fort Harrison (CLI 2015), Totopotomoy Creek (CLI 2015), Rural Plains (at Totopotomoy Creek, CLR 2016), Malvern Hill (CLI 2017), Glendale (CLI 2017 and CLR 2019), Beaver Dam Creek (CLI 2022), and Cold Harbor (CLI 2022). HSRs exist for the Watt House, Garthright House, and Shelton House at

[11] National Park Service (NPS), *State of the Parks: Richmond National Battlefield Park* (Richmond: Richmond National Battlefield Park, National Park Service, US Department of the Interior, 2014).

Rural Plains.[12] In 2008, a scholar from the North Carolina State University Department of History produced an in-depth research report about civilian life in central Virginia during the Civil War for Richmond NBP and Fredericksburg and Spotsylvania National Military Park.[13] The National Register documentation prepared for the park in 2016 and approved by the Keeper of the National Register in 2018 synthesized the information on cultural resources that existed at that time, established parkwide significance statements, and evaluated all resources within the 2016 park boundary for their National Register eligibility (see Chapter Seven).[14]

The William and Mary Center for Archaeological Research produced a draft archeological overview and assessment report for the entire park in 2019.[15] As of 2024, only the Gaines' Mill, Glendale, and Malvern Hill units have undergone systematic, unit-wide archeological review or survey.[16] Smaller-scale, primarily compliance-related investigations have been conducted at North Anna, Totopotomoy Creek, Cold Harbor, Beaver Dam Creek, Chimborazo, Fort Harrison, and Drewry's Bluff. During most of these investigations, archeologists identified low-density artifact scatters without clear temporal or cultural affiliations.[17]

[12] John T. Willett, *Historic Structures Report: Restoration of the Watt House* (National Park Service, US Department of the Interior, November 4, 1956, on file, Richmond National Battlefield Park, Richmond, VA); Russell Jones, *Garthright House, Historic Structure Report* (Richmond: Historic Architecture Program, National Park Service, US Department of the Interior, 1971); Barbara Yocum, *The Shelton House at Rural Plains. Historic Structure Report* (Lowell, MA: Historic Architecture Program, National Park Service, US Department of the Interior, 2012).

[13] Susanna Michele Lee, *Central Virginia at War, 1859–1870: When the Homefront became the Battlefield in the American Civil War* (Report and Research Binder, 2008, on file, Richmond National Battlefield Park, Richmond, VA).

[14] Olausen et al., *National Register Nomination – Richmond National Battlefield Park*.

[15] Shepard et al., *Archaeological Overview*.

[16] James River Institute for Archaeology, Inc. (JRIA), *Archaeological Investigations at the Binford West/West Cottage Site (44HE0991, RICH00037)* (On file, Northeast Region Archeology Program, Lowell, MA (RICH-49-13), 2009); John Milner Associates, Inc. (JMA), *Glendale and Malvern Hill Units, Richmond National Battlefield Park, Henrico County, Virginia, Cultural Landscape Report & Archeological Inventory, Volume I* (On file, Richmond National Battlefield Park, Richmond, VA, 2004); Land and Community Associates (LCA), *Gaines' Mill Cultural Landscape Report and Archeological Survey, Richmond National Battlefield Park* (On file, Richmond National Battlefield Park, Richmond, VA, 2000); Lynn Rainville, "Archaeological Identification Study Gaines' Mill Unit, Richmond National Battlefield Park: Excavations at the Watt House, 1999–2000" (Sweet Briar, VA: Sweet Briar College, 2003).

[17] Allen H. Cooper, *Miscellaneous 1999 Archeological Compliance Activities*, *Richmond National Battlefield Park, Cold Harbor and Beaver Dam Creek Units, Hanover County, Virginia* (On file, Northeast Region Archeology Program, Lowell, MA [RICH-49-01], 1999); Allen H. Cooper, *RICH Fire Suppression Line* (Field notes on file, Richmond National Battlefield Park, Richmond, VA [RICH-00225], 2000); Dutton & Associates, *Cultural Landscape Report, Part 1: Totopotomoy Creek Unit, Richmond National Battlefield Park* (On file, Richmond National Battlefield Park, Richmond, VA, 2010); Ellen Chapman, *Archaeological Survey and Testing at Chimborazo Park (44HE0997), Richmond, Virginia, for Richmond National Battlefield Park* (On file, Richmond National Battlefield Park, Richmond, VA [RICH-00301], 2016); Dutton & Associates, *Phase I Cultural Resources Survey of Structures 574/82 and 574/83 along the Line# 574 (Elmont-Ladysmith) 500kV Rebuild Project within the NPS McKinney Tract of the North Anna Battlefield* (On file, Richmond National Battlefield Park, Richmond, VA [RICH-00329], 2023).

METHODOLOGY

The methodological approach to the HRS involved archival research; consultation with subject matter experts; field investigations; data analysis; the development of historic contexts, conclusions, and recommendations; and production of this report.

Archival Research

The archival research met NPS standards for a thorough investigation and included a review of readily accessible published and other documentary sources of known or presumed relevance to the HRS. The Richmond NBP archives, along with the NPS Integrated Resource Management Application (IRMA) database and the Virginia CRIS (VCRIS) maintained by the Virginia Department of Historic Resources (DHR), were consulted to identify any cultural resource management reports and other available primary and secondary sources that had not been previously collected by staff of The Public Archaeology Laboratory, Inc. (PAL) for the 2016 National Register documentation.

PAL staff also reviewed pertinent information available using the NPS Technical Information Center (E-TIC) system and obtained information available through other online sources. PAL reviewed background literature (e.g., published histories) about Richmond and the surrounding area, particularly that related to the experiences of Black and Native peoples during and after European settlement; the Civil War in Virginia, including the Peninsula, Overland, and Richmond-Petersburg campaigns; civilian life during the Civil War; and the twentieth-century development of Richmond Battlefield Park and Richmond NBP. PAL also reviewed journal articles; historic maps and plans; pertinent dissertations and theses; newspaper databases, including Newspapers.com, *Virginia Chronicle*, *Chronicling America: Historic American Newspapers*, and *Early American Newspapers*; US Census and genealogical data available through Ancestry.com; and materials from other online repositories, including those maintained by genealogical societies.

Archival collections consulted in-person or online included those maintained by the Library of Congress, National Archives, New York Public Library, Virginia State Archives, Library of Virginia, and Virginia Historical Society. Many land records, legislative petitions, and wills and probate documents from these repositories have been digitized, including information about Black Americans during and after the Civil War in the Records of the Bureau of Refugees, Freedmen, and Abandoned Lands and the Records of the Southern Claims Commission. Several recent digital projects, including *Emerging Civil War*, *Civil War Richmond*, *Virginia Untold: The African American Narrative*, and *UncommonWealth: Voices from the Library of Virginia*, provide access to research materials that focus on under-represented histories.

Consultation

Subject matter experts from Kenah Consulting, an Indigenous-owned anthropological and cultural heritage consulting firm based in Richmond, Virginia, contributed the information about archeology and Indigenous peoples in this HRS report. Kenah's Executive Director Ashley Spivey, PhD, is a member of the Pamunkey Indian Tribe and has decades of experience researching and working with archeological and ethnographic resources in the Virginia Tidewater, particularly those associated with the Pamunkey and additional Powhatan

Algonquian communities. Kenah's Cultural Heritage Director Lisa Bergstrom, MA, has worked with Virginia Indian communities on various strategic planning, policy development, and grant writing projects related to historic preservation. Spivey's and Bergstrom's research methodology included the use of VCRIS and extensive referencing of various NPS literature, studies, and assessments related to Richmond NBP, including the 2019 *Archaeological Overview and Assessment*; the CLIs and CLRs for individual park units; and NPS archeological inventories.

Field Investigations

Field investigations for this HRS consisted of a visit by PAL staff to obtain updated field information for those park resources identified in the NPS CRIS and in the 2016 National Register nomination. PAL also surveyed those areas of the park acquired since the preparation of the National Register nomination: the entire North Anna unit and large parcels in the Cold Harbor and Malvern Hill units.

Historic Contexts

The development of the historic contexts presented in Chapters Two to Six constituted a major element of the HRS. Historic contexts are designed to describe the important historical themes, trends, and events related to the development of the park and its extant resources and to serve as the basis for evaluating the significance of the resources identified during the fieldwork. The NPS identified the following five historic contexts to be addressed in this HRS for Richmond NBP:

- **Indigenous Settlement in Richmond and Surrounding Area** summarizes the Native American history in the Richmond region from its earliest peopling through the arrival of non-Indigenous explorers and settlers and up to the ongoing relationship-building and consultation among NPS personnel and Indian tribes. Chapter Two describes Indigenous settlement, political organization, relationships with the early colonists, and cultural materials and features identified through archeological research in the region.
- **Colonial Era to Civil War, 1607–1861,** describes colonial-era history beginning with the first permanent English settlement in Jamestown, Virginia, in 1607 and leading to the American Revolution and early American/antebellum period. Chapter Three focuses on the agricultural, industrial, and commercial developments that shaped the park's geography and landscape; the relationships between Native peoples and European settlers; and pre-Civil War military events that occurred on park lands.
- **Civil War, 1861–1865,** describes the Civil War period. Chapter Four provides an overview of the important military events in Richmond and the surrounding area, particularly those battles of the 1862 Peninsula Campaign, 1864 Overland Campaign, and 1864–1865 Richmond-Petersburg Campaign on current park lands. Chapter Four also describes less-examined subjects related to the Civil War, such as the civilian and military experiences of women and free and enslaved Black people.
- **Reconstruction and Beyond, 1865–1920,** provides information about the Reconstruction and Jim Crow eras that is related to the Richmond area. Chapter Five describes the efforts to rebuild Richmond immediately after the Civil War, the Freedmen's Bureau refugee camp and school at Chimborazo, municipal and federal

development at the former Confederate hospital site, the continued occupancy of Richmond-area battlefield lands by white and Black families, and early activities commemorating the Civil War in the area.

- **Commemoration and Preservation of Richmond's Civil War Battlefields, 1921–Present,** describes the preservation efforts that led to the formation of Richmond NBP. Chapter Six covers the 1920s Freeman marker program; the Richmond Battlefield Park Corporation's creation of a state park in 1932 and transfer of the property to the NPS beginning in 1934; the CCC and its role in park development; the relationships between park resources, segregation, and the Civil Rights movement; and recent events related to the expansion of the park and new approaches to Civil War commemoration.

CHAPTER TWO: INDIGENOUS SETTLEMENT IN RICHMOND AND SURROUNDING AREA

This chapter describes the archeological resources associated with Indigenous settlement, occupation, and use in and near the Richmond NBP units. The Indigenous communities of Virginia have significant ancestral and historical connections to the areas that now encompass the city of Richmond and the central region of Virginia. Patterns of Indigenous community building are part of the region's history and should be treated as central to understanding and framing the historic landscape of Richmond NBP. Additional context is provided about the rise of the Powhatan paramount chiefdom in the Late Woodland Period. To highlight the Indigenous history represented in Richmond NBP, an overview of identified archeological sites near Richmond and in select park units is provided with reference to the tribal affiliation; periods of history represented; Indigenous material culture uncovered; and type, purpose, and use of the sites.

The Algonquian-speaking communities whose territories were along and to the east of the fall line referred to these lands as Tsenacomoco.[18] While archeological evidence places the first Indigenous occupation in what is now Virginia at approximately 15,000 years ago, the groups of the southeastern Algonquian cultural area, as ethnologists understand it, coalesced about the thirteenth century.[19] The tribal communities that constituted the Algonquian cultural area in Virginia's Coastal Plain shared a language and largely uniform political system. They were, moreover, connected by a web of waterways that facilitated travel and trade from the lower reaches of the current Maryland border to the Neuse River in North Carolina and to the fall line that runs from the area of Washington, DC, south through Richmond and Petersburg, Virginia, and into North Carolina.[20] These Algonquian-speaking communities were central to the development of the Powhatan paramount chiefdom that came to prominence in the Coastal Plain by the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries.

During the period of English colonial expansion from 1607 to about 1650, the Powhatan paramount chiefdom consisted of approximately 34 districts of Algonquian-speaking communities, all owing political allegiance and paying tribute to Powhatan with prestige goods and surplus foods from the Tidewater region and beyond. The chiefdom emerged from the geographic and cultural interconnections of the region's Algonquian Indians that facilitated strong intertribal relations and expanded the trade and subsistence geographies of these communities. These interconnections resulted in what scholars have referred to as the "Powhatan Culture" shared by the Tidewater region's Indigenous inhabitants.[21]

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[18] Tsenacomoco is the Algonquian word used to refer to the Tidewater region and the homelands of the Tribes allied with the Powhatan chiefdom.

[19] Frank G. Speck, "Chapters on the Ethnology of the Powhatan Tribes of Virginia" (New York: Museum of the American Indian Heye Foundation, 1928), 230.

[20] Maurice Mook, "The Anthropological Position of the Indian Tribes of Tidewater Virginia," *The William and Mary Quarterly* 23, no. 1 (1943):28–30.

[21] Frederic W. Gleach, "Powhatan's World and Colonial Virginia: A Conflict of Cultures," Lincoln (Lincoln, NE: The University of Nebraska Press, 1997), 28; Helen Rountree, "Who Were the Powhatans and Did They Have a Unified 'Foreign Policy'?," in *Powhatan Foreign Relations, 1500–1722*, ed. Helen Rountree (Charlottesville, VA: University Press of Virginia, 1993), 6; Speck, "Chapters on the Ethnology," 230; Mook, "The Anthropological Position," 28–30.

INDIGENOUS SETTLEMENT IN VIRGINIA

Indigenous peoples established communities and developed cultural expressions through economic, political, and religious practices in the Eastern Woodlands of the Middle Atlantic region from 15,000 B.C. to A.D. 1607, when English colonists arrived in the region. Archeologists use the terms Paleoindian, Archaic, and Woodland[22] when referring to the periods of Indigenous history before European contact and use the B.C./A.D. terminology (Before Christ/anno Domini); in this chapter, some dates are also stated in calendar years to more easily relate ancient timelines to the present. These periods characterizing Indigenous lives are often referred to as "prehistory," but that term is not used in this report when referring to archeological evidence of Indigenous settlement within the lands that are now in control of the NPS.

Paleoindian Period (about 15,000–8,000 B.C.)

Indigenous peoples in the central part of what is now Virginia experienced a vastly different landscape than that of today. During the Paleoindian Period, temperatures were an average of 18–27˚F lower than currently because of the presence of a continental glacier that traversed the area that is now New England through northern Ohio, Indiana, and Illinois. The effects of the glacier were long, cold winters and short, cool summers. Indigenous peoples lived among a mix of ecosystems characterized by grasslands, open coniferous forests, and islands of deciduous trees. Anthropologists and archeologists characterize Paleoindians as living in bands that functioned much like an extended family. They moved seasonally within a defined territory to establish temporary camps for fishing, trapping, foraging, and hunting animals such as moose, caribou, elk, and deer. Large lance-shaped fluted spears/points referred to as Clovis points are a material culture hallmark of this period. Although Clovis points are found across the North American continent, many have been found in Virginia. Other stone tools found with the Clovis point include scrapers, gravers, perforators, wedges, and knives. Evidence in Virginia suggests that these tools were used to spear animals, process meats and hides, and split and carve bone.[23]

Two of the most significant Paleoindian sites in Virginia are the Williamson Site and Cactus Hill. The Williamson Site is in the southwest portion of Dinwiddie County (about 45 miles southwest of Richmond) on a plateau overlooking Little Cattail Run. It is one of the largest of its type and age in North America and was listed in the National Register in 1969.[24] Dating to before 9,000 B.C., the site consists of approximately 23 acres that yielded

[22] The Archaic and Woodland periods are further divided into Early, Middle, and Late subperiods, but only a summary of the periods is provided for the purposes of this chapter.

[23] J. Mark Wittkofaki and Theodore R. Reinhart, ed., "Paleoindian Research in Virginia: A Synthesis" (Archaeological Society of Virginia, 1989); Keith Egloff and Deborah Woodward, *First People: The Early Indians of Virginia* (Charlottesville: The University Press of Virginia, 1992); E. Randolph Turner, "PaleoIndian Settlement Patterns and Population Distribution in Virginia," in *PaleoIndian Research in Virginia: A Synthesis*, ed. J. Mark Wittkofski and Theodore R. Reinhart (Archaeological Society of Virginia, 1989).

[24] Howard MacCord, *National Register Nomination – Williamson Site*, 1969, On file, Virginia Department of Historic Resources, Richmond, VA; 026-0035 Williamson Archaeological Site, Virginia Department of Historic Resources, https://www.dhr.virginia.gov/historic-registers/026-0035/, accessed May 10, 2023.

thousands of artifacts, including fluted points, scrapers, knives, burins, hammers, and lithic workshop debris (also known as debitage). The site has been interpreted as a large and rare quarry workshop where Indigenous peoples quarried fine-grained cherts to fashion into a variety of forms on-site. The collected artifacts may have been used by those working the quarry or for trading.

Archeologists first investigated the Cactus Hill Site in the 1980s. It was identified in Sussex County (about 60 miles south of Richmond) on top of a sandy hill overlooking the Nottoway River. The Cactus Hill Site is one of the oldest archeological sites in the region and has stratified and well-preserved deposits dating to the Paleoindian, Archaic, and Woodland periods. One piece of white pine, found in context with stone tools and the raw material from which the tools were made, was radiocarbon dated to almost 17,000 years ago. The Cactus Hill Site was listed in the Virginia Landmarks Register in 2001.[25]

Archaic Period (about 8,000–1,200 B.C.)

During the Archaic Period, the climate became warmer and drier, which caused the glaciers to the north to melt. Warming ocean waters and rising sea levels spread water across the coastal plain of Virginia and created the Chesapeake Bay.[26] The more temperate climate and higher sea levels led to the development of freshwater marshes, an increase in thick deciduous forests, and more seasonal variation in the types of flora and fauna available to Indigenous peoples for subsistence. They gathered more plant foods such as fruit, acorns, and hickory nuts and collected the new and abundant aquatic resources, including oysters, clams, and other species of shellfish.[27] Hunting and trapping practices also shifted to a focus on smaller animals such as deer, elk, bear, turkey, and small game such as rabbit and fox.[28] Virginia's Indigenous peoples began to practice horticulture and to nurture native plant species, including sunflowers, gourds, sumpweed/marsh elder, maygrass, lambsquarter/goosefoot, and amaranth. People also began to grow varieties of squash first brought to the area from Central America.[29]

The seasonal changes in available resources also influenced the development of new technologies and tool types. These included the atlatl (wooden spear thrower), chipped-stone axes, soapstone vessels, stone sinkers for fishing nets, and the mortar and pestle for

[25] E. Randolph Turner, *National Register Nomination – Cactus Hill Archaeological Site*, 2001. On file, Virginia Department of Historic Resources, Richmond, VA. See also "PaleoIndians, 15,000–8,000 B.C.," Virginia Department of Historic Resources, https://www.dhr.virginia.gov/first-people-the-early-indians-of-virginia/paleoindians-15000-8000-b-c/, accessed May 10, 2023; Egloff and Woodward, *First People*; 091-5026 "Cactus Hill Archaeological Site," Virginia Department of Historic Resources, https://www.dhr.virginia.gov/historic-registers/091-5026/, accessed May 10, 2023.

[26] "PaleoIndians, 15,000–8,000 B.C."

[27] "Late Archaic 2,500–1,200 B.C.," Virginia Department of Historic Resources, https://www.dhr.virginia.gov/first-people-the-early-indians-of-virginia/late-archaic-2500-1200-b-c/, accessed May 10, 2023.

[28] Jay Custer, "Early and Middle Archaic Cultures of Virginia: Cultural Change and Continuity," in *Early and Middle Archaic Research in Virginia: A Synthesis*, ed. Theodore R. Reinhart and Mary Ellen N. Hodges (Archaeological Society of Virginia, 1990); Keith Egloff and Joseph McAvoy, "Chronology of Virginia's Early and Middle Archaic Periods," in *Early and Middle Archaic Research in Virginia: A Synthesis,* ed. Theodore R. Reinhart and Mary Ellen N. Hodges (Archaeological Society of Virginia, 1990).

[29] Egloff and Woodward, *First People*; "Late Archaic 2,500–1,200 B.C."

grinding and processing foods. The population of Indigenous peoples began to increase as families lived in larger bands. During the first half of the Archaic Period, they remained mobile but within a more limited fertile area. During the second half of the period, extended family bands sought the abundant resources of watershed environments. They established communities with wider-ranging kinship structures as they merged through marriage and trade to form small settlements along the floodplains of Virginia's riverine landscapes. The settlements comprised a series of hamlets from which tribal identities began to emerge.[30]

Woodland Period (about 1200 B.C.–A.D. 1607)

The Woodland Period was a time of organized and complex social, economic, political, spiritual, and cultural expansion throughout eastern North America. This shift in societal dynamics is attributed to the establishment of sedentary communities that supported continued population growth.[31] Craftsmanship of various forms of material culture and technology became more specialized, contributing to the development of the bow and arrow and to clay vessels and ceramic pipes that became more stylized by the end of the Woodland Period.[32] Bone and stone tools such as needles, fishhooks, and awls were widely made.[33] Trade became more far-reaching with people traveling great distances to trade for goods such as copper, beads, and shell. The spiritual and religious beliefs of the Algonquian-speaking peoples of the region became increasingly reflected in new burial practices such as the use of ossuaries and special items in burial and ceremonial contexts. These items included pottery vessels created for ritual purposes, effigy pipes, lithics such as celts and highly stylized bifacially flaked tools (bifaces), and adornment items such as beads and gorgets.[34]

With increased sedentism, Indigenous people began to establish and settle in villages, including some with hundreds or even thousands of inhabitants, along the major river systems of the Chesapeake Bay watershed. Smaller hunting and gathering camps supported these villages, which became more complex with houses of varying sizes placed in rows around a plaza or courtyard with a larger structure at the center that served as a chief or council house or as a religious building such as a quioccassin.[35]

Horticulture and farming became more central to the diet, which was supplemented with food from hunting, fishing, trapping, shellfish gathering, and procuring wild plants and nuts. Corn and squash were commonly cultivated by the second half of the period, with

[30] Egloff and Woodward, *First People*; "Late Archaic 2,500–1,200 B.C."

[31] L. Daniel Mouer, "The Archaic to Woodland Transition in the Piedmont and Coastal Plain Sections of the James River Valley, Virginia," PhD diss. (University of Pittsburgh, 1990).

[32] William Gardner, "Early and Middle Woodland in the Middle Atlantic," in *Practicing Environmental Archaeology: Methods and Interpretations*, ed. R. Moeller (Occasional Papers of the American Indian Archaeological Institute No. 3, Washington, CT, 1982).

[33] "Late Woodland A.D. 900–1600," Virginia Department of Historic Resources, https://www.dhr.virginia.gov/first-people-the-early-indians-of-virginia/late-woodland-a-d-900-1600/, accessed May 11, 2023.

[34] Egloff and Woodward, *First People*.

[35] Egloff and Woodward, *First People*.

beans brought by traders from southwestern North America about A.D. 1000.[36] Commonly referred to as the "Three Sisters" by Indigenous communities throughout the eastern portion of North America, corn, beans, and squash served as foundational additions to the diet that are still important to tribes in Virginia today. Cultivation of tobacco also became a prominent practice late in the Woodland Period.[37]

Along with the rise in sedentism and the increased manufacture and trade of specialized goods, the period included a ranked and hierarchical system based on regional control of prestige goods and specially crafted goods to indicate status.[38] Villages in the Tidewater region were organized into small chiefdoms founded on a system of tribute and allegiance. Chiefdom leaders controlled the system of tribute, and the material culture of prestigious adornment items typically reflected their status. Such items, including ground-stone and copper gorgets (pendants) and jewelry made from shell, stone, and bone beads, have been recovered from burial contexts. Special textiles with beaded adornment, such as Powhatan's Mantle and the Virginia Purse, were also crafted.[39] The paramount chiefdoms east and west of the James River fall line began to coalesce at the same time that European explorers from Spain and England were navigating the Chesapeake Bay for locations to expand their nations' colonial empires. The simultaneous rise of the Powhatan paramount chiefdom and European colonial expansion characterized the Late Woodland Period in the Tidewater region.

Powhatan Paramount Chiefdom

During the sixteenth century, many of the communities in the Algonquian cultural area coalesced into a centralized chiefdom with its core about 40 miles east of Richmond at the Pamunkey River (now known as the York River) and the Youghtanund River (now known as the Pamunkey River). When English colonists began to establish settlements (first in 1607 at Jamestown), they encountered the Powhatan paramount chiefdom, a political alliance under the leadership of Chief Powhatan (also known as Wahunsenacawh) that encompassed much of the Tidewater region of Virginia at that time.

The village of Powhatan at the falls of the Powhatan River (now known as the James River) was the birthplace of Wahunsenacawh, the Mamanatowick[40] of the Powhatan chiefdom. The English explorer John Smith's 1608 Map of Virginia (Figure 2-1) situates the village of Powhatan within the eastern run of the falls, suggesting that the village was

[36] "Late Woodland A.D. 900–1600."

[37] "Middle Woodland 500 B.C.–A.D. 900," Virginia Department of Historic Resources, https://www.dhr.virginia.gov/first-people-the-early-indians-of-virginia/middle-woodland-500-b-c-a-d-900/, accessed May 11, 2023.

[38] E. Randolph Turner, "An Archaeological and Ethnohistorical Study on the Evolution of Rank Societies in the Virginia Coastal Plain," PhD diss. (Pennsylvania State University, 1976).

[39] Powhatan's Mantle, a cloak made of tanned deerskins and embroidered with shells, and the Virginia Purse, a bag made of deerskin and shell beads, are early seventeenth-century examples of Virginia Algonquian textile craftsmanship and artistry owned by the Ashmolean Museum in Oxford, England. Items like these made from organic and animal materials such as feathers and hides cannot survive the acidic moist soils of the region and are rarely found in the archeological record.

[40] Mamanatowick is the Algonquian word used to reference a title for a leader that had the highest level of political and spiritual import. In short, it loosely translates to the leadership status of "paramount chief."



Figure 2-1. *Virginia/Discovered and Discribed* [sic] *by Captayn John Smith 1606;* Graven by William Hole. Voorhees Collection, Library of Virginia.

in the area that is now just south of downtown Richmond.[41] Archeological evidence demonstrates that the area of Belle Isle, just within the falls, was the site of a seasonal Powhatan fishing village. Remnants of weirs (or fish traps) created by building a dam of loose stones still exist at the falls.[42] (See *Relationships with Native Peoples* in Chapter Three for information about important sustenance areas into the Colonial Period in and near present-day Richmond).

The falls of the James River run for 7 miles through present-day Richmond and acted as an important subsistence zone and village boundary during the Woodland Period. The Monacan chiefdom was west of the fall line, and the Powhatan chiefdom controlled the lands to the east. The Monacan and Powhatan are often described as enemies; however, they also were trading partners. The Monacan most likely controlled the copper trade; the important mineral came from the Blue Ridge Mountains and potentially from as far as the

[41] John Smith, "John Smith's Map of Virginia" (London: Public Record Office, 1608).

[42] Abigail Gigante, "Secrets of the James: Native American Fishing Weirs Near Richmond City," RVA Archaeology, http://rvaarchaeology.org/secrets-of-the-james-native-american-fishing-weirs-near-richmond-city/, accessed May 11, 2023.

Great Lakes region.[43] The Monacan and Powhatan relationship was tenuous, with periods of conflict interspersed with partnerships forged in trading that were focused on the exchange of coveted prestige goods, including copper and various species of coastal shells.[44]

Wahunsenacawh's core communities, which he expanded through political integration and military conquest, are described in a 1612 history:

> Fourteen miles norward from the river Powhatan [now known as the James], is the river Pamunck [now known as the York River], which we call the Prince's River, navigable sixty or seventy miles with shippes of good burthen; but with catches and small barkes [small sailing vessels], thirty or forty miles further. At the ordinary flowing of the salt water, yt devideth yt self, at Cinquoteck [now West Point], into two gallant braunches: on the south braunch enhabite the people of Youghtamund [now known as the Pamunkey River]; on the north braunch, Mattapament. On the north syde of this river is Werowocomoco, where theire great kinge inhabited when we came first into the country. Ten or twelve miles lower, on the south side of this river, is Kiskiak; these, as also Appamatuck, Orapaks, Arrohatack, and Powhatan, are their great king's inheritance, chief alliance, and inhabitaunce.[45]

Thus, Wahunsenacawh's (Powhatan's) chiefdom included an area from just east of the fall line of the James River, in what is now downtown Richmond, northeast to the Mattaponi River and down the York River to the Chesapeake Bay.[46]

Wahunsenacawh expanded the chiefdom beyond this initial geographic area through a combination of marriage alliances, strategic appointments of relatives to positions of power, and military conquests,[47] as well as by economic domination through regional control over the reciprocal distribution of prestige goods.[48] Each village and those tributary to Wahunsenacawh had a werowance, or political leader, approved or appointed

[43] Jeffrey Hantman, "Long Term History, Contingency, Positionality, Hybridity: Does Rethinking Indigenous History Reframe the Jamestown Colony," in *Across the Great Divide: Continuity and Change in Native North American Societies, 1400–1900*, ed. Laura L. Sceiber and Mark D. Mitchell (Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 2010).

[44] Hantman, "Long Term History, Contingency, Positionality, Hybridity: Does Rethinking Indigenous History Reframe the Jamestown Colony;" Christopher Shepard, "The Materiality of Authority: Ornamental Objects and Negotiations of Sovereignty in the Algonquian Middle Atlantic (A.D. 900–1680)," PhD diss. (College of William and Mary, 2017).

[45] William Strachey, "The Historie of Travaile into Virginia Britannia; Expressing the Cosmographie and Comodities of the Country, Together with the Manners and Customes of the People" (London: The Hakluyt Society, 1612), 35–36; also discussed in Edward Arber, ed., "Travels and Works of Captain John Smith: President of Virginia, and Admiral of New England, 1580–1631, Part I" (Edinburgh, Scotland: John Grant, 1910), 51–52.

[46] Frederic Gleach articulates the district boundaries slightly differently, citing "the districts of Powhatan, Pamunkey, Mattaponi, Youghtanund, Arrohattic, and Appamattoc," which situates Orapaks within the Powhatan district. See Gleach, "Powhatan's World and Colonial Virginia," 26.

[47] Gleach, "Powhatan's World and Colonial Virginia," 28.

[48] Gleach, "Powhatan's World and Colonial Virginia," 54–55; M. D. Gallivan, "Powhatan's Werowocomoco: Constructing Place, Polity, and Personhood in the Chesapeake, C.E. 1200–C.E. 1609," in *American Anthropologist* 109, no. 1 (2007): 87.

by the paramount leader, who acted as a district governor and would

> [tithe] to the great king of all the comodityes growing in the same, or of what ells his shiere brings forth apperteyning to the lands or rivers, corne, beasts, perle, fowle, fish, hides, furrs, copper, beades, by what meanes soever obteyned.[49]

By the period of English colonial expansion that began in 1607, the reach of the Powhatan political territory extended to all of the Coastal Plain, with the partial exclusion of the area inhabited by the Chickahominy Indians along the Chickahominy River, who resisted incorporation into the Powhatan political system.[50] According to a 2023 article, the Rappahannock also believe they were not fully integrated into the Powhatan chiefdom.[51]

Seventeenth-century maps depict the territorial scope of the Powhatan chiefdom and indicate the location of the Indian villages that were tributary to Wahunsenacawh. Smith's 1608 Map of Virginia (see Figure 2-1) indicates the Powhatan territory from about 1606, when Smith explored the area and interacted with the tribal communities allied with the chiefdom.[52] His map (oriented with the north cardinal direction to the right side) shows the Tidewater region and its environs. It shows the Powhatan territory stretching from the south side of the James River (in the area of present-day Norfolk, Virgina) west to the fall line (where present-day Richmond is at the southern end), north to the Potomac River (in the area of present-day Washington, DC), and farther east across the Chesapeake Bay to the Eastern Shore of Virginia.

Although Wahunsenacawh was born at the village of Powhatan, he moved to Werowocomoco on the north side of the York River (then known as the Pamunkey River) in the southwest corner of present-day Gloucester County. By the late sixteenth century, Powhatan had established his political and economic seat at Werowocomoco. Its centrally located geographic position in the Tidewater region allowed easier access to all the rivers on which the chiefdom's allies lived and increased Wahunsenacawh's visibility to his tributaries. Werowocomoco was closer to the Chesapeake Bay than the village of Powhatan and made it easier to learn of colonial encounters, which became more prevalent at the beginning of the seventeenth century.[53] The location's accessibility also made trade easier. In addition, archeological evidence has shown that Werowocomoco

[49] Strachey, "The Historie of Travaile into Virginia Britannia," 55.

[50] Rountree, "Who Were the Powhatans," 6–7.

[51] Julie King et al., "Rappahannock Oral Tradition, John Smith's Map of Virginia, and Political Authority in the Algonquian Chesapeake," *William and Mary Quarterly* 80, no. 1 (2023):3–48.

[52] Smith, "John Smith's Map of Virginia."

[53] The Spanish began exploring the Chesapeake region in the 1560s; see Charlotte M. Gradie, "The Powhatans in the Context of the Spanish Empire," in Rountree, ed., *Powhatan Foreign Relations*, 155. English colonist Ralph Lane visited Chesapeake in 1585 and 1586; see Ralph Lane, "Raleigh's First Roanoke Colony: The Account," Old South Leaflets, no. 119 (1902), 381.

had longstanding political and spiritual significance[54] that predated Wahunsenacawh's residency by approximately two centuries.[55]

Almost as soon as the English arrived in Virginia and began exploring the Tidewater region, Wahunsenacawh attempted to persuade their leader John Smith to move his settlement closer to Werowocomoco at the Town of Capahowasick.[56] This was a strategic attempt to gain more control over the movements and activities of the colonizers. After the English refused to move, Wahunsenacawh moved his capital from Werowocomoco to Orapaks[57] in 1608 to distance his political center from the encroaching English.[58] Wahunsenacawh lived only another six years, during which the tribes of the region began to observe and experience the negative and drastic impacts of English encroachment on their communities such as violent attacks and destruction of their fields and houses. When Wahunsenacawh died, the chiefdom descended to Itoyatan (1617–about 1629), Powhatan's brother,[59] and to Opechancanough (1617–1644), formerly King of Pamunkey and close kin to Powhatan, who ruled jointly as Chief and War-Chief, respectively.[60] These paramount leaders strategically attempted to maintain control in the region. Their efforts to ensure the survival of their people and way of life are discussed in *Relationships with Native Peoples* in Chapter Three.

Richmond NBP is within the geographic area referred to as Tsenacomoco that was home to the approximately 34 tribal communities making up the Powhatan paramount chiefdom. The three main watersheds within the park—the James, Pamunkey, and Chickahominy rivers—comprised (and still comprise) the ancestral territories of several

[54] Acquired by the NPS in 2016, Werowocomoco continues as a place of political and spiritual importance to Virginia Tribes, who have taken an active role in the historic preservation of the site since the College of William and Mary began archeological investigations there in 2002. See Martin Gallivan, et al., "The Werowocomoco (44GL32) Research Project: Background and 2003 Archaeological Field Season Results," College of William and Mary Archaeological Research Report Series, no. 1 (2006):5.

[55] Martin Gallivan served as lead investigator of archeological research at Werowocomoco from 2002 to 2010. Evidence from his investigations dates the site to the thirteenth century, with habitations along the York River and at an area farther inland that was separated and defined by a series of monumental circular earthwork features referred to as ditches. This clearly demarcated space was remarkable for its "high percentage of nonlocal ceramics and serving vessels near a large structure associated with Wahunsenacawh" with infrastructure developed earlier (between A.D. 1300 and A.D. 1500). See Martin Gallivan, "The Archaeology of Native Societies in the Chesapeake: New Investigations and Interpretations," *Journal of Archaeological Research* 19, no. 3 (2010):303.

[56] Gleach, "Powhatan's World and Colonial Virginia," 117.

[57] Orapaks was particularly important to the Powhatan chiefdom as it was one of the towns inherited by Wahunsenacawh. For example, Strachey includes Orapaks in a list of towns under the heading "Upon Panunky or the Prince's River" and states that at Orapaks "Powhatan himself comaunds with fifty [men]." He also kept a storehouse at Orapaks "in which he keeps his kind of treasure, as skins, copper, pearls and beads, which he stores up against the time of his death and burial. Here also is his store of red paint for ointment, and bows and arrows." See Strachey, "The Historie of Travaile Into Virginia Britannia," 36, 62.

[58] Strachey, "The Historie of Travaile Into Virginia Britannia," 49.

[59] In the Powhatan chiefdom, succession of leadership ran through Powhatan's matrilineal descendants of the Pamunkey Indian tribe.

[60] Itoyatan (also known as Taughaiten) and Opechancanough, along with another of Powhatan's brothers, Kequotaugh, acted as the weroances of Pamunkey under Powhatan. Gleach, "Powhatan's World and Colonial Virginia," 3, 6, 142, 167, 207 n. 1; Strachey, "The Historie of Travaile into Virginia Britannia," 62.

Indigenous communities. These areas historically were affiliated with the villages of several prominent Indigenous communities, including the

- Powhatan and Arrohateck, at or near the falls of the James River in present-day Richmond;
- Appamattuck and Weyanock, along the James and Appomattox rivers close to the Glendale, Malvern Hill, Fort Harrison, and Drewry's Bluff park units;
- Chickahominy, affiliated with the Chickahominy River watershed near the Totopotomoy Creek, Cold Harbor, Gaines' Mill, Beaver Dam Creek, and Chickahominy Bluff park units; and
- Pamunkey, affiliated with the Pamunkey River watershed near the Totopotomoy Creek unit.

Seven federally recognized tribes reside in Virginia today: the Chickahominy Indian Tribe, the Pamunkey Indian Tribe, the Upper Mattaponi Indian Tribe, the Chickahominy Indian Tribe Eastern Division, the Nansemond Indian Nation, the Monacan Indian Nation, and the Rappahannock Indian Tribe. The Commonwealth of Virginia recognizes four tribes: the Mattaponi Indian Tribe, the Nottoway of Virginia Tribe, the Cheronehaka Nottoway Tribe, and the Patawomeck Indian Tribe.

The places in Richmond NBP have the potential to help the NPS tell stories of Virginia's first peoples who lived in the area beginning thousands of years ago. The NPS is a steward of the ancestral lands of the federally recognized Chickahominy Indian Tribe, Pamunkey Indian Tribe, Upper Mattaponi Indian Tribe, and Chickahominy Indian Tribe Eastern Division and the Commonwealth-recognized Mattaponi Indian Tribe. However, all tribes in Virginia today that were once allied under the banner of the Powhatan chiefdom have an interest in these lands. That alliance and the mobility their ancestors had across the landscape connected them economically, politically, culturally, and spiritually to the landscape of Tsenacomoco. They were not, and still are not, confined to one static place, because they intermarried, hunted, fished, trapped, and traded along the entire Eastern Seaboard. The Siouan-speaking Monacan (west of the fall line) also have ancestral and historic connections to the park lands.

INDIGENOUS SETTLEMENT IN AND NEAR RICHMOND AND RICHMOND NATIONAL BATTLEFIELD PARK

Two significant Indigenous archeological sites have been identified in the area of present-day Richmond. A total of 21 sites have been recorded in 6 Richmond NBP units, and no archeological sites have been recorded in at least 4 units (Chimborazo, Beaver Dam Creek, Chickahominy Bluff, and Glendale). To allow for more examples for a discussion of Virginia Indian patterns of settlement, economics, technology, and cultural practices in the vicinity of the park, this study also considered sites recorded within a 1-mile radius of all the units.

The 2019 *Archaeological Overview and Assessment* for Richmond NBP mentions several Archaic and Woodland Period archeological sites (including 44CF0023, 44CF0039,

44CF0342, 44HE0057, and 44HE1081) within 1 mile of the Chimborazo unit.[61] Targeted archeological survey within the boundary of the unit would be useful for a better understanding of the Indigenous occupation and use of the landscape before European colonization.

Indigenous Sites in Richmond

The following describes two significant archeological sites in Richmond that illustrate the Indigenous experiences regarding economic practices and the birthplace of a prominent Virginia Indian leader.

Powhatan (Site 44HE0674)

An archeological reconnaissance survey of Tree Hill Farm in Henrico County, south of Richmond's Churchill and Fulton neighborhoods, led by M. Wittkofski, T. Opperman, and R. Turner in 1988 first identified the site believed to represent the village of Powhatan, reportedly the birthplace of the Powhatan paramount chief Wahunsenacawh. Referred to as VCRIS Site 44HE0674 in the Tree Hill Site #7 report, the Powhatan site is one of more than 25 archeological sites recorded during the reconnaissance survey.[62] The more than 500-acre Tree Hill Farm dates to the Late Woodland to what is called the Contact Period and is thought to be the location of Powhatan or "Powhatan's Tower," the principal settlement of the Powhatans.[63] The terraced site on a prominent bluff over the mouth of Almond Run and the lowlands of the James River is bounded by the James River to the west, Almond Run to the north, Mill Creek to the south, and Route 5 and Osborne Turnpike to the east.[64]

Powhatan was the place of Wahunsenacawh's birth and where he came to power. John Smith visited the village in 1607 as he explored north from Jamestown and documented four settlements near the fall line, including a "kings howse" depicted on a high hill along the James River.[65] Because they needed food and other resources, Smith ordered approximately 130 colonists to establish a settlement at the falls near Powhatan, which was then led by the werowance Parahunt, son of Wahunsenacawh. The English settlement did not succeed so close to this village, and John Smith attempted to persuade Parahunt to move. Parahunt and the village's warriors violently denied the request at first; however,

[61] Shepard et al., *Archaeological Overview*.

[62] Mark Wittkofski et al., "Virginia Division of Historic Landmarks, Research Center for Archaeology, Archaeological Site Inventory, Tree Hill Site #7" (Virginia DHR, 1989). Additional sites are referenced in this report but not discussed here: VCRIS Floodplain 44HE0797, 44HE0799, 44HE800, 44HE801; Pleis Terrace 44HE063, 44HE064, 44HE065, 44HE074, 44HE0792, 44HE0796, 44HE0798; Upper Terrace 44HE0144, 44HE0145, 44HE0301, 44HE0337, 44HE1069, 44HE1070, 44HE01071, 44HE1072, 44HE1073; Low Pasture 44HE0282, 44HE0283, 44HE0284, 44HE0429, 44HE1075, 44HE1076, 44HE1077; Dairy Barn no site number.

[63] "Description and Analysis of Controlled Surface Collection of The Tree Hill Farm Site, 44HE674" (Virginia Commonwealth University, Archaeological Research Center, 1992), 1.

[64] "A Cultural Resources Identification Survey of the Tree Hill Farm Tract, Henrico County, Virginia" (Gray Land Development Company, LLC 2007), 1.

[65] John Smith, "Virginia: Discovered and Described." In *Purchas His Pilgrims*, Book 9, Volume 4 (London: Printed by William Stansby for Henrie Fetherstone, 1625).

after negotiations, Parahunt agreed to move his people in exchange for copper and English protection from the Monacan. Smith named the area "Nonesuch."[66]

The artifacts recovered from the site in 1988 date to the Early Archaic Period to early in the Contact Period and included 3,714 pottery sherds, 15,542 lithic artifacts, 1 soapstone bowl fragment, and 1,530 fire-cracked rocks.[67] The concentration of archeological evidence found on the ground surface near the bluff's edge is consistent with Smith's descriptions of the Powhatan settlement. The Virginia DHR recommended the site for protection, and the State Historic Preservation Officer (SHPO) for Virginia, Director Kathleen Kilpatrick, with Gray & Co. facilitated tribal consultation in 2006 that resulted in the site being preserved.[68]

Belle Isle (Site 44HE0579)

Belle Isle is an approximately 60-acre island within the falls of the James River directly opposite the Tredegar Iron Works in Richmond. This Powhatan site was the location of a seasonal village where Native people fished for the plentiful striped bass, sturgeon, and shad using V-shaped, stacked-rock dams to trap the fish.[69] Although minimal archeological investigation has been done on the island, the remains of a Native American fishing weir (Site 44CF516) in the river to the northwest of the island indicates the importance of this area as an Indigenous space for procuring fish and other riverine resources.

Surveyed in 1986 by W. E. Trout III with Howard MacCord as an informant, Site 44CF516 was named the Belt Line Bridge Fish Dam. MacCord noted that David I. Bushnell Jr. had documented and photographed the site beginning in 1930.[70] Bushnell believed the fish dam could have been the weir described below in Robert Beverley's 1705 *The History and Present State of Virginia, in Four Parts*:

> At the falls of the Rivers, where the Water is shallow, and the Current strong, the Indians use another kind of weir thus made. They make a Dam of loose stone where of there is plenty on hand, quite across the River, leaving One, Two or more Spaces or Tunnels, for the water to pass thro;: at the mouth of which they set a Pot of Reeds, wove in form of a cone, whose Base is about Three Food, and in Perpendicular Ten, into which the Swiftness of the Current carries the Fish, and wedges them in fast, that they cannot possible return.[71]

[66] "A Cultural Resources Identification Survey of the Tree Hill Farm Tract," 3.

[67] "A Cultural Resources Identification Survey of the Tree Hill Farm Tract," 5.

[68] Charles W. Ewing II, Michael B. Barber, Christopher Stevenson, and Joanna Wilson, "Tree Hill Farm Limited Testing at Main House (44HE0301) and Quarter (44HE1-71). Henrico County, Virginia: Management Summary Report," Virginia Department of Historic Resources, 2006.

[69] David Dutton and John Salmon, *National Register Nomination – Belle Isle*, 1995, On file, Virginia Department of Historic Resources.

[70] David I. Bushnell Jr., "The Five Monacan Towns in Virginia, 1607," *Smithsonian Miscellaneous Collections* 82, no. 12 (Nov. 18, 1930).

[71] Robert Beverley, *The History and Present State of Virginia, in Four Parts* (London:1705; Richmond, VA: J. W. Randolph, 1855), 123. Citations refer to the J. W. Randolph edition.

During the 1986 survey, Trout found that a section of the weir had been destroyed when a pipeline was installed at some time after 1955, but approximately two-thirds of the structure remained.[72] The weir is near the shore at Belle Isle and demonstrates that fishing was a key economic activity for Indigenous people at the fall line of Richmond. The importance of fishing for Native people within the present-day area of Richmond is further demonstrated by the petitioning of tributary tribes such as the Pamunkey via their treaty rights to continue their access to important fishing sites along the James River at the fall line (see *Relationships with Native Peoples* in Chapter Three).

Totopotomoy Creek Unit

Totopotomoy Creek is within the ancestral homelands of the Pamunkey Indian Tribe. The other Powhatan allied tribes of Tidewater Virginia, including the Chickahominy, Chickahominy Eastern Division, Nansemond, Rappahannock, Mattaponi, and Upper Mattaponi Indian tribes, also have ancestral and historic connections to the lands in this unit. The creek is a tributary of the Pamunkey River and is named for the Pamunkey paramount chief of the same name. Totopotomoy served as the werowance of the Pamunkey from about 1649 to his death in 1656.[73] He was married to Cockacoeske, who became the leader and weronsqua (queen) of the Pamunkey after Totopotomoy was killed during the Battle of Bloody Run (see Chapter Three).[74] Cockacoeske negotiated the 1677 Treaty of Middle Plantation (see *Political Relationships* in Chapter Three) on behalf of the Pamunkey and several other tribes that were still allied under the banner of the Powhatan paramount chiefdom.

In 1653, Totopotomoy had negotiated a 5,000-acre tract of land near present-day West Point, Virginia, for the Pamunkey. It was within their ancestral homelands referred to historically as Pamunkey Neck, which encompasses modern-day King William County.[75] However, he ultimately decided to secure and reside within another negotiated tract of land farther west into Pamunkey Neck adjacent to Elsing Green Plantation.[76] This tract was once contiguous and most likely encompassed the marshland peninsula that served as the town site for the Pamunkey, referred to as Indian Town or Indian Island. Due to land sale and squatting, the tract was divided into several parcels, separating Totopotomoy's seat from the town that currently (2024) serves as the present-day boundary for the Pamunkey Indian Reservation.

[72] W. E. Trout III, "Fish Dam" (Department of Historic Resources, 1995).

[73] Gleach, "Powhatan's World and Colonial Virginia," 185.

[74] Gleach, "Powhatan's World and Colonial Virginia," 189–190.

[75] Warren M. Billings, "Some Acts Not in Hening's Statutes: The Acts of Assembly, April 1652, November 1652, and July 1653," *The Virginia Magazine of History and Biography*, 83, no. 1 (Jan. 1975), 65–66; McIlwaine, *Journals of the House of Burgesses 1619–1658/59*, 90; William Waller Hening, ed., *Statutes At Large: Being a Collection of All the Laws of Virginia, from the First Session of the Legislature in the Year 1619*, vol. 1 (Richmond, VA: Printed by and for Samuel Pleasants, Jr., 1823), 380.

[76] Martha W. McCartney and Helen Rountree, "Powhatan Indian Place Names in Tidewater Virginia" (Baltimore, MD: Genealogical Publishing Company, 2017), 2.

Indigenous Sites in the Totopotomoy Creek Unit

Two sites associated with Indigenous use were identified during a Phase I archeological survey for a powerline corridor in the early 1990s. Sites 44HN0209 and 44HN0227 are in the western part of the park unit and represent lithic scatters with flakes, shatter, and debitage but no diagnostic artifacts to date the sites.

In 2008, archeological investigations in the park unit documented the presence of slave quarters, outbuildings, and fence lines associated with the Shelton House (44HN0404/44HN0434). Although the identified sites are affiliated with the Shelton House, Colonoware vessel fragments from one feature may have been associated with a historic bulkhead basement entrance that could have been used by enslaved labor associated with the Shelton House. Colonoware is also affiliated with Indigenous peoples in Virginia. For example, women from the Pamunkey Indian Tribe residing on the reservation produced Colonoware ceramics from the mid-eighteenth through mid-nineteenth centuries.[77] Thus, the presence of Colonoware at the Totopotomoy Creek unit could indicate potential economic connections with Virginia Indian communities.

An Indigenous site was identified during a 2023 archeological survey in the park unit. Site 44HN0494 is classified as a domestic artifact scatter attributed to the Middle Woodland period based on five recovered diagnostic artifacts, including flaked debitage and ceramics.[78]

Indigenous Sites near the Totopotomoy Creek Unit

Seventeen archeological sites within a 1-mile radius of the Totopotomoy Creek unit have yielded evidence of Indigenous use, occupation, and settlement. The sites are south and west of the unit. Thirteen of the following sites were identified during a Phase I investigation for installation of a transmission line in 1993 and for a gravity sewer line in 2000:[79]

- Site 44HN0224 is multicomponent with a Woodland Period occupation. Various Indigenous artifacts were recovered, including Woodland Period pottery sherds, flakes, debitage, and bifaces. Given the site's proximity to a swamp, it may have been a specialized procurement camp where people exploited the plethora of resources in

[77] For an extensive review of the Pamunkey Indian Tribe's engagement in the regional Colonoware market, see Ashley Spivey, "Knowing the River, Working the Land, and Digging for Clay: Pamunkey Indian Subsistence Practices and the Market Economy 1800–1900," PhD diss. (College of William and Mary, 2017).

[78] Josue Nieves and Matthew Fuka, *Miscellaneous Archaeological Investigations at Three Civil War Battlefield Properties at Richmond National Battlefield Park, Chesterfield, Hanover, and Henrico Counties, Virginia* (On file, Richmond National Battlefield Park, Richmond, VA [RICH-003335], 2024).

[79] Many of the Indigenous sites identified during the archeological survey for the proposed sewer line are argued to retain high levels of integrity and thus may have the potential to reveal evidence related to the settlement, subsistence, and technology of Indigenous peoples before the arrival of Europeans. See Laura Galke et al., "Phase I Cultural Resources Investigations of the Proposed 15.8-Mile Elmont to Old Church Overhead Transmission Line Hanover and Henrico Counties Virginia," VDHR File No.91-1308-F (Gray and Pape, Inc., 1993); Bradley McDonald, "Phase I Archaeological Investigations Along a Sewer Line Connecting P.S. Number 5 to the Proposed Totopotomoy Wastewater Treatment Plan, Hanover County, Virginia," VDHR File No. 99-0159 (Gray and Pape, Inc. 2000), 68.

the marshland environment. Due to the lack of a plow zone, the site was interpreted with the potential for intact cultural deposits representing the Woodland Period occupation.[80]

- Site 44HN0225 is on a small lowland rise on the floodplain above Totopotomoy Creek. Several Indigenous artifacts were recovered, including pottery sherds and many flakes indicating various levels of lithic production. The pottery sherds indicate a Woodland Period occupation and had a variety of tempers, including grit and sand and surface treatments such as plain and net-impressed.[81]
- Site 44HN0228 is also associated with a floodplain rise within the marshlands of Totopotomoy Creek. Only a few lithic materials were recovered, including flakes from various levels of lithic production. Given the lack of diagnostic artifacts, this site could not be dated.[82]
- Site 44HN0229 is on the floodplain of the Chickahominy River and may represent a domestic site demonstrating prolonged and likely sedentary Middle Woodland occupation due to the recovery of multiple Rossville projectile points and pottery sherds that included grit and sand tempering with cord-marked and net-impressed surface treatments. Additional artifacts included fire-cracked rock and flakes from various stages of lithic production.[83]
- Site 44HN0247 is on a slight rise above the marsh affiliated with Totopotomoy Creek. The 10 recovered artifacts (a fragment of a Kirk Corner-Notched projectile point, a hammerstone, a pottery sherd, flakes, and shatter) suggest Early Archaic and Woodland components.[84] The site has the potential to contain additional intact cultural deposits.
- Site 44HN0316 is a low-density subsurface lithic scatter indicative of a temporary domestic camp. Four quartzite flakes were recovered. Given the lack of diagnostic artifacts, the site cannot be dated.[85]
- Site 44HN0317 represents a multicomponent temporary camp along Totopotomoy Creek used during the Archaic and Woodland periods. Recovered artifacts included a Guilford projectile point, a Savannah River projectile point, two sand-tempered pottery sherds, and quartz and quartzite debitage.[86]
- Site 44HN0318 is a low-density Woodland Period subsurface artifact scatter representing a temporary camp along Totopotomoy Creek. Four sand-tempered pottery sherds and quartzite debitage were recovered.[87]

[80] Galke et al., "15.8-Mile Elmont to Old Church Overhead Transmission Line," 103.

[81] Galke et al., "15.8-Mile Elmont to Old Church Overhead Transmission Line," 105.

[82] Galke et al., "15.8-Mile Elmont to Old Church Overhead Transmission Line," 107.

[83] Galke et al., "15.8-Mile Elmont to Old Church Overhead Transmission Line," 108.

[84] Galke et al., "15.8-Mile Elmont to Old Church Overhead Transmission Line," 102.

[85] "The Phase I Archaeological Investigations Along a Base Sewer Line Connecting P.S. Number 5 to the Proposed Wastewater Treatment Plant, Hanover County, Virginia" (Gray and Pape, Inc., 1999).

[86] "Base Sewer Line Connecting P.S. Number 5 to the Proposed Wastewater Treatment Plant."

[87] "Base Sewer Line Connecting P.S. Number 5 to the Proposed Wastewater Treatment Plant."

- Site 44HN0319 is in a wooded area overlooking wetlands associated with Totopotomoy Creek. The site may represent a short-term procurement or hunting camp. The presence of a potential Four Mile Creek pottery sherd that is sand tempered with fabric impressions may date the site to early in the Middle Woodland Period. Other recovered artifacts included flakes, shatter, and one biface implement.[88]
- Site 44HN0320 is also on land overlooking the wetlands associated with Totopotomoy Creek and may have been a short-term procurement or hunting camp. The presence of Prince George pottery sherds with coarse gravel temper and cord-marked surface treatments indicates a Middle Woodland Period use of the site. Other recovered artifacts included shatter and flakes indicating various levels of lithic production.[89]
- Site 44HN0321 is on a low terrace above wetlands associated with Totopotomoy Creek. It yielded evidence of a Middle Woodland short-term use procurement camp. Recovered artifacts included a lithic assemblage of flakes, shatter, and one biface, as well as multiple pottery sherds. Only one sherd had a clearly discernable surface treatment of fabric impression with sand and grit tempering that is possibly related to the Shockoe ware type diagnostic of the Woodland Period.[90]
- Site 44HN0323 appears to be a short-term procurement or hunting camp along Totopotomoy Creek. Recovered artifacts included several flakes and pottery sherds. The sherds are diagnostic of the Middle Woodland Period and included Prince George ware with coarse gravel temper and net-impressed surface treatment and Pope's Creek or Chesterfield ware that is sand tempered with cord-marked surface treatment.[91]
- Site 44HN0324 is a Middle Woodland short-term camp with lithic artifacts, including flakes and cores. One potential diagnostic example of the Bailey Creek or Chesterfield ceramic type with grit temper and cord-marked surface treatment was recovered.[92]
- Site 44HN0325 contained lithic artifacts such as flakes and a biface fragment. Because no diagnostic artifacts were recovered, the site could not be dated.[93]
- Site 44HN0328 is within the National Register-listed property of Totomoi Plantation that appears to include a short-term procurement or hunting camp used during the Middle Woodland Period. Recovered artifacts included flake fragments, shatter, and pottery sherds. Some of the sherds have coarse ground temper and net-impressed surface treatments indicative of Prince George types.[94]
- Site 44HN0464 was recovered in 2021 during the proposed extension of the sewer line. It represents a small artifact scatter with an indeterminate date. Three quartz flakes and one mid-section late-stage biface were recovered.

[88] McDonald, "Sewer Line," 68.

[89] McDonald, "Sewer Line," 68, 79.

[90] McDonald, "Sewer Line," 70, 79.

[91] McDonald, "Sewer Line," 61, 63, 80.

[92] McDonald, "Sewer Line," 63, 81.

[93] McDonald, "Sewer Line," 66, 81.

[94] McDonald, "Sewer Line," 59, 82.

Cold Harbor Unit

The Cold Harbor unit is near the Chickahominy River and within the ancestral territories of the Chickahominy and Chickahominy Eastern Division Indian tribes. The other Powhatan allied tribes of Tidewater Virginia, including the Nansemond Indian Nation and the Pamunkey, Rappahannock, Mattaponi, and Upper Mattaponi Indian tribes, also have ancestral and historic connections to the lands in this unit.

Indigenous Sites in the Cold Harbor Unit

Site 44HN0203 was identified in 1990 during an archeological survey of the southern portion of the Turkey Hill tract that would be impacted by the construction of a 55-mile-long pipeline corridor. The site, on a small rise in the Chickahominy River floodplain, yielded lithic debitage, fire-cracked rock, and pottery sherds diagnostic of the Middle Woodland Period. Because intact deposits were discovered, the site was recommended as eligible for listing in the National Register. During the Phase III investigation of the site, 14,896 Indigenous artifacts were recovered that represent four series of occupation based on diagnostic projectile points, ceramics, and changes in artifact patterns that indicated different periods of occupation dating to the Early Archaic to Middle Woodland. The site may have functioned as a short-term specialized foray/procurement encampment.[95]

Although five archeological sites were recorded during a 1993 archeological survey of the 50.41-acre Cold Harbor Battlefield Park property, the only area within a 1-mile radius of the Cold Harbor unit that has been subjected to extensive, systematic archeological survey,[96] none included Indigenous components.

Gaines' Mill Unit

The Gaines' Mill unit is in Hanover County near the Chickahominy River and therefore is connected to the ancestral territories of the Chickahominy and Chickahominy Eastern Division Indian tribes. The other Powhatan allied tribes of Tidewater Virginia, including the Nansemond Indian Nation and the Pamunkey, Rappahannock, Mattaponi, and Upper Mattaponi Indian tribes, also have ancestral and historic connections to the lands in the unit. The unit's location on upland terraces overlooking the Chickahominy River 1 mile to the west and near one of the river's tributaries, Boatswain's Creek, is ideal for locating archeological evidence of Indigenous occupation and seasonal use of the land and its resources. In their 2019 *Archaeological Overview and Assessment* report, Shepard et al. note that a full systematic survey of the Gaines' Mill unit would be necessary to identify archeological site locations that could span the unit's multiple tracts.[97]

Indigenous Sites in the Gaines' Mill Unit

Three Indigenous sites have been identified in the Gaines' Mill unit. Site RICH00074.00, referred to as Gaines' Mill Prehistoric I, was recorded in the NPS Cultural Resources

[95] Shepard et al., *Archaeological Overview,* 141.

[96] Shepard et al., *Archaeological Overview,* 142–143.

[97] Shepard et al., *Archaeological Overview,* 284.

Inventory System – Archeological Sites (CRIS-AR) in 2009. The site represents an Archaic through Woodland Period subsurface lithic scatter recovered during investigations overseen by Dr. Amber Bennett in 2000 (later studied by Dr. Lynn Rainville in 2003) to identify resources associated with the Springfield Plantation, agricultural fields, and the history of land use during the ante- and postbellum periods.[98]

An Indigenous site was identified during a Sweet Briar College archeological project and later investigated by staff members of the NPS Archaeology and Cultural Landscape Programs. Excavations near the Watt House and the possible location of the Springfield Plantation orchard yielded projectile points, flakes, scrapers, and a ground stone from what was interpreted as a campsite.[99]

An additional Indigenous site was recorded in 2010 during an archeological survey before construction of a wayside exhibit in the park unit. A total of 45 artifacts were recovered: 1 grit-tempered, cord-marked Native pottery sherd; 35 quartzite secondary flakes; 5 tertiary quartzite flakes; 2 quartz secondary flakes; 1 chert secondary flake; and 1 fragment of a quartzite drill.[100] The planned wayside exhibit was repositioned to avoid negative impacts to the site.[101]

Indigenous Sites near the Gaines' Mill Unit

Two Indigenous sites have been identified within 1 mile of the Gaines' Mill unit. Site 44HN0060 was identified in 1975 by Lawrence Lindberg of the Virginia State Library before the construction of Interstate 295 (I-295). The site was surveyed again in 1997 by Louis Berger Associates and yielded 107 flakes, 13 ceramic sherds, and 1 possible core.[102]

Site 44HN0052 is west of I-295, opposite site 44HN0060. The site yielded flakes eroding from the bank of an excavated railroad bed. With no diagnostic artifacts recovered, the site could not be dated.[103]

Beaver Dam Creek Unit

Beaver Dam Creek in Hanover County is part of the Chickahominy River watershed. Thus, the park unit is connected to the ancestral territories of the Chickahominy and Chickahominy Eastern Division Indian tribes. The other Powhatan allied tribes of Tidewater Virginia, including the Nansemond Indian Nation and the Pamunkey, Rappahannock, Mattaponi, and Upper Mattaponi Indian tribes, also have ancestral and historic connections to the lands in the unit.

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[98] Rainville, "Excavations at the Watt House, 1999–2000," 15.

[99] Rainville, "Excavations at the Watt House, 1999–2000," 36; Cooper, "Miscellaneous 1999 Archaeological Compliance Activities," 16.

[100] Darby O'Donnell, "Phase I Archaeological Identification Study at Seven Proposed Wayside Exhibits at the Gaines Mill Unit, Richmond National Battlefield Park, Hanover County, Virginia" (Dutton + Associates, LLC, 2010), 6.

[101] Shepard et al., *Archaeological Overview*, 281.

[102] Shepard et al., *Archaeological Overview*, 281.

[103] Shepard et al., *Archaeological Overview*, 281.

No Indigenous archeological sites are recorded in CRIS-AR, and no systematic archeological surveys have been completed in the Beaver Dam Creek unit.

Indigenous Sites near the Beaver Dam Creek Unit

Seven Indigenous sites have been identified within 1 mile of the Beaver Dam Creek unit:

- Site 44HN0012 is recorded in VCRIS and was reported in 1970 to the VDHR by a local informant who collected material from the area. Specimens observed by archeologist Howard MacCord included pottery, flakes, and projectile points diagnostic of the Archaic and Woodland periods.
- Site 44HN0013 is recorded in VCRIS and was identified during excavations during the 1970s by a recurring field school overseen by the Archaeological Society of Virginia and Virginia Commonwealth University. The recovered artifacts were donated to the VDHR and are described as "pottery and points." Although the site is recorded as an Archaic Period domestic camp, VDHR staff note that no diagnostic evidence was provided.
- Site 44HN0017 was surveyed in 1974 by E. Randolph Turner after he learned about its location from an informant who donated sand and shell tempered ceramic sherds, flakes, and one Savannah River projectile, recorded in VCRIS in 1980. The site is recorded as dating to the Woodland Period.[104]
- Sites 44HN0044 and 44HN0049 were identified in 1976 during an archeological survey of the area, which was further investigated by Leverette Gregory the same year for the proposed Hanover Sewage Treatment Plant. The sites are adjacent to a sewer pipeline along the Chickahominy River basin and Beaver Dam Creek. These multicomponent sites date to the Archaic and Woodland periods based on the more than 1,000 recovered artifacts: shell, bone, charcoal, and a variety of lithic material such as flakes, scrapers, bifaces, fire-cracked rock, and projectile points (Savannah River, Morrow Mountain, Halifax, Potts, Big Sandy, and Guilford). Steatite vessel fragments were also recovered with hundreds of ceramic fragments with various tempers (shell, grit, sand, and lithic) and surface treatments (cord-marked, fabric-impressed, net-impressed, and plain). Woodland Period materials included pot sherds with shell temper, fabric impression, and cord markings and steatite vessel fragments, quartz blades, fractured stone, bifacial stones, bone, scrapers, projectiles, and flakes.[105]
- Site 44HN0053 was recovered during a 1976 survey of the I-295 corridor from I-95 North to I-64 East. The site dates to the Woodland Period, and flakes, quartz core, scrapers, and net-impressed sherds with quartz lithic temper were recovered.[106]
- Site 44HN0104 is listed in VCRIS as "Native American" with no temporal association and is partially destroyed.

[104] E. Randolph Turner, "Site Summaries for an Archaeological Survey of Five Virginia Coastal Plain Counties," 1974.

[105] Leverette Gregory, "Test Excavation at 44HN44, 49 Adjacent to the Proposed Hanover Sewage Treatment Plant," 1976.

[106] Ray Sasser, "Second Archaeological Reconnaissance of Route 295, Richmond, Virginia," 1976.

Chickahominy Bluff Unit

The Chickahominy Bluff unit, near the Chickahominy River, is within the ancestral territories of the Chickahominy and Chickahominy Eastern Division Indian tribes. The other Powhatan allied tribes of Tidewater Virginia, including the Nansemond Indian Nation and the Pamunkey, Rappahannock, Mattaponi, and Upper Mattaponi Indian tribes, also have ancestral and historic connections to the lands in this unit.
No recorded archeological resources that provide evidence of Indigenous occupation and settlement in the Chickahominy Bluff unit are documented in CRIS-AR. However, the 2019 *Archaeological Overview and Assessment* for Richmond NBP notes a high probability of uncovering such resources because the unit is near the Chickahominy River. Moreover, the unit's elevated bluff overlooking the river has elements typically associated with a site's long-term occupation. Thus, the archeological potential for uncovering more evidence of Indigenous occupation is exceptionally high.[107]

Indigenous Sites near the Chickahominy Bluff Unit

A total of 17 Indigenous sites were identified within a 1-mile radius of the Chickahominy Bluff unit. In 1969–1970, Howard MacCord identified seven of the sites and recorded five of them:

- Site 44HE0032 is confined to the plow zone, making it difficult to date, but the presence of ceramics and hafted bifaces indicate multicomponent occupations during the Archaic and Woodland periods.
- Site 44HE0023 dates to the Woodland Period based on the presence of triangular hafted bifaces and Native American ceramic fragments.
- Information about Sites 44HE0033, 44HE0034, and 44HE0049[108] is limited to the presence of Archaic Period projectile points and stone blades.

Professor Norma Barka (with the College of William and Mary) recorded Sites 44HE0070[109] and 44HE0073, which are described in VCRIS as Native American from an indeterminate date.

Site 44HE0275 was identified during an archeological survey conducted by Virginia Commonwealth University in preparation for a pipeline project. Recorded in 1979, the site is described in VCRIS as an artifact scatter of two quartzite flakes and one quartz flake with an indeterminate date.

Site 44HE0276 was first recorded during a surface collection of a field within a pipeline project. Subsequent surveys of the site have revealed hundreds of artifacts, including a variety of projectile points (Halifax, Morrow Mountain, Potts, Guilford, and Savannah River), shell and sand tempered ceramic sherds of the Pope's Creek and Accokeek/Elk Island types, fire-cracked rock, steatite bowl fragments, drills, bifaces, flakes at various

[107] Shepard et al., *Archaeological Overview,* 76.

[108] The VCRIS entry for Site 44HE0049 indicates the site was destroyed due to housing construction as of 1997.

[109] Site 44HE0070 is described in VCRIS as destroyed by a housing development.

levels of lithic production, and shatter. These materials indicate the site was most likely a frequently used procurement camp during the Archaic and Woodland periods.[110]

Six sites were first identified in 1990 during a Phase I archeological survey conducted by the William and Mary Archaeological Project Center (now the William and Mary Center for Archaeological Research):

- Site 44HE0174 is recorded in VCRIS as a campsite. Recovered artifacts include a broken corner notched projectile point and a chert spurred graver.
- Site 44HN0179 is a multicomponent site dating to the Late Archaic, Early Woodland, Middle Woodland, and Late Woodland periods. The majority of the more than 1,000 recovered artifacts are lithic materials: debitage, shatter, and flakes representing various levels of lithic production; bifaces; projectile points (Savannah River and Potts corner notched); and fire-cracked rock. Fragments of Indigenous pottery made with various tempers, including sand, grit, and shell, were also recovered.[111]
- Site 44HE0769 is recorded in VCRIS as a Woodland Period temporary camp. Recovered artifacts include flakes, bifaces, debitage, fire-cracked rock, projectile points (Morrow Mountain, Rossville, Savannah River, Clarksville and Potts), and pottery sherds of the Elk Island, Pope's Creek, Varina, Bailey's Creek, and Mockley types.[112]
- Site 44HE0770 appears to be a multicomponent Woodland village site possibly representing a large Native community. Indigenous pottery from the Early, Middle, and Late Woodland periods were recovered. Although no diagnostic lithic tools were recovered, the site did yield fire-cracked rock and lithic debitage.[113]
- Site 44HE0771 is an aceramic prehistoric site that may have served as a procurement/processing site. Artifacts from the site include debitage and fire-cracked rock.[114]
- Site 44HE0772 represents an additional multicomponent Woodland village site. Pottery diagnostic of the Early and Middle Woodland periods was recovered. While diagnostic lithics were not present, chert, quartz, and quartzite biface fragments; fire-cracked rocks; and debitage were recovered.[115]

Fort Harrison Unit

About 6 miles southeast of Richmond, the Fort Harrison Unit is within the ancestral lands of the historic Appamattuck and Weyanock tribes, which are no longer present in

[110] Carol Tyrer et al., "Phase I Archaeological Survey of Approximately 22 Acres Henrico County, Virginia" (James River Institute for Archaeology, Inc., 2003).

[111] Dennis Blanton and Kevin Pape, "Phase II Archaeological Evaluations of Twenty-Three Sites Along the Proposed Eastern Henrico Lateral Pipeline, Hanover, Chesterfield, and Henrico Counties, Virginia" (William and Mary Center for Archaeological Research, 1992), 339, 379, 341.

[112] Blanton and Pape, "Phase II Archaeological Evaluations," 312–331.

[113] Blanton and Pape, "Phase II Archaeological Evaluations," 312–331.

[114] Blanton and Pape, "Phase II Archaeological Evaluations," 312–331.

[115] Blanton and Pape, "Phase II Archaeological Evaluations," 312–331.

Virginia. The Powhatan allied tribes of Tidewater Virginia, including the Chickahominy and Chickahominy Eastern Division Indian tribes, the Nansemond Indian Nation, and the Pamunkey, Rappahannock, Mattaponi, and Upper Mattaponi Indian tribes, have ancestral and historic connections to the lands in the unit.

Indigenous Sites in the Fort Harrison Unit

Two Indigenous sites have been identified in the Fort Harrison unit:

- Site 44HE0712 was identified during construction of a pathway in the park unit. The site yielded concentrations of fire-cracked rock, quartz, and quartzite flakes.[116]
- Site 44HE1194 was identified during a 2010 survey that recovered chert and quartzite debitage.

Archeological research in 2010 indicated that portions of the unit retain archeological integrity and that Indigenous sites have a moderate probability of being identified within a 1-mile radius. According to Shepard et al. (2019), the probability of finding Indigenous sites increases south of the unit toward the James River.[117]

Glendale and Malvern Hill Units

On the north side of the James River in present-day Henrico County, the contiguous Glendale and Malvern units are about 18 miles southeast of Richmond. This area encompassed the ancestral territory of the historic Appamattuck and Weyanock tribes. By 1638, 1,000 acres of land near the unit was patented, demonstrating that Indigenous occupation or use of the immediate area ceased within the first two decades of English colonial expansion. Although the Appamattuck and Weyanock tribes are no longer present in Virginia, the Powhatan allied tribes of Tidewater Virginia, including the Chickahominy and Chickahominy Eastern Division Indian tribes, the Nansemond Indian Nation, and the Pamunkey, Rappahannock, Mattaponi, and Upper Mattaponi Indian tribes, have ancestral and historic connections to the lands in the unit.

No Indigenous archeological sites have been recorded in the Glendale unit.

Indigenous Sites in the Malvern Hill Unit

The following 11 Indigenous sites are documented in the Malvern Hill unit as the result of a 2000 investigation by John Milner Associates to complete a Cultural Landscape Report and Archaeological Inventory.[118] These investigations suggest a primary occupation in and around the park unit during the Archaic Period, with some limited occupation during the Woodland Period:

- Malvern Hill RICH00029 was recorded during a walkover of the agricultural fields. The undated site is on a knoll overlooking Crewes Channel to the north and east.

[116] Shepard et al., *Archaeological Overview*, 248.

[117] Shepard et al., *Archaeological Overview*, 256.

[118] JMA, *Glendale and Malvern Hill*.

The site yielded lithic debitage (quartz, quartzite, and rhyolite), performs, cores, and fire-cracked rock.[119]

- Malvern Hill RICH00030 is on a rise between two drainage ditches and Crewes Channel. A scatter of artifacts across the site area included lithic debitage (quartz and quartzite), preforms, and fire-cracked rock. The age of the site is unknown, as no diagnostic artifacts were found.[120]
- Malvern Hill RICH00031 is recorded as Site 44HE0990 in VCRIS with an indeterminate date. It consists of an artifact scatter with quartz and jasper debitage approximately 200 feet (ft) in diameter, but no diagnostic artifacts. Archeologists interpreted the scatter as a short-term exploitative camp.[121]
- Malvern Hill RICH00032 is not recorded in VCRIS. It was identified by two quartz flakes on the ground surface and is approximately 50 ft in diameter.[122]
- Malvern Hill RICH00033 is not recorded in VCRIS. It was a low-density lithic scatter identified by two quartz flakes.[123]
- Malvern Hill RICH00034 is not recorded in VCRIS and is east of the Fuqua farmstead at the head of several small streams. It represents a low-density lithic scatter of undetermined age, with one quartzite biface fragment and one quartz flake.[124]
- Malvern Hill RICH00038 is recorded as Site 44HE0992 in VCRIS and is on a flat ridgetop overlooking Western Run. It is a multicomponent site with lithic artifacts of quartz, including flakes, chunks, fire-cracked rock, and a biface distal fragment (tentatively identified as a Halifax projectile point). One Mockley ceramic sherd was found. The site was likely a transient camp used intermittently during the Middle Archaic and Middle Woodland periods.[125]
- Malvern Hill RICH00039 is on a flat ridgetop overlooking the Western Run stream valley. The site is flanked on the north and south by intermittent spring drainages and is considered to be a low-density lithic scatter. Artifacts included quartz and quartzite flakes, and the site most likely functioned as a transient camp occupied for a short time by a small number of people.[126]
- Malvern Hill RICH00040 and Malvern Hill RICH00041 are combined in VCRIS and recorded as Site 44HE0993. However, the 2004 report for the Cultural Landscape Report and Archaeological Inventory considers them as separate sites because of the gap in observed artifacts between them. RICH00040 is on a level ridgetop overlooking Western Run and consists of a low-density scatter of fire-cracked rock, quartz and quartzite debitage, and a non-diagnostic quartzite biface preform. The

[119] JMA, *Glendale and Malvern Hill*, 240.

[120] JMA, *Glendale and Malvern Hill*, 240.

[121] JMA, *Glendale and Malvern Hill*, 240.

[122] JMA, *Glendale and Malvern Hill*, 240–241.

[123] JMA, *Glendale and Malvern Hill*, 240–241.

[124] JMA, *Glendale and Malvern Hill*, 240–241.

[125] JMA, *Glendale and Malvern Hill*, 240–242.

[126] JMA, *Glendale and Malvern Hill*, 240–242.

site most likely functioned as a transient camp.[127] RICH00041 is approximately 100 ft northwest of RICH00040 and occupies the same landform overlooking the confluence of Western Run and an unnamed intermittent stream. The site also consists of a low-density scatter of quartz fire-cracked rock, lithic debitage, and one unifacial tool fragment.[128]

- In 2007, James River Institute for Archaeology, Inc. (JRIA) completed excavations within site RICH00037 (J. W. Binford/West Cottage Property) and identified Site 44HE0991, which consisted of 18 lithic artifacts, primarily fire-cracked rock.[129]

Drewry's Bluff Unit

In Chesterfield County on the James River, the Drewry's Bluff unit is within the ancestral lands of the historic Appamattuck and Weyanock tribes. Although the Appamattuck and Weyanock tribes are no longer present in Virginia, the Powhatan allied tribes of Tidewater Virginia, including the Chickahominy and Chickahominy Eastern Division Indian tribes, the Nansemond Indian Nation, and the Pamunkey, Rappahannock, Mattaponi, and Upper Mattaponi Indian tribes, have ancestral and historic connections to the lands in the unit.

In their 2019 *Archaeological Overview and Assessment* report, Shepard et al. indicate that the archeological resources in the Drewry's Bluff unit have been impacted by erosion of the bluff. They suggest that the NPS assess the vulnerability of archeological resources adjacent to Drewry's Bluff and prioritize stabilization efforts.[130] Given the unit's location near the James River, it may still contain significant archeological resources, although they were undoubtedly impacted by the Civil War, notably by the construction of earthworks and fortifications.[131]

Indigenous Sites in the Drewry's Bluff Unit

Three Indigenous sites have been identified in the park unit:

- Site 44CF0978 was identified during a 2023 archeological investigation and is of indeterminate age. It contained 674 fragments of flaked debitage and two historic artifacts likely not associated with the site.[132]
- Site 44CF0680 was identified during a 2012 Phase I archeological identification survey and is of indeterminate age. It contained quartz and quartzite flakes, a quartz biface fragment, and a quartz scraper.[133]
- Site 44CF0288 was identified in 1986 when artifacts (quartzite flakes and several

[127] JMA, *Glendale and Malvern Hill*, 240–242.

[128] JMA, *Glendale and Malvern Hill*, 240–242.

[129] JRIA, *Archaeological Investigations*, 63.

[130] Shepard et al., *Archaeological Overview*, 202.

[131] Shepard et al., *Archaeological Overview*, 202.

[132] Nieves and Fuka, *Miscellaneous Archeological Investigations*.

[133] Darby O'Donnell, "Phase I Archaeological Identification at Two Proposed Wayside Exhibit Locations within the Drewry's Bluff Unit of the Richmond National Battlefield Park" (Darby O'Donnell, LLC, 2012).

bifaces) were exposed along a trail in the unit. The site could not be dated, and its size and extent were not determined.[134]

Indigenous Sites near the Drewry's Bluff Unit

Ten Indigenous sites were identified within a 1-mile radius of the Drewry's Bluff unit, including six found in 2005 during a survey led by Cultural Resources Inc. at the Wilton Plantation:

- Site 44HE1023 was interpreted as a Middle Woodland camp and/or procurement site. Sites 44HE1029, 44HE1068, 44HE0053, 44HE1066, and 44HE1067 contained undated low-density lithic scatters.[135]
- Site 44HE0062 was originally identified in the 1970s by Daniel Mouer with Virginia Commonwealth University and was re-identified in 2018 during a Phase IB archeological survey within a proposed corridor of the Washington, DC, to Richmond segment of the Southeast High Speed Rail project. Many Middle Woodland artifacts were recovered, including fragments of Potomac Creek, Accokeek, and Prince George pottery types; small triangular quartz points; and lithics that date to earlier time periods.
- Site 44CF0022 was also further investigated during the 2018 archeological survey. It is recorded as an Archaic lithic scatter with a Woodland component that was first identified by Howard MacCord in the late 1960s.[136]
- Sites 44HE0052 and 44CF0112 were first identified by Howard MacCord in the 1970s. Site 44HE0052 is recorded in VCRIS as dating to the Woodland Period. Indigenous ceramics and Archaic and Woodland points were collected from the site.[137] Site 44CF0112 is recorded as on a terrace on the right bank of the James River 0.6 miles east of Drewry's Bluff. Archaic Period cores and blades made mostly from quartzite were recovered.[138]

[134] Shepard et al., *Archaeological Overview*, 198.

[135] Magoon et al., "A Phase I Cultural Resources Survey of Approximately 1,184 Acres of the Wilton Plantation Tract Henrico County" (Virginia, Cultural Resources, Inc., 2005).

[136] Kevin McCloskey et al., "Phase IB Archaeological Survey for the Washington, DC, to Richmond Southeast High Speed Rail (DC2RVA) Project Preferred Alternative Limits of Disturbance" (DC2RVA Project Team, 2018), 4-212.

[137] 44HE0052, Virginia Department of Historic Resources Archaeology Report, Virginia Cultural Resources Information System (VCRIS).

[138] 44CF0112, Virginia Department of Historic Resources Archaeology Report, Virginia Cultural Resources Information System (VCRIS).

CHAPTER THREE: COLONIAL ERA TO CIVIL WAR, 1607–1861

English colonists first settled on the lands that are now part of Richmond National Battlefield Park in the early seventeenth century, beginning in the areas east and south of Richmond and moving north and west by the mid-eighteenth century. The battlefield sites in the park are on lands historically associated with plantations and farmsteads throughout Henrico, Hanover, and Chesterfield counties and with mills that developed to support the local agricultural economy. Extant aboveground resources date from as early as about 1720 and include farmhouses, farm lanes, roads or road traces, and remnant components of at least two small-scale grist mills. Other elements of agricultural use that remain evident on the landscape include the field-and-forest patterns, open fields (cultivated and uncultivated), drainage ditches, retention ponds, and outbuilding remnants.

Documented and potential archeological sites that exist include the locations of former farm and mill complexes. These resources are associated with the owners of large tobacco plantations and small subsistence farms and by the people they enslaved to work in their fields or residences. The Glendale Battlefield site also encompasses farmstead sites associated with the early nineteenth-century free Black community known as Gravelly Hill (or Gravel Hill), which continues to exist outside the park boundary.

In downtown Richmond, the extant Tredegar Iron Works Pattern Storage Building (in the Richmond NBP authorized boundary but not owned or currently used by the park) belonged to one of the largest antebellum industrial sites in the country. The planters and farmers who lived and worked in the current park lands from the colonial period to the outset of the Civil War also interacted with the existing Native American communities. Finally, military training and rendezvous encampments existed on various properties in current park lands during the Revolutionary War and the War of 1812, and residents of the area took part in military activities as members of the colonial and state militias.

OVERVIEW OF RICHMOND-AREA DEVELOPMENT

English colonists established short-lived settlements in the area that now comprises Henrico County and Richmond after their arrival at Jamestown in 1607. Initial explorers along the James River reached the fall line at present-day Richmond but did not remain there long. John Smith ventured up the Chickahominy River only as far as what is now Providence Forge in New Kent County. The Virginia Company of London, a private enterprise with a charter from the Crown, began issuing land grants in 1614. The English population near Henricus at the north end of Farrar's Island (just north of Parker's Battery) reached 182 by 1615 but declined soon after (see *Relationships with Native Peoples* below) and was only 22 in 1625. The Crown took control of the Virginia colony from the Virginia Company in 1625, and the local English population gradually increased as settlers claimed land grants.[139]

[139] Shepard et al., *Archaeological Overview,* 36, 81, 162, 217, 316, 318.

In 1634, the Virginia Assembly divided the colony into shires, later called counties (Figure 3-1). The Shire of Henrico initially encompassed the entire area north and east of the Appomattox River and along the south side of the Chickahominy all the way to the Blue Ridge Mountains, but the portion inhabited by European settlers extended only as far as the fall line along the banks of the James River. In 1634, Henrico had 419 people, about 9 percent of the colony's population of almost 5,000. While total population numbers for the colony are not available for 1634–1699, records of the number of tithables, or income-producing persons required to pay a poll tax, exist for some of those years. In 1650, Henrico had about 300 tithables; that number increased to 372 in 1674, 471 in 1682, and 724 in 1699, when the county's total population was 2,222.[140]

The area north and east of the Chickahominy originally fell within the Charles River Shire, which was renamed York in 1642; the current park lands in this area remained largely unsettled until after 1650. In 1654, the western part of York County was set apart as New Kent County, which recorded about 1,300 tithables by 1674 as settlement proceeded northwest along both sides of the Pamunkey River. The first major colonial settlement in the western part of New Kent, known as Page's Warehouse and later Hanovertown, formed on the river in 1676 about 2 miles upstream of Totopotomoy Creek. Distance from navigable waterways limited early settlement in the southwest part of the county.[141]

The Virginia Assembly passed legislation in 1680 creating port towns and warehouses at sites throughout the colony, including the Henrico county seat at Varina (about 1.5 miles southeast of Fort Brady). As European settlement in the Virginia colony moved west, the falls of the James developed into the Piedmont's commercial center. Planter William Byrd and his associates recognized the area's potential and in 1733 platted the town of Richmond, which incorporated in 1742 with a population of 250. The town became a political and judicial hub after the county seat moved there from Varina in 1752, and residents of the surrounding areas traveled there on rural roads for civic and commercial business.[142] Richmond's population more than doubled to 574 by 1769, and population increases in the surrounding areas resulted in new county subdivisions for more efficient administration of local government and courts (Figure 3-2).

The western part of New Kent County became Hanover County in 1720; Goochland County formed from the part of Henrico County west of Richmond in 1727; and the portion of Henrico County south of the James River became Chesterfield County in 1749. Hanover County remained part of the Virginia frontier through the 1730s, with less than

[140] Edmund S. Morgan, *American Slavery, American Freedom: The Ordeal of Colonial Virginia* (New York, NY: W.W. Norton & Company, 1975), 412–413; Shepard et al., *Archaeological Overview,* 14, 217.

[141] Morgan, *American Slavery,* 412–413; Shepard et al., *Archaeological Overview*, 36.

[142] Louis Manarin and Clifford Dowdey, *The History of Henrico County* (Charlottesville, VA: University of Virginia, 1984), 71, 97–99; Harold E. Greer Jr. and Harry M. Ward, *Richmond During the Revolution, 1775–1783* (Charlottesville, VA: University of Virginia, 1977), 132, 136.

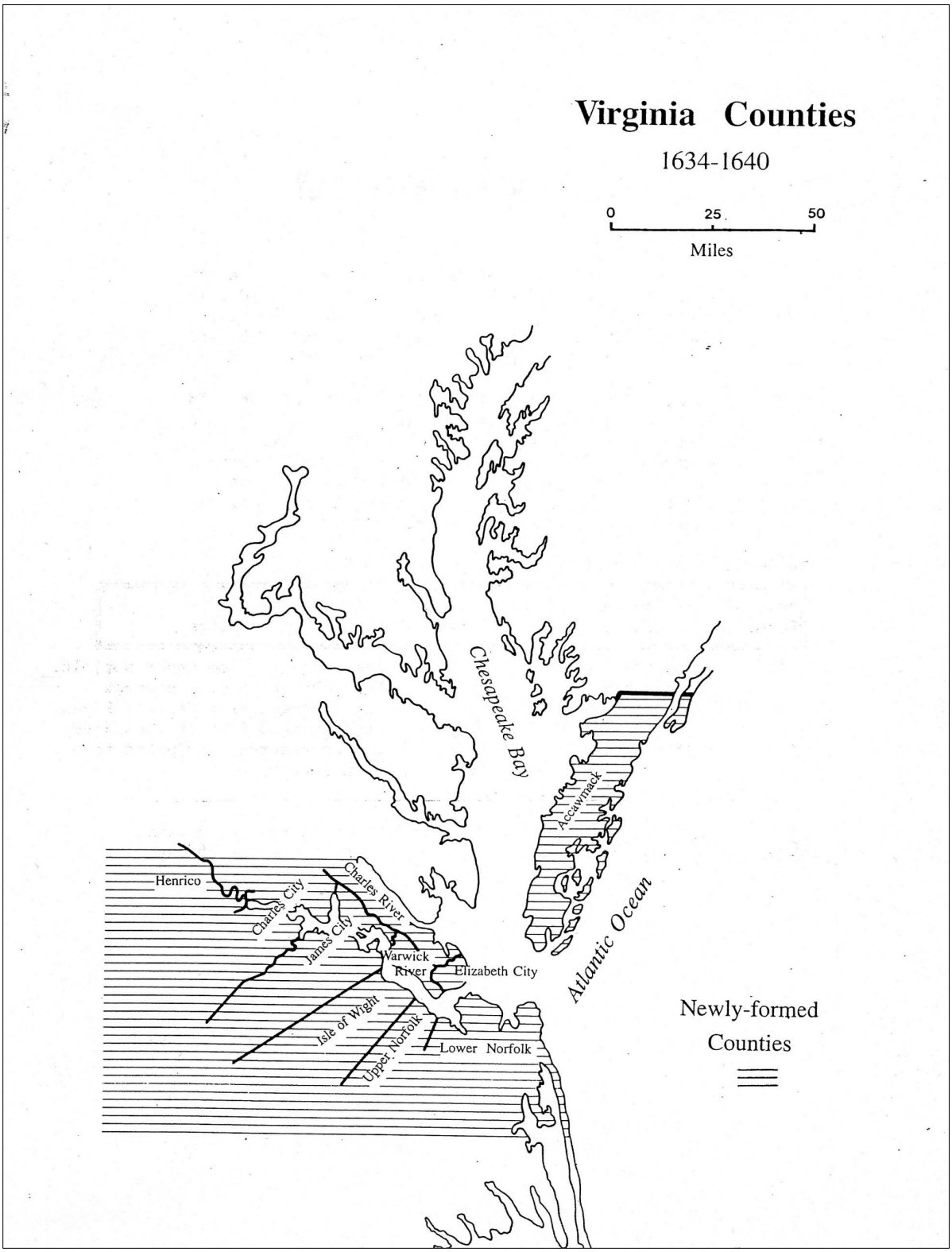


Figure 3-1. Original Virginia County Divisions. Source: Michael F. Doran, *Atlas of County Boundary Changes in Virginia 1634–1895*, New Papyrus/Iberian Publishing Company, 2003 edition.

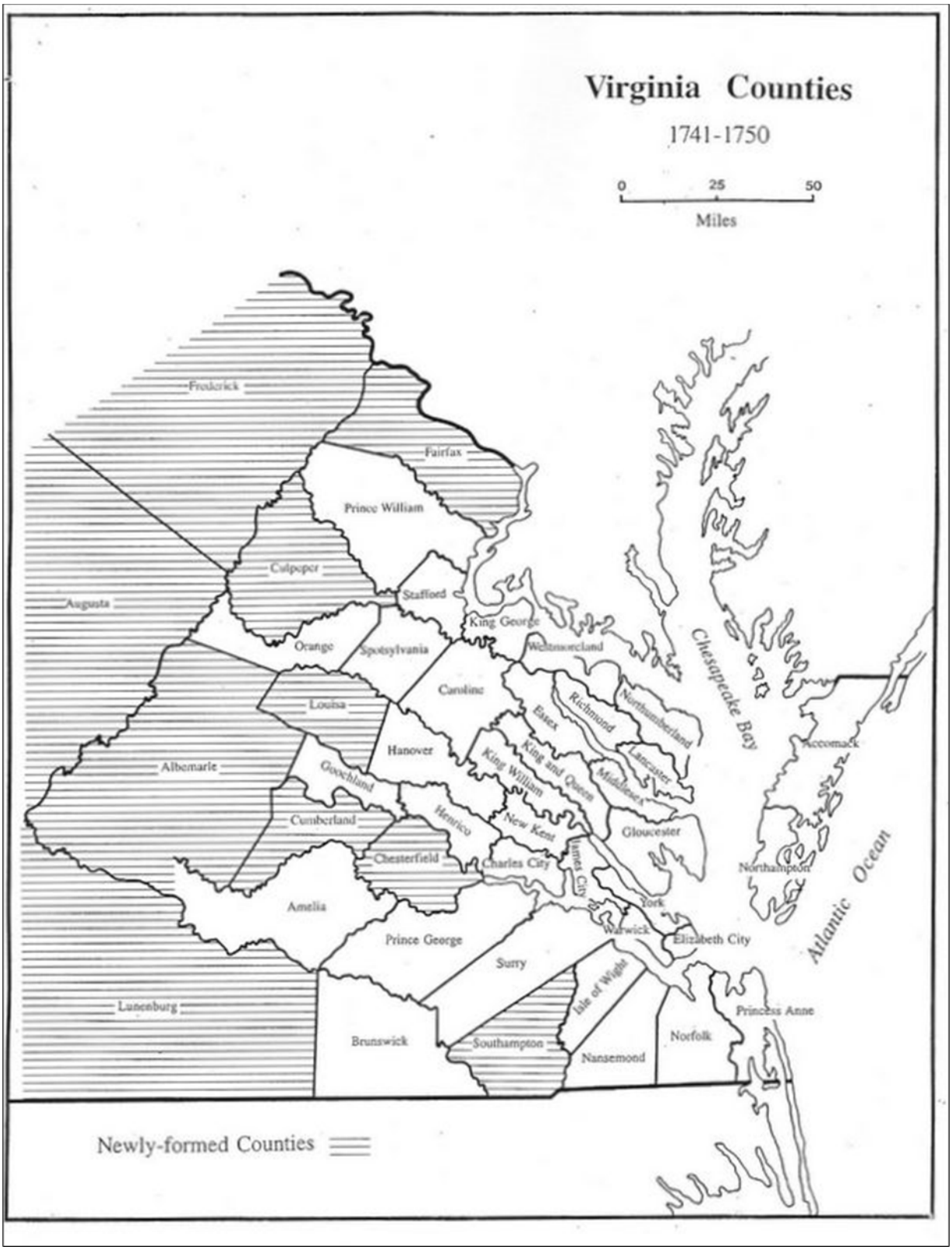


Figure 3-2. Virginia County Divisions as of 1750. Source: Michael F. Doran, *Atlas of County Boundary Changes in Virginia 1634–1895*, New Papyrus/Iberian Publishing Company, 2003 edition.

half its land patented and the amount of taxed land growing at less than 5 percent per year.[143]

Virginia's capital moved from Williamsburg to Richmond during the Revolutionary War (1775–1783), and the city's population grew to 1,800 by 1782. The surrounding counties also increased in population; the first federal census taken in 1790 recorded 14,754 people in Hanover, 14,214 in Chesterfield, and 8,239 in Henrico. After the Revolutionary War, Richmond began to develop the transportation network that allowed it to become a major regional commercial center by the early nineteenth century. Many of the rural roadways that connected the surrounding counties with Richmond became turnpikes in the 1790s and extended about 10 miles from the city within 10 years. Networks of roads and farm lanes connected plantations and farms throughout the surrounding counties. The construction of portions of a canal intended to link the James River with the Kanawha River (in what is now West Virginia) also contributed to Richmond's commercial growth.[144]

Regional farms sent raw agricultural goods to Richmond for processing and transshipment to large markets. Thriving industries in the city and its suburbs included flour milling, tobacco processing, ironmaking, coal mining, pottery making, brewing, and the manufacture of gunpowder, musical instruments, cotton textiles, coaches, soap, and candles. Richmond's businesses also coordinated the flow of goods from the opposite direction, especially items such as coffee, indigo, and rice imported from the Caribbean and Central and South America.[145]

The construction of multiple railroad lines through Richmond in the 1830s further facilitated trade and guided settlement in the surrounding areas. In 1834, tracks were laid for the Richmond, Fredericksburg & Potomac Railroad (RF&P), which ran north from Richmond to eventually reach Washington, DC. The Virginia Central (originally called the Louisa Railroad) and the Richmond & Petersburg Railroad were chartered in 1836. The former connected Louisa County and western Hanover County with the RF&P and

[143] Emily Salmon and John Salmon, "Tobacco in Colonial Virginia," *Encyclopedia Virginia*, Virginia Foundation for the Humanities, 2023, https://encyclopediavirginia.org/entries/tobacco-in-colonial-virginia; Michael F. Doran, *Atlas of County Boundary Changes in Virginia, 1634–1895* (Athens, GA: Iberian Publishing Company, 1987), 6, 22–23.

[144] Sheldon, "Richmond, Virginia: The Town and Henrico County to 1820," 227, 251; Manarin and Dowdey, *The History of Henrico County,* 175; Wayland Fuller Dunaway, *History of the James River and Kanawha Company* (New York, NY: Columbia University, 1922), 24, 48, 165; Nathaniel Mason Pawlett, *A Brief History of the Roads of Virginia, 1607–1840* (Charlottesville, VA: Virginia Highway & Transportation Research Council, 1977), 15.

[145] Shepard et al., *Archaeological Overview*, 16; Oculus et al., *Civil War Battlefields in the Environs of Richmond, Virginia: Caroline, Charles City, Chesterfield, Hanover, Henrico, and New Kent Counties – National Register of Historic Places Multiple Property Documentation Form* Draft (On file, Virginia Department of Historic Resources, Archives, Richmond, 1996), E–11; Marie Tyler-McGraw, *At the Falls; Richmond, Virginia, and Its People* (Chapel Hill, NC: University of North Carolina Press, 1994), 111–112.

extended west into the Shenandoah Valley and east to Richmond by the Civil War. The latter ran south to Petersburg.[146]

Steady population growth occurred throughout the Richmond region in the antebellum period (Table 3-1). By 1820, Hanover County had 15,267 residents, Chesterfield 18,003, and Henrico 11,600. With further expansion of Richmond's industry and commerce, Henrico County's population jumped from 12,923 in 1840 to 16,002 in 1850 and then

Table 3-1. Population Data for Counties in Richmond National Battlefield Park, 1820–1860.

Year	White[147]	Enslaved Black[148]	Free Black[149]	Total[150]
Henrico County				
1820	5,433 (47%)	5,417 (47%)	858 (7%)	11,600
1830	5,711 (45%)	5,932 (47%)	1,089 (8%)	12,737
1840	6,182 (48%)	5,728 (44%)	1,013 (8%)	12,923
1850	8,590 (53%)	6,267 (39%)	1,263 (8%)	16,002
1860	14,350 (61%)	8,342 (35%)	1,014 (4%)	23,706
Richmond City				
1820	6,445 (54%)	4,387 (36%)	1,235 (10%)	12,067
1830	7,695 (48%)	6,349 (40%)	2,016 (12%)	16,060
1840	10,718 (53%)	7,509 (37%)	1,926 (10%)	20,153
1850	15,274 (55%)	9,927 (36%)	2,369 (9%)	27,570
1860	23,635 (62%)	11,699 (31%)	2,576 (7%)	37,910
Chesterfield County				
1820	N/A	9,513 (53%)	N/A	18,003

[146] Land and Community Associates (LCA), *Survey of Historic Resources, Hanover County, Virginia* (On file, Virginia Department of Historic Resources, Richmond, VA, 1990); John Wood, *Henrico County, 1819*, Map on file, Archives and Manuscript Room, Library of Virginia; James Keily, *Henrico County, Virginia, 1853*, Map on file, Library of Congress, https://www.loc.gov/item/2006626060/.

[147] Calculated by authors using data from other columns.

[148] Virginia Places, "Population Growth: Population Statistics for Virginia, 1790–2010," Based on Michael R. Haines and Inter-university Consortium for Political and Social Research, Historical, Demographic, Economic, and Social Data: The United States, 1790–2002, ICPSR02896-v3 (Ann Arbor, MI: Inter-university Consortium for Political and Social Research [distributor], 2010-05-21), http://www.virginiaplaces.org/population/popgrowth.html.

[149] Free Black includes 'black' and 'mulatto' free persons. Data for Henrico County and Richmond City based on US Census and compiled in Carey H. Latimore, "Always a Minority: Richmond Area Free Blacks in the Civil War Era," PhD diss. (Emory University, 2005), 28. Data for Chesterfield and Hanover counties available only for 1850 and 1860 from US Census, *Seventh Census of the United States, 1850* (M432, 1009 rolls), National Archives and Records Administration, Washington, DC, ancestry.com database, and US Census, *Eighth Census of the United States, 1860* (M653, 1,438 rolls), National Archives and Records Administration, Washington, DC, ancestry.com database.

[150] *Henrico County, Virginia*; US Census, *Fourth Census of the United States, 1820* (M33, 142 rolls), National Archives and Records Administration, Washington, DC, ancestry.com database; US Census, *Fifth Census of the United States, 1830* (M19, 201 rolls), National Archives and Records Administration, Washington, DC, ancestry.com database; US Census, *Sixth Census of the United States, 1840* (M704, 580 rolls), National Archives and Records Administration, Washington, DC, ancestry.com database; *Seventh Census of the United States*; *Eighth Census of the United States*.

Year	White[147]	Enslaved Black[148]	Free Black[149]	Total[150]
1830	N/A	10,337 (56%)	N/A	18,637
1840	N/A	8,702 (51%)	N/A	17,148
1850	8,401 (48%)	8,616 (49%)	470 (3%)	17,489
1860	9,921 (52%)	8,354 (44%)	635 (3%)	19,016
Hanover County				
1820	N/A	8,756 (57%)	N/A	15,267
1830	N/A	9,278 (57%)	N/A	16,253
1840	N/A	8,394 (56%)	N/A	14,968
1850	6,539 (48%)	8,393 (56%)	220 (2%)	15,153
1860	7,530 (43%)	9,483 (55%)	248 (>1%)	17,222

almost doubled to 23,706 in 1860. Hanover and Chesterfield both experienced slight (about 8 percent) population decreases in the 1830s but reached pre-Civil War peaks in 1860 of 17,222 and 19,016, respectively. Almost 38,000 people lived in the City of Richmond in 1860.[151]

AGRICULTURE TO INDUSTRY, 1700–1861

The economy of the South in general, and Virginia in particular, was based primarily on agriculture from colonial settlement to the Civil War. Tobacco cultivation dominated in the seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries before farmers transitioned into more diversified agricultural practices, including wheat and cotton production, in the late eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. Mills established by the late seventeenth century to support the local agricultural economy expanded with industrial technologies to create new economic development opportunities by the mid-nineteenth century. Slavery supported Virginia's agriculture-based economy until the Civil War years, and the park region was also home to free Black communities.

No buildings or aboveground structures from the earliest period of European settlement remain in park lands, but residential/domestic archeological sites associated with that era have been identified at the Totopotomoy Creek, Gaines' Mill, and Malvern Hill battlefields and at Fort Harrison. Buildings, roads, road traces, fields, structural ruins, and potential archeological sites from eighteenth- and nineteenth-century agricultural properties remain throughout the park. The Glendale and Malvern Hill battlefield sites in Henrico County contain lands associated with the Nelson, Whitlock, and Sykes farms at the Glendale crossroads; the West/Binford, Garthright, and Mettert farms on Willis Church Road; and the Malvern Hill estate between New Market and Carter's Mill roads.[152]

[151] Sheldon, "Richmond, Virginia: The Town and Henrico County to 1820," 33; Manarin and Dowdey, *The History of Henrico County,* 198–199; Virginia Places; *Henrico County, Virginia*, Historical Data Book, Section 1, Census, https://henrico.us/pdfs/about-henrico/Section_1_Census.pdf.

[152] The NPS added a portion of the Malvern Hill estate to the park in 2022; the rest of the property, including the manor house ruins, belongs to Henrico County and has a preservation easement held by the Virginia Division of Historic Resources.

The Drewry's Bluff and Parker's Battery units in Chesterfield County contain small portions of land associated with antebellum plantations owned by the Drewry and Howlett families. In Hanover County, park lands include portions of two eighteenth-century plantations owned and occupied by single families for over 250 years (the Fontaine family's Rock Castle at North Anna and the Shelton family's Rural Plains at Totopotomoy Creek); the eighteenth-century Hooper/Garthright House at Cold Harbor; and the nineteenth-century Watt House and portions of the Springfield and Powhite plantations at the Gaines' Mill Battlefield site. The Beaver Dam Creek Battlefield site contains remnants of a nineteenth-century mill.

Farming

Colonists in Virginia generated wealth by producing tobacco as a cash crop for export to European markets. Tobacco cultivation required little specialized equipment but a large amount of land and time. Land grants in the colony were issued according to the "headright system," in which settlers received 50 acres for every person they brought into a patent, based on the conventional wisdom that "a planter should have 50 acres of land for every working hand."[153] Wealthy individuals typically financed the ships that transported immigrants to the colony and kept the headrights for themselves and their family members or sold parcels of land to other prospective colonists. Many immigrants signed indentures agreeing to work a certain number of years (usually seven) for the plantation owners in exchange for the cost of the trip.

The headright system often resulted in the accumulation of large tracts of land by a single family, as early plantation owners used their tobacco earnings to finance more immigrants and thus acquire more land. As the colony developed, the initial land grant owners carved land out of the original patents and sold it to smaller planters, many of whom had arrived as indentured servants. The largest landowners retained the more valuable riverfront property, while land farther from the water was often sold in parcels of 60 to over 400 acres.[154]

Typical plantations had four to five acres per field hand cultivated in tobacco and an equal amount in corn and wheat for private consumption. Most also grew small amounts of rice, cotton, and indigo and maintained orchards and/or vineyards. They built riverfront warehouses and wharves on the plantations for storing and shipping their tobacco. Livestock (likely cattle and hogs) roamed freely through the uncleared areas of the estates. Most of the early tobacco farms in the region likely contained only a few small roughly constructed buildings. Larger estates had clusters of domestic buildings that typically included a dwelling, domestic laborers' quarters, and a kitchen, privy, smokehouse, and dairy. Fieldhands' quarters, barns, tobacco barns, and animal shelters usually stood farther from the main dwelling. Soils in current park lands were generally most suited to growing a standard grade of tobacco known as Orinoco, which was less profitable than a "sweet-scented" variety grown in counties to the east after about 1650.

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[153] *American Husbandry,* Harry J. Carman, ed. (London: 1775; reprint, New York: 1939), 165; Rhys Isaac, *The Transformation of Virginia, 1740–1790* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1982), 22.

[154] Olausen et al., *National Register Nomination – Richmond National Battlefield Park*; JMA, *Glendale and Malvern Hill*, 36–37; Nell Marion Nugent, *Cavaliers and Pioneers: Abstracts of Virginia Land Patents and Grants, 1623–1800* (Richmond: Press of the Dietz Printing Co., 1934).

However, the price of tobacco in general exceeded labor costs, and the crop served as the main source of income for most Virginians. The colony's tobacco yield reached 18 million pounds in 1688 and 22 million pounds by 1700.[155]

The Richmond region remained overwhelmingly agricultural in the eighteenth century with a mix of large plantations and small family farms. Tobacco continued to be the primary crop, with production increasing to 34 million pounds by 1731 and to 55 million pounds on the eve of the Revolutionary War. The Orinoco variety overtook the sweet-scented one in popularity by the end of the eighteenth century. Exhausted soils, falling productivity, and volatile prices combined to make tobacco farming increasingly unprofitable. The product's dominance of the regional agricultural economy declined by 1775 as plantation owners and smaller-scale farmers shifted to a more diversified agricultural base with a strong emphasis on wheat production. Wheat had been a small but consistent part of the region's mixed agricultural economy since the late seventeenth century but became a more attractive staple crop by 1750. Soil fertility gradually declined from agricultural processes that did not support long-term vitality. Farmers typically planted fields that could no longer sustain tobacco farming with corn and/or wheat or used the fields for livestock grazing between crop years until they had to abandon them. This practice led to a patchwork pattern on the landscape of cultivated fields, abandoned fields, and successional vegetative growth.[156]

The colonial landscape of large river plantations, smaller inland plantations, and family farms in the Richmond area evolved slowly between the Revolutionary and Civil wars. While the capital city flourished as a commercial and industrial center for the surrounding counties and the rapidly growing Piedmont region, limited physical change occurred in the agricultural communities on the land in Richmond NBP. Improved transportation networks did allow residents to develop and strengthen their economic ties with the city, however, as reflected by a shift in the orientation of farmsteads toward roadways rather than waterways. The availability of railroad transportation and the proximity of Richmond further encouraged farmers to shift from tobacco to grain, fruits, and vegetables as market crops. By the early nineteenth century, most farmers cultivated corn, oats, and wheat, and only the most prosperous plantation owners still grew tobacco.[157]

Virginia planters developed new "scientific farming" methods in the nineteenth century that restored soil fertility and enabled higher crop yields. For example, John Taylor promoted a four-crop rotation of corn, wheat, clover, and fertilizer, and Edmund Ruffin promoted the use of marl (a mixture of clay and calcium carbonate) as a soil amendment to reduce acidity. These improvements contributed to economic prosperity in the counties around Richmond. For example, the amount of improved land in Henrico County almost doubled from 53,617 acres to 96,220 acres between 1850 and 1860, and the combined cash value of farms in the county rose from $2,601,202 to $5,128,610 in the

[155] Shepard et al., *Archaeological Overview*, 217; Salmon and Salmon, "Tobacco in Colonial Virginia."

[156] Olmsted Center for Landscape Preservation (OCLP), *DRAFT Cultural Landscapes Inventory: Cold Harbor Battlefield* (Brookline, MA: Olmsted Center for Landscape Preservation, National Park Service, US Department of the Interior, 2022), 42; Thomas S. Berry, "The Rise of Flour Milling in Virginia," *Virginia Magazine of History and Biography 78*, no. 4, 387, 389; Salmon and Salmon, "Tobacco in Colonial Virginia."

[157] JMA, *Glendale and Malvern Hill,* 49; Wood, *Henrico County, 1819*; Keily, *Henrico County, 1853*; Shepard et al., *Archaeological Overview*, 121.

same period. Wheat and corn saw the greatest yield increases of 100 percent and 50 percent, respectively, and market garden products more than doubled in value.[158]

Detailed maps of Henrico, Chesterfield, and Hanover counties from the 1850s and 1860s, including military engineering maps drawn during the Civil War, depict the landscape in the current park units as a patchwork of open fields amid wooded hillsides and waterways, including drainages and swamps.[159] Farmsteads were typically arranged with a central cluster of buildings (house, barn, enslaved quarters, and outbuildings), utilitarian yards, gardens and orchards, pastures and crop fields, rail fences around properties and pastures and fields, and picket or board fences around house yards and gardens. Most were small farms of 100 to 200 acres; larger farms ranged from 200 to 800 acres. By 1850, the farms in the Henrico County area of the park had shifted entirely from tobacco to corn, oats, and wheat. Larger plantations in Chesterfield County continued to grow tobacco alongside wheat, corn, and oats. Wheat and some tobacco dominated the crops grown in the heavier clay soils in the northern half of Hanover County, while farms in the southern half produced more corn, oats, and vegetables. In 1850, Hanover County farms produced 377,616 bushels of corn, 157,388 bushels of wheat, 94,186 bushels of oats, 78,316 pounds of butter, and only 404,550 pounds of tobacco.[160]

Henrico County

Richard Cocke (1597–1665), the head of one of colonial Virginia's most powerful families, amassed a large amount of the current park lands on the northeast side of the James River in return for financing the passage of at least 100 early settlers. Cocke was born in Shropshire, England, and arrived in Jamestown by December 1627. He received 3,000 acres east of Varina from the Crown in 1636 for the passage of 60 people and another 2,000 acres, including 1,700 acres "upon the head of Turkey Island Cr. called by the name of Mamburne Hills," in 1639 for the passage of 40 more people.[161]

By his death in 1665, Cocke owned about 11,000 acres in Henrico County. He established a large plantation known as Bremo on his original patent (outside the current park boundary) and may have had a tenant overseer cultivate the land on the slopes of

[158] Shepard et al., *Archaeological Overview*, 121, 221; Manarin and Dowdey, *The History of Henrico County,* 243–244.

[159] Because many tenant farmers or managers occupied properties while owners lived elsewhere, discrepancies often occur among the names found on deeds, censuses, maps, and other sources. Olmsted Center for Landscape Preservation (OCLP), *Cultural Landscapes Inventory: Glendale Battlefield* (Brookline, MA: Olmsted Center for Landscape Preservation, National Park Service, US Department of the Interior, 2017), 52.

[160] Keily, *Henrico County, 1853*; Nathaniel Michler, *Richmond, 1867*, Map on file, Library of Congress, http://hdl.loc.gov/loc.gmd/g3884r.cw0632700; *Seventh Census of the United States, 1850*; *Eighth Census of the United States, 1860*; Richard Edwards, *Statistical Gazetteer of the State of Virginia: Embracing Important Topographical and Historical Information from Recent and Original Sources* (Richmond, VA: Richard Edwards, 1855), 259–261; Joseph Martin, *A New and Comprehensive Gazetteer of Virginia, and the District of Columbia.* Charlottesville, VA: Moseley & Tompkins, Printers, 1835), 186.

[161] Nugent, *Cavaliers and Pioneers*, 120.

Malvern Hill,[162] where the soils were generally less fertile than along the river.[163] Before 1665, Cocke had conveyed Bremo to his son Richard Jr. (1639–1706) and his land on Malvern Hill to his son Thomas (1638–1696). Thomas Cocke established his primary plantation on Malvern Hill at about the time of his 1663 marriage to his first wife, Agnes Margaret Powell (1645–bef. 1687). Thomas and Agnes had six children; after Agnes' death at some time before 1687, Thomas married Margaret Crewes Wood Jones (1641–1718). At Thomas' death in 1696, the Malvern Hill plantation passed to his eldest son, Captain Thomas Cocke (about 1662–about 1707), with a provision for his widow, Margaret, to live there until her death.[164]

By the late seventeenth century, a major east–west route developed between the settled areas along the Upper James River and the colonial capital of Williamsburg. The road, which became known as Long Bridge Road, ran north of Malvern Hill, and an important crossroads developed at the intersection of Long Bridge and Charles City roads (the current edge of the park's Glendale unit). John Pleasants (d. 1698) obtained a patent in 1679 for 548 acres on the Upper James River (likely just west of the current park boundary at Glendale and Malvern Hill), where he established a large tobacco plantation.[165]

William Porter Sr., his son William Porter Jr., John Watson, and Alexander Mackenny all owned land adjoining Thomas Cocke's Malvern Hill plantation in the 1680s.[166] Mackenny purchased 80 acres between Long Bridge Road and the east side of Western Run from William Porter Sr. in 1687 and sold 40 acres of that property to Humphrey Smith Sr. (b. about 1655) and his wife, Mary Childers, in 1694. The Smiths had purchased 100 acres in Henrico County from Alexander and Mary Mackenny in 1689.[167]

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[162] Boldface type used here and throughout this narrative to denote battlefields and resources within Richmond NBP.

[163] John Hammond, *Cultural Landscape Report for Glendale Battlefield, Richmond National Battlefield Park, Virginia*, (Boston, MA: Olmsted Center for Landscape Preservation, National Park Service, 2019), 20; JMA, *Glendale and Malvern Hill,* 37–38.

[164] James P. C. Southall, "Malvern Hills, Henrico County, and Edgemont, Albemarle County, Homes of James Powell Cocke and James Powell Cocke," *Virginia Magazine of History and Biography* 43, no. 1 (1935):75–77; Kathryn Gearhart, Allied Families: Early Virginia Jones Families, 2009, https://alliedfamilies.wordpress.com/early-virginia-jones-families/.

[165] Although Pleasants and his descendants claimed to be associated with the Curles (or Curles) Neck plantation west of Bremo, the Pleasants property was likely north of Curles. See Hammond, *Glendale Battlefield*, 20; Nancy W. Kraus, *National Register Nomination – Curles Neck Farm* (On file, Virginia Department of Historic Resources, Richmond, VA, 2009).

[166] William Porter Sr. appears on a list of tithables for this area in 1679, and William Porter Jr. acquired a grant of 459 acres in Varina Parish on the north side of White Oak Swamp adjoining the land of Thomas Cock (*sic*) in 1685. Mackenny patented 296 acres on the north side of the James River adjoining the land of Thomas Cock (*sic*) and John Watson in 1688. See Library of Virginia, Research Guides & Indexes: Virginia Land Patents and Grants, https://lva-virginia.libguides.com/land-grants.

[167] The 1689 deed records Smith's purchase as 900 acres, but a 1708 deed confirmation indicates it was actually 100 acres, and Smith's later known landholdings total only 140 acres. See Anonymous, Genealogy.com, "Humphrey Smith of Henrico Co. VA," June 2000, https://www.genealogy.com/forum/surnames/topics/smith/18867/; *Henrico County Virginia Colonial Deeds 1677–1705*, Benjamin B. Weisiger III, ed. (Athens, GA: Iberian Publishing Company, 1996), 41, 82; *Henrico County Virginia Colonial Deeds 1706–1737*, Benjamin B. Weisiger III, ed. (Athens, GA: Iberian Publishing Company, 1996), 40, 142; Anonymous, Genealogy.com; Hammond, *Glendale Battlefield*, 23–24.

Deeds and wills suggest that land ownership patterns in most of the park lands east of Richmond were relatively stable during the eighteenth century, with property held by only a few families.[168] The Cocke family owned the Malvern Hill plantation for most of the century. When Captain Thomas Cocke died about 1707, the estate passed first to his eldest son, also named Thomas (about 1687–1711), and then to his three other sons after Thomas III's death in 1715. Thomas I's second wife, Margaret, appears to have lived on the property until her death about 1718. James Powell Cocke (1688–1747), Captain Cocke's second-oldest son, consolidated his brothers' shares in Malvern Hill and likely had a new brick manor house (of which only ruins remain just outside the park boundary)[169] built on the property about the time of his marriage to Martha Herbert (1688–1759) in 1718. Malvern Hill passed to his son James Powell Cocke II (1718–1753) and then to his grandson James Powell Cocke III (1748–1829). James III married Lucy Smith (1756–1821) in 1777 and lived at Malvern Hill during the Revolutionary War (see *Military Activity* below). About 1783, James and Lucy moved their family to western Virginia and sold the Malvern Hill plantation to Robert Nelson (1743–1818), a brother of the former Virginia Governor Thomas Nelson Jr., in exchange for 1,600 acres in Albemarle County (northwest of Richmond).[170]

Robert Nelson owned the **Malvern Hill** estate until his death in 1818. From at least 1819 to 1821, his son Nathaniel Nelson (1786–1852) resided on and farmed the property.[171] At the same time, Nathaniel advertised the estate in local newspapers for sale to the highest bidder as "nearly 900 [867] acres, 300 of which is virgin land of the best quality, capable of producing as heavy crops of tobacco as any land in the lower country."[172] By 1828, Captain Samuel M. Bockius owned the property, and the 1830 census records Nelson living in Charles City County, Virginia. The census does not list Bockius in Henrico County, however, which indicates that he likely rented the estate to a tenant farmer. Loftin N. Ellett and others acquired a deed of trust for the property from Bockius in 1832, and Ellett advertised about 851 acres for sale at auction in August 1835.[173]

[168] JMA, *Glendale and Malvern Hill,* 45.

[169] Lena S. McDonald, John Salmon, and Gray O'Dwyer, *National Register Nomination – Malvern Hill (2020 Update),* 2020, On file, Virginia Department of Historic Resources, Richmond, VA.

[170] Library of Virginia, Research Guides & Indexes: Wills and Estate Records Index: Henrico County 1662–1800, https://lva-virginia.libguides.com/wills; "James Powell Cocke," Monticello, https://www.monticello.org/research-education/thomas-jefferson-encyclopedia/james-powell-cocke/; "James Powell Cocke III," WikiTree, November 18, 2020, https://www.wikitree.com/wiki/Cocke-580; "Re: Connection with John Powell Cocke," genealogy.com, https://www.genealogy.com/forum/surnames/topics/cocke/730/; McDonald et al., *National Register Nomination – Malvern Hill (2020 Update)*.

[171] US Census, *Third Census of the United States, 1810* (M252, 71 rolls), National Archives and Records Administration, Washington, DC, ancestry.com database; Roger G. Ward, *1815 Directory of Virginia Landowners (and Gazetteer), Volume One: Central Region* (Athens, GA: Iberian Publishing Company, 1997); *Fourth Census of the United States, 1820*.

[172] "Malvern Hills For Sale," *Richmond Enquirer*, June 25, 1819; "Malvern Hills For Sale," *Richmond Enquirer*, June 16, 1820; "Malvern Hills For Sale," *Richmond Enquirer*, June 8, 1821.

[173] "Pamunleg Land for Sale," *Richmond Enquirer*, October 10, 1828; "Notice," *Richmond Enquirer*, December 6, 1834; *Fifth Census of the United States, 1830*; "Trust Sale of Valuable Real Estate," *Richmond Enquirer*, August 11, 1835.

In May 1838, the Malvern Hill estate appeared again for sale in newspaper listings, when Samuel T. Williamson advertised its "marl banks [along Turkey Island Creek and the James River] of the best quality."[174] Ca. 1838, lawyer George Benskin Poindexter (1797–1860) purchased the estate and moved there with his family. Poindexter operated the plantation until 1850, when he moved to Lexington, Virginia, to practice law again. He sold 757 acres to lawyer Benjamin Franklin Dew (1820–1877), who resided in King and Queen County, Virginia, and, like Bockius, had a tenant manage the estate.[175]

The area between Malvern Hill and Long Bridge Road also continued under the ownership of the same few families in the eighteenth century. Robert Povall (1695–1732) resided in the Malvern Hill area during the early part of the century and likely left his property to his son Robert (also known as Robin), who owned 800 acres adjacent to the northern part of the Malvern Hill plantation in the last quarter of the century. After Robin Povall's death about 1785, the estate was divided evenly between his widow Elizabeth (Eliza) and their son John. Eliza married Edward West in 1790 and had another son, Thomas J. West, before Edward's death in 1794.[176]

By that time, a road known as Quaker Road (present-day **Willis Church Road**) ran past the Povall/West property and across Western Run to the neighboring farm owned by Humphrey Smith Jr., who had received 40 acres at Long Bridge Road from his father in 1732. Humphrey Jr. increased his landholdings to 100 acres by his death in 1791 and left the farm to his grandson Thomas Whitlock (1769–1848), who lived in Buckingham County (west of Richmond) and in turn sold the property to Charles Keesee (about 1760–1808).[177] Keesee had resided since at least 1770 on nearby land owned by the descendants of John Pleasants and may have worked for the Pleasants family as a tenant farmer or indentured servant until he was able to purchase his own farm.[178]

Charles Keesee expanded his plantation just south of the Long Bridge/Willis Church/Charles City crossroads substantially before his death in 1808. He left 214 acres to his son William, who sold the property to Francis Frayser in 1818. Francis died in 1836, and his widow, Elizabeth, sold the farm in 1849 to widower Nathaniel Nelson, the earlier

[174] "Malvern Hill for Sale," *Richmond Enquirer*, May 18, 1838.

[175] *Sixth Census of the United States, 1840*; George Benskin Poindexter, Find a Grave Memorial ID 51510394, https://www.findagrave.com/memorial/51510394/george-benskin-poindexter. Dew earned his law degree from William and Mary College, where his uncle Thomas R. Dew was president, and served as magistrate of the King and Queen County court through the Civil War. See Lyon Gardiner Tyler, ed., *Encyclopedia of Virginia Biography, Volume IV* (New York: Lewis Historical Publishing Company, 1915), 278–280; *Seventh Census of the United States, 1850*; Keily, *Henrico County, 1853*; "Forty Dollars Reward," *Richmond Enquirer*, November 17, 1854.

[176] The Library of Virginia Wills and Estate Records Index for Henrico County 1662–1800 lists Robert Povall (will) 1733, Robin Povall (will) 1785, Elizabeth West (estate inventory) in 1790, and Edward West (will) in 1794. At Elizabeth's remarriage, her half of the Povall estate reverted to her son John, who apparently died before 1800 with no heirs.

[177] Library of Virginia, Wills and Estate Records Index: Henrico County 1662–1800; *Henrico County Virginia Colonial Deeds 1706–1737*, 40, 142. Humphrey Smith Jr.'s daughter Mary married James Whitlock, and the couple had several children. John Whitlock, possibly Thomas' brother, had a farm adjacent to Smith's on 217 acres along Middle (Charles City) Road just north of Long Bridge Road and attended Smith's estate sale in 1791.

[178] JMA, *Glendale and Malvern Hill,* 48; JRIA, *Archaeological Investigations*, 10; Hammond, *Glendale Battlefield*, 23–25.

owner of the Malvern Hill plantation. Nelson's three sisters (Ethelinda, Lucy, and Mary Prosser) lived with him on the farm and inherited it when he died in 1852. By 1860, their nephew Reginald Heber Nelson (1832–1923) also lived on the property with his wife, Sally (1839–1891), and young son. The plantation became known as **Glendale** during the Nelson family ownership.

The agricultural census for 1860 lists 150 improved acres with corn, oats, wheat, potatoes, livestock, and $200 of farm equipment. Detailed maps of the landscape drawn soon after the Civil War Battle of Glendale in 1862 (see *Battle of Glendale, June 30, 1862,* in Chapter Four) show the Nelson fields along both sides of Willis Church Road (including what is now Glendale National Cemetery) and the farmstead on the east side consisting of the main house and three large outbuildings enclosed within a fence. Buildings that likely housed enslaved laborers lined an entrance road to the farmstead, and orchards were south and east of the farmstead. The **Nelson Farm Foundation** is all that remains of the farm buildings. The Nelson family cemetery is directly across the road from the Willis Methodist Church (both outside the park boundary).[179]

One of the larger mid-nineteenth-century farms near the Glendale plantation belonged to Thomas J. West, who inherited the property from his mother Eliza. Thomas married Lucy Ann Randolph in Charles City, Virginia, in May 1820, when the annual census records him living in the Glendale area with two other people (most likely his wife and widowed mother).[180] Eliza West gave 165 acres of her estate known as "Bell's" or "Bellfield" to Thomas in 1821, and he acquired the rest of her property at her death in 1840. The brick foundations of the extant **West House** (built about 1930) are likely those of a house built for Thomas between 1832 and 1840 based on land tax records.[181]

By 1850, Thomas had accumulated real estate worth $4,000 and operated a 350-acre farm with 200 acres in cultivation.[182] The farm complex consisted of the primary residence near the "Main Road" (Willis Church Road), four outbuildings around a small farmyard, two larger farm buildings, a row of laborers' housing, and various farm roads, including the **West House Farm Road Trace** and **West House Driveway**. By 1858, West's property extended south to a farm owned by James Ladd and included a "mansion house" and "Mill tract" at "Mount Prospect" on Turkey Island Creek (south of Malvern Hill) and a

[179] Michler, *Richmond, 1867*; Hammond, *Glendale Battlefield*, 25. The Nelson family cemetery has stones for Ethelinda (1792–1874), Lucy (1790–1875), G. W. (1815–1892), R. H. (1832–1923), Sally B. (1839–1891), Mary E. (1865–1948), Sally Berkeley (1883–1979), and others. See Jeannette Seitz, "Willis Church Cemetery, Glendale, Henrico County, Virginia," September 26, 2006, http://www.interment.net/data/us/va/henrico/willis/index.htm.

[180] County land records show Elizabeth owning about 300 acres in 1807, and a deed confirms that she lived on the property in 1810. Archeological sites that may be associated with a cottage and outbuildings from about 1810 belonging to the West family have been identified within the Malvern Hill park unit. Deeds also indicate a ½-acre graveyard on the property; the location of the graveyard and associated interments is unknown. See JRIA, *Archaeological Investigations*, 10; *Third Census of the United States, 1810; Fourth Census of the United States, 1820*; Ward, *1815 Directory.*

[181] JMA, *Glendale and Malvern Hill,* 93.

[182] *Fifth Census of the United States, 1830*; *Sixth Census of the United States, 1840*; *Seventh Census of the United States, 1850;* US Census, *Seventh Census of the United States, 1850, Productions of Agriculture, Henrico County, Virginia*, National Archives and Records Administration, Washington, DC, ancestry.com database.

blacksmith and wheelwright shop at an unknown location.[183] Thomas had also given 100 acres of the estate, including a cottage (not extant) built about 1810 where Eliza West had likely lived, to his son Edward in 1849.[184]

Thomas West died in 1858 and left the Mount Prospect house to his son Thomas Jr. and Bellfield to his son John W. His will also instructed his sons to take care of their unmarried sisters and his executor (and neighbor) James W. Binford (about 1810–1866) to sell the properties containing the mill and shop if necessary to pay any debts. An 1859 chancery court case related to an adjacent farm records John West as owning the Bellfield property, but the only West that appears in the 1860 census for the area is Nathaniel A. West, a doctor born about 1829 who lived with his wife and young child and owned real estate valued at $3,600. The agricultural census for that year records West's farm as consisting of 275 acres with 150 acres cultivated in wheat and corn.[185]

In 1850, James W. Binford lived with his wife Eliza (about 1824–1862) and their three young children on a 120-acre farm overlooking Western Run. In 1851, he purchased the adjacent property that Edward West had received from his father. Eliza's father, Phillip Frayser, and James' father, also named James, had owned land north and west of the West estate in the early nineteenth century.[186] Binford had 100 acres in cultivation with wheat, corn, and oats in 1850, and his farm was valued at $4,000. By 1860, Binford had doubled his farm's size and value, and his personal property was valued at $21,800.[187] In addition to inheriting property from his father and father-in-law, he actively bought and sold extensive amounts of land in the Glendale/Malvern Hill area, including the site of the **Willis Methodist Church Parsonage Ruins** (dating to about 1853–1855) on Willis Church Road.

Dr. Jonathan H. Mettert (about 1818–1859) purchased property opposite the Thomas West farm on Willis Church Road from Binford: 137 acres in 1843 and 256 acres in 1848. In 1850, 32-year-old Mettert had a 450-acre farm worth $4,400 with 300 acres in cultivation, owned $15,000 in real estate, worked as a physician and farmer, and lived with his wife, Virginia.[188] John H. Goodman, a 70-year-old farmer, is listed as part of Mettert's

[183] The West estate may have included the property labeled W. B. Randolph/Greenwood on an 1853 county map. The 1850 census lists William B. Randolph (possibly related to West's wife) as a 56-year-old farmer with $80,000 of real estate. His household included 23-year-old overseer Marsh W. Throgmorton; the 1850 agricultural census list s him with 45 improved acres on a 105-acre farm. By 1860, Randolph and Throgmorton appear together elsewhere in Henrico County. See Keily, *Henrico County, 1853*; *Seventh Census of the United States, 1850*; *Seventh Census of the United States, 1850, Productions of Agriculture, Henrico County; Eighth Census of the United States, 1860*.

[184] The 1850 census lists Edward R. West as a 27-year-old farmer with real estate worth $2,000. See *Seventh Census of the United States, 1850*.

[185] "Commissioner's and Administrator's Sale," *Richmond Daily Dispatch*, December 2, 1859; *Eighth Census of the United States, 1860*; US Census, *Eighth Census of the United States, 1860, Productions of Agriculture, Henrico County, Virginia*, National Archives and Records Administration, Washington, DC, ancestry.com database.

[186] The authors have not determined Phillip Frayser's relationship to Francis Frayser, the former owner of Glendale.

[187] *Seventh Census of the United States, 1850; Seventh Census of the United States, 1850, Productions of Agriculture, Henrico County; Eighth Census of the United States,* 1860; *Eighth Census of the United States, 1860, Productions of Agriculture, Henrico County*.

[188] *Seventh Census of the United States, 1850*; *Seventh Census of the United States, 1850, Productions of Agriculture, Henrico County.*

household and likely helped him run the farm, which extended from the west side of Willis Church Road to Crewes Channel and included the extant one-lane dirt **Farm Lane** and **Farm Road**. Drainage ditches along the edges of the farm fields that may date from the eighteenth century continue to direct water into Crewes Channel.

After Mettert's death in 1859, Cornelius Crew (1804–1865) of Richmond purchased the property and immediately advertised 427 acres for sale, "of which nearly 300 are cleared and all has been heavily limed and improved; from 100 to 150 acres is good meadow lands; the improvements are ample, consisting of a large dwelling house with necessary out houses, large barn, a new corn granary, 4 double negro quarters, stables, carriage house."[189] The ad notes Crew's desire "to sell quickly or will have to make some arrangements for stocking and farming it myself," and the property is likely one of several vacant farms recorded in the 1860 census near Glendale and Malvern Hill.

Christopher C. Garthright owned the farm just north of Mettert's in 1860 and lived there with his wife, Elizabeth, and five children.[190] Garthright had purchased the 214-acre property known as Poplar Grove from Thomas French (see **Mills** below) in August 1857. The farm with 100 improved acres was valued at $2,500 in 1860 and included a main house and six outbuildings (none extant) and farm roads, of which the **C. Garthright Farm Southern Entrance Road Trace** remains. Garthright's farm produced 380 bushels of wheat, 100 bushels of rye, and 500 bushels of corn in 1860.[191]

The vacant farms in the area in 1860, according to the annual census, included one that had belonged to John Whitlock Jr. (1790–1860) until his death that year. Whitlock's father, John Whitlock Sr., had a farm on 217 acres along Middle (Charles City) Road just north of Long Bridge Road from the 1790s until his death in 1845.[192] John Jr. lived with his father in 1820 and married Frances Woodfin in 1822. The couple established their own farmstead on 62.5 acres between Long Bridge Road and Western Run that John Jr. bought in 1829 from Joseph and Mary Woodfin.[193] The property eventually included a two-story farmhouse, a barn, and a stable (none extant); an apple orchard near the house; 90 acres of fenced farm fields; and a family cemetery and slave cemetery. Whitlock Jr. invested in land speculation to supplement his farm income in July 1835, when he purchased the 368-acre Gravelly Hill tract (see **Free Black Communities** below) opposite his homestead at auction and subdivided it beginning in 1836.

About 1845, Whitlock Jr. inherited part of his father's estate (not including the homestead that went to his brother Charles) and conveyed all his property, which encompassed 640 acres at that time, to his children, Richard and Jane, with a life estate for himself. In 1850,

[189] "For Sale: That Beautiful and Valuable Farm," *Richmond Daily Dispatch,* January 1, 1860.

[190] *Eighth Census of the United States, 1860*.

[191] *Eighth Census of the United States, 1860, Productions of Agriculture, Henrico County*.

[192] John Sr. was likely a grandson of Humphrey Smith Jr., the late eighteenth-century owner of the Frayser/Nelson farm and had attended Smith's estate sale in 1791. US Census, *Second Census of the United States, 1800* (M32, 52 rolls), National Archives and Records Administration, Washington, DC, ancestry.com database; *Third Census of the United States, 1810; Fourth Census of the United States, 1820; Fifth Census of the United States, 1830*; *Sixth Census of the United States, 1840*.

[193] The authors have not determined the relationship between Frances Woodfin and Joseph and Mary Woodfin.

he and his wife still lived at the Long Bridge Road farm, but his name does not appear in the agricultural census for that year. John Jr. died without a will stipulating how to divide his real estate between his two children. The 1860 census records his widow, Frances, living elsewhere with her nephew James (Charles Whitlock's son).[194] The farmstead on Long Bridge Road likely remained vacant during and after the 1862 Battle of Glendale, until a lawsuit settled in 1863 gave it to Jane, his daughter, and she sold it to John McDowell (see *Post-War Farming* in Chapter Five).[195] Jane retained the right for her husband to obtain marl from the property for 20 years and the right to visit the family burial ground.[196]

The major roads surrounding the **Fort Harrison** park unit existed by the early nineteenth century: New Market Road (present-day Route 5) connecting Richmond and Williamsburg, Varina Road running southeast from New Market Road to the colonial port town of Varina, Kingsland Road running southwest to a James River landing at Deep Bottom, Osbornes Road connecting Richmond and Osbornes Landing, and Mill Road between Osbornes and New Market roads. Land in the current park unit consisted primarily of large agricultural fields belonging to local farms.[197]

In 1850, Edward Cox (E. Cox on 1853 [Keily] map) owned a 5,000-acre farm valued at $56,000 with only 400 acres unimproved. The property produced 5,300 bushels of wheat, 5,000 bushels of corn, and 1,350 bushels of oats. Jackson F. Childray (JF Childrey on 1853 [Keily] map) had a $4,000 farm encompassing 175 improved and 75 unimproved acres that produced 650 bushels of wheat, 1,000 bushels of corn, and 750 bushels of oats in 1850. Albert M. Aikin's 1,500-acre farm was valued at $40,000 and produced 2,500 bushels of wheat, 6,300 bushels of corn, and 500 bushels of oats that year.[198]

The land in and around the **Chickahominy Bluff** park unit remained largely undeveloped through the mid-nineteenth century. This was due to the bluff's extreme drop-off and the poorly drained soils below it that were not conducive to agriculture. The Mechanicsville Turnpike Company, established in 1817, built a road through the area that corresponds to the alignment of present-day Route 360 and connected Richmond to Mechanicsville in Hanover County. No private dwellings appear in the area on an 1819 map of Henrico County. An 1853 county map shows a building labeled "W. Jarvis" along the turnpike south of the park unit's approximate location and several buildings on the opposite side

[194] *Seventh Census of the United States, 1850; Seventh Census of the United States, 1850, Productions of Agriculture, Henrico County*; *Eighth Census of the United States, 1860*.

[195] Jane Whitlock (1824–1894) married Thomas Melton (also spelled Milton) in 1846. The Meltons do not appear in the 1850 census for the area, but their home appears on an 1853 map near the intersection of Long Bridge and Carter's Mill roads, just west of the current park boundary. In 1855, Jane's brother Richard sold Melton 60 acres of the former Gravelly Hill property adjacent to land already owned by Melton on the north and east. The 1860 census for the area lists Thomas and Jane Melton with three children, $5,510 in real estate, and $1,500 in personal property. See *Seventh Census of the United States, 1850;* Keily, *Henrico County, 1853*; *Eighth Census of the United States, 1860*.

[196] Hammond, *Glendale Battlefield*, 28–30; L. O. Morrow, unpublished research file on Whitlock family, on file, Richmond National Battlefield Park, Richmond, VA, 1995.

[197] Shepard et al., *Archaeological Overview*, 218–220.

[198] *Seventh Census of the United States,* 1850; *Seventh Census of the United States, 1850, Productions of Agriculture, Henrico County*; Keily, *Henrico County, 1853*.

of the road. The closest buildings east of the current park unit were those of a former weekend retreat of the fourth US Chief Justice John Marshall (1755–1835), whose main residence (extant) was in downtown Richmond.[199]

Chesterfield County

Early patent holders in current park lands in what is now Chesterfield County included Thomas Sheffield, who established a plantation along the James River on the north side of Kingsland Creek (encompassing the **Drewry's Bluff** park unit) by 1622, and Captain Thomas Osborne (1584–1677), who received 1,000 acres on the south bank of Proctor's Creek (near the **Parker's Battery** park unit) from the Crown in 1634. Richard Ward (1615–1682) acquired the former Sheffield plantation in 1665, and the property remained in his family for five generations. Thomas Jefferson, the great-grandfather of the third US President, acquired property near Osborne's land in the 1680s.[200]

Eastern Chesterfield County remained a primarily rural agricultural area through the Civil War, when large plantations still encompassed the land in the current Drewry's Bluff and Parker's Battery park units. The former Sheffield plantation in the **Drewry's Bluff** area belonged to Richard Claiborne Gregory (1756–1844) in the early nineteenth century. Gregory had acquired 1,000 acres from the Ward family in 1797 and about 1804 built the house currently known as Bellwood that still stands within a US Army Defense Supply Center complex about 1.2 miles southwest of the park unit. He renamed the plantation New Oxford and expanded it to about 2,000 acres by 1836. Gregory's granddaughter Lavinia and her husband, Richmond merchant Augustus H. Drewry, acquired most of the New Oxford plantation by 1857 and renamed it Auburn Chase. Drewry operated a mixed farm worth $60,000 that produced wheat, corn, oats, legumes, potatoes, and hay. He owned 20 draft animals and obtained wool, meat, and dairy products from 16 cows, 36 sheep, and 26 swine. Most of his agricultural fields were probably in the level areas along the north bank of Kingsland Creek, and the rugged terrain along the bluff probably remained wooded until the Civil War.[201]

The Howlett family owned the property that encompassed the current **Parker's Battery** park unit by the mid-nineteenth century. Dr. John Howlett, a physician, and William E. Howlett, John's father and a farmer, lived on a farm that extended from the banks of the James River south of the Farrar's Island peninsula to the neck of land north of the peninsula. In 1860, William E. Howlett owned real estate worth $7,000, and John owned

[199] Shepard et al., *Archaeological Overview*, 63; Wood, *Henrico County, 1819*; Keily, *Henrico County, 1853*.

[200] Sheffield Plantation Cemetery, Find a Grave Memorial ID 2694086, https://www.findagrave.com/cemetery/2694086/sheffield-plantation-cemetery; Hammond, *Glendale Battlefield*, 20; Shepard et al., *Archaeological Overview*, 162.

[201] Jeanne Barnes and Melissa Wiedenfeld, *National Register Nomination – Bellwood (2011 Update)* (On file, Virginia Department of Historic Resources, Richmond, VA, 2011); Calder C. Loth, "Bellwood," Virginia Historic Landmarks Commission Survey Form (On file, Virginia Department of Historic Resources, Richmond, VA, 1977); *Eighth Census of the United States, 1860, Productions of Agriculture, Chesterfield County*; Clifford Dickinson, *Historic Landscape Study: Terrain of Cold Harbor Battlefield, June 1, 1864* (Richmond, VA: US Department of the Interior, National Park Service, Richmond National Battlefield Park, 1992), 9–10.

real estate worth $2,400. The 1,200-acre Howlett farm produced 10,000 pounds of tobacco in 1860 as well as corn and oats.[202]

Hanover County

Tobacco plantations extended into the northern part of Hanover County along the tributaries of the Chickahominy, Pamunkey, and James rivers by the eighteenth century. The Totopotomoy Creek park unit contains one of the county's oldest extant dwellings and possibly the oldest gambrel-roof house in Virginia, the **Shelton House**, which dendrochronology dates to between 1724 and 1726.[203] The property is along Totopotomoy Creek, a tributary of the Pamunkey River, and belonged to the Shelton family from the early eighteenth century through 2006. John Shelton owned property on the creek as early as 1704, when he was likely one of very few settlers in the immediate area, and acquired extensive landholdings throughout Hanover County by 1724. He likely engaged in large-scale tobacco farming and cultivation of food crops such as corn. Shelton died intestate in 1725, and his son John II (about 1713–about 1769) inherited his father's property while still a minor.[204] His mother, Elizabeth, received a life interest in the property on Totopotomoy Creek and is believed to have moved to the newly constructed Shelton House by 1728 with her children and second husband, attorney Thomas Prosser.[205] The house, distinguished by its large scale, Flemish-bond brickwork, and very early, if not original, porch chamber above the entrance, is an important example of a substantial farmhouse from the early eighteenth century.

After the deaths of Thomas (by 1751) and Elizabeth Prosser (by 1759) and John Shelton II (about 1769), ownership of the Shelton property at Totopotomoy Creek passed to Joseph Shelton (about 1714–1784), who had his primary residence at a plantation on Owen's Creek in Louisa County. Joseph advertised the Totopotomoy Creek property for sale on September 19, 1777, as

> … about six hundred acres, whereon is a commodious brick dwelling-house with four rooms and a passage upon the first floor, and the same above stairs and in

[202] Robert K. Krick, *Parker's Virginia Battery C. S. A.* (Madison, WI: The University of Wisconsin–Madison, 1975), 269; *Eighth Census of the United States, 1860*; *Eighth Census of the United States, 1860, Productions of Agriculture, Chesterfield County*.

[203] Michael J. Worthington and Jane I. Seiter, "The Tree-Ring Dating of the Shelton House, Richmond National Battlefield Park, Mechanicsville, Virginia," Oxford Tree-Ring Laboratory, August 2023.

[204] Yocum, *Shelton House*, 17–18; Churchill G. Chamberlayne, ed., *The Vestry Book of St. Paul's Parish, Hanover County, Virginia, 1706–1786* (Richmond: The Library Board, 1940), 2, 7, 64, 224–225, 236, 242, 248, 254, 258, 262–263; Library of Virginia, Virginia Land Patents and Grants, Patent No. 11, 232; Patent No. 12, 245; Goochland County Chancery Papers, "Case 1735-002, W. Shelton etc. vs. J. Shelton," and Case 1725 1735-003, J. Shelton vs. J. Shelton," both filed August 20, 1734, Archives and Manuscripts, Library of Virginia.

[205] John Shelton II is documented as living elsewhere in the county from the late 1730s to 1760s. Sometime after 1734, he married Eleanor Parks, the daughter of a well-connected Williamsburg publisher. The couple had four children, and their daughter Sarah married the Revolutionary figure and future governor of Virginia Patrick Henry in 1754. Later secondary sources describe their marriage as taking place in the Shelton House at Rural Plains, but contemporary primary sources do not corroborate this. See Yocum, *Shelton House,* 19–24; Shepard et al., *Archaeological Overview*, 347.

> the cellar, with all convenient outhouses necessary for family, and cleared land sufficient to work eight hands, with a barn and tobacco houses.[206]

He never sold the estate, however, and in the early 1780s employed Stephen Hunter to oversee the plantation. Joseph never married and died a very wealthy man in 1784 with six plantations, including the one in Hanover County. His brother John's son John Shelton III (about 1750–1798) inherited that plantation (then 500 acres) and moved to the Shelton House by 1786 with his second wife, Ann Southall (1760–1830), who received ownership of the property at his death in 1798.[207]

A trace of the former entrance road to the Fontaine family plantation known as Rock Castle[208] is extant in the **North Anna** park unit at the north edge of Hanover County. Peter Fontaine Jr. (1724–1773) and his wife, Elizabeth Winston (1734–1810), established the plantation in 1759 on land on the North Anna River that may originally have been owned by Elizabeth's father, William Winston. The couple had married in 1749 and initially lived in Lunenburg County, where Peter, the son of Reverend Peter Fontaine (1691–1759) and his first wife Elizabeth Fourreau, worked as a surveyor and mapmaker of what was then the Virginia frontier. In 1757, he wrote to his uncle Moses Fontaine:

> I have (*Deo volente*) determined … shortly to remove to my little seat in Hanover, where I propose to employ my small abilities in the education of my three boys, which I shall have the more leisure to attend to after having quitted every kind of public business, and the many avocations which are now a bar to such an employment.[209]

Three years later, Peter wrote from his new home in Hanover:

> The death of my dear father; the business of his whole concerns falling into my hands, my own removal from Halifax and settling in Hanover, the late dismal prospect of our public affairs, with the almost continual sickliness of my own family, and the death of two dear children, and last of all, my having discontinued to ship tobacco home.[210]

Peter Fontaine's 1760 letter reflects the financial difficulties that many Virginia planters faced in the mid-eighteenth century due to fluctuations in the price of tobacco and the British economy. Peter continued to manage his plantation in the 1760s and served as a

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[206] *Virginia Gazette*, Sept 19, 1777, p. 2, col. 3, accessed via Colonial Williamsburg Rockefeller Library Collections, http//research.history.org/DigitalLibrary.cfm).

[207] Joseph Shelton's will directs that the property on Totopotomy Creek should go first to his widowed sister Mary Truehart and, after her death or remarriage, to his nephew John. Records indicate, however, that Mary Shelton Truehart died before December 20, 1779. Her son Daniel owned a plantation on the Chickahominy River and a nearby mill on Beaver Dam Creek within current park lands (see discussion of Mills below). See Shepard et al., *Archaeological Overview*, 346; Yocum, *Shelton House*, 25, 28, A-3.

[208] This property is different from the Rock Castle estate in Goochland County, Virginia, listed in the National Register in 1970 (NRIS 70000798).

[209] Ann Maury, *Memoirs of a Huguenot Family: Translated and Compiled from the Original Autobiography of the Rev. James Fontaine, and Other Family Manuscripts* (New York: George P. Putnam & Co., 1853), 366.

[210] Maury, *Memoirs of a Huguenot Family,* 369.

local justice of the peace and a colonel in the Hanover militia. He may be buried in a small Winston family cemetery on the property. His widow, Elizabeth, continued to live at Rock Castle after his death, and their son William Fontaine (1754–1810) purchased his siblings' shares of the property between 1782 and 1787.[211] William also engaged in land speculation in other parts of Virginia and in North Carolina and Kentucky. By 1800, he had acquired over 3,000 acres in Hanover County, including Beaverdam and Fishing Springs near Rock Castle. William married Anne Morris in 1789 and established a new estate on the Beaverdam tract to the west.[212]

The southern half of Hanover County, encompassing some sections of the **Cold Harbor** park unit, had fewer arable fields than the northern half, likely a result of decreased soil fertility and the prevalence of wetlands and steep stream swales. The light, sandy soils in this area were best suited to growing corn, oats, and vegetables, primarily for subsistence.[213] A portion of the extant **Hooper/Garthright House** in the Cold Harbor park unit dates to the late eighteenth century and was likely associated with a modest upland farm consisting of 100 to 200 acres of fields cultivated with a mix of tobacco and grains. Dendrochronology dates the one-story, three-bay brick section on the east side of the house to 1791–1792.[214] The first iteration of the house likely resembled other small eighteenth-century vernacular residences built in Virginia with one-and-one-half stories, three or five bays, a side-gable roof, end chimneys, two rooms and a center hall on the first story, and an attic with one or two dormers.[215] The house was likely built for Edmond (also spelled Edmund) Hooper (1764–1814), who took over the farm with his wife, Elizabeth (1775–1830), after the death of his father, Thomas (1730–1788).[216]

[211] William's brother Colonel John Fontaine (1750–1792) married Martha Henry, the eldest child of Patrick Henry and his first wife, Sarah Shelton, in 1773 and established his home on one of her father's plantations.

[212] R. Kirby Smith, "The Rock Castle Farm Site: An Update (Hanover County, Virginia)," Archeological Society of Virginia, *Quarterly Bulletin*, Vol. 34, No. 4, 1980, pp. 211–238; Brian H. Nilsson, History of the Land, Find a Grave Memorial ID 31270590, Elizabeth Louise Winston Fontaine, https://www.findagrave.com/memorial/31270590/elizabeth-louise-fontaine; Ward, *1815 Directory*. William Fontaine's Beaverdam estate is documented on Virginia Department of Historic Resources (VDHR) Architectural Survey Form DHR ID 042-0115.

[213] Martha W. McCartney, *Nature's Bounty, Nation's Glory: The Heritage and History of Hanover County, Virginia* (Hanover, VA: Heritage and History of Hanover, Inc., 2009), 143, 145.

[214] Michael J. Worthington and Jane I. Seiter, "The Tree-Ring Dating of the Garthright House, Cold Harbor Battlefield Park, Mechanicsville, Virginia," Oxford Tree-Ring Laboratory, August 2023.

[215] Jones, *Garthright House, Historic Structure Report*, 6; Olausen et al., *National Register Nomination – Richmond National Battlefield Park,* 102.

[216] Edmond's paternal grandfather, James Hooper (about 1694–1754), is interred in the family graveyard 170 ft west of the extant Hooper/Garthright House (outside the park boundary). *The Vestry Book*, 103; *Heads of Families at the First Census of the United States Taken in the Year 1790, Records of the State Enumerations: 1782 to 1785* (Athens, GA: Iberian Publishing Company, 1990), 28; Anne Goodwin, "Hanover Hoopers: Part 1, Thomas Hooper," *Hooper Compass*, Volume 2, Issue 3. February 2001, http://www.hoopercompass.com/pubs/HC2_2011.pdf; Anne Goodwin, Genealogy.com, "Unity Hooper 1734–1807," August 2012, https://www.genealogy.com/forum/surnames/topics/hooper/4220/.

Many of the same eighteenth-century families continued to own the large plantations on current park lands in Hanover County in the nineteenth century. Elizabeth Winston Fontaine died at Rock Castle in 1810, and her son William died at his neighboring Beaverdam plantation the same year.[217] William's son James (1799–1875) inherited Rock Castle when he came of age about 1820 and resided there before his marriage to Juliet Morris (1816–1907) in 1834. He then had a new house (the extant Fontaine Farmhouse on Noel Road/Route 764, outside the park boundary)[218] built just south of the original; the new house was also known as Rock Castle but called Rock Castle II or Fontaine Farm. In November 1836, James advertised for sale a 643-acre tract of "fine tobacco land … heavily timbered with white oak of the best quality for rails and sills for the Rail-road" that contained the original **Rock Castle Ruins** "covered in a few years since."[219] However, he did not sell the property and, in 1850, operated a 643-acre farm worth $10,000 with 400 improved acres that produced wheat (1,700 bushels), corn (2,000 bushels), and tobacco (2,500 pounds). Fontaine also owned $2,300 in livestock, including 25 cattle, 36 sheep, and 90 swine.[220] He more than tripled the plantation's value by 1860, when the census records him as owning $35,000 in real estate and $33,385 in personal property.[221]

Ann Southall Shelton, the widow of John Shelton III, continued to reside in the **Shelton House** on Totopotomoy Creek with her second husband, widowed Revolutionary War soldier Captain Peter Foster (1758–1833).[222] Ann and John's youngest son, Edwin Shelton (1798–1874), married Sarah Oliver (1810–1887) in September 1827 and lived on the plantation with his mother and stepfather. Edwin eventually purchased his siblings' shares of the property, which he referred to as Rural Plain(s) by 1842 and remained at for the rest of his life. He and Sarah had seven children who lived to adulthood, four of whom married and moved to nearby homes between 1852 and 1860.[223] Edwin was interested in education and operated a residential school for young women on the property from 1837 to at least 1842. He primarily pursued farming, however, and added more than 500 acres of adjacent lands to the plantation between 1841 and 1856. The 1860 agricultural census values his property at $18,800 with 488 acres cultivated in wheat, Indian corn, oats, tobacco, and an orchard; 400 unimproved acres; and horses, mules, milk cows, oxen, swine, and sheep.[224] Edwin likely established a family cemetery on the property, where the

[217] Both are buried in a cemetery on the Beaverdam plantation; see Hanover County, Virginia, Genealogy Project, Cemeteries A to G, Beaver Dam Cemetery, https://www.usgenwebsites.org/vagenweb/hanover/cemeteryAG.html.

[218] Virginia Department of Historic Resources (VDHR) Architectural Survey Form, Rock Castle, DHR ID 042-0605.

[219] "For Sale," *Richmond Enquirer*, November 15, 1836, 3.

[220] US Census, *Seventh Census of the United States, 1850, Productions of Agriculture, Hanover County, Virginia*, National Archives and Records Administration, Washington, DC, ancestry.com database.

[221] Nilsson, Find A Grave; *Fourth Census of the United States, 1820*; *Fifth Census of the United States, 1830; Sixth Census of the United States, 1840; Seventh Census of the United States*, 1850; *Eighth Census of the United States, 1860*.

[222] *Third Census of the United States, 1810; Fourth Census of the United States, 1820; Fifth Census of the United States, 1830*.

[223] *Sixth Census of the United States, 1840; Seventh Census of the United States, 1850*; *Eighth Census of the United States, 1860*.

[224] US Census, *Eighth Census of the United States, 1860, Productions of Agriculture, Hanover County, Virginia*, National Archives and Records Administration, Washington, DC, ancestry.com database.

extant **Rural Plains Cemetery Stones** mark the 1855–1856 burials of three of his grandchildren.[225]

The **Cold Harbor** park unit remained a sparsely settled area for much of the nineteenth century. The main road through the area, past the **Hooper/Garthright House**, followed an alignment close to present-day Route 156, except at New Cold Harbor where it converged with roads running southeast from Mechanicsville and northwest from Barkers Mill. Edmond and Elizabeth Hooper still resided at the Hooper/Garthright House in 1810 and may have added a wood-frame second story to the brick building to accommodate their six children. Edmond died about 1814, but Elizabeth continues to appear in county land and census records until her death in 1830, when her household consisted of seven members.[226] By that time, ownership of the farm had been transferred to Elisha Yarbrough Jr., who family records indicate married one of the Hoopers' daughters.[227]

In 1826, Yarbrough executed a deed of trust bequeathing all his personal property, including his "reversionary right title and interest in the estate of Edmond Hooper, dec'd. … one young horse, two Cows, six sheep, [and] … three beds and bedding," to his three infant children (Thomas J., Margaret E., and Unity H.) and their heirs and appointed Joseph Hooper as their guardian.[228] The 1840 census records an Elisha Yarbrough (spelled Garbrough) residing in the area of the Hooper/Garthright House with a family of five.[229]

Elisha's daughter Margaret E. Yarbrough (1823–1896) married Miles Edward Gathright (or Garthright, 1828–1891) about 1849. In 1850, the couple lived in the Hooper/Garthright House with their 1-year-old daughter Mary (1849–1862); Margaret's father, Elisha (age 57 and recorded as a teacher); and James E. Yarbrough (age 14, possibly Margaret's brother). The 1850 census lists Miles as a farmer with $600 in real estate, but he likely worked on a neighboring farm because he does not appear in the agricultural census for that year.[230] By 1860, Elisha Yarbrough had moved to his son Thomas' home in Henrico County, and the Garthrights had three more children living with them on the Hanover farm: Walter (1851–1933), Margaret (1856–1907), and Alice (1860–1934). The

[225] Most interments in the cemetery were moved to Richmond's Hollywood Cemetery in 1952. See Yocum, *Shelton House*, 28–33, 46.

[226] *Third Census of the United States, 1810; Fourth Census of the United States, 1820; Fifth Census of the United States, 1830;* Ward, *1815 Directory*.

[227] Mike Wilson, RootsWeb, "A Wilson Family Tree: Miles Edward Garthright/Margaret E. Yarbrough," https://sites.rootsweb.com/~mlwilson/fam03714.html.

[228] Cocke, *Hanover County Chancery Wills and Notes,* 177. Yarbrough's presumed brother-in-law Joseph Henry Hooper (1807–1852) had married Elizabeth Carleton Haw (1806–1879) and lived on a farm closer to Mechanicsville. See *Fifth Census of the United States, 1830*; "Joseph Hooper," Find a Grave Memorial ID 143649529; *Richmond Dispatch*, February 3, 1895.

[229] Elisha's presumed father Elisha Yarbrough Sr. (1757–1834) is not on the 1815 list of landowners in Hanover County but appears in the 1810 and 1820 county census records for the area as the head of a household of four, all over the age of 25. By 1830, Yarbrough Sr. was in his 70s and resided with one woman in her 40s. See Ward, *1815 Directory; Third Census of the United States, 1810; Fourth Census of the United States, 1820; Fifth Census of the United States, 1830*; *Sixth Census of the United States, 1840*.

[230] Garthright could have worked for Joseph McGee (or McGhee), who operated a nearby 563-acre farm worth $4,000 in 1850. See *Seventh Census of the United States, 1850*; *Seventh Census of the United States, 1850, Productions of Agriculture, Hanover County*.

1860 census records show that Miles had increased the value of his property to include $830 in personal property and a 120-acre farm worth $1,440 that produced wheat, corn, and oats.[231] According to the husband of a former resident, the extant two-story, wood-frame west section of the Hooper/Garthright House was built about 1860 to replace a one-and-one-half-story brick wing.[232] Civil War-era sketches illustrate the house and two or three outbuildings on the property (Figures 3-3 and 3-4).



Figure 3-3. *June 2nd Position nr. Cold Harbor – rifle pits in the front*. Source: Hand-drawn sketch prepared in 1864 by Alfred R. Waud with Hooper/Garthright House in background, Library of Congress Prints and Photographs Division, Washington, DC.



Figure 3-4. Garthright House and outbuildings drawn by a Federal soldier, 1864. Source: Olmsted Center for Landscape Preservation (OCLP), *DRAFT Cultural Landscapes Inventory: Cold Harbor Battlefield* (Brookline, MA: Olmsted Center for Landscape Preservation, National Park Service, US Department of the Interior, 2022), 86, original at Fredericksburg and Spotsylvania National Military Park Library.

[231] *Eighth Census of the United States, 1860*; *Eighth Census of the United States, 1860, Productions of Agriculture, Hanover County*.

[232] Wilson, RootsWeb; *Historic American Building Survey (HABS) VA-76 (sheet 1 of 13) – Gathwright [sic] House, Route 156, Old Cold Harbor, Hanover County, VA,* Library of Congress Prints and Photographs Division, Washington, DC, https://www.loc.gov/pictures/item/va0501.sheet.00001a/.

Members of the Steward (also recorded as Stewart or Stuart) family appear to have owned land along the road between Old and New Cold Harbor by the mid-nineteenth century. In 1850, 46-year-old Daniel Steward is listed as a farmer living near the Garthrights on a 105-acre property worth $600 with his wife, Harriet; four children aged 10–17; and 22-year-old carpenter William H. Steward.[233] The farm produced only 36 bushels of corn on 95 improved acres that year. By 1860, Daniel had $2,500 in real estate and lived with Harriett and two children, while William, listed as a grocer with $2,500 in real estate, had a separate household with his wife, Martha, and five children younger than 10 years old. William also operated a tavern along the main road. Other farms in the area about 1860 included 100-acre properties belonging to Reynolds Parsons and A. D. Woody.[234]

Southwest of the Hooper/Garthright property, near the New Cold Harbor intersection, Pitman Kidd (1755–1808) owned 871 acres that included land within the current boundary of the **Gaines' Mill** park unit at the beginning of the nineteenth century. In 1805, Kidd lived with his second wife, Agnes, in a house (not extant) just southeast of the park boundary. Pitman's daughter from his first marriage to Mary Austin (1763–1796)–– Sarah Bohannon Kidd (1784–1863)––had been born on the property but lived with her maternal grandfather for several years after her mother's death.[235]

Sarah married Irish immigrant Hugh Watt (1774–about 1850) in 1802, and the couple established a farm known as Springfield on the portion of her father's property in the Gaines' Mill park unit. Documentary evidence indicates that the extant **Watt House** was likely built at about the time of their marriage.[236] Sarah and Hugh had five children between 1805 and 1815. In 1850, they lived with their unmarried son, Pitman Kidd Watt

[233] William may have been Daniel's brother. A William H. Stewart (about 1829–1889), son of John Stewart, is buried at Gethsemane Church of Christ Cemetery in Mechanicsville. The 1850 and 1860 agricultural censuses record a John Stewart in Hanover County.

[234] *Seventh Census of the United States,* 1850; *Seventh Census of the United States, 1850, Productions of Agriculture, Hanover County*; *Eighth Census of the United States, 1860*; Lee, *Central Virginia at War*, 68; Genealogy Trails, Hanover County, Virginia, Early Marriages, 2023, http://genealogytrails.com/vir/hanover/marriages.html.

[235] Mary Austin Kidd's father was Revolutionary War veteran John Austin, who had received extensive grants of land in Hanover County and had a plantation on the Chickahominy River near the current Beaver Dam Creek park unit. Pitman and Mary Kidd are buried in a family cemetery east of the Watt House outside the park boundary along with Sarah and her husband Hugh Watt. See Kidd Cemetery, Find a Grave Memorial ID 2602411, https://www.findagrave.com/cemetery/2602411/kidd-cemetery.

[236] The Watt farm appears on a list of 1815 county landowners as the Pitman Kidd estate, 20 miles southeast of the county courthouse. Sarah's father's will indicates that he initially loaned the property to his daughter and left her a life estate that would go to her children after her death. Earlier historians had dated the house's construction to 1836 based on an increase that year in the property's assessed value for tax purposes from $150 to $929, which likely corresponds to substantial improvements made by the Watts at that time. See Sarah Jordan, "Interpretation and Historical Archaeology: Telling Stories of the Past at the Watt Farm, Mechanicsville, Virginia," PhD diss. (College of William and Mary, 2000), 21–22; Ward, *1815 Directory*; William Ronald Cocke III, compiler, *Hanover County Chancery Wills and Notes: A Compendium of Genealogical, Biographical and Historical Material as Contained in Cases of the Chancery Suits of Hanover County, Virginia* (Columbia, VA: William Ronald Cocke III, 1940), 80–81.

(1808–1868), and three-year-old grandson, George Wythe Watt (1847–1912),[237] on a 360-acre farm worth $7,000. Francis Adams owned the former Pitman Kidd house (outside the park boundary) by 1850 and cultivated 150 acres of a 375-acre farm.[238]

Sarah Watt and her son Pitman continued to manage the Springfield farm after Hugh's death in 1854. The 1860 census indicates that she may have taken in a boarder to supplement her income, as "S K Hard, schoolteacher" is listed as part of the household.[239] Sarah's grandchildren later recalled visiting the farm, which by 1860 consisted of 529 acres with about half improved to cultivate wheat, corn, potatoes, oats, and other crops to sell at market. The farm also had fruit orchards, 6 milk cows, 8 beef cows, 17 swine for pork, 2 horses, 3 mules, and 5 oxen.[240] Most of the crops were grown in the bottomland south of the house, and farm buildings such as a smoke house, privy, chicken house, carriage house, and barns surrounded the house on higher ground.[241]

Directly west of the Watts, Dr. William F. Gaines (1804–1874) owned 1,240 acres valued at $30,000 in 1850 and one of the largest farms in Hanover County at the time. Gaines descended from one of the earliest European settlers in Virginia and had moved to the farm, known as Powhite, from King William County between 1840 and 1850. He lived there with his wife, Jane Elizabeth Spindle (1813–1869), and their two daughters, Sallie Garlick (1832–1906) and Frances (Fanny or Fannie) William (1836–1921).[242] By the 1860 federal census, Gaines had more than doubled his real estate to $69,000, and both daughters had married and moved away. Sallie married a distant cousin, William Gaines (1835–1914), in 1855 and moved to his nearby farm called Fairfield (outside the park boundary). Fannie married Seaton Grantland Tinsley (1836–1901) in 1860 and moved to Richmond.[243] According to an 1862 description of Powhite,

> Few more charming places than Gaines' Farm could be found on the Peninsula. A single wheat field contained four hundred and fifty acres, and a delightful grove in rear of the superb old mansion, furnished a cool retreat during the intense heat of the day. The extensive gardens were filled with rare exotics and most beautiful

[237] Jordan, "Interpretation and Historical Archaeology," 21–22. George Wythe Watt was the child of Hugh and Sarah's youngest son, George (1815–1884), and his first wife, who died shortly after George Wythe's birth. His father lived in Richmond and married Sarah (Sally) Haw Hooper (1831–1911), the daughter of Joseph and Elizabeth Carleton Haw Hooper (see footnote 225), in 1852.

[238] *Seventh Census of the United States,* 1850; Jordan, "Interpretation and Historical Archaeology," 74; *Seventh Census of the United States, 1850, Productions of Agriculture, Hanover County.*

[239] *Eighth Census of the United States, 1860*.

[240] *Eighth Census of the United States, 1860, Productions of Agriculture, Hanover County*.

[241] Clifford Dickinson, *Historic Landscape Study: Terrain of Gaines' Mill Battlefield, June 27, 1862* (Richmond, VA: US Department of the Interior, National Park Service, Richmond National Battlefield Park, 1990), 22–25.

[242] *Seventh Census of the United States,* 1850; *Seventh Census of the United States, 1850, Productions of Agriculture, Hanover County*; "Dr. William F. Gaines," Find a Grave Memorial ID 6812192, https://www.findagrave.com/memorial/6812192/william-f.-gaines.

[243] *Eighth Census of the United States, 1860*; "Sallie Garlick Gaines," Find a Grave Memorial ID 7463233, https://www.findagrave.com/memorial/7463233/sallie_garlick_gaines; "Frances William 'Fanny' Gaines Tinsley," Find a Grave Memorial ID 5029473, https://www.findagrave.com/memorial/5029473/frances_william_tinsley.

native plants and trees, and birds of varied and brilliant plumage sported among the flowering shrubs and charmed the air with their lively notes.[244]

Mills

As grain cultivation began to gain popularity, flour mills were established along the James River and its many tributaries. By the late seventeenth century, the Cocke estate at **Malvern Hill** included a flour mill, and John Pleasants had corn mills and a sawmill on property he had acquired at Turkey Island Point.[245] By the mid-eighteenth century, mills, mill dams, and mill ponds dotted the waterways in the region. Most of the land in what is now the **Beaver Dam Creek**[246] park unit was too wet and steep for agriculture, but it was suitable for milling. The earliest reference found thus far to a mill in that area is a description in a 1769 lawsuit that refers to "White's Mill."[247]

Mills became more common throughout the region in the nineteenth century, especially in Hanover County. Property tax records list 15 mills operating in the eastern part of the county by 1814, and an 1827 map depicts multiple mills near the Powhite Swamp and Chickahominy River.[248] John Wood's 1820 map of Hanover County identifies "Trueheart's Mill"/"Truehart's" on the west side of Beaver Dam Creek near the current park unit.[249] Daniel Truehart (or Trueheart, 1716–1782), son of Mary Shelton Truehart (see Shelton House mention above), had inherited land on the Chickahominy River near a crossing 3 miles northwest of the mill site by 1767 and lived there in the late eighteenth century with his wife, Mary (1718–1779), on a plantation known as Meadowbridge (or Meadow Bridge).

Daniel and Mary's son George Washington Truehart (1769–?) inherited the plantation about 1782. An 1835 chancery case indicates that George bought the property called White's Mill "formerly held by John Bell, and once held by William White and Dr. John Adams of Richmond," removed the mill dam, and moved the mill to a different side of the mill pond. He conducted water to the mill by a canal and turned ground formerly covered by the pond into a meadow. Trueheart then obtained land office treasury warrants for 150

[244] George T. Stevens, *Three Years in the Sixth Corps* (New York: D. Van Nostrand, 1870), 65.

[245] James P. C. Southall, "Genealogy of the Cocke Family," *Virginia Magazine of History and Biography* 3, no. 4 (1896):405–414; *Colonial Wills of Henrico County 1677–1737*, Benjamin Weisiger III, ed. (Athens, GA: Iberian Publishing Company, 1996), 35.

[246] Modern maps label the creek as Beaverdam, but historians refer to it as Beaver Dam. See Shepard et al., *Archaeological Overview*, 27.

[247] Cocke, *Hanover County Chancery Wills and Notes*; Mark Druss et al., *Archaeological Investigations at Beaver Dam National Battlefield Park (Ellerson's Mill)* (Richmond, VA: Virginia Commonwealth University, 1977); JMA, *Glendale and Malvern Hill,* 45; Berry, "The Rise of Flour Milling in Virginia," 387, 389; Manarin and Dowdey, *The History of Henrico County,* 114.

[248] Shepard et al., *Archaeological Overview*, 38; Jane Peterson et al., *Phase II Archaeological Evaluation of Sites44HN91 and 44HN277 Associated with the Proposed Route 609 Project, Hanover County, Virginia. William and Mary Center for Archaeological Research, Williamsburg, Virginia* (Richmond, VA: Virginia Department of Transportation, 1995), 19.

[249] Olmsted Center for Landscape Preservation (OCLP), *DRAFT Cultural Landscapes Inventory: Beaver Dam Creek Battlefield* (Brookline, MA: Olmsted Center for Landscape Preservation, National Park Service, US Department of the Interior, 2022), 37.

acres of land and constructed a new dam. Thomas G. Clarke and Edward Sydnor requested that the dam be removed after it caused valuable meadowland to flood.[250]

John H. Ellerson (b. 1802) acquired Truehart's mill between 1840 and 1850 and may have rebuilt it (Figure 3-5). A large square remnant of a mill building foundation from about 1800–1862 is at the southern end of the **Ellerson's Mill** site on the east side of Beaver Dam Creek near the **Old Cold Harbor Road Trace**. **Ellerson's Millrace** runs roughly north from the mill site along the east bank of Beaver Dam Creek to the north side of Cold Harbor Road. Ellerson lived with his wife, Laura, and three children (ages 1, 5, and 15) by 1850, when he was one of six mill owners in the southeastern district of Hanover County with an annual revenue of at least $500. The six grist mills ground corn meal, and one of them ground an additional 500 bushels of wheat. Ellerson's investment in mill

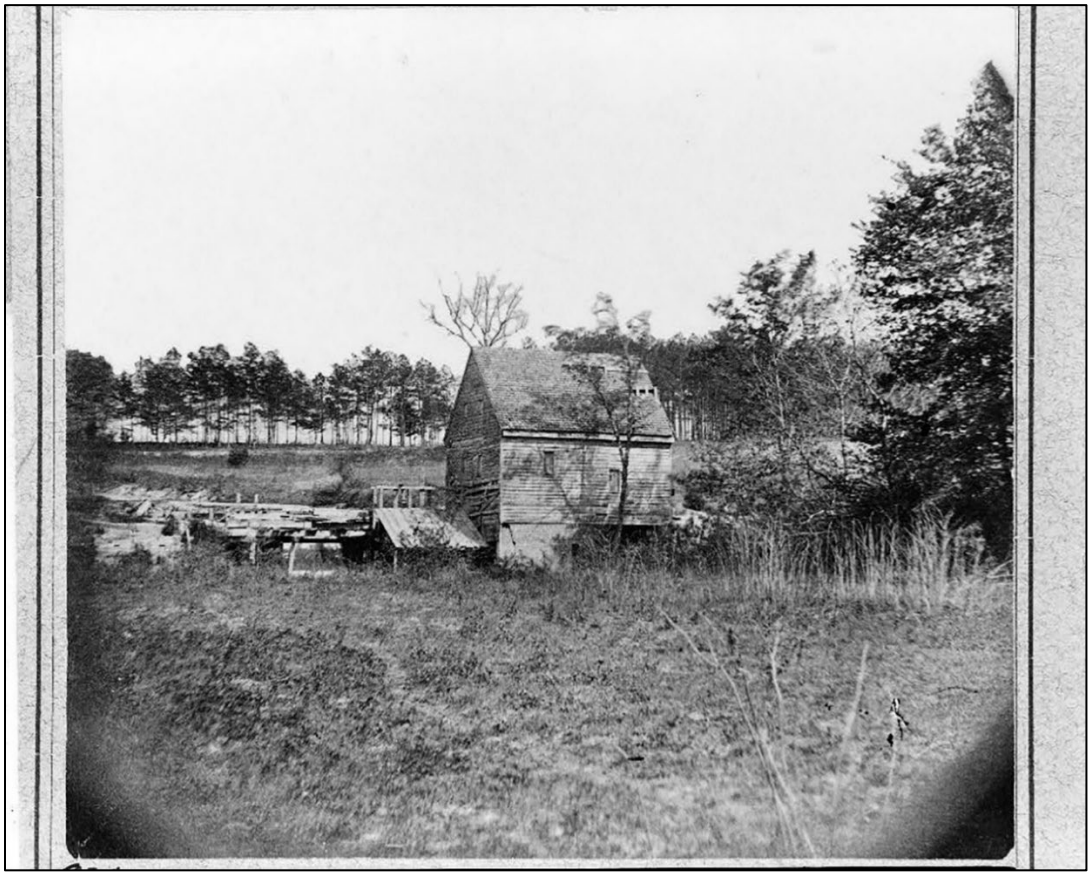


Figure 3-5. *Ellerson's Mill. Battle-field of Mechanicsville, VA* [between 1861 and 1865, printed later].
Source: Civil War Photograph Collection, Library of Congress Prints and Photographs Division, Washington, DC.

[250] Hanover County Historical Society, *Old Homes of Hanover County, Virginia* (Hanover, VA: Hanover County Historical Society Publications, 1983), 32; Intellectual Reserve, Inc., FamilySearch, "Daniel Trueheart 1716–November 1782," 2021, https://ancestors.familysearch.org/en/KVKB-BFW/daniel-trueheart-1716-1782; *Fifth Census of the United States, 1830; Sixth Census of the United States, 1840*; Callie Freed, "Short Stories from the Hanover County Chancery Causes, 1831–1868," *The UncommonWealth: Voices from the Library of Virginia*, 2021, https://uncommonwealth.virginiamemory.com/blog/2021/01/20/short-stories-from-the-updated-hanover-county-chancery-causes-1831-1868/. The chancery case documentation in the Library of Virginia Archives includes an oversized plat that provides a detailed rendering of the property.

buildings, equipment, and land was $1,500, and he ground 10,000 bushels of corn valued at $5,000 annually, which yielded $6,000 of cornmeal. The 1850 census describes Ellerson as a farmer with $10,000 worth of real estate. The 1860 census describes Ellerson (misspelled Ellyerson) as a miller with real estate worth $12,000 and property worth $11,200. The other mill owners in the area included Dr. William F. Gaines, whose grist mill on Powhite Creek (not extant) on his eponymous farm (described above) had the same yield as Ellerson's mill in 1850.[251]

Other mills were also in Henrico and Chesterfield counties in the nineteenth century. The **Hobson/Frayser/French Grist Mill Dam** in Henrico County was an earthen berm spanning Western Run at the northern end of the Malvern Hill Battlefield, is associated with a grist mill that stood on the west bank of the creek about 1814–1862. The location may have been a mill site since the late seventeenth century, when Richard Cocke's 1665 will appointed his son Thomas to look after a mill on Malvern Hill. Early nineteenth-century land records for the area indicate the site as Hobson's mill, possibly belonging to Mathew, Samuel, or William Hobson residing nearby. Francis Frayser appears to have acquired the former Hobson mill by 1826. Thomas French acquired the mill and 214 acres from Frayser's widow, Elizabeth, in 1851 and operated the mill until shortly before the Civil War.[252] By 1860, **Carter's Mill Road** ran southeast to a sawmill on James W. Binford's property (possibly the mill site on Turkey Island Creek, outside the park boundary, formerly owned by the West family) that employed 10 laborers and produced lumber worth $4,000.[253] In Chesterfield County, the Howlett farm may have included a mill on the south side of Proctor's Creek depicted in Civil War-era maps of the area.[254]

BLACK EXPERIENCES

As eloquently stated in a 2019 report on the history of the Westham Burying Ground at the University of Richmond,

> it is important to approach any exploration of the enslavement era and its aftermath with an understanding that documentary evidence detailing the lives of enslaved people does not exist in proportion to their numbers. In antebellum records, the biographical information that is available is most often an outgrowth of the enslavement system itself … women, men and children could go from birth to death to burial and never appear in the historic record.[255]

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[251] *Seventh Census of the United States, 1850*; *Seventh Census of the United States, 1850, Products of Industry, Hanover County*, National Archives and Records Administration, Washington, DC, ancestry.com database; *Eighth Census of the United States, 1860*.

[252] JMA, *Glendale and Malvern Hill,* 51.

[253] US Census, *Eighth Census of the United States, 1860*, *Productions of Industry, Henrico County, Virginia*, National Archives and Records Administration, Washington, DC, ancestry.com database.

[254] Shepard et al., *Archaeological Overview*, 324.

[255] Lauranett L. Lee and Shelby M. Driskill, *"Knowledge of This Cannot Be Hidden": A Report on the Westham Burying Ground at the University of Richmond*, December 28, 2019, https://equity.richmond.edu/about/foundational-work/inclusive-excellence/report-pdfs/burying-ground-report.pdf, 10.

Decennial censuses for the early nineteenth century record a larger increase in the number of white residents in the Richmond area than in the number of Black residents.[256] However, the pre-Civil War censuses record only the numbers of men and women enslaved by a head of household. The 1870 census is the first to list Black people by name with the rest of the population. Thus, many more Black individuals likely lived in the area than appear in the censuses. Even free Black residents, whose names do appear in the earlier census records, often left little documentary evidence of their lives.

Land tax records, probate inventories, newspaper notices, other ephemeral documents, and archeological evidence were reviewed for the narrative in this section, which in some cases incorporates educated speculation. Extant pre-Civil War resources in the park that are associated with free and enslaved Black residents consist of the main farmhouses and agricultural fields where they worked; roads they traveled; and archeological remnants of their housing such as foundations, middens, privies, wells, and other yard features.

Enslaved Labor

The large plantations owned and operated in the colonial period had enormous, and potentially very expensive, labor requirements. Tobacco farming, with estimated fieldhand to acreage ratios of 1:1 to 5:1, was more labor intensive than general farming.[257] The earliest landowners had access to a steady supply of labor brought to the colony as part of the headright system. White laborers from England, Scotland, and Ireland typically worked off the cost of their passage over several years in indentured servitude to the owners of the land grants. In the 1640s and 1650s, the wealthiest planters in Virginia had about 40 laborers, and the typical less affluent but still profitable landowners (often holding positions in county government) had six or fewer.[258]

Published tax and probate data document a gradual increase in the use of enslaved labor by colonial planters as the English enslaved trade developed throughout the seventeenth century. Virginia's enslaved population rose from 300 to 3,000 between 1650 and 1680, primarily within the most elite class of planters. Colonial government officials claimed most of the Black headrights listed in land patents or certificates from 1635 to 1660, and the wealthiest landowners likely had more enslaved labor than indentured servants by the late 1650s. By 1671, about 250 planters who held prominent governmental positions, including the Cockes of Henrico County, had almost exclusive access to the colony's enslaved population. This trend increased after the 1672 charter of the Royal African Company began providing colonial tobacco merchants with enslaved persons on a contract basis. Wealthy planters on the upper James River claimed 68 percent of the Black headrights in land patents and certificates from 1670 to 1700, while 25–40 percent of an average planter's total number of workers were white servants, and most ordinary settlers had no household laborers. Planters in Henrico County also enslaved Native Americans (see *Relationships with Native Peoples* below).[259]

[256] Sheldon, "Richmond, Virginia: The Town and Henrico County to 1820," 33.

[257] JMA, *Glendale and Malvern Hill,* 39, 41; Morgan, *American Slavery*.

[258] John C. Coombs, "The Phases of Conversion: A New Chronology for the Rise of Slavery in Early Virginia," *The William and Mary Quarterly* 68, no.3 (2011):332–360.

[259] Coombs, "The Phases of Conversion;" JMA, *Glendale and Malvern Hill.*

The people enslaved by the first plantation owners within current park lands generally remained enslaved by subsequent generations of the same families. The earliest record of slavery at **Malvern Hill** is Richard Cocke's will of 1665, which granted one or more of his enslaved persons to each of his heirs, including his son Thomas. Thomas Cocke fathered a daughter named Sue with an unknown enslaved woman and in his will gave Sue and a weaving loom she used to his second wife, Margaret. Margaret willed Sue's children James and John to her granddaughter from her first marriage and her godson, respectively, at her death in 1718.[260] Tax and census records indicate that typically 10–20 enslaved people lived at Malvern Hill under the Cocke family ownership. Probate records for neighboring planters, including John Whitlock and Charles Keesee, document the presence of 8–10 enslaved individuals on those properties by the end of the eighteenth century.[261]

Plantation owners in Hanover County also benefited from enslaved labor. In 1735, **Shelton House** resident Thomas Prosser filed suit as guardian to Joseph and William Shelton to recover enslaved workers from their older brother John Shelton II, who had inherited the individuals enslaved by his father. Ten to twelve enslaved workers resided on the property under Joseph Shelton's ownership about 1770–1784. County records identify 12 by name: Dick, Frank, Jinny, Milley, Charles, Shadrack, Billey, Ned, Nat, Dave, Sarah, and Sam. Property records document 8–18 unnamed black persons enslaved by John Shelton III from 1785 to 1798.[262] At the smaller Hooper farm to the south, Thomas Hooper and his son Edmond paid tithes on 11–12 enslaved people from 1783 to 1786/1787.[263] At the **Rock Castle** and Beaverdam plantations to the north, Elizabeth Fontaine and her son William recorded 17 Black enslaved laborers in their combined households in 1782 (see *Hanover County* above).[264]

From its beginnings in 1733, the port city of Richmond served as an ideal site for transatlantic vessels carrying enslaved Africans to dock because of the continuous demand for labor on the surrounding tobacco plantations. Over 11,000 African men, women, and children, largely from Guinea, the Gambia, and Sierra Leone, landed in Richmond as part of the transatlantic slave trade.[265] As Virginia planters increasingly turned from cultivating tobacco to less labor-intensive crops (e.g., grain) toward the end of the eighteenth century, their need for field labor decreased. Many planters, particularly in the Tidewater region east of the park, sold large numbers of enslaved persons out of state to more recently settled areas in the lower Southern states with a higher demand for labor.

[260] McDonald et al., *National Register Nomination – Malvern Hill (2020 Update)*, 31–32; Southall, "Genealogy of the Cocke Family," 406-408; Library of Virginia, Wills and Estate Records Index: Henrico County 1662–1800.

[261] Hammond, *Glendale Battlefield*, 25–29.

[262] Yocum, *Shelton House*, 18, 25, 27–28; *Land and Personal Property Tax Records for Hanover County, 1782–1798*, on file at the State Records Center, Library of Virginia.

[263] William Ronald Cocke III, compiler, *Hanover County Taxpayers Saint Paul's Parish, 1782–1815* (Columbia, VA: William Ronald Cocke, 1956), 64–65.

[264] *Land and Personal Property Tax Records for Hanover County, 1782–1798*.

[265] Shipping Records in Elizabeth Donnan, ed., *Documents Relevant to the Slave Trade to the United States* (Washington, DC: Carnegie Institution, 1931–1935), 4:172–234, cited in Equal Justice Initiative (EJI), "The Transatlantic Slave Trade," 2022, https://eji.org/report/transatlantic-slave-trade, 75.

After the federal government abolished the importation of enslaved Africans from overseas in 1808, Richmond became one of the largest markets for the domestic slave trade. By the middle of the nineteenth century, one visitor described the city as "the head-quarters of slavery." Enslavers auctioned up to 50 Black people per day at one of the city's public auction sites, and other transactions occurred in marginal spaces throughout the city such as hotel basements.[266]

Black laborers, primarily enslaved persons, also came to dominate the unskilled labor force in Richmond's growing manufacturing industries. By 1850, 35 percent of working-age Black residents in the city labored at difficult tasks in tobacco factories and warehouses, and the percentage increased to 50 percent of all working-age Black males in the city by 1860. Enslaved Black laborers also worked in local flour mills, on the railroads, and on the docks. Others worked in the local iron foundries like Tredegar Iron Works, which enslaved several workers and rented others from local enslavers; the company's owner, Joseph R. Anderson, personally enslaved as many as 28 individuals and leased them to the company. When Anderson started placing enslaved workers in skilled factory positions in May 1847, a group of white Tredegar employees (including many recent Irish and German immigrants) protested by organizing a strike. The strike highlighted the growing tensions between rural agricultural and urban industrial life in the South and the potential ramifications of such conflicts for the institution of slavery:

> The principle is advocated for the first time, we believe, in a slaveholding State, that the employer may be prevented from making use of slave labor. This principle strikes at the root of all the rights and privileges of the master and, if acknowledged, or permitted to gain a foothold, will soon wholly destroy the value of slave property.[267]

Anderson responded by replacing the strikers with new workers and placing enslaved Black workers in even more high-level positions. Emmanuel Quivers, an enslaved man, worked as a foreman at Tredegar until 1852.[268]

In the counties surrounding Richmond, planters were more likely to hire out their enslaved labor force to employers in the growing capital city or to other farmers who needed intermittent seasonal labor than to sell them at auction.[269] The farms within current park lands continued to rely on enslaved labor through the Civil War. However, property owners also engaged in the domestic slave trade as their labor needs changed. In 1820, Nathaniel Nelson's household at Malvern Hill included 25 enslaved persons. As administrator of his father's estate, Nelson advertised for sale in the *Richmond Enquirer*

[266] Charles Richard Weld, *A Vacation Tour to the United States and Canada* (1855), 288–317, cited in EJI, "The Transatlantic Slave Trade," 75, 81; Scott Nesbit, Robert K. Nelson, and Maurie McInnis, "Visualizing the Richmond Slave Trade," Digital Scholarship Lab, University of Richmond, https://dsl.richmond.edu/civilwar/slavemarket_essay.html, 1.

[267] *Richmond (Virginia) Times and Compiler*, May 28, 1847.

[268] Claudia Goldin, *Urban Slavery in the American South, 1820–1860: A Quantitative History* (Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press, 1976); "Tredegar Iron Works: Industrial Slavery," American Civil War Museum, June 30, 2021, https://acwm.org/learn/educator-resources/tredegar-iron-works-industrial-slavery/.

[269] Allan Kulikoff, *Tobacco and Slaves: The Development of Southern Cultures in the Chesapeake, 1680–1800* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1986), 431.

"8 or 10 Likely Negroes at Auction … among them two excellent female house servants and a girl accustomed to the kitchen."[270] Malvern Hill's owner in 1840, George Poindexter, had 16 enslaved persons in his household. Before selling the plantation in 1850, Poindexter conveyed furniture, farm tools, and "the following negro slaves to wit: one old woman named Nelly, one young woman named Nelly, and her child, and a man named Peter, and the future increase of the females" to neighboring farmer Benjamin Pollard, who sold them at auction.[271]

Between 16 and 25 enslaved persons typically resided on the larger farms around Malvern Hill, and at least half of those likely worked in the fields. The Thomas J. West household at Bellfield (see *Henrico County* above) included 20 enslaved individuals in 1820, 24 in 1830, 23 in 1840, and 19 in 1850.[272] West's neighbors James Binford and Dr. Jonathan Mettert had comparable numbers of enslaved laborers. Binford's household included 11 enslaved persons in 1850 and 21 in 1860, and Mettert enslaved 17 people in 1850.[273] At the **Mettert Farm Complex** site, archeologists have identified the sites of two cabins where Mettert's enslaved workers likely lived on a ridgetop approximately 1,000 feet north of the main house.[274]

Cornelius Crew may have purchased some of Mettert's enslaved persons with the farm; the 1860 census records Crew with 16 enslaved persons.[275] The Frayser farm at the crossroads to the north operated with labor provided by 17 enslaved persons in 1820, 37 in 1830, and 24 in 1840. When Nathaniel Nelson returned to the area and purchased the Frayser property in 1850, he had 19 enslaved persons and added 4 more by 1860. The Nelson's enslaved workers likely resided in a row of buildings along a farm lane near the main house. Even those with smaller farms in the area, such as John Whitlock Jr., counted enslaved people in their households. Whitlock had at least eight enslaved persons in 1840, and land surveys indicate the presence of a separate cemetery for them on his Long Bridge Road property. His neighbor, Christopher Garthright, enslaved seven people in 1860.[276]

The much larger plantation of New Oxford in the area of the Drewry's Bluff park unit belonging to Richard Claiborne Gregory in the first half of the nineteenth century relied on one of the largest enslaved labor forces in Chesterfield County. Numbering 50 in 1810, the size of the property's labor force remained the same under Augustus Drewry's

[270] "8 or 10 Likely Negroes at Auction," *Richmond Enquirer*, December 29, 1818.

[271] "Sale of Negroes, Stock, Household Furniture, &c.," *Richmond Enquirer*, August 30, 1850.

[272] *Fourth Census of the United States, 1820*; *Fifth Census of the United States, 1830*; *Sixth Census of the United States, 1840*; US Census, *Seventh Census of the United States, 1850, Slave Schedules*, National Archives and Records Administration, Washington, DC, ancestry.com database.

[273] *Seventh Census of the United States, 1850, Slave Schedules*; US Census, *Eighth Census of the United States, 1860, Slave Schedules*, National Archives and Records Administration, Washington, DC, ancestry.com database.

[274] The north quarters was plowed under after its demolition; only the south quarters yielded any foundation remains. See JMA, *Glendale and Malvern Hill*, 251–253.

[275] *Eighth Census of the United States, 1860, Slave Schedules*.

[276] *Fourth Census of the United States, 1820*; *Fifth Census of the United States, 1830*; *Sixth Census of the United States, 1840*; *Seventh Census of the United States, 1850, Slave Schedules*; *Eighth Census of the United States, 1860, Slave Schedules*.

ownership in 1860.[277] Large personal property values recorded in the census often included the value of the enslaved individuals and thus reflected the number of those individuals held by property owners such as the Howletts in the area of the Parker's Battery park unit. Dr. John Howlett had 30 enslaved persons in his household in 1860 and $9,875 of personal property, and his father, William, had 45 enslaved persons and $23,765 of personal property.[278]

Likewise, the Fontaine family had large numbers of enslaved persons living on their Hanover County plantations. William Fontaine had 36 at Beaverdam in 1810, and his nephew James had 31 at Rock Castle in 1840, 38 in 1850, and 51 in 1860. A bill of sale dated February 26, 1825, records James Fontaine's purchase of "Viney and her two children" from a Nathaniel Thompson of Louisa County for $575.[279] The enslaved population of the Shelton plantation to the south increased from 22 in 1810 to 27 in 1820 and 31 in 1830 and stayed consistent at 30 from 1840 to 1860.[280]

A 2009 archeological survey behind the Shelton House at the **Rural Plains Complex Site** identified the likely remains of a detached kitchen and semicircle of enslaved quarters that appear in Civil War-era sketches (Figure 3-6) and accounts.[281] Oral history and 2024 cadaver dog and remote sensing investigations also suggest the presence of unmarked burial grounds for enslaved people on the property.[282] The Dr. Gaines plantation near Cold Harbor had by far the most enslaved laborers in southeast Hanover County, with 48 recorded in 1850 and 74 in 1860. Gaines' personal property value of $54,575 in 1860 included the large number of individuals he enslaved.[283]

The number of enslaved persons in each household also fluctuated with labor needs. Edmond Hooper enslaved 27 individuals in 1810, comparable to the number at the Shelton plantation, but his widow Elizabeth's household included only 18 enslaved persons in 1820 and 1830. The size of the property's farming operation likely decreased under the ownership of Elisha Yarbrough Jr., who enslaved only three persons in 1840, possibly the "three negroes, Viz: Daniel, Jenny, and Martha" mentioned in his 1826 deed of trust.[284] A 70-year-old enslaved woman and a 10-year-old enslaved girl lived with Elisha's daughter Margaret and her husband Miles Garthright in 1850.

[277] Barnes and Wiedenfeld, *Bellwood (2011 Update),* 8–9.

[278] *Eighth Census of the United States, 1860*.

[279] Guide to African American Manuscripts in the Collection of the Virginia Historical Society, https://virginiahistory.org/sites/default/files/uploads/AAG.pdf.

[280] Yocum, *Shelton House*, 28–33.

[281] Dutton & Associates, *Cultural Landscape Report, Part 1: Totopotomoy Creek Unit*, 71–109.

[282] William Shelton, interview with David Ruth and Robert E. L. Krick, June 24, 2005 (Transcript on file, Richmond National Battlefield Park, Richmond, VA); Eric Kolenich, "Enslaved workers' graves may be on Hanover farm," *Richmond Times-Dispatch*, July 7, 2024.

[283] *Seventh Census of the United States, 1850, Slave Schedules*; *Eighth Census of the United States, 1860, Slave Schedules*; *Eighth Census of the United States, 1860*.

[284] Cocke, *Hanover County Chancery Wills and Notes,* 177.



Figure 3-6. *At Totopotomoy Creek, Va.* Source: Hand-drawn sketch prepared in 1864 by Alfred R. Waud with Shelton House and associated outbuildings, Library of Congress Prints and Photographs Division, Washington, DC.

Conversely, the Watt family's enslaved labor force grew as their farm expanded. The 1810 census lists Hugh Watt as enslaving 12 persons. By 1850, 20 enslaved persons (12 males and 8 females) between the ages of 6 and 47 worked on the property.[285] The Virginia Slave Birth Index records 11 individuals (Matilda, Louisa, Bosha, Sally, Christiana, two unnamed females, and four unnamed males) born into enslavement on the Watt farm between 1853 and 1866. Matilda, born on October 3, 1853, may be the Matilda Davenport who appears as a 17-year-old farm laborer in the 1870 census. Christiana, born in May 1856, may be the Christiana Carington listed as a 15-year-old domestic servant in 1870.[286] Documentary and archeological research indicate that the enslaved families lived in at least three dwellings on the Watt farm: a "big house" quarter directly east of the Watt House and two field quarters near the property's northeast boundary.[287]

Not all nineteenth-century residents of the current park lands enslaved people. In the late 1850s and early 1860s, a group of white Hanover County farmers in the area around Cold Harbor opposed Virginia's secession from the United States and the Confederate cause and met in their houses to discuss their political opinions. Some, like grocer and tavern-owner William H. Steward, were not enslavers; others, such as farmer Joseph Adams, enslaved a small number of people.[288] Steward later claimed, "My father disinherited me

[285] *Third Census of the United States, 1810.*

[286] Brenden Bowman, "Expanding the Narrative at Gaines Mill, Hanover County VA," Designing the Parks, 2020, https://designingtheparksoclp.wordpress.com/2020/09/03/expanding-the-narrative-at-gaines-mill-hanover-county-va/. Such speculative conclusions offered by NPS/OCLP intern Brenden Bowman demonstrate the type of research that can be used to uncover more detailed information about enslaved individuals.

[287] Dickinson, *Terrain of Gaines' Mill Battlefield*, 24–25; Jordan, "Interpretation and Historical Archaeology," 54; LCA, *Gaines' Mill Cultural Landscape Report and Archeological Survey*.

[288] Adams had only three enslaved persons in his household in 1850. *Seventh Census of the United States, 1850, Slave Schedules*.

on account of my being so strong on the Union side." Neighbors, including Miles Garthright, testified that Steward sold alcohol before and during the Civil War to "Negroes and low people" and purchased grain and bacon from them, "which they had stolen from their masters." About the time of the secession vote, Steward hung a wood sign painted with the US coat of arms and the motto "E Pluribus Unum" outside his tavern, which was also a polling place.[289]

Newspaper advertisements from the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries document the persistent issue of runaways among the enslaved communities in the Richmond area. On October 11, 1780, plantation owner Daniel Trueheart of Hanover County advertised a reward of up to 1,000 pounds (£) in the *Virginia Gazette* for a runaway man named Tom, described as

> a likely Virginia born black fellow, about 28 years of age, over the middle stature, and stout, has a slouching walk, a remarkable set of white teeth, has lost the tip end of one of his fore fingers (on which hand I have forgot) the nail grows almost of the end, speaks with a smiling countenance; carried with him a variety of clothes, amongst which was a serge wove white woolen jacket, two county linen shirts, a pair of linen overalls, and a black wool hat. I expect he will endeavour to pass for a freeman, and try to make his way to the southward; it is very probable he may offer to enlist as a soldier [the American Revolution being underway], is remarkably sensible, and if not closely examined, will be sure to deceive. Whoever takes up and conveys home the said fellow, if taken within 20 miles of home, shall have 100 £ if over 20 miles, 200 £ if over 50, 500 £ and if out of this state, the above reward.[290]

Seventy-five years later in the same part of the county, farmer and mill owner John H. Ellerson advertised a $10 reward in Richmond's February 21, 1855, *Daily Dispatch* for the apprehension of a freedom-seeking enslaved man named Scott, "between 50 and 60 years of age, stout made, about 5 feet 8 inches high, and ginger-bread color" wearing "a new woolen sack coat and pantaloons, blue linsey vest, cloth cap, and army shoes" and "probably lurking somewhere in Caroline or King William."[291] In October 1859, the *Daily Dispatch* reported the "most brutal and daring murder" at Ellerson's mill of a "negro man named Scott," possibly the former freedom seeker. A man named "Len. Bowers," said to be "not a white man," was charged with Scott's murder.[292] The 1860 census records nine enslaved people (three men, two women, and four girls) in Ellerson's household.[293]

[289] William H. Stewart Claim, Hanover County, Virginia, in Settled Case Files of the Southern Claims Commission, RG 217, NARA, transcribed in Lee, *Central Virginia at War*, Research Binder, 174–179.

[290] *The Geography of Slavery in Virginia*, Tom Costa and the Rector and Visitors of the University of Virginia, 2005, http://www2.vcdh.virginia.edu/gos/index.html.

[291] *Richmond Daily Dispatch,* February 21, 1855.

[292] *Richmond Daily Dispatch*, October 18, 1859.

[293] *Eighth Census of the United States, 1860.*

Free Black Communities

The free Black community known as Gravel (or Gravelly) Hill that developed in the nineteenth century at the edge of the Glendale and Malvern Hill park units originated with the Quaker community established there in the last quarter of the seventeenth century. These Quakers played a significant role in Virginia's passage of the Manumission Act of 1782. Henrico County plantation owner John Pleasants had converted to the Religious Society of Friends, or Quakerism, shortly after he had arrived in Virginia and was an active and prominent member of the church. He filed numerous petitions and reports on behalf of the church in response to fines levied by the colony's Anglican civil authorities. Pleasants established a meetinghouse (not extant) and burial ground on his property at Turkey Island Point (outside the park) and left both to the Friends in his 1690 will. The members registered in the county as the Curles Neck Meeting in 1692. By 1703, Quakerism had spread north to the area around White Oak Swamp, where William Porter hosted meetings at his house. The community built a second meetinghouse at White Oak Swamp in 1723, and the road between the two meetinghouses became known as Quaker Road.[294]

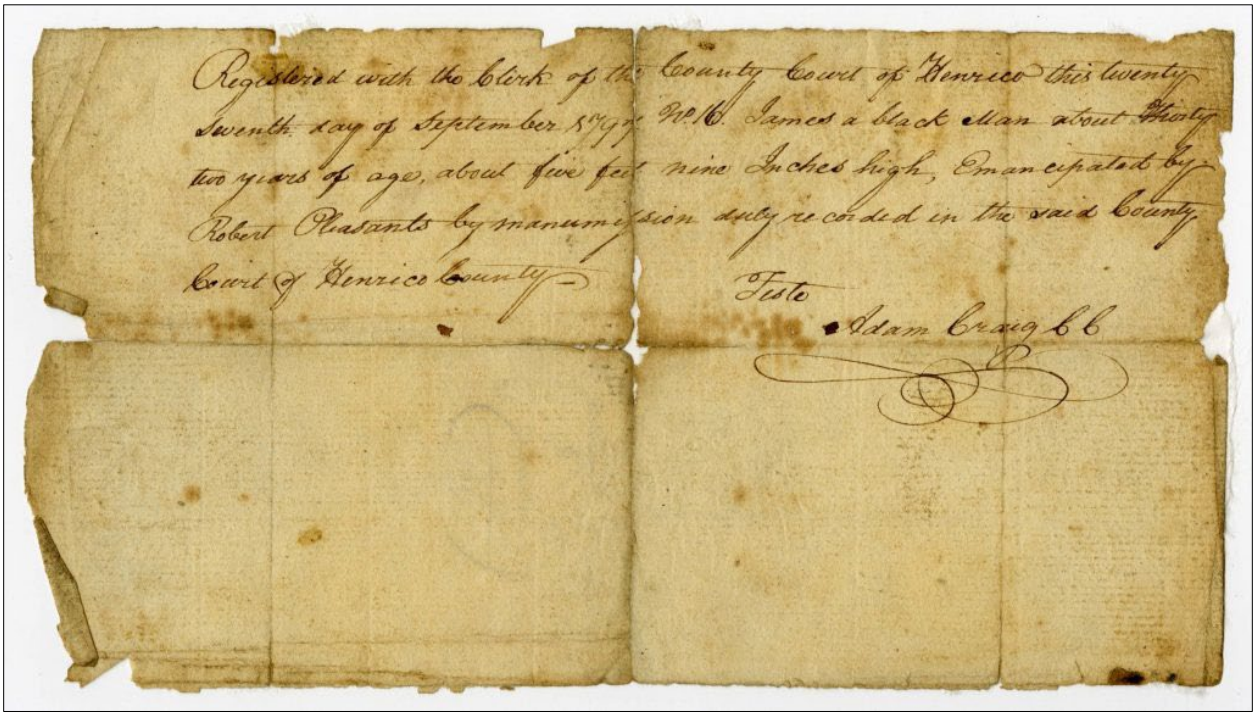
John Pleasants participated in and benefited from the practice of enslavement, including working as a colonial agent for a London trading house that imported enslaved individuals to Virginia. He and his descendants increased their land and number of enslaved laborers as they amassed wealth over the decades and continued to hold prominent positions within the Virginia Society of Friends. By 1750, Pleasants' grandson John Pleasants III (1697–1771) owned plantations in several Virginia counties sustained by over 200 enslaved workers.

In the second half of the eighteenth century, however, a growing Quaker reform movement opposed wealth and slavery, and John III and his son Robert (1723–1810) began to voice anti-slavery views in the Richmond area. Robert Pleasants spent time among prominent Quaker families in Philadelphia, where the church's abolitionist movement began in the 1750s and where his brother Samuel (1737–1807) lived with his wife, Mary Pemberton (1738–1821).[295] In his will dated August 11, 1771, John III included a request for the emancipation of those he had enslaved and their descendants when Virginia law permitted manumission. At the time, only the colonial legislature could free enslaved persons and only for "meritorious service" or by removing them from the country, so John's children technically inherited his enslaved persons. Nonetheless, Robert Pleasants illegally freed his enslaved individuals and allowed them to live rent-free on his Gravel Hill plantation on Long Bridge Road. He also became a staunch advocate for the repeal of the manumission prohibition in Virginia and organized other Virginia Quakers to do the same. Their efforts resulted in the passage of "An act to authorize the manumission of slaves" in May 1782, and Robert immediately recorded deeds of emancipation in Henrico County Court for the 78 individuals he had previously freed (Figure 3-7).[296]

[294] Hammond, *Glendale Battlefield*, 22.

[295] Renee M. Savits, *A Guide to the Pleasants Family Papers, 1745–1898*, A Collection in the Library of Virginia, 2004.

[296] William Hardin, "Virginia Society for Promoting the Abolition of Slavery, The," In *Encyclopedia Virginia*, Virginia Foundation for the Humanities, 2020, https://encyclopediavirginia.org/entries/virginia-society-for-promoting-the-


Registered with the Clerk of the County Court of Henrico this twenty Seventh day of September 1797 A.D. James a black man about thirty two years of age, about five feet nine Inches high, Emancipated by Robert Pleasants by manumission duly recorded in the said County Court of Henrico County —

Test

Adam Craig C C

Figure 3-7. Certificate confirming that a man named James, formerly enslaved by Robert Pleasants, registered with the Henrico County Court as a free Black on September 27, 1797, in accordance with a state law passed in 1793. Source: County Court of Henrico Records, Library of Virginia, Richmond, VA, cited in William Hardin, "Virginia Society for Promoting the Abolition of Slavery, The." In *Encyclopedia Virginia*. Virginia Foundation for the Humanities, 2020, https://encyclopediavirginia.org/entries/virginia-society-for-promoting-the-abolition-of-slavery-the/.

Manumissions increased following the passage of the 1782 act, and in 1784 Virginia Quakers voted to expel members who refused to free their enslaved persons. By 1790, Virginia's free Black population had doubled to 12,766, and Henrico County was one of five Virginia counties with over 450 free Black residents. That year, Robert Pleasants petitioned the Virginia General Assembly to enforce the dictates of his father's will on those members of his family who had not followed through with them. The Assembly declined to intervene in the case, which ultimately went to the state Appeals Court. Future Supreme Court Justice John Marshall represented Robert and the enslaved people in *Pleasants v. Pleasants*, the largest legal case involving manumission in US history. In 1799, the court ruled in favor of Robert, resulting in freedom for at least 400 individuals formerly enslaved by members of the Pleasants family. These individuals and their descendants included Anthony Harris, who became a prosperous wagoner in Richmond by 1850, and James Woodson, a boilermaker who owned three lots in the city by 1860.[297]

In 1790, Robert Pleasants also formed the Virginia Society for Promoting the Abolition of Slavery, modeled after the Pennsylvania Society for Promoting the Abolition of Slavery and for the Relief of Free Negroes Unlawfully Held in Bondage established in 1784. He

abolition-of-slavery-the/; William Hardin, "Robert Pleasants (1723–1801)," In *Encyclopedia Virginia*, Virginia Foundation for the Humanities, 2021, https://encyclopediavirginia.org/entries/pleasants-robert-1723-1801/.

[297] Hardin, "Robert Pleasants (1723–1801);" Latimore, "Always a Minority," 27–29; *Seventh Census of the United States, 1850*; *Henrico County (Va.) Register of Free Negroes, 1831–1844, 1844–1852, 1852–1863*, Library of Virginia, http://rosetta.virginiamemory.com:1801/delivery/DeliveryManagerServlet?dps_pid=IE3502650.

recruited other anti-slavery Quakers from the region as well as members of the local Methodist community encouraged by their minister, Bishop Francis Asbury, to support the cause. Asbury helped to establish Methodist congregations, including the **Willis Methodist Church** near Gravel Hill, throughout the Middle Atlantic region from 1771 until his death in 1816.[298] Despite Pleasants' efforts, only about 100 people joined the Virginia Society. The group petitioned the state and federal legislatures to act on emancipation in the 1790s and assisted with legal cases involving enslaved persons. However, after Pleasants died in 1801, the Virginia Society stayed active for only a few years.[299]

Robert Pleasants believed that education was critical to enable former enslaved persons to become productive citizens and created the first school for free Black people in Virginia. His will stipulated the following:

> I have had a school house built on my land called Gravely Hills Tract containing by estimation 350 acres, the use and profits of whereof I give that use forever, or so long, as the monthly meeting of friends in this County may think it useful, for the benefit of the Children and descendants of who have been Emancipated by me, or other black Children whom they may think proper to admit.[300]

Local Quakers, with assistance from the free Black people living at Gravel Hill, operated the school there for over 20 years. Monthly meeting records document that the "tenant residents" of the community contributed to the salary of Henry Crew, who taught 18 students at the school in 1808, and of Crew's brother James, who taught there in 1812. The number of Quakers living in the area decreased by the mid-1820s, and the school closed about 1824. Ownership of the property reverted to Pleasants' granddaughter Mary Mosby under the terms of his will.[301]

Free Black communities similar to Gravel Hill formed in and around Richmond, Petersburg, and Alexandria after the 1782 Manumission Act. A free Black neighborhood about 10 miles west of Richmond known as Jonestown existed from about 1810 to about 1850. Virginia's free Black population increased from 30,570 in 1810 to 54,333 in 1850—or from 3 percent to 4 percent, respectively, of the state's total population and about 8 percent of Henrico County's residents during that 40-year period.[302]

However, events like the attempted enslaved insurrection of 1801 known as Gabriel's Rebellion, combined with general white suspicion of groups of free Black people, resulted in restrictive legal measures directed against them, enslaved people, and their supporters.

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[298] JMA, *Glendale and Malvern Hill*, 40.

[299] Hardin, "Abolition of Slavery."

[300] Will of Robert Pleasants, February 6, 1801, probated in Henrico County, Virginia, April 6, 1801, *Pleasants Family Papers 1745–1898,* Robert Alonzo Brock Collection, Huntington Library, San Marino, CA, cited in William Fernandez Hardin, "Litigating the Lash: Quaker Emancipator Robert Pleasants, the Law of Slavery, and the Meaning of Manumission in Revolutionary and Early National Virginia," PhD diss. (Vanderbilt University, 2013), 328.

[301] Hardin, "Litigating the Lash," 328–330.

[302] Sheldon, "Richmond, Virginia: The Town and Henrico County to 1820," 33; Latimore, "Always a Minority," 27–28.

Virginia's General Assembly passed a bill requiring the removal or reenslavement of all Black persons manumitted after 1806, and in 1811 the Richmond City Council made it illegal for Black people to ride in carriages unless they worked for a white person. Following Nat Turner's rebellion in 1831, the Assembly enacted a series of laws further restricting the rights of free Black people and motivating many to leave the area. Most migrated north, although some immigrated to Liberia or moved elsewhere in Virginia and passed as white. The number of free Black residents in Henrico County peaked in 1850 at 1,263.

The community around the former Gravel Hill School remained a free Black enclave through the Civil War, with 10–20 free Black families living and working on their own or on tenant farms surrounded by larger white-owned farms worked by enslaved laborers. The western part of the **Glendale Battlefield** site contains historic fields and farmstead sites associated with nineteenth-century residents of Gravel Hill, including the **Richard Sykes Farmstead** and **Isaac Sykes Farmstead** archeological sites on the north side of Long Bridge Road.

Brothers Isaac (b. about 1800) and Richard (b. about 1803) Sykes (also spelled Sikes) may have descended from those freed by Robert Pleasants in 1782 or moved to the area from elsewhere. They first appear in Henrico County records in 1829, when they each purchased 20 acres from John Whitlock Jr. for $50 apiece. The adjoining parcels were opposite Whitlock's homestead and immediately east of the vacant Gravel Hill School (not extant). The brothers expanded their farms in 1842 by purchasing an additional 25 acres each from Whitlock; Isaac's additional land included a portion of the former school tract. Free Black households living near the Sykes brothers in 1830 included those of James Carter, Benjamin Robinson, Samuel Robinson, Caleb James, Rebecca James, York James, Patsy Cooper, and Jesse Smith.[303]

The subsequent decennial census records document many of the same family names persisting in the Gravel Hill area. They also reflect multiple generations of one family living near each other. In 1850, Isaac and Harriet Sykes' daughter Isabella lived with her husband, Cornelius Atkins (also spelled Adkins), and their children on part of her father's property. By 1860, Isaac and Harriet's son Henry also lived on the family farm with his wife, Polly, and their four children. Harriet Sykes' sister Dilcy and her husband, William James, possibly related to the James families in the area in 1830, had a farm adjoining the Sykes properties. In 1850, Richard Sykes lived with his wife, Mary Ann, and two children, 12-year-old Nancy Adkins and 11-year-old John James Adkins (possibly Mary Ann's children from a previous marriage). Isaac Pleasants (1826–about 1890), a descendant of Robert Pleasants' former slaves, married Nancy Atkins in 1855 and purchased a 20-acre farm in the area with money he had earned as a bricklayer and plasterer.[304]

James Carter remained in the Gravel Hill area through at least 1860; the 1853 county map shows a farm labeled "J. Carter" northeast of Glendale along the Charles City Road. The 1850 census indicates that Susan Brown, a 48-year-old free Black woman (possibly the

[303] *Fifth Census of the United States, 1830.*

[304] *Seventh Census of the United States, 1850*; *Eighth Census of the United States, 1860*; Latimore, "Always a Minority," 89; William James Claim, Henrico County, Virginia, in Settled Case Files of the Southern Claims Commission, RG 217, NARA, transcribed in Lee, *Central Virginia at War*, Research Binder, 183–185.

widow of London Brown listed in the 1840 census), lived near the Sykes families with her children and 19-year-old Ellouise Pleasants.[305] An S. Brown is noted on an 1853 county map on the south side of Long Bridge Road next to the Whitlock farm, but no members of the Brown family appear in the 1860 census for the area.

Hampton Wardfork purchased 43 acres near Gravel Hill in the 1830s and appears in the census through at least 1860, when he resided with Frederick and Minerva Wardfork and their two sons and owned $600 of real estate and $100 of personal property. His farm is likely the property labeled "Hampton" on the 1853 county map, west of the Sykes farms. In 1850, the Wardfork household also included 40-year-old laborer Joshua Pleasants.

Other members of the Pleasants, Atkins, and James families resided near the Wardfork farm. In 1850, 45-year-old Jane Pleasants lived with James and Milly Gwyn and 5-year-old Prymus A. Pleasants next to Alexander and Ann James with two kids and 18-year-old Louisa Pleasants. James Gwyn and Alexander James recorded themselves as laborers. Ten years later, the census records Joseph and Nancy Atkins living next to Joseph's brother William and his family, with 25-year-old Emily Pleasants in their household.[306]

In 1850, Isaac Sykes had $180 of real estate, and his brother Richard had $390. Ten years later, Isaac had increased his real estate to $1,300 and had $300 of personal property, and Richard had $600 of real estate and $400 of personal property. The 1860 agricultural census records Isaac growing corn, oats, potatoes, cabbage, and onions on 25 improved acres and owning one horse, one cow, and three hogs. Richard grew oats, wheat, and corn and had one horse, one mule, one cow, and five hogs. Gravel Hill residents who did not work as farmers, including Henry Sykes, William James, and William Atkins, labored as charcoal burners or haulers in the iron manufacturing industry, possibly at the Tredegar Iron Works or another iron factory in Richmond.[307]

RELATIONSHIPS WITH NATIVE PEOPLES

As discussed in Chapter Two, when explorers from Spain and England arrived in the Chesapeake Bay region during the second half of the sixteenth century, they encountered an emerging paramount chiefdom in a land the Algonquian-speaking people called Tsenacomoco. This polity is referred to as the Powhatan paramount chiefdom and was ruled by Mamanatowick, Wahunsenacawh, also known as Chief Powhatan. Wahunsenacawh died in 1618 and, thus, did not witness the effects of European colonial expansion on the Indigenous communities that comprised his political alliance.

[305] The Browns may have been related to Robin Brown, a 40-year-old man formerly enslaved by Francis Frayser, owner of the large farm at the Glendale crossroads in the 1820s and 1830s, and emancipated in Frayser's 1836 will. Henrico County court records include a petition from Brown, who wished to remain in the Commonwealth with his wife and two children after his manumission. The Virginia General Assembly referred the petition to committee. See Library of Virginia, Digital Library on American Slavery, Race and Slavery Petitions, Petition #11683711, https://dlas.uncg.edu/petitions/petition/2748/, accessed March 2023; *Sixth Census of the United States, 1840*.

[306] Keily, *Henrico County, 1853*; *Seventh Census of the United States, 1850; Eighth Census of the United States, 1860.*

[307] Hammond, *Glendale Battlefield,* 31; *Seventh Census of the United States, 1850; Eighth Census of the United States, 1860*; *Eighth Census of the United States, 1860, Productions of Agriculture, Henrico County.*

While the chiefdom continued to expand under the leadership of his successors for a short period, its influence in the region was much diminished by 1677, when the last treaty between Virginia Indians and the English Crown was negotiated. Colonial treaty negotiations between the Virginia tribes and the Virginia colony between 1614 and 1677 had established a political government-to-government and nation-to-nation relationship that remains one of the most important relationships in existence today in the Commonwealth. During the colonial period, this political relationship was referred to as a tributary relationship.

Colonial relationships with Virginia's Indigenous peoples traversed a wide spectrum of complicated and sometimes contradictory experiences. These ranged from violence and exploitation at one end of the spectrum to a sporadic recognition of the value Virginia Indians brought to the colony and an understanding that they had certain inalienable rights (within boundaries defined by the colonial government) to self-governance and to the lands that sustained them at the other end of the spectrum. This chapter section details the role European colonial expansion played in the lives of Virginia Indians and the relationships forged from these interactions, intersections, and experiences. In particular, it describes the multi-layered dynamics of these relationships as they encompassed warfare and violence, diplomacy and treaty negotiations, political engagement, exploitation, and colonial tactics of assimilation, as well as economic connections.

Political Relationships

The Powhatan paramount chiefdom, built from an alliance of over 30 tribal communities, had engaged with Europeans (Spanish and English) for several decades before Jamestown's establishment. Thus, Wahunsenacawh, and the chiefdom's allied werowances and werowansqaus, were adept and knowledgeable in their dealings with the colonists who established Jamestown. The interactions between Virginia Indians and the English—conflict, diplomacy, and treaty negotiations—formed complicated political relationships that resulted in the unique tributary status of Virginia Indian people, which still serves as the cornerstone for recognizing tribal sovereignty and self-determination in the twenty-first century.

At the onset of European colonial expansion, the English colonists regarded Virginia's Indian communities as possible allies. However, tensions grew as the colony encroached on the territories and livelihoods of Tribal communities. The earliest conflicts in the colony of Virginia are referred to as the Anglo-Powhatan Wars. The first fighting occurred in 1609–1613 and was attributed to protracted English violence against Powhatan-allied villages as the colonists became desperate for food and their survival.[308] Historians believe that the marriage between Pocahontas and John Rolfe, and her conversion to Christianity in 1614, served as a brokerage of peace between the Powhatan paramount chiefdom and the English colony.[309]

[308] J. Frederick Fausz, "The Powhatan Uprising of 1622: A Historical Study of Ethnocentrism and Cultural Conflict," PhD diss. (College of William and Mary, 1977), 267–291; Frederic W. Gleach, *Powhatan's World and Colonial Virginia: A Conflict of Cultures* (Lincoln, NE: The University of Nebraska Press, 1997), 129.

[309] Helen Rountree and Randolph Turner, *Before and After Jamestown: Virginia's Powhatans and their Predecessors* (Gainesville, VA: University Press of Florida, 2002), 145.

The Chickahominy also sought to negotiate peace during this time. In 1614, they approached the colony to establish an alliance with the English. The agreement they negotiated with additional terms required by the English established one of the first treaties in colonial North America. The Chickahominy agreed to be treated as subjects of the English Crown, to provide two bushels of corn for every adult Chickahominy male, and to send warriors to aid in the colony's protection.[310] The agreement is believed to have taken place at the Chickahominy Village of Mamanahunt.

Following the death of Wahunsenacawh in 1618, the chiefdom descended to his brother Itoyatan (1617–about 1629) and close kin Opechancanough (1617–1644), former King of Pamunkey and war-chief of the Powhatan paramount chiefdom.[311] Dealing with continued hostilities and encroachment, Opechancanough led a coordinated attack in 1622 against the English settlements up and down the James River. The attack killed almost one fourth of the colonial population; destroyed the settlements of Henrico Town, Varina Farm, and Tuckahoe; and resulted in the abandonment of other settlements.[312] Despite this drastic blow and a negotiation of peace with the allied Powhatan tribes in 1632,[313] English violence and colonial expansion into tribal territories did not cease. Another coordinated attack initiated in 1644 under the leadership of Opechancanough ended with the murder of the paramount chief that same year.[314]

As the new paramount leader following the 1644 hostilities, Pamunkey werowance Necotowance negotiated and signed a treaty agreement with the English in 1646. Referred to as the *Treaty of Peace with Necotowance, King of the Indians*, the agreement consisted of 11 articles. The most important articles established the tributary relationship between the government of the Indians and the Crown and guaranteed the habitation and land-use rights of the tribes still subsumed under the Powhatan chiefdom. Specifically, the agreement set aside Indian lands on the north side of the York River and south side of the Blackwater River[315] where the tributary tribes could live, hunt, fish, gather, and farm.[316] In establishing these boundaries, the English attempted to reorient the tribes' subsistence practices to the north and south of the James River settlements where the majority of the English colonists were establishing plantations.

[310] Raphe Hamor, *A true discourse of the present estate of Virginia, and the successe of the affaires there till the 18 of June 1614* (Albany, NY: J. Munsell, 1615, facsimile reprint 1860), 13.

[311] Gleach, *Powhatan's World and Colonial Virginia*, 3, 6, 142, 167. Succession of leadership in the Powhatan chiefdom ran through Powhatan's matrilineal descendants of the Pamunkey Indian Tribe.

[312] Helen Rountree, ed., *Powhatan Foreign Relations, 1500–1722* (Charlottesville, VA: University Press of Virginia, 1993), 190.

[313] Rountree, ed., *Powhatan Foreign Relations*, 168.

[314] Rountree and Turner, *Before and After Jamestown*, 154.

[315] The Blackwater refers to a river tributary to the Chowan River, which feeds the Albemarle Sound in present-day North Carolina. The Blackwater River runs in the present-day Virginia counties of Southampton, Suffolk, Isle of Wight, and Surry.

[316] Alden T. Vaughan, ed., *Early American Indian Documents: Treaties and Laws, 1607–1789*, vol. 4 (Frederick, MD: University Publications of America, Inc., 1979), 68.

By creating the "precursor to the reservation system," the 1646 peace treaty established a historic precedent that influenced the United States Indian policy of forcing Indigenous communities onto reserved tracts of land through the late 1880s.[317] It also created a diplomatic event in Virginia referred to as the Annual Treaty Tribute, which the Pamunkey and Mattaponi (the two tribal communities that maintain reservation lands in the state) still honor over three centuries later.

As an acknowledgment of the tributary relationship, the 1646 agreement required Indian leaders to submit an annual tribute of "twenty beaver skins" to Virginia's governor each fall.[318] This tribute, which now consists of presenting a deer and gifts of artwork made by tribal citizens, has occurred annually since 1646, except during periods of remittance negotiated with the Commonwealth or during periods of war, including the American Revolution and the Civil War. Each year, the tribes complete a pilgrimage to the Commonwealth's capitol and meet with Commonwealth authorities to present tribute as a reminder to the state of its treaty relationship and obligations. These obligations include upholding and recognizing rights such as the tribes' tax-exempt status and their right to identify as Indigenous peoples.

In addition to tributary requirements, the 1646 treaty obligated tributary tribes, as subjects of the English Crown, to provide military backing to support the Virginia colony's ongoing conflicts with tribes not bound to treaty agreements that colonists viewed as a threat. An infamous example of the tributary tribes being called to arms is known through local tradition as the Battle of Bloody Run. In 1656, the Virginia Assembly commissioned Colonel Edward Hill to remove a displaced northern tribe, referred to as the Ricahecrians,[319] that had established a settlement at the falls of the James River.[320]

To prepare for potential violence, Hill brought 100 English militia and secured the same number of Pamunkey warriors led by Chief Totopotomoy, who was summoned to fulfill the stipulations outlined in Article I of the 1646 treaty. However, due to failed communication and coordination with Hill, the Ricahecrians gained the upper hand and killed Totopotomoy and several Pamunkey warriors. Richmond historians debate the actual location of the conflict, but local tradition and nineteenth-century maps place the fighting adjacent to a stream that flowed south between **Chimborazo Hill** and Libby Hill (in the northeastern part of present-day Richmond) to Gillies Creek.[321]

[317] Vaughan, ed., *Early American Indian Documents*, 67–70.

[318] Vaughan, ed., *Early American Indian Documents*, 68.

[319] The Ricahecrians or Rickahockans, as they were called by the English, had been displaced from the shores of Lake Erie in present-day New York during the Beaver Wars and had migrated to central Virginia.

[320] Gleach, *Powhatan's World and Colonial Virginia*, 189–191.

[321] The stream's path followed a ravine between present-day North 30th and 31st streets near Chimborazo Park. "Richmond Story: The Battle of Bloody Run," November 25, 2020, https://thevalentine.org/richmond-story-the-battle-of-bloody-run-2/, accessed May 23, 2023; Charles S. Morgan, Plan of Richmond (Henrico County), Manchester & Springhill, Virginia. Richmond. Map on file, Library of Virginia, Richmond. The 2019 *Archaeological Overview and Assessment* (Shepard et al.) for Richmond NBP provides more historical context on the battle and its potential connection to Chimborazo.

The disastrous outcome of the battle and rising tensions between the tributary tribes and the settlers forced Virginia's colonial government to enact a law in 1662 outlining the rights of Indians, including their rights to land and natural resources. The law became a legal template for the management of the tributary tribes and contained provisions that were later adopted in the 1677 Treaty of Middle Plantation.[322]

Peace lasted only until 1675, when skirmishes and retaliations between Indians in Maryland and colonists in Virginia escalated with the murder of an Indian King and ten of his men in Maryland. Colonists in the region felt the colonial government based in Jamestown failed to intervene quickly enough in the conflict. James River planter Nathaniel Bacon Jr. (1647–1676) rallied to their cause and led a campaign against the Indians against the wishes of the Virginia governor, Sir William Berkeley.[323] Bacon's campaign repeatedly attacked the tributary or "friendly" tribes in Virginia, including the Pamunkey, although

> it was well knowne to the whole country that the Queene of Pamunkey[324] and her People had nere at any time betrayed or injuryed the English. But among the Vulgar it matters not whether they be Friends or Foes Soe they be Indians.[325]

The rebellion began to subside after Bacon's death in 1676.[326] Three commissioners sent by King Charles to investigate found no fault with the tributary Indians and negotiated a peace treaty in 1677 to renew the diplomatic relationships between the Crown and the tribes. The treaty, referred to as the Articles of Peace and the Treaty of Middle Plantation, reaffirmed the status of the tributary tribes and attempted to set right the English colonists' abandonment of the 1646 treaty's terms. Chiefs from several tribes, including the Wayonoke, Nottoways, Nansemond, and Pamunkey, signed it.[327]

The agreement included 21 articles that outlined various aspects of the relationship between the colony and Virginia's tributary tribes. Key components included the confirmation of Indian lands; the restriction of English settlement or farming within 3 miles of any Indian town; and the guarantee of Tribal rights to natural resources,

[322] William Walter Hening, ed., *Statutes at Large: A Collection of All the Laws of Virginia*, vol. 2 (New York: W.W. Gray, 1823), 2, 138–143.

[323] Wilcomb Edward Washburn, *The Governor and the Rebel: A History of Bacon's Rebellion in Virginia* (Chapel Hill, NC: University of North Carolina Press, 1957); Warren M. Billings, "The Causes of Bacon's Rebellion: Some Suggestions," *Virginia Magazine of History and Biography* 78:409–435.

[324] The tribes still allied with the Powhatan chiefdom were now under the leadership of Cockacoeske, Queen of Pamunkey, the wife of Totopotomoy, who became the paramount leader following Totopotomoy's death at the Battle of Bloody Run.

[325] Vaughan, *Early American Indian Documents*, 79.

[326] James Crewes, who owned land within the current Glendale park unit, served as one Nathanial Bacon's lieutenants and was hanged for his participation in the rebellion. See Gerald Steffens Cowden, "The Randolphs of Turkey Island: A Prosopography of the First Three Generations, 1650–1806," 2 vols., PhD diss. (College of William and Mary, 1977), 64.

[327] Vaughan, *Early American Indian Documents*, 82–87.

specifically the right to fish, hunt, and gather plants outside their land holdings.[328] The treaty also reaffirmed the military alliance between the colony and the treaty's signatories and limited the ability of colonists to keep tributary Indians as servants, harbor any vagrant or runaway Indians, or enslave Indians.[329] The 1677 treaty was renegotiated in 1680 to add signatories, including the tribal leaders of the Appamattuck, Iroquoian-speaking Meherrin, and Siouan-speaking Monacan and Saponi.[330]

Treaties established a special political rapport between the English Crown and the Virginia tribes that created a government-to-government relationship under which signatory tribes held a special status as tributaries. Tributary status offered protections for Virginia Indians, who could count on some defense against their enemies, assurances against further incursion by colonists, and safeguards against the enslavement of tribal members. Protections also included the recognition of some rights to their lands and livelihoods as hunters and watermen in the Tidewater region.[331]

Tributary status also created restrictions for Virginia Indian communities in colonial Virginia. Tributary Indians were prohibited from carrying certain weapons and were required to provide the colonists with military support when asked. Their movement was generally restricted to assigned lands, and they had to wear badges or special clothing and obtain certificates to travel safely throughout the colony (a precursor to pass laws that predominated in the Commonwealth from the eighteenth century to the end of the Civil War).[332] Tributary Indians were often placed on lands where they could serve as a strategic military buffer between colonists and non-tributary tribes that were considered "hostile" groups.[333]

The tributary Indian treaties with colonial European governments acknowledged and enshrined the sovereignty of the Indian nations. Indian peoples who were forced or voluntarily moved away from their reservations were no longer considered subjects of the tribal nations and were instead subject to colonial legal systems, which introduced strict race-based classifications and designations. By the beginning of the eighteenth century, the unique tributary status of Virginia's treaty tribes, coupled with the increased mobility of Indians due to their growing integration in the colonial economy, gave rise to further codification of Indian status.

Laws passed in the colonies throughout the eighteenth century governed the movement and behavior of Blacks, Indians, and individuals of mixed ancestry; defined the parameters of servitude and enslavement; and dictated the limited civil rights afforded to

[328] By the time the Treaty of Middle Plantation was negotiated in 1677, Pamunkey Neck was the established land reserve for several Powhatan-allied tribes, including the Pamunkey, Mattaponi, Chickahominy, and Rappahannock. Other reserved lands included two tracts of land for the Nottoway that also became home to many Nansemond families and individuals.

[329] Vaughan, *Early American Indian Documents*, 4, 82–87.

[330] Helen Rountree, *Pocahontas's People: The Powhatan Indians of Virginia through Four Centuries* (Norman, OK: University of Oklahoma Press, 1990), 101.

[331] Vaughan, *Early American Indian Documents*, 68, 82–87.

[332] Hening, *Statutes at Large*, vol. 2, 141–142.

[333] Gleach, *Powhatan's World and Colonial Virginia*, 186, 194.

non-white people.[334] These laws were the antecedents to what was considered racism based on science and to policies that served as the basis of the eugenics movement. They also created a legal paradox for Indians in the Commonwealth. On the basis of their residence (i.e., whether they resided on or off an Indian reservation), Virginia Indians could be classified as protected tributaries, indentured servants, enslaved persons, or free people of color.

Virginia tribes that retained reservation lands continued their traditional forms of self-governance throughout the eighteenth century while upholding their rights under the negotiated treaties through the provision of the aforementioned Annual Treaty Tribute to Virginia's governor. However, in the mid-eighteenth century, the General Assembly appointed trustees for each tribe that continued to hold vested lands, including the Pamunkey, Nottoway, Mattaponi, and Gingaskin. The trustees initially oversaw the sale or lease of Tribal lands; however, by the beginning of the nineteenth century, they also served as intermediaries for disagreements between the Tribal government and the Commonwealth.[335]

Exploitative Relationships

The exploitation that also defined the relationships between the Virginia colony and Virginia tribes included the colony's breaking of treaties regarding land rights, the use of indentured servitude and enslavement, and forced assimilation through Indian education. English approaches to assimilation, Indian education, militaristic conquest, and Indigenous labor (indentured and forced) were intertwined and implemented to subdue the colony's Indigenous population and to attain one of the colony's stated goals: the "propagating of Christian religion, to such people, as yet live in darkness."[336]

Tribes continually faced difficulties regarding the rights to their ancestral and reservation lands. Between the signing of the 1677 Treaty of Middle Plantation and the start of the American Revolution in 1775, the Pamunkey Indian tribe had to legally address over 14 cases related to settler encroachment within the 3-mile buffer around their Indian Town; only 1,200 acres remained under the tribe's control by 1828.[337] The Rappahannock Indian tribe was forcibly removed from areas within its homeland between 1651 and 1705 and

[334] These laws included the 1705 Black Codes and subsequent eighteenth-century legislative rulings by the General Assembly. See, for example, Hening, *Statutes at Large*, vol. 4, 126–128, and Emory G. Evans, "A Question of Complexion: Documents Concerning the Negro and the Franchise in Eighteenth-Century Virginia," *The Virginia Magazine of History and Biography* 71, no. 4 (Oct. 1963), 411–415.

[335] Hening, *Statutes at Large*, vol. 8, 433–434; John Pendleton Kennedy, ed., *Journals of the House of Burgesses, 1770–1772* (Richmond, VA: Colonial Press, E. Waddey Co., 1906), 60; H. R. McIlwaine, ed., *Legislative Journals of the Council of Colonial Virginia*, vol. 3 (Richmond, VA: The Colonial Press, Everett Waddey Co., 1919), 1415; Rountree, *Pocahontas's People*.

[336] William Waller Hening, ed., The Statutes at Large; Being a Collection of All the Laws of Virginia from the First Session of the Legislature, in the Year 1619(New York: R. & W. & G. Bartow, 1823), 1:57–66.

[337] Vaughn, *Early American Documents*, 4, 146; H. R. McIlwaine, ed., *Journals of the House of Burgesses, 1702/3–1705, 1705–1706, 1710–1712* (Richmond, VA: Colonial Press, E. Waddey Co., 1912), 98; H. R. McIlwaine, ed. *Executive Journals of the Council of Colonial Virginia*, *May 1, 1705-October 23, 1721*, Vol. 3 (Richmond, VA: Colonial Press, E. Waddey Co., 1914), 81, 133, 198, 220, 272, 355–356, 359, 465, 466, 487; Petition of the Pamunkey Indians, 1710, Box 144, Folder 22, Accession 36138, Colonial Paper, Library of Virginia, Richmond, VA.

never received full payment for the lands it chose to sell.[338] By the end of the eighteenth century, only four tribes retained reservation lands in Virginia: the Pamunkey and Mattaponi in King William County, the Nottoway in Southampton County, and the Gingaskin (also known as the Accomac) in Northampton County.

Some of this land loss can be attributed to the tribal sale of tracts of reservation lands, but most resulted from unchecked settler encroachment and outright theft. The allotment system for reservation lands, first adopted by colonists with the Nottoway in 1735 and then prevalent in the nineteenth century, further threatened the tenuous tribal control of Indian lands. Under the allotment system, white male landowners elected as trustees to tributary tribes divided communal tribal lands into smaller parcels that were distributed to individual tribal members. Once the lands were divided, the Commonwealth could take the lands and sell them to non-tribal members. Based on assimilation initiatives and devised to strip tribes of their tributary status, allotment in Virginia effectively divested a tribe of its lands held in common and divided the core community where the tribal government sat.[339]

For tribal communities in Virginia to maintain tributary status, the majority of reservation residents had to be classified as "Indian." Beginning in the late eighteenth century, white landowners who resided near reservations tried to deny this classification to tribal communities as a way to divest them of what remained of their lands. Like many tribal communities across the Commonwealth, the Gingaskin intermarried with other free people of color. In petitions submitted to the General Assembly in 1784 and 1787, the tribe's white neighbors argued that this practice of intermarriage changed their classification and status as Indians to free negroes and, thus, their reservation lands should be allotted and sold.[340] The General Assembly responded by ordering the Northampton County Court to appoint trustees for the tribe. The trustees convinced reservation residents to agree to allotment of the remaining lands by 1812, and the General Assembly passed an act to do so the following year.[341]

In 1836 and 1843, white King William County residents similarly argued that the Pamunkey should not be classified as Indian and should be removed from their reservation.[342] The timing of these attempts to remove the Pamunkey, who were known to

[338] "A Brief History of the Rappahannocks," https://www.rappahannockTribe.org/tribal-history/, accessed May 19, 2023.

[339] Rountree, *Pocahontas's People*, 179–186, 192–196.

[340] Northampton County land records relating to Gingaskin Indian lands, 1795–1815, Local government records collection, Northampton County Court Records, The Library of Virginia, Richmond, VA; Legislative petition asking that Gingaskin lands be sold and the money be appropriated for the maintenance of the Gingaskins, October 10, 1787, *Legislative Petitions of the General Assembly, 1776–1865*, Library of Virginia, Richmond, VA.

[341] Sarah Nerney, "The Gingaskins of Virginia," *The Uncommonwealth,* Library of Virginia, https://uncommonwealth.virginiamemory.com/blog/2011/11/16/the-gingaskins-of-virginia/, accessed May 23, 2023.

[342] Pamunkey Indian Tribe, February 18, 1836, Petition, June 20, 1898, Virginia State Archives, Executive Papers, Governor Littleton H. Tazewell, Richmond, VA; Pamunkey Indian Tribe, November 26, 1842, Petition, July 23, 1842, Virginia State Archives, Legislative Petitions, King William County, Richmond, VA, Box 135, Folder 3; Pamunkey Indian Tribe, January 12, 1843, Petition, Virginia State Archives, Legislative Petitions, King William County, Richmond, VA.

harbor freedom-seeking enslaved people, was related to increased white fears of uprisings among enslaved populations after Nat Turner's 1831 rebellion in Southampton County. The Pamunkey tribal government thwarted each allotment effort, including two more by Virginia lawmakers in 1852 and 1895.[343] In 1852, the Virginia Senate passed "An Act Concerning Indian Lands in the County of King William" that attempted to separate the Pamunkey and the Mattaponi from their lands.[344] Presented as favorable to the tribes because it gave them "equal rights" with their white neighbors, the bill stated that Indian lands "shall be held by the same titles and with no other privileges or restrictions upon their right of enjoyment, than now are, or may be hereafter conferred upon or required of the free white owners of real estate in this Commonwealth." The House did not pass the proposed bill, however, and the Pamunkey and Mattaponi remain the only two reservations in the Commonwealth.[345] They are also the two oldest continually occupied reservations in the United States.

Without their tributary status, Virginia's Indian populations were subsumed within the general population and classified according to the race-based, increasingly binary designations of Black or white that were set forth by the Commonwealth. Divested of most tribal lands, Virginia's Indian population generally became more mobile. Many tribal members sought economic opportunities in urban centers such as Norfolk, Petersburg, and Richmond. They also migrated to cities along the East Coast, including Baltimore, Philadelphia, and New York City. At the same time, they maintained close ties to their core tribal communities.

The rich soils and wetlands of the Tidewater floodplains supported fish, game, and edible and medicinal plants that sustained the survival of Virginia Indians for thousands of years before the arrival of European colonists. Within less than a century, the Indians lost access to much of their ancestral territories. Displacement, forced migration to the western edges of the Tidewater, and land loss forced many Indigenous peoples to live and work, sometimes against their will, with the colonists. To force tributary Indians to comply with treaties and to promote assimilation, the English demanded that Indian children serve as indentured servants in English households. These indentures offered settlers the opportunity to convert Indian children to Christianity and teach them the ways of English life. Because many Virginia Indians either witnessed or were subject to forced forms of labor in the colony, Indian parents feared that indentures would funnel their children into the slave market.[346] For example, colonists sold hostages and prisoners of war into enslavement to fund their role in the Anglo-Powhatan Wars and forced Indian children taken as hostages to serve as indentured servants.[347] As a result, Virginia Indians

[343] "More Cases of Smallpox," *Staunton Spectator*, January 9, 1895.

[344] "An Act Concerning Indian Lands in the County of King William," Senate of Virginia: Bills Referred to the House of Delegates, 1852–1861, LVA Accession 29185, Box 1, Folder 1852/1853, Library of Virginia, Richmond, VA; "Virginia Legislature," *Alexandria Gazette*, February 27, 1852.

[345] "Virginia Legislature," *Alexandria Gazette*, April 23, 1852.

[346] Kristalyn Marie Shefveland, "The Many Faces of Native Bonded Labor in Colonial Virginia," *Native South* 7 (2014):68–91; Edmund S. Morgan, *American Slavery, American Freedom: The Ordeal of Colonial Virginia* (New York: W.W. Norton and Company, 1975).

[347] C. S. Everett, "'They shall be slaves for their lives': Indian Slavery in Colonial Virginia," In *Indian Slavery in Colonial America*, ed. Alan Gallay (Lincoln, NE: University of Nebraska Press), 2009.

had negotiated articles in the treaties of 1646 and 1677 that outlawed the enslavement of tributary Indians.[348]

Despite the treaty stipulations against enslavement and later laws that banned the enslavement of Indian people, colonists forced Virginia Indians into labor because the growing plantation economy depended on it. Virginia laws were often unclear and contradictory regarding the enslavement of Indian people. Families and individuals with Indian ancestry filed suits seeking freedom by alleging illegal enslavement. Defendants often sought justice through local courts of chancery, and cases were argued and won based on a 1662 legal precedent that determined "all children borne in this country shall be held bound or free only according to the condition [enslaved or free] of the mother."[349]

In several notable freedom suits brought to court between the mid-eighteenth and mid-nineteenth centuries, whole families sought freedom based on their descendance from Indian women who had been illegally enslaved. Proceedings for these cases took place across the state in counties and cities such as Accomac, Wythe, Powhatan, Dinwiddie, Lynchburg, Norfolk, Williamsburg, and Richmond. Notable successful freedom suits included Robyn et al. v. Hardaway (1772), Hudgins v. Wrights (1806), Cooks v. Ivy (1819), and Rachel v. John Draper Sr. (1820).[350] The families and individuals involved in these hearings were all granted manumission and lived the remainder of their lives as free persons.

The efforts to educate Native children as a means to assimilate and Christianize them began only a decade after the establishment of Jamestown. With the perceived "success" of Pocahontas' conversion to Christianity, the colonists set aside 10,000 acres at Henricus to build a college with the intent to educate Indians one year after her death in 1617.[351] About the same time, the Virginia Company attempted to establish an Indian school at the colonial settlement of Smith's Hundred/Southampton Hundred on the north bank of the James River (about 8 miles above Jamestown).[352] However, the plans for both schools were thwarted by Opechancanough's 1622 uprising against the colony that targeted the James River settlements.

The colony again turned to the idea of establishing a brick-and-mortar institution for the education of Indian boys in the early eighteenth century, when it established the Brafferton School at the College of William and Mary. Funded by the estate of Englishman Robert Boyle, the Brafferton School aimed to educate and acculturate young Indian men, prepare them for the Anglican priesthood, and train them to be interpreters for the English military. The first four students were Indigenous boys with unknown tribal

[348] Vaughan, *Early American Indian Documents*, 4, 67–70, 82–87.

[349] William Waller Hening, ed., *The Statutes at Large; Being a Collection of All the Laws of Virginia from the First Session of the Legislature, in the Year 1619* (New York: R. & W. & G. Bartow, 1823), 2:170.

[350] Brent Tarter, "'Hundreds of the Descendants of Indians Have Obtained their Freedom:' Freedom Suits in 18th and 19th Century Virginia," *The Uncommonwealth*, Library of Virginia, https://uncommonwealth.virginiamemory.com/blog/2012/09/26/, accessed May 23, 2023.

[351] "Henricus," Henrico County Virginia, https://henrico.us/history/colonial-era/, accessed May 23, 2023.

[352] Brian Green and Matthew Laird, *National Register Nomination – Dancing Point* (On file, Virginia Department of Historic Resources, Richmond, VA, 2015), 20.

affiliations who were held captive by the Catawba and purchased from them about 1702.[353]

When Governor Alexander Spotswood petitioned Virginia Indian tributary leaders on October 24, 1711, to send their sons to the Brafferton School, Queen Ann of Pamunkey expressed her fear that they would be vulnerable to enslavement.[354] To appease her concerns, Spotswood agreed to reduce the annual tribute.[355] Queen Ann and her councilors, the Great Men of the tribe, agreed to send three children: the sons of Queen Ann and two of the Great Men.[356] Thus began a 60-year trajectory of the Brafferton School's legacy educating boys from Virginia tribes and others across England's North American colonies, including the Pamunkey, Chickahominy, Nansemond, Nottoway, Meherrin, Cherokee, Tuscarora, Occaneechi, Saponi, Catawba, Oneida, Cayuga, Mohawk, Onondoga, and Seneca. Indigenous experiences at the Brafferton School were varied and multilayered, but tribal leaders began to see attendance at the school as an opportunity for their communities. Native boys educated at the Brafferton School became translators, diplomats, and leaders within their tribes. They learned how to engage the English approach to the world and use that knowledge to support the sovereignty of their Indigenous communities.[357]

Economic Relationships

While treaties placed limitations on reserved land for Virginia Indian tribes, the colonial government, through the passage of laws recorded in the colonial record, recognized the rights of the tributary Indians to move beyond these territorial bounds to hunt, fish, and trade. As such, they accepted tribal subsistence rights to lands outside tribal and colonial habitation zones and across the Coastal Plain. This recognition was vital to the colony as the Indian trade, which included the exchange of various goods, was an integral component of the colonial economy. As the colonial period ended in the 1770s, Virginia Indians continued to practice traditional subsistence activities supplemented by a market economy focused on wage labor closely linked to those subsistence practices. These tribal economic practices continue to be inextricably linked to the Virginia Tidewater region.

The colonial government recognized the importance of the Tidewater's riverine landscape to Virginia's tribes and incorporated subsistence (hunting, fishing, and gathering) rights for tributary Indians into colonial laws. Such laws ensured that the tribes could continue these practices necessary to their survival within their reserved lands but also in areas outside those lands. Even as English settlers encroached further onto Indian lands, tribal leaders across the region advocated for continued access to important procurement sites that supported subsistence practices.

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[353] Daniel Morreti-Langholtz and Buck Woodard, *Building the Brafferton: The Founding, Funding, and Legacy of America's Indian School* (Muscarelle Museum of Art, William and Mary, 2019), 103.

[354] Vaughan, *Early American Indian Documents*, 183.

[355] Vaughan, *Early American Indian Documents*, 4, 179.

[356] Vaughan, *Early American Indian Documents*, 4, 179.

[357] Buck Woodard, "Students of the Brafferton Indian School," in *Building the Brafferton*, 102–142. Woodard's article provides a comprehensive review of the lives of several Indian boys who attended the Brafferton School in the eighteenth century.

Throughout the colonial period, the vicinity of present-day Richmond was one area still open to the allied tribes of the Powhatan chiefdom for hunting and fishing. The importance of this area is highlighted in the request of the Pamunkey Queen Cockocoeske to retain fishing access to the Powhite area. In 1676, as Cockocoeske petitioned for the restoration of her lands, she also sought to ensure that the Pamunkey, and the other tribes allied under her leadership, retained the ability to fish at Powhite. This area was on or near the land of Captain William Byrd, who had to be notified of any plans for the Pamunkey and other Indians to fish nearby. Byrd's parcel, patented in 1673 with additions in 1676, ran along the falls on the north side of the James River in the area of present-day Richmond.[358]

Powhite Creek (different from the creek of the same name in Hanover County; see *Mills* above) is upriver from Belle Isle and the fish dam archeological site mentioned in Chapter Two and is likely the area of the James on which the Queen hoped to secure fishing rights. The colonial government granted her request and extended tribal fishing rights to all "convenient places," if notice were provided to the English settled upon the land as follows:

> To her petition wherein shee prayeth liberty to ffish at Powhite It is conceaved reasonable y' liberty bee given to her and her Indians to fish in all convenient places Provided they never fish w'hout first giveing notice to Cap' William Bird or such other as dwell neare the said places or some other y' belongs to him or them.[359]

Cockacoeske's successor, Queen Ann, also expressed concern to colonial leaders about the tribe's dwindling hunting access to the Chickahominy Swamp[360] in New Kent County in 1710, when she petitioned[361] the colonial government to be released from that year's tribute obligation because the tribe had been prevented from hunting on the swamp.[362]

Petitioning colonial leaders regarding their subsistence rights for the most part favorably served the interests of Virginia tributary tribes. For example, after Queen Anne's petition, the General Assembly again made it clear that the tributary Indians continued to exploit areas outside their treaty lands for subsistence but were "obliged" to wear identifying badges:

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[358] Captain William Byrd was given a patent to 1,280 acres of land on October 27, 1673, previously under patent by Thomas Stegg. Byrd's original patent is illegible. Thomas Stegg, 1663 January 25, Patents, No. 5, 1660–1666, Virginia State Land Office, Reel 5, p. 200, Library of Virginia, Richmond, VA; Captain William Byrd, 1673 October 27, Patents, No. 6, 1666–1679, Virginia State Land Office, Reel 6, p. 486, Library of Virginia, Richmond, VA.

[359] H. R. McIlwaine, ed., *Journals of the House of Burgesses of Virginia, 1659/60–1693* (Richmond, VA: Virginia State Library, 1914), 90.

[360] The Chickahominy Swamp is above the headwaters of the Chickahominy River and divided Henrico and Hanover counties when the latter was created in 1720.

[361] Petition of the Pamunkey Indians, 1710, Box 144, Folder 22, Accession 36138, Colonial Papers, Library of Virginia, Richmond, VA.

[362] "Virginia Legislative Papers (Continued)," *The Virginia Magazine of History and Biography* 12 no. 4 (1905), p. 423.

> Whereas the inhabitants of this colony are frequently alarmed by the Tributary Indians hunting in several places where they are not known to be such: For preventing whereof for the future, and that all Indians in Amity may be distinguished from other vagrant Indians It the opinion of this Board that it is necessary all the Tributary Indians be obliged to ware Copper badges, and all other Indians in Amity to ware Peuter badges, to the end that any disorders be committed by any Indians having such badges, the Nation to which they belong may be made accountable for the same.[363]

The Commonwealth recognizes vestiges of these rights today through the waiving of tax liabilities and licenses related to certain subsistence practices.

Trade along the local waterways continued to supplement Virginia Indian subsistence during the colonial period and was largely sanctioned by the colonial government. The tribes' mastery of the waterways made them adept traders, and the colonial government viewed the trading as necessary for the settlers. Indian communities thus made important contributions to the survival of the Virginia colony and retained some access to the tribal territories settled by the English. On October 29, 1677, and pursuant to the terms of the Treaty of 1677, Virginia's colonial legislature passed "An Act Lycensing Trading with Indians," which explicitly recognized the need for Indian trade. The act set up "trade marts" and stated

> all Indians whatsoever being in amity and ffriendship with us from henceforth shall have free and full liberty to come in amongst us and bring in any comodityes whatsoever to the severall places and at the severall tymes hereafter sett downe, and mentioned, and to trade with, sell or truck, for the same with the English, resorting thither, but noe where else for any comodityes whatsoever.[364]

The trade marts were conducted annually on two occasions, each lasting 40 days, at various locations. They allowed Indians entry into, and the ability to, trade at the seat of the James River at Henrico County (beginning on April 1 and September 1), the head of the James River at Isle of Wight County (April 1 and September 1), the south side of the James River (May 10 and November 10), the Rappahannock River (April 20 and September 20), the Potomac River (April 30 and September 30), Accomack County (March 10 and September 10), and Northampton County (May 10 and November 10).[365] In addition to these regular trade marts, the act provided for the free trade of Indian corn, allowing any Indian to purchase corn outside the market days.[366] The exchange of deerskins, in particular, became important by the eighteenth century. Instead of using them as tribute, Virginia Indian people traded deerskins for the English goods (e.g., guns, ammunition, cloth, and iron hatchets for tree cutting and canoe making) that had become integral to their everyday lives.[367] By the early eighteenth century, the Virginia General

[363] H. R. McIlwaine, ed., *Executive Journals of the Council of Colonial Virginia, May 1, 1705–October 23, 1721,* Vol. 3 (Richmond, VA: Colonial Press, E. Waddey Co., 1914), 286.

[364] Hening, *Statutes at Large*, 410.

[365] Hening, *Statutes at Large*, 410–411.

[366] Hening, *Statutes at Large*, 411.

[367] Helen Rountree, *Pocahontas's People*, 145.

Assembly considered a bill for a "free and open trade" with the tributary Indian tribes in the Virginia colony, described as follows:

> A Bill prepared by The Comittee for Revisall of The Laws Intituled An Acct for Prevention of MisunderStandings between The Tributary Indians and other her Majesty's Subjects of this Colony and Dominion and for a free and Open Trade with all Indians Whatsoever was Read for first Time and Comitted to a Comittee of The Whole house.[368]

Virginia Indian women contributed to the practice of trading as prolific producers. They marketed ceramics, baskets, pipes, and other wares as early as the seventeenth century. Evidence of their trade is found in probate inventory lists from counties across the region, including Norfolk, Accomack, Henrico, and from the city of Williamsburg. One colonist noted the goods produced by Indian people and presented in Williamsburg for the celebration of Queen Anne's accession to the throne:

> They also brought a large number of baskets, carried on the arms, of different colors, made very artistically. The material is a kind of root. They weave into them all kinds of animals, flowers and other strange things, very beautifully. Everything that they bring is bought to send it as a present to England. They also make tobacco pipes, very beautifully cut out and formed.[369]

Virginia Indians used their knowledge of subsistence practices tied to hunting, trapping, fishing, pottery-making, and other forms of craft to produce marketable goods from natural products available on tribal lands and to participate in markets where these items were sold for cash.[370] This form of economic engagement is still actively employed by Virginia Indian people today.

Richmond served as one of the central markets for goods procured and produced by Virginia Indians. Virginia Indians traded mainly at the 17th Street Market in the Shockoe Bottom district (at the corner of Main and 17th streets)[371] and with commission merchant buyers and restaurateurs throughout the city. During the first half of the nineteenth century, before the construction of railways that connected rural Indian communities throughout Tidewater Virginia, Indian individuals traveled via horse and buggy or ferry and boat to Richmond to sell their products. However, all people of color had to obtain a license to legally sell goods in Richmond. For example, Pamunkey tribal member and former chief Thomas Cook, in response to an interview conducted by the Southern Claims Commission in 1871, stated that during the Civil War "I had gotten passes to go to and from Richmond. I sold fish and game in the market."[372]

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[368] H. R. McIlwaine, ed., *Journals of the House of Burgesses of Virginia, 1702/3–1705, 1705–1706, 1710–1712* (Richmond, VA: Colonial Press, E. Waddey Co., 1912), 172.

[369] François Louis Michel, "Report of the Journey of a François Louis Michel from Berne, Switzerland, to Virginia, October 2, 1701–December 1, 1702," Trans. W. J. Hinke, *Virginia Magazine of History and Biography* 24(2), p. 130.

[370] Spivey, *Knowing the River, Working the Land, and Digging for Clay*.

[371] The 17th Street Market has been a public gathering place since 1737 and is considered one of the nation's oldest public markets.

[372] Claim of Thomas Cook, NARA RG 217 Treasury Dept. E. 732, Settled Case Files-SCC Box 371, claim no. (6305).

The prevailing items sold by Virginia Indian people at the market included a variety of produce, fish, game, and furs. Excess produce and food grown exclusively for the market included potatoes, onions, melons, black-eyed peas, pears, and apples. Fish captured for market were predominantly sturgeon,[373] shad, herring, and the roe harvested from these species. Waterfowl, particularly duck, geese, turkey, and quail, was the preferred game for market. The furs of muskrat, raccoon, otter, beaver, and mink were also sold.

The construction of several railways connecting rural communities to Richmond by the 1850s opened an additional method for Virginia Indians to sell their products. Indigenous men from communities such as the Pamunkey and Chickahominy were able to ship their fish, game, and furs directly to Richmond-based markets, commission merchants, hotels, and restaurants.[374] Fishermen worked predominantly with two Shockoe Bottom fish merchants: R. P. Martin Seafood Company, Inc. and P. T. Hastings Famous Seafood.[375] The late Edward Bradby, a Pamunkey tribal member, recalled hunting ducks for market with his father: "At that time you could kill ducks for the market [...] we shipped a lot of ducks out of Lestor Manor right to the River Hotel, in Richmond. We used to get a dollar and a quarter. Sometimes we shipped thirty to forty ducks."[376]

Settlers valued Indian labor from the outset of colonial rule, as demonstrated by a 1619 law that outlines regulations for any Indians who could be enticed to work within the settlements, especially regarding the "killing of Deere, Fishing, beatting Corne, & other works."[377] Recognizing that Virginia Indians had unique skills and knowledge of the Tidewater landscape, the English regularly hired Indian men to hunt for them. Colonists also trained Indian hunters, such as the infamous Powhatan warrior Nemattanew (known by the English as Jack of the Feather), to use firearms.[378] Virginia Indians practiced their firearms skills at forts such as Jamestown and Kecoughtan and at Indian towns on the Pamunkey River.[379] However, to control the number of Indigenous peoples with access to firearms through hired labor, the Virginia General Assembly ruled in 1708 that "no person presume to employ any Indian to hunt for him ... without first obtaining a License from

[373] Anthropologist Frank Speck reported the Pamunkey Indians fished intensively for sturgeon until about the 1890s, when the sturgeon harvest from the Chesapeake Bay and its tidal watersheds reportedly peaked. However, by the 1920s, sturgeon stocks began to dwindle and the average annual harvest for the region was reduced by more than 90 percent. See Speck 1928:359–373; Atlantic Sturgeon, Chesapeake Bay Field Office, US Fish and Wildlife Services website.

[374] Albert S. Gatschet Manuscripts 1893, MS 1449 and 2197, National Anthropological Archives, Smithsonian Institution, Washington, DC; "Pamunkey Indians Remnants of a Once Powerful Tribe," *Los Angeles Sunday Times*, June 1894; "Surviving Indian Tribes," *American Antiquarian and Oriental Journal*, 1908, 342.

[375] Spivey, *Knowing the River, Working the Land, and Digging for Clay*, 169.

[376] Edward Bradby interviewed by Thomas Blumer, August 6, 1983, referenced in Spivey, *Knowing the River, Working the Land and Digging for Clay*, 97.

[377] McIlwaine, *Journals of the House of Burgesses 1619–1658/59*, 10.

[378] Nemattanew was very likely Pamunkey. He served alongside Opechancanough in planning the 1622 uprising against the colony (he was murdered before the uprising took place), and he is mentioned in colonial records as residing at Pamunkey. See H. R. McIlwaine, ed., *Minutes of the Council and General Court of Colonial Virginia 1622–1632, 1670–1676* (Richmond, VA: Virginia State Library, 1924), 28; Rountree, *Pocahontas's People*, 57, 61, 69, 71–72.

[379] McIlwaine, ed., *Minutes of the Council and General Court of Colonial Virginia 1622–1632, 1670–1676*, 28.

the Governor for so doing."[380] For example, in 1711, Richard Littlepage of New Kent County requested a license to hire two Pamunkey Indians:

> Yor Petitioner being Willing to hire Into his service One Indian Woman belonging to the Pamunkey Town, named Mary, humbly prays yor hon'rs Lycence for the same; and that your Hon'r would also grant him a Lycence for an Indian man from the said Town to Hunt for him, he being willing to give his obligation to be answerable for all the Injuries and Damages, that the said Indians shall do to the English, according to the Directions of the aforementioned Act of Assembly.[381]

Settlers in Norfolk and Accomack counties employed Indians to build fish weirs, which reflects how colonial settlers recognized Indigenous subsistence knowledge as a valuable skill. The Virginia tribes' vast knowledge of the Tidewater region influenced their engagement in wage-earning activities for the next three centuries as they used their skills in fishing, hunting, trapping, waterway navigation, gathering, and craft production. They not only practiced these skills in Virginia but also used them to connect to a vast economic network of riverine practices that traversed the entire Eastern Seaboard, including urban centers such as Richmond, Baltimore, Philadelphia, New York City, and Boston.[382]

MILITARY ACTIVITY

Virginia's militia was established in 1607 as part of the English militia system for the purpose of enforcing colonial law and defending against invasions or insurrections. All free male residents of the colony aged 16 to 50 were required to serve in the militia, which was organized by county. Local leaders selected county lieutenants to assemble and lead the militia members. In theory, the militia trained regularly at each county courthouse, but peacetime militia gatherings were largely social. The earliest armed conflicts occurred with Native Americans, as discussed above in *Relationships with Native Peoples*. Members of the militia later patrolled the colony to prevent uprisings among the enslaved population.[383]

Only six independent volunteer militia companies (organized by the counties of Loudoun, Spotsylvania, Fairfax, and Prince William and by the cities of Williamsburg and Norfolk) existed in Virginia in 1774, when the royal governor, Lord Dunmore, dissolved the General Assembly. The four county militias had been created that year in response to the British occupation of Boston, but most Virginians initially favored economic sanctions against the British. In August 1775, Virginians created a military force composed of regular companies and volunteer battalion and militia to remove Lord Dunmore and to provide security to the colonial capital in Williamsburg. Enlistment terms were initially for one year, which was extended in 1776 to three years or the duration of the

[380] Vaughan, *Early American Documents*, 4, 148.

[381] William P. Palmer, ed., *Calendar of Virginia State Papers and Other Manuscripts, 1652–1781, Preserved in the Capitol at Richmond*. Volume I (Richmond, 1875, reprint New York: Kraus Reprint Corporation, 1968), 150.

[382] Spivey, *Knowing the River, Working the Land, and Digging for Clay*, 2017.

[383] Charles A. Grymes, Colonial Militia in Virginia, http://www.virginiaplaces.org/military/colonialmilitia.html.

Revolutionary War. By 1777, the colony raised 15 regiments of infantry. Many Virginians also served in the Continental artillery, cavalry, and other units not designated as Virginia regiments.[384]

Planters living on or near current park lands who served in the Revolutionary War include John Whitlock Sr. of Henrico County; Captain Peter Foster of Hanover County, the second husband of Ann Southall Shelton; and John Austin of Hanover County, the grandfather of Sarah Kidd Watt. Most Quakers living in Henrico County near Malvern Hill refused to enlist in the military but had to contribute taxes for substitutes to serve in their place. Robert Pleasants (see *Free Black Communities* above) received a bill in the fall of 1780 for £1,200 in recruitment taxes.[385]

British naval vessels patrolled the James River throughout the Revolutionary War (1775–1783), but fighting did not occur in Richmond or the surrounding area during the first few years. On April 18, 1780, Virginia's newly elected governor, Thomas Jefferson (1743–1826), moved the state capital from Williamsburg to Richmond, a more central location with fewer British Loyalists that was believed to be less susceptible to British attack. However, British forces occupied Richmond twice in 1781 and inflicted extensive damage on the region. The first occupation occurred under General Benedict Arnold (1741–1801), the infamous American traitor, who launched a raid up the James River toward Richmond on January 1, 1781. Arnold and approximately 800 troops landed at Colonel William Byrd III's Westover plantation about 12 miles from Richmond on January 4 and then approached the lightly defended city on the Williamsburg Road (roughly parallel to present-day Route 60 about halfway between the Cold Harbor and Glendale/Malvern Hill areas of the park). Approximately 200 local militia commanded by Major Alexander Dick gathered on **Chimborazo Hill** and exchanged fire with Arnold's soldiers on January 5 (Figure 3-8).[386]

Jefferson and members of Virginia's General Assembly left Richmond but refused to surrender tobacco and military supplies to Arnold, who ordered his men to destroy everything in the city. In response, Jefferson ordered militia commanders from multiple counties to organize, and the resulting skirmishes around Richmond led Arnold to retreat back downriver to Portsmouth. No known fighting occurred on current park lands, but 300–400 men under Colonel John Nicholas encamped at James Powell Cocke's **Malvern Hill** plantation. On January 10, Nicholas reported the following to Jefferson: "We have been under arms a great part of the night, from repeated firing of the out centinals [sic], our patrols report the fire was returned by some scattering parties of horse on the back of this place."[387]

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[384] Patrick H. Hannum, 'Virginia's 1775 Regular Company-Level Military Force Structure." *Journal of the American Revolution*. 2022. https://allthingsliberty.com/2022/09/virginias-1775-regular-company-level-military-force-structure/; Library of Virginia, Virginia Revolutionary War Service Records, 2023, https://lva-virginia.libguides.com/revolutionary-war.

[385] Hardin, "Litigating the Lash," 113–114.

[386] John Graves Simcoe, *Simcoe's Military Journal: A History of the Operations of a Partisan Corps, Called the Queen's Rangers, Commanded by Lieut. Col. J. G. Simcoe, during the War of the American Revolution* (New York: Bartlett & Welford, 1844), 162.

[387] Palmer, *Calendar of Virginia State Papers and Other Manuscripts, 1652–1781*, 426–427; "The Two John Nicholases: Their Relationship to Washington and Jefferson." *The American Historical Review* 45, no. 2 (1940):

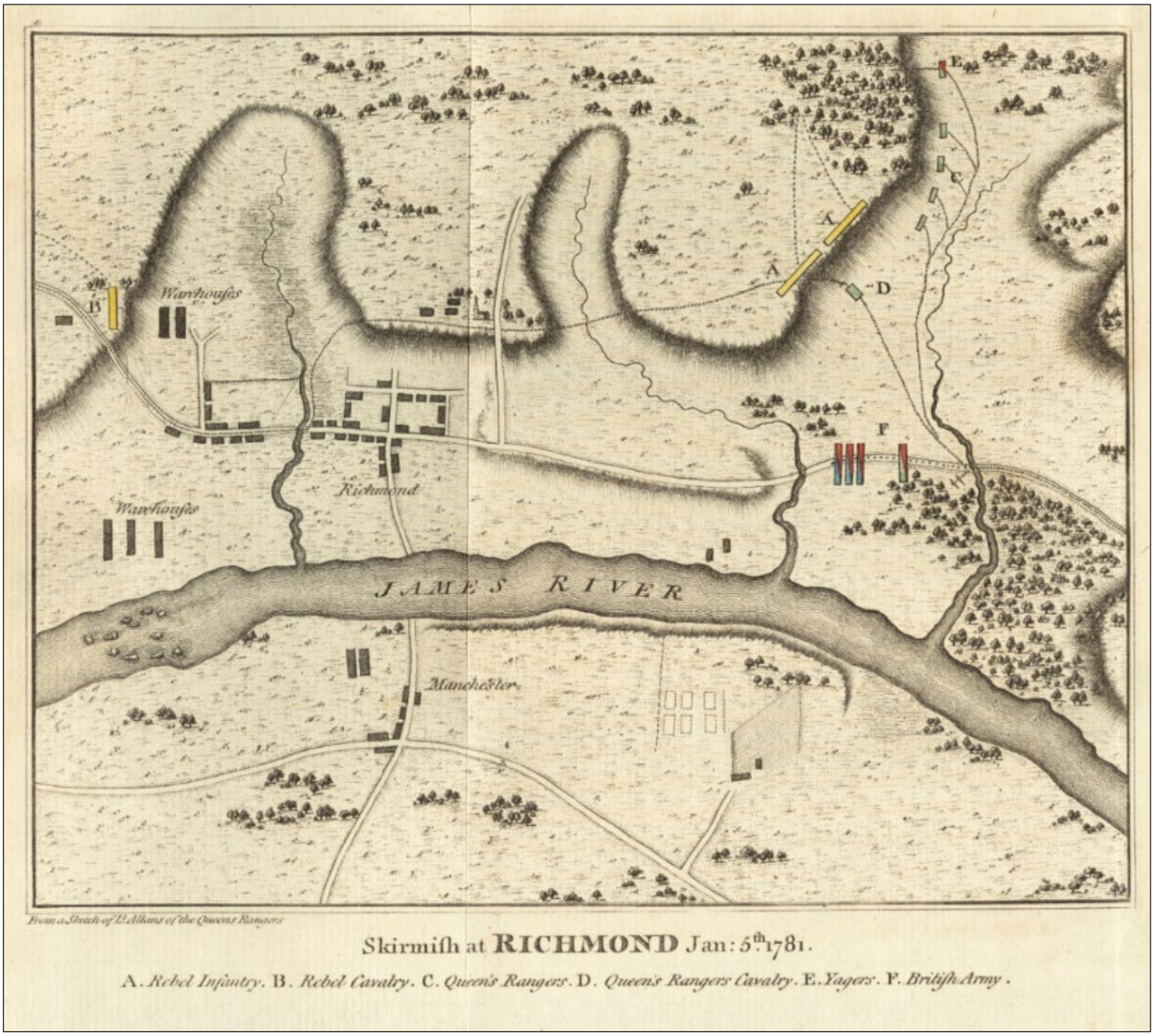


Figure 3-8. *Skirmish at Richmond Jan 5th, 1781*. Source: John Graves Simcoe, *A Journal of the Operations of the Queen's Rangers* (Exeter: Printed for the author [1787]), Richard H. Brown Revolutionary War Map Collection at Mount Vernon, Norman B. Leventhal Map & Education Center, Boston Public Library, Boston, MA.

A contingent of the Continental Army under Gilbert de Motier, the Marquis de Lafayette (1757–1834), protected Richmond from British troops under Arnold and General William Phillips, who returned to the area in April 1781. Phillips' forces burned the courthouse and other properties in Chesterfield County, and Arnold's men destroyed warehouses and wharves at Osbornes Landing and much of Virginia's naval fleet in the James River near the mouth of Proctor's Creek (just southwest of **Fort Brady**).[388] After their withdrawal south to Petersburg, however, the British sent Lord Charles Cornwallis (1738–1805) to Virginia with a much bigger force. Minor engagements took place around Richmond in

338–53; Shepard et al., *Archaeological Overview*, 16; Bert Dunkerly, "The Revolution in Richmond: Part 1 of 3," *Emerging Revolutionary War Era*, 2019, https://emergingrevolutionarywar.org/2019/12/30/the-revolution-in-richmond-part-1-of-3/.

[388] Shepard et al., *Archaeological Overview*, 321.

May and early June 1781, and Lafayette retreated north while Cornwallis occupied the city. From June 17 to June 20, Cornwallis and over 5,000 soldiers raided Richmond and destroyed more houses, tobacco, and supplies. Early on June 20, the troops headed east out of Richmond on the Williamsburg Road. Lafayette's pursuing troops entered the city from the west on June 22 and advanced after Cornwallis the next day (Figure 3-9).[389]



Figure 3-9. Detail from map of Lafayette's 1781 Campaign in Virginia. Source: Michel Capitaine Du Chesnoy and Marie Joseph Paul Yves Roch Gilbert Du Motier Lafayette. *Campagne en Virginie du Major Général M'is de LaFayette: ou se trouvent les camps et marches, ainsy que ceux du Lieutenant Général Lord Cornwallis en*. [1781], Library of Congress Geography and Map Division, Washington, DC.

Between July 16 and August 2, 1781, Lafayette encamped with his men at **Malvern Hill**. On July 20, the Marquis wrote to General George Washington to say "The war in this country is becoming a war of depradation and there is no longer a suggestion of large maneuvers." He also corresponded from Malvern Hill with Generals Friedrich von Steuben and Anthony Wayne about military strategy. At daylight on August 2, the men

[389] J. Bennett Nolan, *Lafayette in America Day by Day* (Baltimore, MD: The Johns Hopkins Press, 1934), 187–190.

began marching back toward Richmond and halted about two miles south of the city "being exceeding warm."[390] Over the next two months, American troops moved through the eastern portion of Hanover County, particularly the Hanover Court House and Newcastle areas, en route to Williamsburg and Yorktown, where a two-week siege in October resulted in the British surrender and the end of the Revolutionary War.

After the Revolutionary War, George Mason, founder of the Fairfax County militia, included an article in the Virginia Bill of Rights establishing a compulsory state militia that remained intact through the Civil War.[391] The Militia Act of 1792 limited membership in the militia to "free able-bodied white male citizens" aged 18 to 45. Although Black residents were not eligible to serve, some white militia units recruited Black musicians. For example, the Richmond Light Infantry Blues, a volunteer militia unit organized to patrol Black neighborhoods in Richmond, selected 13 free Black residents in 1829 to form a band within the unit. The musicians belonged to a small but prominent group of elite Black families and included Benjamin Wythe, George W. Ruffin, Lomax B. Smith, and Major Cook. The militia band was dissolved in 1831, however, likely after Nat Turner'sRebellion and other uprisings.[392]

During the War of 1812 (1812–1815), Virginia established rendezvous and training camps for the militia in the Richmond area. Camp Holly Springs, about 1 mile northeast of New Market Road between the Fort Harrison and Malvern Hill park units, was a major training camp for militia units from western counties and was occupied from April 1813 to February 1815. Other camps in the region included Camp Malvern Hills near the bluffs above the James River, Camp Carter on the Williamsburg Road north of Malvern Hill, and Camp Bottoms Bridge 2 miles east of Camp Carter on the Chickahominy River.[393] As in the Revolutionary War, Richmond did not initially expect to be directly involved in any fighting. On March 26, 1813, Dr. Thomas Massie, an assistant surgeon attached to the 19th Regiment of Virginia Militia, wrote to his father, Major Thomas Massie, "For the last two weeks the militia of Richmond and of the neighbouring counties have been placed in actual services. … PS. We have little apprehension of hostilities reaching this place. The 19th Regiment was dismissed from service today."[394]

On June 19, 1813, however, the British fleet landed at Hampton, intending to follow Arnold's Revolutionary War route to Richmond. After Hampton's invasion on June 25, thousands of recruits joined Richmond's militia units. A contemporaneous newspaper article reported, "We were ready for action… the confusion is past and we are safe not only for the present but against any enterprise the enemy may meditate. … At this moment there cannot be less than 4,000 men at the Malvern Hills, Sandy Point, and their

[390] McDonald et al., *National Register Nomination – Malvern Hill (2020 Update)*; Nolan, *Lafayette in America*, 187–190.

[391] Michael Cecere, "The Rise of Virginia's Independent Militia." *Journal of the American Revolution*. 2014. https://allthingsliberty.com/2014/09/the-rise-of-virginia-independent-militia/

[392] Latimore, "Always a Minority," 11, 35.

[393] Virginia DHR, The War of 1812/Richmond's War of 1812 Defensive Camps, Historical Marker V-53, 2010.

[394] Virginia Historical Society, "Richmond During the War of 1812 (Continued): Letters of Dr. Thomas Massie," *Virginia Magazine of History and Biography*, 7:4 (Apr. 1900), 407.

immediate vicinity—exclusive of the troops in Richmond."[395] On July 2, Dr. Massie wrote, "At present we are here under martial law, the militia of the town parades morning and evening, and nothing else is done. The militia are coming in from the neighbouring counties, among whom are many well mounted cavalry."[396] The danger passed, however, and by August 24, Massie reported, "A considerable portion of the militia collected for the defence of this quarter of the county have been dismissed by the State Executive."[397]

The following year, news of more British troops arriving in the Chesapeake Bay provoked fear of an invasion. On July 16, 1814, Dr. Massie wrote: "I do not think it improbable that Richmond will be a pile of ashes before the fall."[398] The British stormed Washington, DC, on August 24, 1814, and announced that Richmond was next, prompting Virginia's militiamen to gather and Governor James Barbour to call for more volunteers from across the state. On September 5, Massie reported,

> Troops are pouring in here every hour, the mass of militia will be very great, from ten to twenty thousand men, no business is transacted here at present. I have been ordered and countermanded several times, my final orders are to move tomorrow morning at sunrise to Bottoms Bridge, where I am to remain with a regiment, perhaps for some time… having as I am told, to sleep on the ground without a tent, and very little to eat.[399]

The British advanced only to Alexandria, however, before the War of 1812 ended, and the Richmond area was spared from attack.

[395] Virginia Historical Society, "The Vigilance Committee: Richmond During the War of 1812," *Virginia Magazine of History and Biography*, 7:3 (Jan. 1900), 227–228.

[396] Virginia Historical Society, "Letters of Dr. Thomas Massie," 408–409.

[397] Virginia Historical Society, "Letters of Dr. Thomas Massie," 409.

[398] Virginia Historical Society, "Letters of Dr. Thomas Massie," 414.

[399] Virginia Historical Society, "Letters of Dr. Thomas Massie," 417.

CHAPTER FOUR: CIVIL WAR, 1861–1865

Richmond NBP is primarily significant as a collection of major Civil War battlefields and other period resources that are associated with the US Army's attempts to take the Confederate capital city of Richmond. The discontiguous administrative units that make up the park consist of preserved portions of battlefields where major engagements occurred and contain a diverse collection of historic resources associated with military activities, including open and wooded battlefield landscapes, river warfare sites, earthen field fortifications, industrial sites, domestic buildings and landscapes, military medicine and hospital sites, and sites associated with the contributions and achievements of the United States Colored Troops (USCTs). These resources are connected with the lives of not only the enlisted men involved in combat but also the free and enslaved civilians in the paths of the Federal and Confederate armies who witnessed many of the destructive battles and contributed in their own ways to the Civil War effort.

Most of the battlefields, particularly Cold Harbor, contain preserved remnants of extensive systems of field fortifications that reflect the state of military tactics at the time of the Civil War and provide information about how the battles were fought. The park also contains portions of the lines of permanent fortifications that ringed Richmond and protected it from Federal capture until the end of the war. Other significant Civil War resources include the Watt, Garthright, and Shelton houses that were used as military headquarters and/or field hospitals.

The military significance of the battlefields is well documented in the many scholarly books, articles, and cultural resource management reports that have been prepared on the subject. As this HRS report considers themes that are underrepresented in the existing documentation (see Chapter One), the narrative in this chapter contains only a brief summary of the Civil War battlefield engagements and their associated historic resources.[400] More attention is given to the roles that USCTs played during their service in the Federal army in and around Richmond and the impact of the Civil War on local groups and individuals, including free and enslaved African Americans, indigenous Virginia Indians, farmers, and residents who volunteered in Confederate hospitals or provided intelligence information to the Federal army.

OVERVIEW OF MILITARY ACTIVITY

The capture of Richmond, the seat of the Confederate government and the South's chief industrial center, was an essential part of Federal strategy in the Eastern Theater throughout the course of the Civil War. Protecting Richmond from Federal seizure was equally important to the Confederate cause, as its loss would have devastating military, political, and psychological consequences for the war effort and would call into question the legitimacy of the Confederacy as an independent nation. With the stakes high on both sides, military operations around Richmond defined the course of the Civil War and the careers of many of the era's most important political and military leaders. For the local

[400] For a more complete description of the significance of the battlefields and their associated resources, see Olausen et al., *National Register Nomination – Richmond National Battlefield Park*.

populace, the coming of war to Richmond's doorstep caused severe hardship and major disruptions that forever changed the traditional lifeways of the region.

Richmond NBP contains major battlefield sites that are associated with the campaigns that came closest to achieving the Federal army's goal of capturing the city. Six battlefield sites in the park are associated with the Peninsula Campaign (March 20–August 16, 1862), Federal Major General George B. McClellan's[401] elaborate but poorly executed attempt to outflank Major General Joseph E. Johnston's Confederate force, which was then camped in northern Virginia, by transporting the Army of the Potomac by boat to the Virginia Peninsula and taking Richmond from the rear. The battlefield sites consist of **Beaver Dam Creek Battlefield**, **Chickahominy Bluff**, **Gaines' Mill Battlefield**, **Glendale Battlefield**, **Malvern Hill Battlefield**, and **Drewry's Bluff**. These sites, with the exception of Drewry's Bluff, were part of the Seven Days' Battles (June 25–July 1, 1862) during which General Robert E. Lee, who assumed command of the Army of Northern Virginia on June 1, 1862, after Johnston was wounded at the Battle of Seven Pines, launched a counteroffensive that prevented McClellan from taking Richmond and ended Federal hopes of bringing the Civil War to a swift conclusion. Thereafter, Federal political aims shifted to include emancipation for enslaved peoples, and Lee seized the initiative to invade the North in September 1862.

The **North Anna**, **Totopotomoy Creek**, and **Cold Harbor Battlefield** sites are the sites of the last three major engagements of the Overland Campaign (May 4–June 15, 1864), during which Federal Lieutenant General Ulysses S. Grant directed the operations of the Army of the Potomac against Lee. The campaign was part of Grant's broader strategy to take advantage of the Federal army's superiority of troops and materiel by simultaneously pressuring the Confederates on all fronts. Beginning with the initial Battle of the Wilderness (May 5–7, 1864) and following each battle thereafter, Grant attempted to move around the Confederate army's right flank in hopes of gaining an open lane to Richmond or of luring Lee into a decisive battle. Each time, however, Lee was able to maneuver his army to meet the Federals, and the series of battles that ensued resulted in heavy casualties on both sides.

Following the campaign's climactic battle at Cold Harbor (May 31–June 12, 1864), where repeated Federal assaults against Lee's entrenched lines failed to dislodge the Confederates, Grant decided against further attempts to take the Confederate capital by direct assault and instead opted to make another move east and south toward the James River and the strategically important Confederate transportation hub at Petersburg. The Overland Campaign was the bloodiest sustained operation of the Civil War; although Grant succeeded in depleting Lee's army to the point where it was no longer able to undertake a sustained offensive, he otherwise failed to accomplish his primary objectives of defeating Lee and taking Richmond. The long casualty lists and lack of military victories stoked anti-war sentiment in the war-weary North and helped fuel a burgeoning peace movement that threatened President Abraham Lincoln's chances for reelection in November 1864.

[401] The full rank of generals and other officers is provided at the first mention of their names. Subsequent mentions include the title of "General" or their names only.

Following the battle at Cold Harbor, Grant changed his strategy by initiating the Richmond-Petersburg Campaign (June 15, 1864–April 2, 1865). The target of the campaign was the capture of Petersburg, a major transportation and supply hub 25 miles south of Richmond. After the Federal army failed in several initial attempts to take the lightly defended city, Lee moved into the trenches that ringed Petersburg, and Grant initiated a siege that lasted until Lee was forced to abandon Petersburg and Richmond on April 2, 1865. During the siege, Grant methodically extended his lines to cut the transportation links that supplied Lee's army and Richmond. As part of this strategy, he deployed elements of the Army of the Potomac and Major General Benjamin Butler's Army of the James at Bermuda Hundred to attack the entrenched Confederate line south of Richmond, a portion of which is preserved in Richmond NBP.

During the Battle of Chaffin's Farm/New Market Heights (September 29–30, 1864), Butler's army was able to penetrate and hold the line's strongest point at **Fort Harrison**, but uncoordinated attacks on other parts of the line at **Forts Gilmer, Gregg, and Johnson** ended in dismal failure. The battle is notable for the prominent role that USCTs played in the operations.

The Peninsula Campaign, March 20–August 16, 1862

On July 26, 1861, less than one week after the humiliating US Army defeat at the Battle of First Manassas (July 21), President Abraham Lincoln named George B. McClellan commander of the Military Division of Washington. Well-versed in military logistics but still unproven as a field commander, McClellan spent the next six months strengthening the defenses around the US capital and training and reorganizing the troops into the formidable force he named the Army of the Potomac. In November 1861, he was further rewarded with a promotion to general-in-chief of all the US armies. McClellan soon drew the ire of President Lincoln and his superiors in the War Department for failing to attack Joseph Johnston's Confederate force that threatened Washington, DC, from its fortified position around Centreville, Virginia. As the pressure to act mounted, McClellan finally informed Lincoln on February 3, 1862, of his plan for an offensive that was designed to capture Richmond. Rather than a direct assault on Johnston, whose strength he grossly overestimated, McClellan proposed to march his army to Annapolis, Maryland, and then take his men by ship to Urbanna, Virginia, on the southern shore of the Rappahannock River. From there, the army would march the 50 miles west and take Richmond before Johnston had a chance to intervene.[402]

Lincoln was skeptical that McClellan could move with the necessary alacrity on which the success of the plan hinged, but grudgingly approved the operation on several conditions, including that McClellan leave a substantial force behind to protect Washington. Believing that McClellan would be unable to oversee operations in other theaters while he was busy overseeing the campaign, Lincoln also relieved him from his post as general-in-chief. These actions caused a significant rift in the relations between Lincoln and McClellan that would later grow wider as the campaign evolved.[403]

[402] J. Rickard, "Peninsula Campaign of 1862," History of War, 2006; Stephen W. Sears, *To the Gates of Richmond: The Peninsula Campaign* (New York: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1992), 5–6.

[403] Rickard, "Peninsula Campaign of 1862;" Sears, *To the Gates of Richmond,* 6–9, 17–18.

While McClellan was making his final preparations, events elsewhere threatened to scuttle his so-called Urbanna Plan. On March 8, 1862, the Confederate ironclad ship CSS *Virginia* (converted from the captured wooden US frigate *Merrimack*) sank two US Army ships off Hampton Roads. Although *Virginia* was soon neutralized by Federal ironclads, including USS *Monitor* that arrived the following day, McClellan was alarmed to learn of Johnston's withdrawal from Centreville to a new line on the Rappahannock River, where he would be in a better position to meet an overland assault on Richmond. Thinking he had lost the element of surprise, McClellan altered the landing point for his campaign to the US Army-held Fort Monroe at the southeastern tip of the Virginia Peninsula bordered by the York and James rivers.[404]

The transfer of Army of the Potomac to Fort Monroe constituted the largest amphibious movement to that point in American military history. On April 4, 1862, before all the troops and equipment had arrived, McClellan began advancing up the peninsula, choosing to hug the York River where the navy's gunboats would afford protection. His first objective was to take the Confederate port at Yorktown, where the Confederate Army of the Peninsula under the command of Major General John B. Magruder was positioned behind entrenched lines (Figure 4-1). Magruder famously deceived McClellan into believing his lines were much stronger than they were, convincing the Federal general that his only recourse was to lay siege to the lines. The time consumed in siege

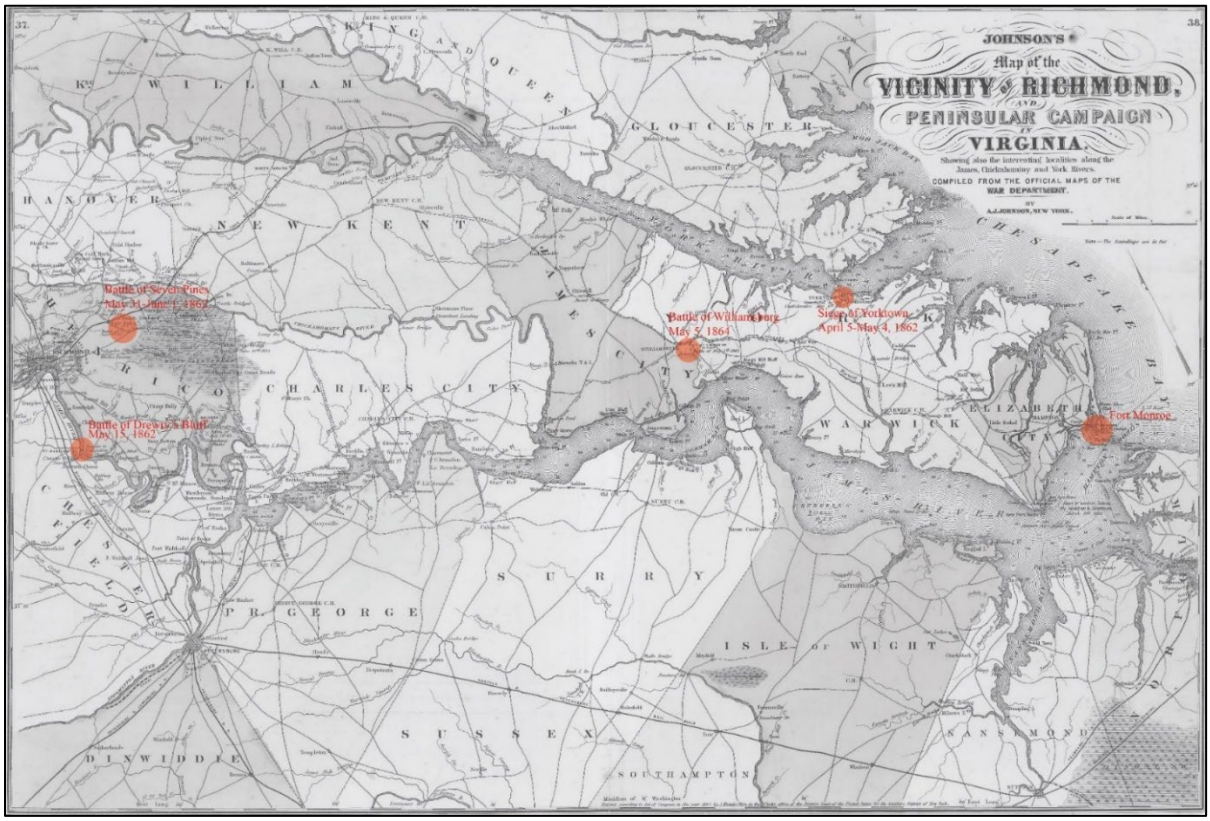


Figure 4-1. *Johnson's Map of the Vicinity of Richmond, and the Peninsular Campaign in Virginia*. Annotated to identify key places and battles before the beginning of the Seven Days. Source: Alvin J. Johnson, New York, NY, 1868.

[404] Rickard, "Peninsula Campaign of 1862;" Sears, *To the Gates of Richmond,* 18.

preparations allowed Johnston to unite his force with Magruder's. During the night of May 3, Johnston ordered a heavy artillery bombardment to serve as a diversion and abandoned the line.[405]

On May 5, 1862, pursuing Federal forces caught up to the rear guard of the Confederate column under the command of Major General James Longstreet at Williamsburg. Longstreet held the superior Federal force long enough to secure the safety of the army and its supply trains and then disengaged to rejoin Johnston. McClellan's army followed the Confederates to the outskirts of Richmond and took up a position on the north side of the Virginia Peninsula near White House Landing on the Pamunkey River. Confederate prospects worsened over the next few days as the important port at Norfolk fell, and *Virginia* was scuttled to avoid its capture by the Federals.[406]

Battle of Drewry's Bluff, May 15, 1862

With *Virginia* out of action, McClellan requested that the US Navy force its way up the river past a system of Confederate land batteries and bombard Richmond with artillery. US Navy Commander John Rodgers led a squadron that consisted of the ironclads *Monitor*, *Galena*, and *Naugatuck* and the wooden gunboats USS *Aroostook* and USS *Port Royal*. The operation got underway on May 14, 1862, and was assisted by several free Black men who provided directions, identified safe landing spots, and helped to mark the channel. Setting out on May 14, the squadron had little trouble silencing the Confederate batteries it encountered until it reached **Drewry's Bluff**. The 90-foot-high bluff at a bend in the river provided a clear field of fire for more than a mile in each direction. The bluff took its name from Confederate Captain Augustus H. Drewry, who owned the land and headed the volunteer Southside Heavy Artillery that began the construction of **Fort Drewry** in 1862. The entrenched battery position on the bluff was built with the labor of enslaved persons from surrounding counties (Figures 4-2 and 4-3).

With McClellan advancing up the peninsula, the Confederate high command ordered hasty improvements to Fort Drewry in early May, assigning the task to Navy Commander Ebenezer Farrand. Farrand ordered the scuttling of several ships in the river to serve as obstacles and deployed the gunboat *Patrick Henry* upriver to add artillery fire from that direction. The land battery on the bluff was mounted by three Columbiad seacoast guns and was supported by six more large guns placed nearby and two field pieces that were placed on Chaffin's Bluff across the river.[407]

[405] Rickard, "Peninsula Campaign of 1862;" Sears, *To the Gates of Richmond,* 34, 46, 60–62.

[406] Rickard, "Peninsula Campaign of 1862;" William M. Robinson, Jr., "Drewry's Bluff: Naval Defense of Richmond, 1862," *Civil War History* 7, no. 2 (1961), 170; Sears, *To the Gates of Richmond*, 90–92.

[407] National Park Service (hereafter NPS), "Drewry's Bluff," Richmond National Battlefield Park, VA, 2018; Robinson, "Drewry's Bluff," 170–171; Sears, *To the Gates of Richmond*, 92–93; Glenn David Brasher, *The Peninsula Campaign and the Necessity of Emancipation: African Americans and the Fight for Freedom* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2012), 148.

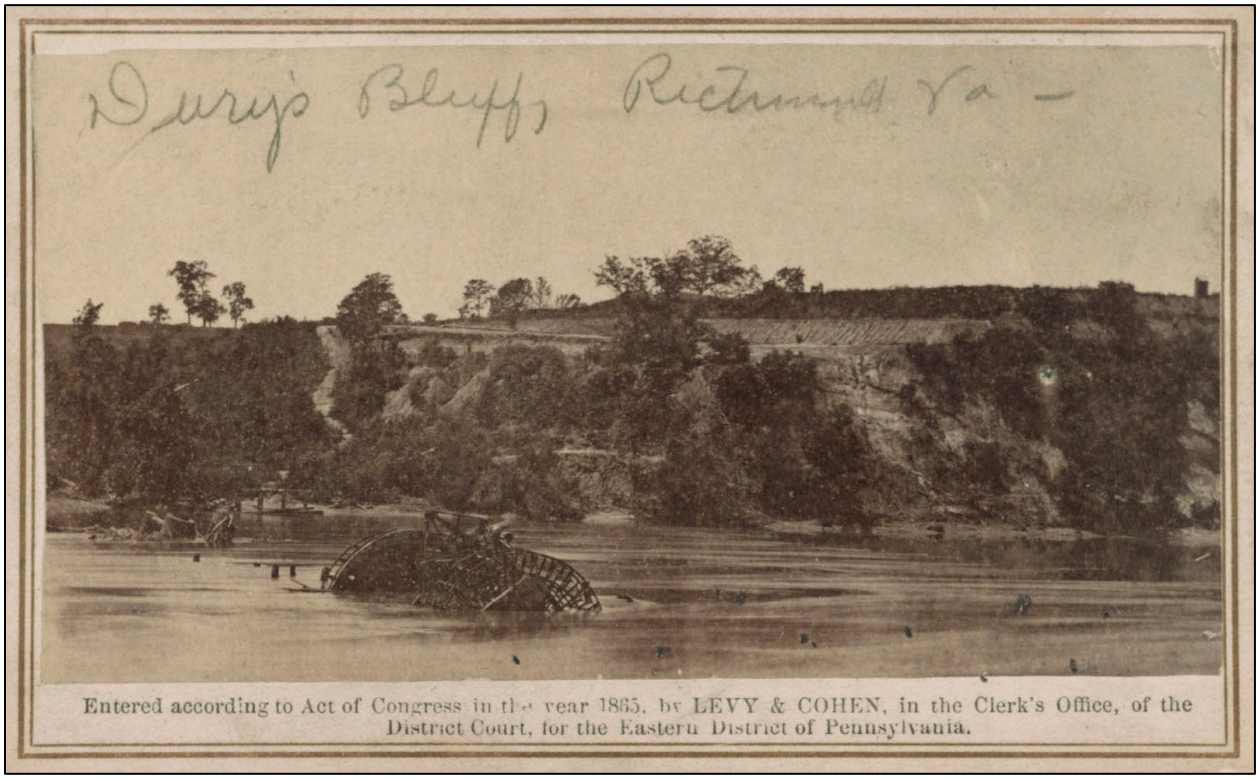


Figure 4-2. *Drewry's Bluff from the James River*, 1865. To impede Federal gunboats, the Confederates scuttled a number of vessels to serve as obstructions in the James River below the fort. Source: Levy & Cohen, Library of Congress Prints and Photographs Division, Washington, DC.

When Rodgers in the lead ship *Galena* approached at 7:15 am on May 15, he was met by plunging artillery fire from the guns on Drewry's Bluff and rifle fire from Southern infantry lining the riverbanks. After absorbing several shots, Rogers managed to maneuver *Galena* to bring his guns to bear and was able to do some damage to the fort. [408]

About 9 am, *Monitor* and *Naugatuck* joined the fight. Neither boat's guns, however, could be elevated high enough to reach the top of the bluff and *Naugatuck* was quickly put out of action after its large 100-pound, Parrott rifle burst while firing. *Aroostook* and *Port Royal* were held out of range because their wooden decks would be no match for Confederate fire. The artillery exchange continued for about four hours before Rodgers gave the signal to discontinue the action. *Galena* had suffered severely from approximately 45 hits and its boiler had been penetrated, which limited maneuverability. Casualties on the Federal side amounted to at least 14 dead and 13 wounded, while the Confederates had 7 killed and 8 wounded. Fort Drewry and its defenders had, for the time being, saved Richmond from a naval assault that might have turned the tide of the Civil War.[409]

[408] NPS, "Drewry's Bluff;" Robinson, "Drewry's Bluff," 173; William H. Thiesen, "Revenue Cutter Service Gunboard *E. A. Stevens*: The Stevens Family's Civil War Experiment in Modern Naval Technology," *Nautical Research Journal* 154, no. 3 (2009), 149.

[409] Sears, *To the Gates of Richmond*, 93–94; Thiesen, "Revenue Cutter Service Gunboard *E. A. Stevens*," 149–150.



Figure 4-3. *Columbiad gun in Fort Drewry*, 1865. The extensive view of the James River from Drewry's Bluff made it an ideal location for a fortification to protect the approach to Richmond on the James River. Source: Library of Congress Prints and Photographs Division, Washington, DC.

McClellan's March to the Chickahominy River

Despite McClellan's caution in moving up the peninsula, the Army of the Potomac had reached the gates of Richmond by mid-May 1862. After seizing control of the southern portion of the Richmond and York River Railroad and securing a supply head at White House Landing on the Pamunkey River, McClellan reached the Chickahominy River and began planning to lay siege to Richmond. Eager to press the advantage, Lincoln urged McClellan to attack the city immediately and ordered the US War Department to release Major General Irvin McDowell's First Corps, which had been held back to defend Washington, to march overland and join McClellan. Robert E. Lee, who was then serving as Confederate President Jefferson Davis' military advisor, worried that the junction of

McDowell's corps with McClellan's army would diminish the chances of protecting Richmond and urged Major General Thomas "Stonewall" Jackson, the commander of the Confederate forces in the Shenandoah Valley, to create a diversion he hoped would prevent the union. Jackson turned Lee's suggestion into his famous Valley Campaign, during which he used the topography of the area and a series of forced marches to outmaneuver and defeat three separate US Army units in the Shenandoah Valley. The havoc Jackson caused had the desired effect, as McDowell was ordered to remain in northern Virginia to prevent an attack on Washington and was able to send on one of his divisions to McClellan. The loss of McDowell's full force infuriated McClellan and fueled his cautiousness in the belief that his force was badly outnumbered.[410]

As McClellan deployed his army on both sides of the swampy Chickahominy, Johnston received intelligence that McDowell was heading toward Jackson and decided to attack the two Federal corps south of the river near the hamlet of Seven Pines during the early morning of May 31. The ensuing two-day battle of Seven Pines (also known as the Battle of Fair Oaks) was a hard-fought but inconclusive engagement where both sides claimed victory. It would prove, however, to be extremely consequential to McClellan's campaign and the conduct of the war thereafter, as Johnston suffered a severe wound during the fighting on May 31, which created a vacancy that Davis filled by appointing Lee.[411]

As McClellan prepared to lay siege to Richmond using the captured portion of the Richmond and York River Railroad to bring his big guns closer to the city, Lee spent the first few weeks of June reorganizing the Army of Northern Virginia and improving the lines of earthen fortifications that nearly encircled Richmond. The Richmond defenses consisted of concentric inner, intermediate, and outer rings that were initially laid out in 1861–1862 and improved as the Civil War wore on (Figure 4-4).

Andrew Talcott, an engineer for the State of Virginia and a West Point graduate, was the architect of the Inner Line, which was started soon after the war began and consisted of 17 forts or semi-enclosed works around the outskirts of the city. When a lack of labor slowed construction, Richmond city officials resorted to impressing free and enslaved African Americans to complete the works (see *Contributions of African Americans* below). McClellan's advance up the Virginia Peninsula added urgency to the work after inspections conducted by the Confederate Engineer Bureau indicated that many of the forts were unfinished and others were inadequately armed.[412] As a consequence, work on a new line began in March 1862 under the direction of Captain Alfred L. Rives, a French-born engineer who had studied at the École Polytechnique in Paris and had worked on US Quartermaster General Montgomery Meigs' staff before the Civil War. Later known as the Intermediate Line, it formed a continuous semi-circle 2–3 miles from the city center.[413]

[410] Rickard, "Peninsula Campaign of 1862;" Sears, *To the Gates of Richmond*, 97, 100–110.

[411] Sears, *To the Gates of Richmond,* 119–147.

[412] Earl J. Hess, *Field Armies and Fortifications in the Civil War: The Eastern Campaigns, 1861–1864* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2005), 17, 43, 99, 100; J. E. Kaufmann and H. W. Kaufmann, *Fortress America: The Forts that Defended America, 1600 to the Present* (Cambridge, MA: Da Capo Press, 2004), 285, 287.

[413] Hess, *Field Armies and Fortifications in the Civil War*, 17–18, 112; Kaufmann and Kaufmann, *Fortress America*, 285, 287–288.

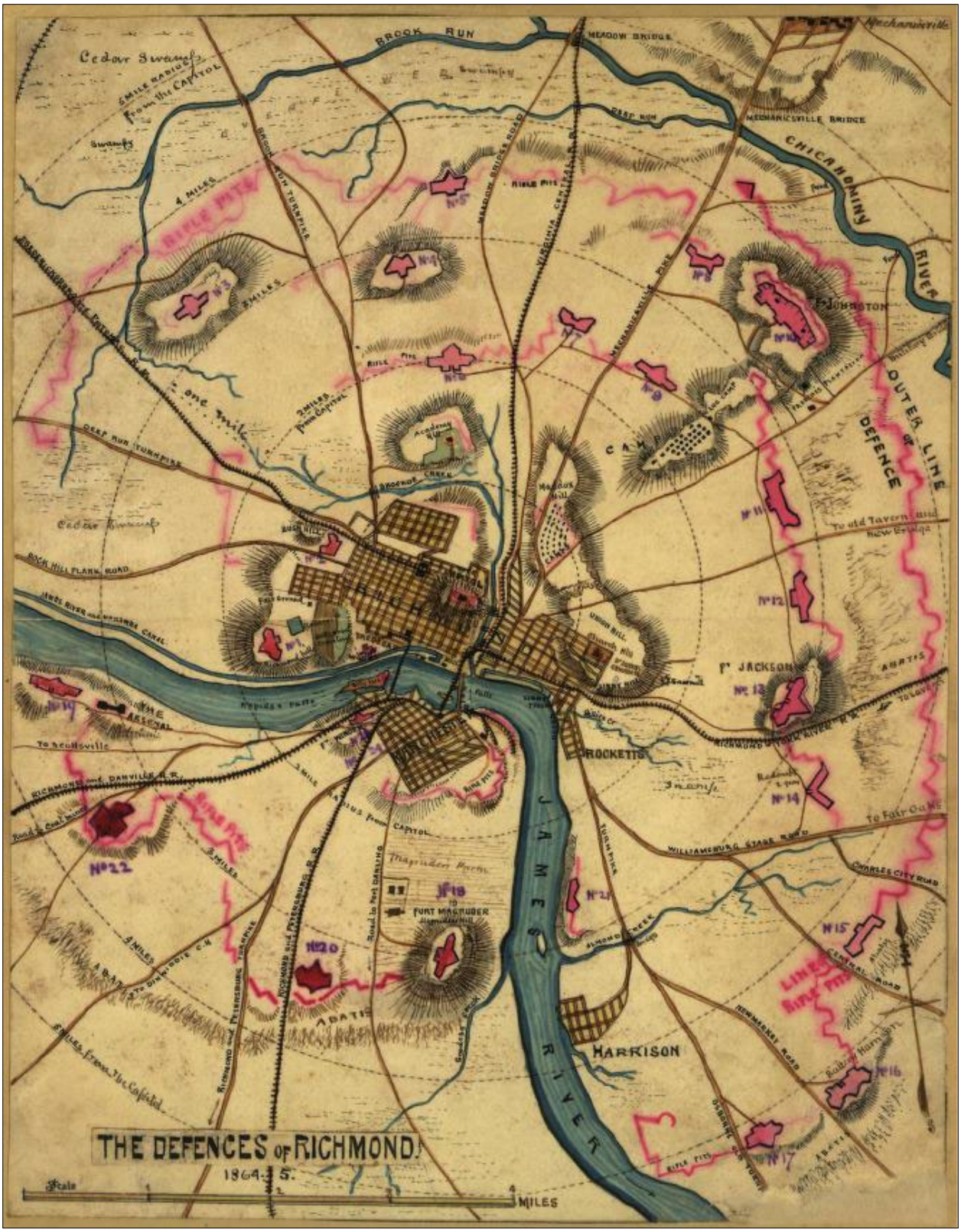


Figure 4-4. *The Defences* [sic] *of Richmond, 1864–1865*. The plan shows the Inner, Intermediate, and Outer lines that were begun in 1861 and 1862 and were perfected throughout the war. Source: Library of Congress Geography and Map Division, Washington, DC.

The Outer Line of fortifications was established in the positions that the Confederates occupied following the Battle of Seven Pines (May 31–June 1, 1862). Lee wanted the line to be strong enough that it could be manned by a small force so that the bulk of his troops would be available for offensive operations against McClellan. Lieutenant Colonel Walter Husted Stevens, an 1848 graduate of West Point, was put in charge of laying out the Outer Line, which was constructed about 1 mile beyond the Intermediate Line and stretched in a long arc that was anchored on the north and south by the James River. Although the Richmond press derided Lee's ardor for earthworks and seeming inaction against McClellan, nicknaming him "Granny Lee" and the "King of Spades," the formidable lines worked as intended by allowing Lee to take the offensive with the maximum number of troops available to him and would later figure prominently in the actions of the Overland Campaign in 1864.[414]

The Seven Days, June 25–July 1, 1862

On June 23, 1862, Lee met with Jackson, who had completed his mission in the Shenandoah Valley and was secretly moving his troops eastward, and his other division commanders, Longstreet and Major Generals Daniel Harvey (D. H.) Hill and Ambrose Powell (A. P.) Hill, to review the plan to move against McClellan. Jackson was to march on Mechanicsville from the north to attack the right rear of Federal Major General Fitz John Porter's Fifth Corps, which protected McClellan's primary supply route via the Richmond and York River Railroad. Elements of A. P. Hill's division were to cross the Chickahominy River upstream at Half Sink and work eastward to take the Meadow and Mechanicsville bridges over the river to allow for a general attack on the Federal right. If the turning movement were successful, McClellan would be forced from his fortifications to protect his supply line and could then be driven from his position in front of Richmond.[415]

Battle of Oak Grove, June 25, 1862[416]

On June 25, the day before Lee planned to make his flanking movement, McClellan unexpectedly launched an assault along Nine Mile Road toward the Old Tavern crossroads where his siege guns would be in better position to bombard Richmond (Figure 4-5). McClellan's plan was to have the Brigadier General Edwin V. Sumner's II and Major General Samuel P. Heintzelman's Third Corps take the wooded area known as Oak Grove, putting them in position to attack Old Tavern from the south. The Sixth Corps under Brigadier General William B. Franklin would support the assault on Old Tavern by coming in from the east. At about 8:30 on the morning of June 25, Third Corps brigades from Brigadier Generals Joseph Hooker's and Philip Kearny's divisions began

[414] NPS, "1862 Seven Days' Battles," Richmond National Battlefield Park, VA, 2018; Hess, *Field Armies and Fortifications in the Civil War*, 22.

[415] Brian K. Burton, "Peninsula Campaign" in *Encyclopedia Virginia*, Virginia Humanities, 2021; Robert E. L. Krick, "Peninsula Campaign: Robert E. Lee and the Seven Days," Civil War Trust, 1999; Sears, *To the Gates of Richmond,* 154, 175–176.

[416] Also known as the Battle of King's School House or French's Farm.

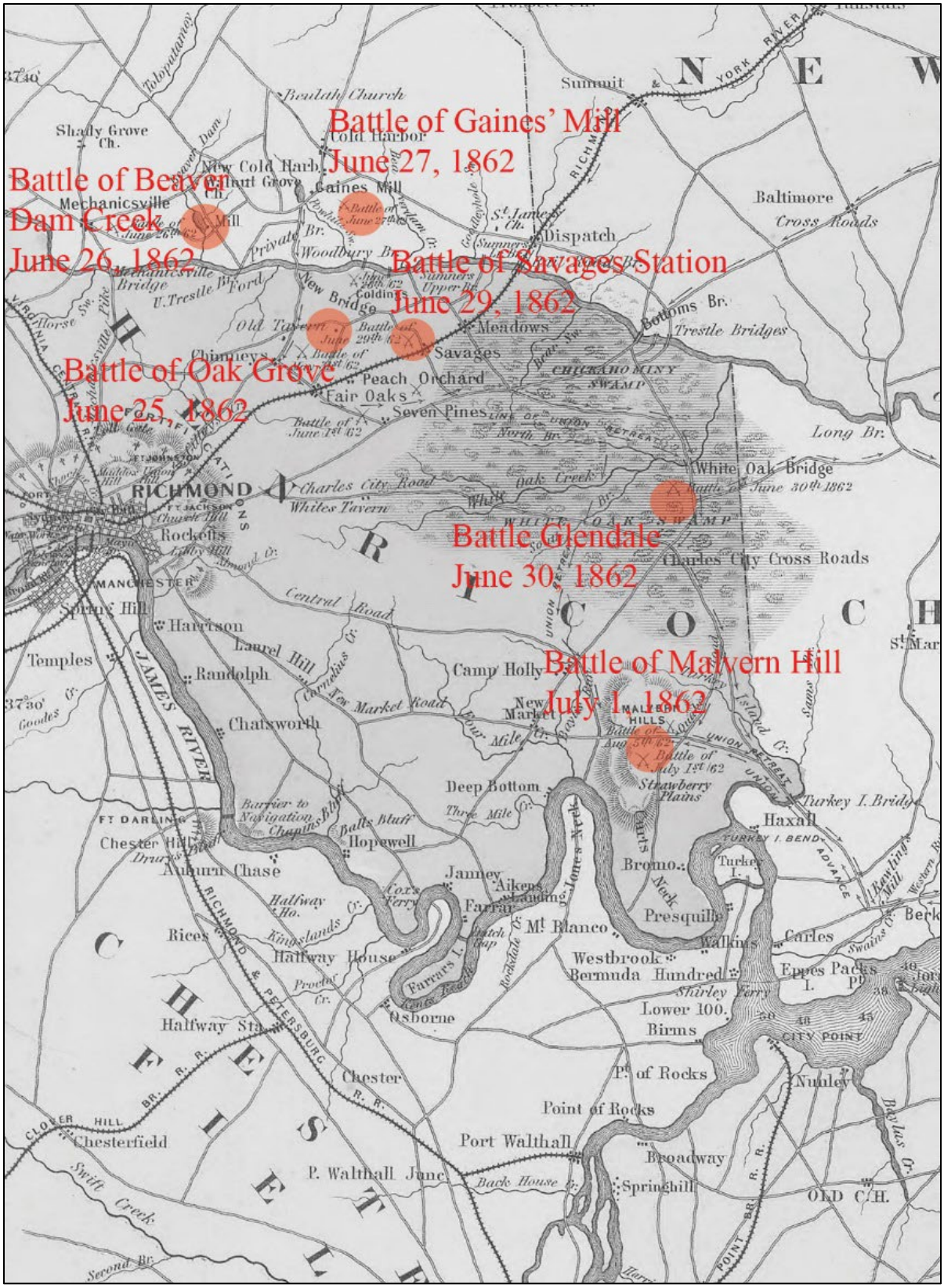


Figure 4-5. *Johnson's Map of the Vicinity of Richmond, and Peninsular Campaign in Virginia*. Annotated to show the locations of the battles of the Seven Days. Source: Alvin J. Johnson, New York, NY, 1868.

the assault on Oak Grove moving west along the Williamsburg Road. They were met by three brigades of Confederate defenders under Major General Benjamin Huger's command. The battle raged back and forth, but neither side gained any advantage and the fighting ended at nightfall. Casualties amounted to about 625 for the Federals and 440 for the Confederates.[417]

Battle of Beaver Dam Creek, June 26, 1862[418]

Although he worried that McClellan's actions on June 25 indicated that his plans had been discovered, Lee decided to go forward with his attack on the Federal right the following day. McClellan had learned that Jackson was on his way east and correctly guessed that the vulnerable right flank of Porter's Fifth Corps would be his target. Accordingly, McClellan ordered Porter to fall back from Mechanicsville to a more easily defended position behind Beaver Dam Creek. Porter established a strong line that was guarded by the swampy swollen creek in his front and steep hills that rose up from the creek valley and concentrated most of his infantry at two bridges that the Confederates would need to cross to get to him. His line extended about 1.5 miles along the elevated east bank of the creek, from a wooded area north of Old Church Road crossing south to Ellerson's Mill, where Old Cold Harbor Road (visible now as the **Old Cold Harbor Road Trace**) crossed the creek (Figure 4-6).[419] Confederate engineer and artilleryman Porter Alexander later stated that the Federal line at Beaver Dam Creek was "absolutely impregnable to a frontal attack."[420]

The success of Lee's plan depended on the rapid and coordinated movements of four separate units through miles of wooded landscape. Expecting Jackson to begin his attack at some time between 8 am and 9 am on June 26, Lee moved to **Chickahominy Bluff**, where Longstreet and D. H. Hill had assembled their troops, to observe and direct what he could of the battle. The fortified bluff was part of the Outer Line of Richmond's defenses and included the **Chickahominy Bluff Earthworks** and **Battery Nos. I and II**.[421] Apparently unaware of his critical role in signaling the start of the attack, Jackson did not move his army with the speed that had characterized his Valley Campaign and failed to communicate the delays he was experiencing to the other units. The elements of A. P. Hill's command that were responsible for taking Meadow Bridge also were delayed by stiffer than expected resistance from the Federal lines.[422]

[417] Sears, *To the Gates of Richmond*, 183–188.

[418] Also known as the Battle of Mechanicsville or Ellerson's Mill.

[419] Burton, "Peninsula Campaign," 65–67; Krick, "Peninsula Campaign: Robert E. Lee and the Seven Days;" Sears, *To the Gates of Richmond*, 200–202; United States War Department, *The War of the Rebellion: A Compilation of the Official Records of the Union and Confederate Armies,* Series 1, Volume 11, Part 1 (Washington, DC: US Government Printing Office, 1884), 54. Hereinafter cited as *O.R.* (for *Official Records*) without reference to series number, which remains the same throughout.

[420] Quoted in Sears, *To the Gates of Richmond*, 202.

[421] The battery names are current park terminology but are not necessarily historically accurate.

[422] Krick, "Peninsula Campaign: Robert E. Lee and the Seven Days;" Sears, *To the Gates of Richmond*, 196, 200–204.

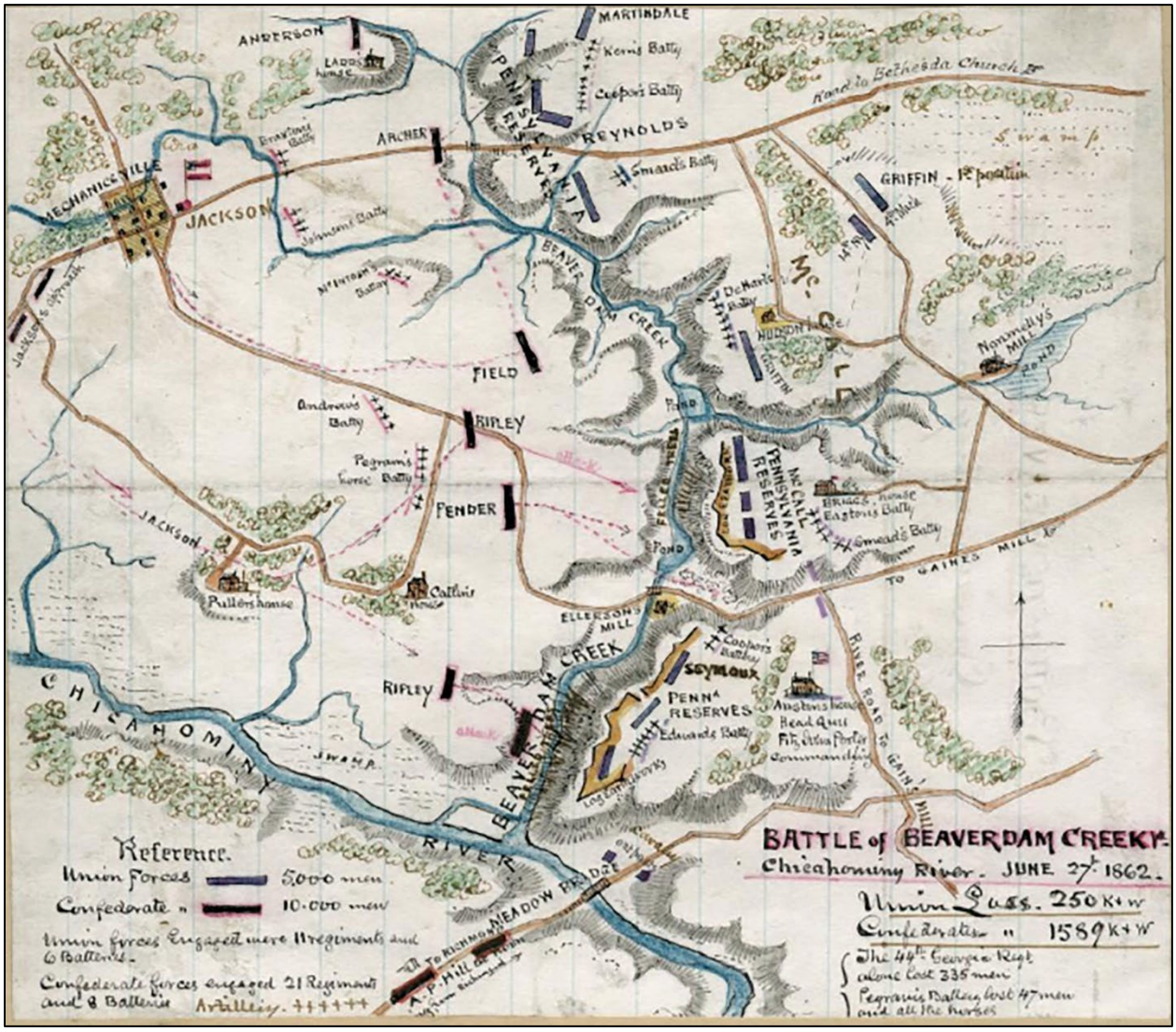


Figure 4-6. *Battle of Beaver Dam Creek, Virginia, June 27, 1862*. Source: Robert Knox Sneden, 1862–1865. Library of Congress Geography and Map Division, Washington, DC.

At about 3 pm, an impatient A. P. Hill decided to take the main body of his division across Meadow Bridge, driving Federal pickets in his front and uncovering the Mechanicsville Bridge to open the way for Longstreet and D. H. Hill. From his vantage point on Chickahominy Bluff, Lee observed action and after conferring with Hill, allowed him to continue toward the US Army's position at Beaver Dam Creek, ordering Longstreet and D. H. Hill to follow. A. P. Hill's men came under intense artillery and infantry fire as they emerged from the woods on the west side of Beaver Dam Creek and, after sustaining more than 550 casualties, Hill called off the attack.[423]

[423] Burton, "Peninsula Campaign," 64–65; Sears, *To the Gates of Richmond*, 203–204.

The Confederate assault then shifted to the Federal left via Old Cold Harbor Road, which crossed Beaver Dam Creek at Ellerson's Mill (Figure 4-7). As Brigadier General Dorsey Pender's brigade approached the western bank of the creek, it came under withering crossfire from Brigadier General Truman Seymour's Fifth Corps brigade and became entangled in abatis in the Federal front. With Pender's men pinned down and unable to retreat, D. H. Hill and Lee sent in Brigadier General Roswell Ripley's brigade, which experienced the same fate. Both brigades were forced to take cover until nightfall allowed them to slip away in the darkness after sustaining 851 casualties. The portion of the **Beaver Dam Creek Battlefield** in the Richmond NBP includes the site of **Ellerson's Mill** and its associated **Mill Race** where Seymour's brigade repelled the attacks by Pender and Ripley.[424]

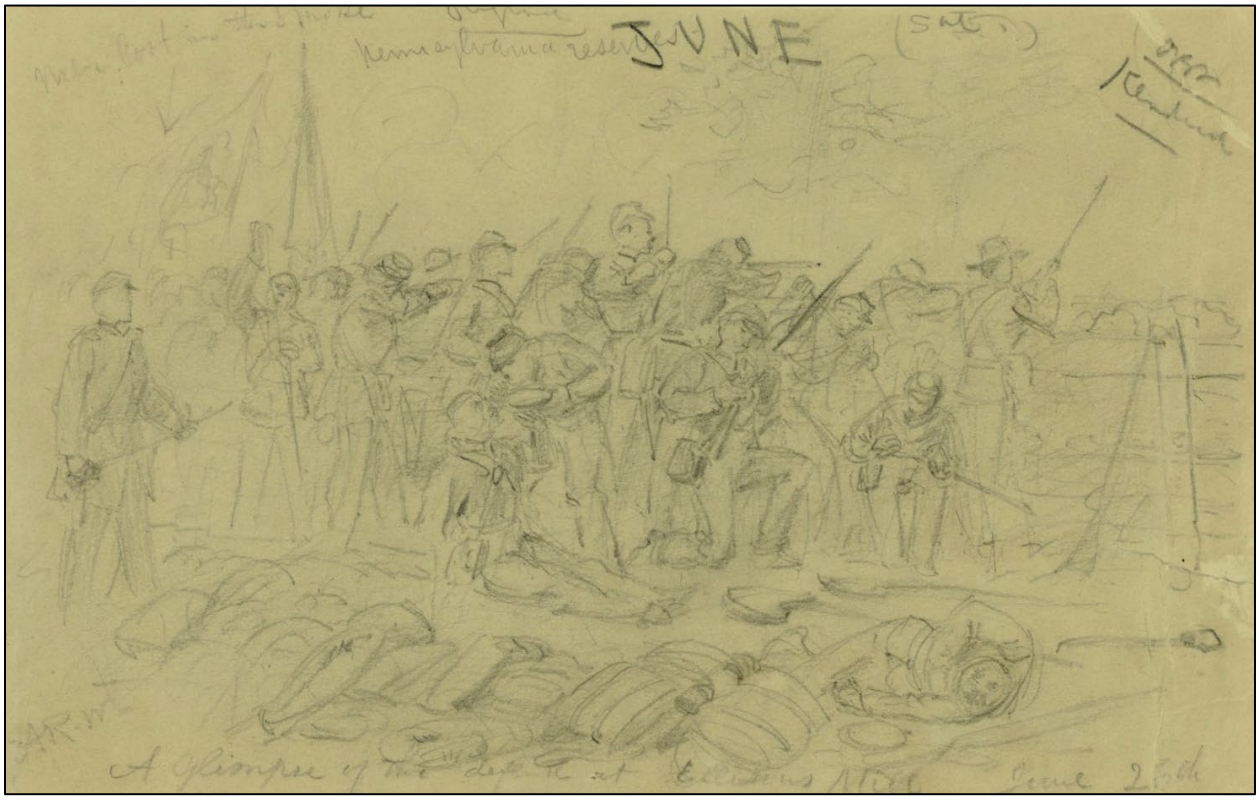


Figure 4-7. *A glimpse of the defeat at Ellerson's Mill June 26th*. Source: Alfred R. Waud, 1862, Library of Congress Prints and Photographs Division, Washington, DC.

After the Battle of Beaver Dam Creek ended during the evening of June 26, McClellan reported to Secretary of War Edwin Stanton that the Federal victory had been "complete and against all odds," adding, "I almost begin to think we are invincible." Despite holding a strong position, however, McClellan was convinced that he was greatly outnumbered and feared that his right flank remained vulnerable. He had already been planning to change his base of operations to the James River, where his supply line would be less vulnerable and the navy's gunboats could protect his army, and decided to start moving in that direction the following day. During the early morning of June 27, he ordered Porter, whose corps was to serve as the army's rearguard, to abandon the Beaver Dam Creek line

[424] Burton, "Peninsula Campaign," 74; Sears, *To the Gates of Richmond*, 204–206.

and fall back to a position on a plateau above the east bank of Boatswain's Swamp, about 1 mile southeast of the grist mill on Powhite Creek owned by Dr. William F. Gaines (see Chapter Three).[425]

Battle of Gaines' Mill, June 27, 1862[426]

Though not as strong as his position at Beaver Dam Creek, Porter's lines at Boatswain's Swamp presented a formidable front. He deployed his troops in a 1.5-mile arc along the ridge of a plateau that overlooked open farmland that provided clear lines of fire (Figure 4-8). The attacking Confederates would also have to cross more than a quarter of a mile of open, swampy land on the east side of the line and open ground and a significant ravine on the west. Porter was separated, however, from the rest of the Federal force, which was on the other side of the Chickahominy River, and he had only about 27,000 men to contend against the 60,000 troops that Lee amassed for the attack.[427]

Despite their numerical superiority, the Confederates once again had difficulty getting into position. Jackson took a wrong turn on his way to Old Cold Harbor and D. H. Hill, who was to support Jackson, arrived there first. After a brief skirmish with forces on Porter's right, Hill disengaged to await Jackson's arrival. A. P. Hill was once again left wondering why Jackson had not initiated the action at the appointed time, and launched his division against the Federal center and left at 2:30 pm. For approximately two hours, Hill's brigades launched a series of attacks that resulted in some of the fiercest fighting of the Civil War but failed to pierce Federal lines.[428]

The portion of the **Gaines' Mill Battlefield** that is in Richmond NBP encompasses the Watt farm, including the extant **Watt House**, **Watt Farm Lane**, **Watt Farm Entrance Road Trace**, **Watt House Road**. It also includes portions of the former Dr. William F. Gaines plantation where Brigadier General George W. Morell's First Division on Porter's left held against attacks from the brigades of Joseph R. Anderson and James J. Archer during Hill's assault. Preserved earthworks consist of a set of Federal **Civil War Rifle Pits** in a wooded area near Boatswain's Creek and the **Confederate Earthworks at Gaines' Mill**, which are three small entrenchments between the creek and the abandoned **Richmond and Rappahannock River Railway Bed**.[429]

The tide of the battle began to turn late in the afternoon, when Brigadier General Richard S. Ewell's division of Jackson's command advanced on the Federal center from New Cold Harbor. At the same time, Lee ordered Longstreet to come in on A. P. Hill's right and create a diversion that might force Porter to weaken his lines in front of Ewell. D. H. Hill moved to turn the Federal right flank. With the entire Federal line under assault, ammunition beginning to run low, and requested reinforcements from McClellan slow to

[425] *O.R.*, Vol. 11, Part 3, 260; Sears, *To the Gates of Richmond*, 204–213.

[426] Also known as the Battle of First Cold Harbor.

[427] NPS, "The Battle of Gaines' Mill," Richmond National Battlefield Park, VA, 2015; Sears, *To the Gates of Richmond*, 213–214.

[428] Sears, *To the Gates of Richmond*, 225–226.

[429] NPS, "The Battle of Gaines' Mill."

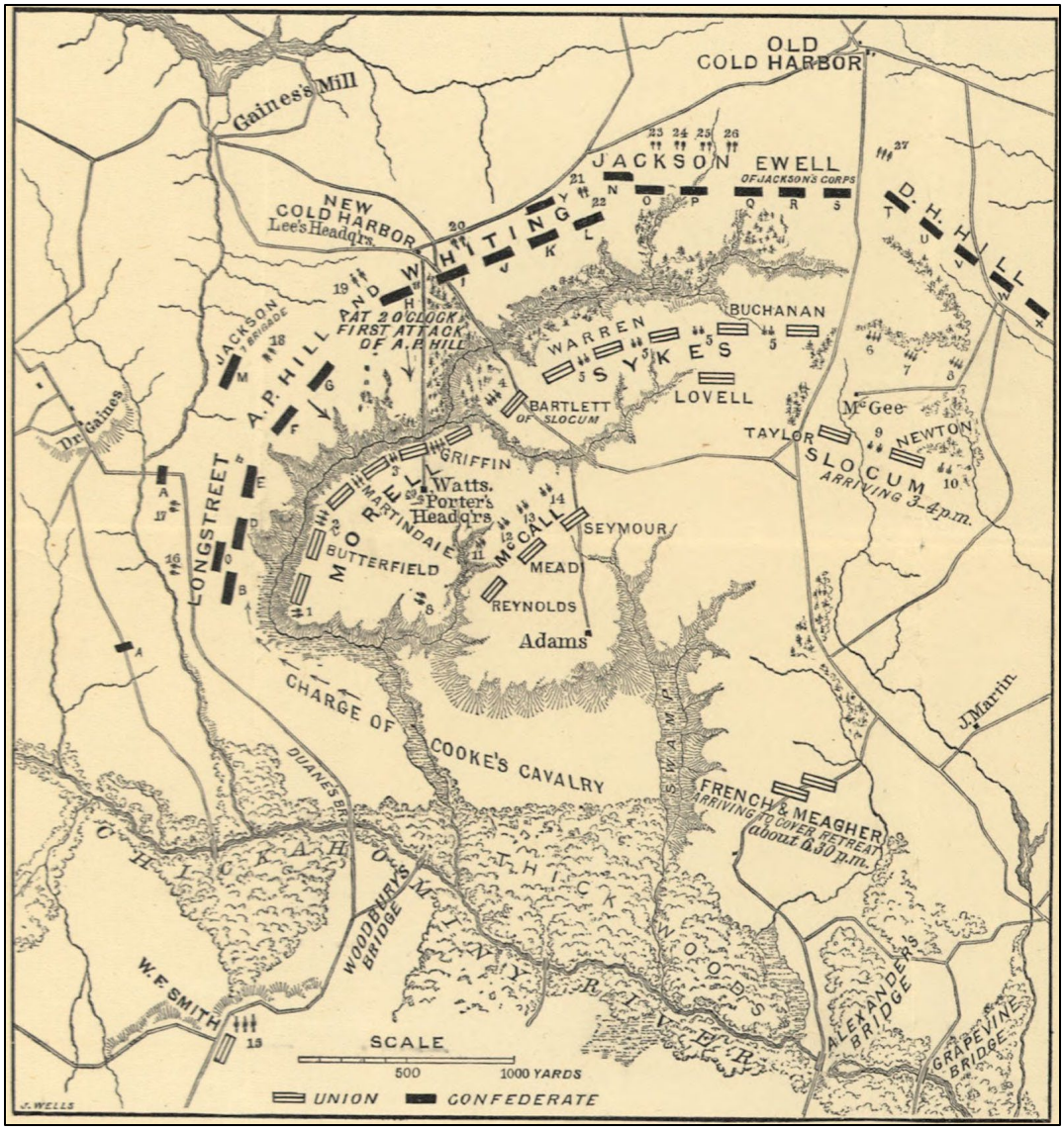


Figure 4-8. *Battle of Gaines' Mill, June 27, 1862*. Source: Jacob Wells, 1885, Library of Congress Geography and Map Division, Washington, DC.

reach the field, Porter did what he could to maintain the integrity of his position by plugging holes with units that had be held in reserve. At about 7 pm, Jackson's two remaining divisions under Brigadier Generals Charles S. Winder and W. H. C. Whiting added their weight to the general assault, which finally led to the collapse of the Federal line. Only darkness prevented a total catastrophe for Porter's corps.[430]

At the time in the Civil War, the day's casualties exceeded those of any battle except Shiloh in Tennessee. Porter lost a total of 6,837 men (894 killed, 3,114 wounded, and 2,829 captured). Among those captured were two entire regiments that were surrounded as the US Army line collapsed. Confederate casualties were worse (1,483 killed, 6,402 wounded, and 108 missing or captured), but the remaining Confederate troops controlled

[430] NPS, "The Battle of Gaines' Mill;" Sears, *To the Gates of Richmond*, 245–248.

the field. During the night, Porter's survivors crossed the Chickahominy and set fire to the bridges behind them.[431]

Battle of Savage's Station, June 29, 1862

After the US Army's loss at Gaines' Mill, McClellan met with his staff and told them of his plans to move the army to the James River. Lee, with the momentum clearly on his side, planned to hit the Federals hard on the flank while they were in motion in hopes of ruining McClellan's army. He decided to use the entire force at his disposal, including the divisions under Magruder and Huger that were protecting the defensive lines around Richmond. Lee's inability to discern McClellan's intentions, however, resulted in giving the Federals a head start on their retreat to the James River.

On June 29, Lee was informed that Sumner's Second Corps, which formed the Federal rearguard protecting a field hospital and the passage of the army's supply train, was near Savage's Station on the Richmond and York River Railroad. Lee quickly improvised a plan to send Magruder's division to attack Sumner from the west along the rail line, while Jackson moved in from the north to hit the Federal right flank. Yet again, faulty information about the route he was to take slowed Jackson, and he spent much of the day reconstructing the bridges over the Chickahominy River that Porter's men had destroyed. Without Jackson, Magruder faced a Federal force nearly twice the size of his. When he decided to move forward on his own in the late afternoon, Magruder put only about half his 14,000 troops into the assault. Sumner, who was leery of being flanked, committed just enough troops to blunt Magruder's attack.

The final action of the day occurred after 5 pm, when Major General Lafayette McLaws led his division against elements of the First and Second divisions of the Federal Second Corps under Brigadier Generals Israel B. Richardson and John Sedgwick. Neither side was able to gain an advantage before nightfall ended the battle with Sumner's line intact. Although Sumner thought he could defeat the Confederates the following day if he were reinforced, McClellan ordered him to abandon the supply train and field hospital that had been established at Savage's Station and withdraw across White Oak Swamp that night (Figure 4-9). Most of the approximately 2,500 wounded US Army soldiers being treated at the hospital became Confederate prisoners.[432]

[431] Sears, *To the Gates of Richmond*, 249.

[432] Burton, "Peninsula Campaign," 228; Krick, "Peninsula Campaign: Robert E. Lee and the Seven Days;" Laura E. Lawfer, "Battle of Savage's Station" in *Encyclopedia Virginia*, Virginia Foundation for the Humanities, 2013; James McPherson, *Battle Cry of Freedom: The Civil War Era* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1988), 468.



Figure 4-9. *Attending the wounded at Savage's Station after the Battle of Gaines' Mill*. During the Battle of Savage's Station, the Confederates captured this field hospital and the Federal wounded became prisoners. Source: James Gibson, 1862, Library of Congress Prints and Photographs Division, Washington, DC.

Battle of Glendale, June 30, 1862[433]

Having received reports that advanced units of McClellan's army had reached the James River and were establishing a defensive position on Malvern Hill, Lee decided to attack the Federal rearguard as it retreated from White Oak Swamp. Although he was frustrated with the inability of his generals, particularly Jackson, to carry out his instructions in the previous engagements, Lee's plans for June 30 called for a complicated set of maneuvers to concentrate seven divisions at an area known as the Glendale Crossroads, where Long Bridge, Charles City, and Willis Church (or Quaker) roads intersected.[434] Huger's division, which had yet to see action during the campaign, was to move east along the Charles City Road and attack first. Longstreet's and A. P. Hill's divisions were to come in from the northwest along the Darbytown and Long Bridge roads and strike the main blow. Jackson, accompanied by D. H. Hill, was to rebuild the bridge destroyed in the previous day's fighting at Savage's Station and attack the US Army's rearguard at White Oak Swamp

[433] Also known as the Battle of White Oak Swamp or Frayser's Farm.

[434] The Crossroads consisted of the intersection of Long Bridge, Charles City, and Willis Church (or Quaker) roads and the surrounding properties, including the Whitlock, Nelson (Frayser or Glendale), and Riddell farms and the Willis Methodist Church. JMA, *Glendale and Malvern Hill*, 66.

Bridge. Magruder was to march in a wide arc to the southwest and join Major General Theophilus Holmes' division in an assault on the Federal left.[435]

For reasons that are difficult to understand given the gravity of the moment, McClellan left the fate of the Federal forces that had not reached the James River in the hands of the corps commanders. The lack of coordination was evident as the Federal forces from the Second, Third, Fifth, and Sixth corps took up positions on what became the **Glendale Battlefield** (Figure 4-10). The dispositions were such that divisions were intermixed along the line and, taking orders from their corps commanders, did little to communicate with each other as the battle unfolded.[436]

Due to poor execution of Lee's orders, however, only Longstreet and A. P. Hill managed to get their men into action against the makeshift Federal line. Huger was slowed by an obstruction of trees felled by Federal forces athwart Charles City Road, and Jackson spent much of the afternoon searching for a ford through White Oak Swamp after finding stiff Federal resistance at the bridge crossing.[437]

After waiting fruitlessly for Huger and Jackson to make their moves, Lee ordered Longstreet to begin his advance on the US Army's center at about 4 pm. McCall's Fifth Corps division, which was exhausted from the fighting at Beaver Dam Creek, took the brunt of the initial Confederate assault as Brigadier General James L. Kemper's brigade exploited a gap to roll-up McCall's exposed left flank manned by Seymour's brigade.

On Seymour's right, Brigadier General George G. Meade's brigade engaged Brigadier General Cadmus M. Wilcox's brigade in a desperate fight to retain control of a Federal artillery battery. The Confederate attackers were eventually driven back when fresh troops came to Meade's aid. On Meade's right, Kearny's division repulsed a heavy Confederate attack led by Brigadier General Roger A. Pryor (Figure 4-11).

As the battle surged back and forth, both sides continued to pour in more troops until darkness ended the fighting. Casualties on both sides were about the same (3,673 Confederates to the Federals' 3,797), but a far greater percentage of Confederate troops were killed or wounded. Once again, the Federal lines remained intact; however, without word from McClellan, the commanding generals in the field made successive decisions to continue the retreat toward the James River, leaving the Confederates in charge of the field. Lee felt, however, that he had lost his last best chance to destroy McClellan's army, and his mounting frustration with his generals would factor into the questionable decisions he made the following day at Malvern Hill.[438]

[435] Burton, "Peninsula Campaign," 232–234; W. R. Feeney, "Battle of Glendale" in *Encyclopedia Virginia*, Virginia Foundation for the Humanities, 2011; Sears, *To the Gates of Richmond*, 278–279.

[436] Burton, "Peninsula Campaign," 242–243; Sears, *To the Gates of Richmond*, 281–282.

[437] Sears, *To the Gates of Richmond*, 285–289.

[438] Sears, *To the Gates of Richmond*, 293–295, 307.



Figure 4-10. *Battle of Glendale or Frasier's* [sic] *Farm, VA, June 1862*. Source: Robert Knox Sneden, 1862–1865. Library of Congress Geography and Map Division, Washington, DC.

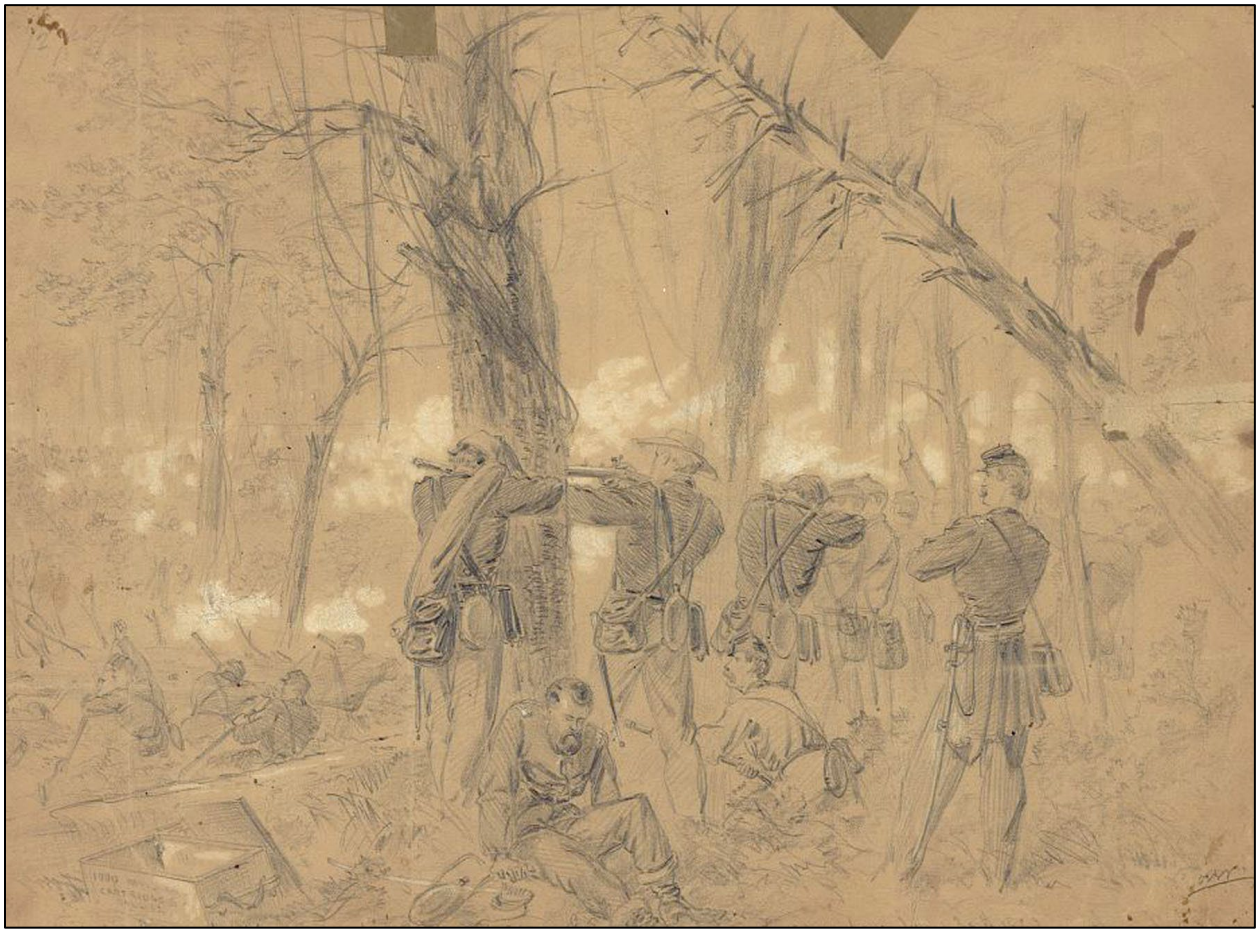


Figure 4-11. *Fighting in the woods, Kearny's division repulsing the enemy, Monday, June 30th, 1862*. Source: Alfred R. Waud, 1862, Library of Congress Prints and Photographs Division, Washington, DC.

Battle of Malvern Hill, July 1, 1862

Despite knowing that the Federals held a strong position on Malvern Hill, Lee decided on one last try to win a decisive victory against what he believed to be an exhausted and demoralized foe. His plan involved deploying the divisions of Jackson, Magruder, and Huger, which had not participated at Glendale. Jackson came in from the north on Willis Church Road and formed the Confederate left. D. H. Hill placed his division astride the **Willis Church Road** near the **Willis Methodist Church Parsonage** (ruins extant) at the center of the Confederate line. Magruder was to follow Jackson and fill the space on Hill's right but had trouble finding the way and lost hours in marching and countermarching. Two of Huger's brigades under Brigadier Generals Lewis A. Armistead and Ambrose R. Wright ultimately took Magruder's spot, while Brigadier General Robert Ransom's

Brigade lagged in a position between **Carter's Mill Road** and Western Run near the **T. French Grist Mill Dam**. Once again, Lee's plans began to unravel before the battle began because his subordinates were unable to reach their designated stations at the proper times.[439]

[439] Sears, *To the Gates of Richmond*, 312–317.

The Federal position on the **Malvern Hill Battlefield** on the morning of July 1 consisted of four infantry divisions placed in an inverted U-shape around the crest of Malvern Hill, which sloped gently up to 100 ft from the surrounding open farmland and was flanked by deep ravines (Figure 4-12). The hill provided an excellent field of fire in the directions from which the Confederates could approach. Fitz John Porter, who assumed command due to McClellan's absence from the field, massed about 40 pieces of artillery on each side of the hill. Another four divisions numbering about 70,000 troops and an additional 150 cannons were in close support to the south. The troops used the farm roads in the area to reach their positions and to access other areas of the battlefield during the fight. The **Crew Farm Road** and **Lane** and the **West House Driveway** are extant, and traces of the **West Farm Road** and **Garthright Farm Southern Entrance Road** remain.[440]

As the Confederate units converged on Malvern Hill, Lee conferred with Longstreet about organizing a massed artillery barrage from both sides of the hill in hopes that the converging crossfire might knock out the Federal guns. However, the Confederate practice of deploying batteries with each brigade rather than with the larger division made it difficult to assemble the guns, and the barrage was far less effective than anticipated. Once the Federal gunners found the range, they were able to silence the Confederate batteries, wounding about 100 troops in the process.[441]

After realizing that the artillery barrage was not going to succeed, Lee decided to reconnoiter the Federal left for a possible attack or a way to bypass Malvern Hill. While Lee was away from the battlefield, Huger advanced against pickets in his front. Magruder, who had finally reached the field in the late afternoon, realized that he had arrived at the proper time to execute Lee's old and now-abandoned attack orders. He sent a courier to Lee to announce his intention and commenced an attack along Carter's Mill Road. Hearing the firing, D. H. Hill and other units from Jackson's command advanced on Magruder's left. With no opposition from Confederate batteries, the Federal artillery and infantry fire easily repulsed the attacks. Once the attack started, Lee rode back to find a battle raging out of his control. With no alternative but to support the attack, Lee threw more units into the fray against the Federal center and right where Porter, with a deep reserve of fresh troops and artillery, was able to repel them. The uneven Confederate attacks against a strong Federal position resulted in fearsome slaughter that ended only after darkness fell. The battle was over, but the Confederates did not yet know it. Men were stuck in the middle of the field, fearful that a Federal counterattack the next morning would result in the destruction of the Confederate army. Instead, McClellan decided to continue his retreat to the James River, after his troops killed or wounded 5,650 of the attacking Confederates and 3,007 of their own men were killed or wounded, many in the nighttime fighting near the Crew farm and Methodist parsonage.[442]

[440] Michael P. Gabriel, "Battle of Malvern Hill" in *Encyclopedia Virginia*, Virginia Foundation for the Humanities, 2011; McPherson, *Battle Cry of Freedom*, 469; NPS, "The Battle of Malvern Hill," Richmond National Battlefield Park, VA, 2015; Sears, *To the Gates of Richmond*, 311.

[441] Sears, *To the Gates of Richmond*, 317.

[442] Gabriel, "Battle of Malvern Hill;" Sears, *To the Gates of Richmond*, 317, 322–323, 335; NPS, "The Battle of Malvern Hill."

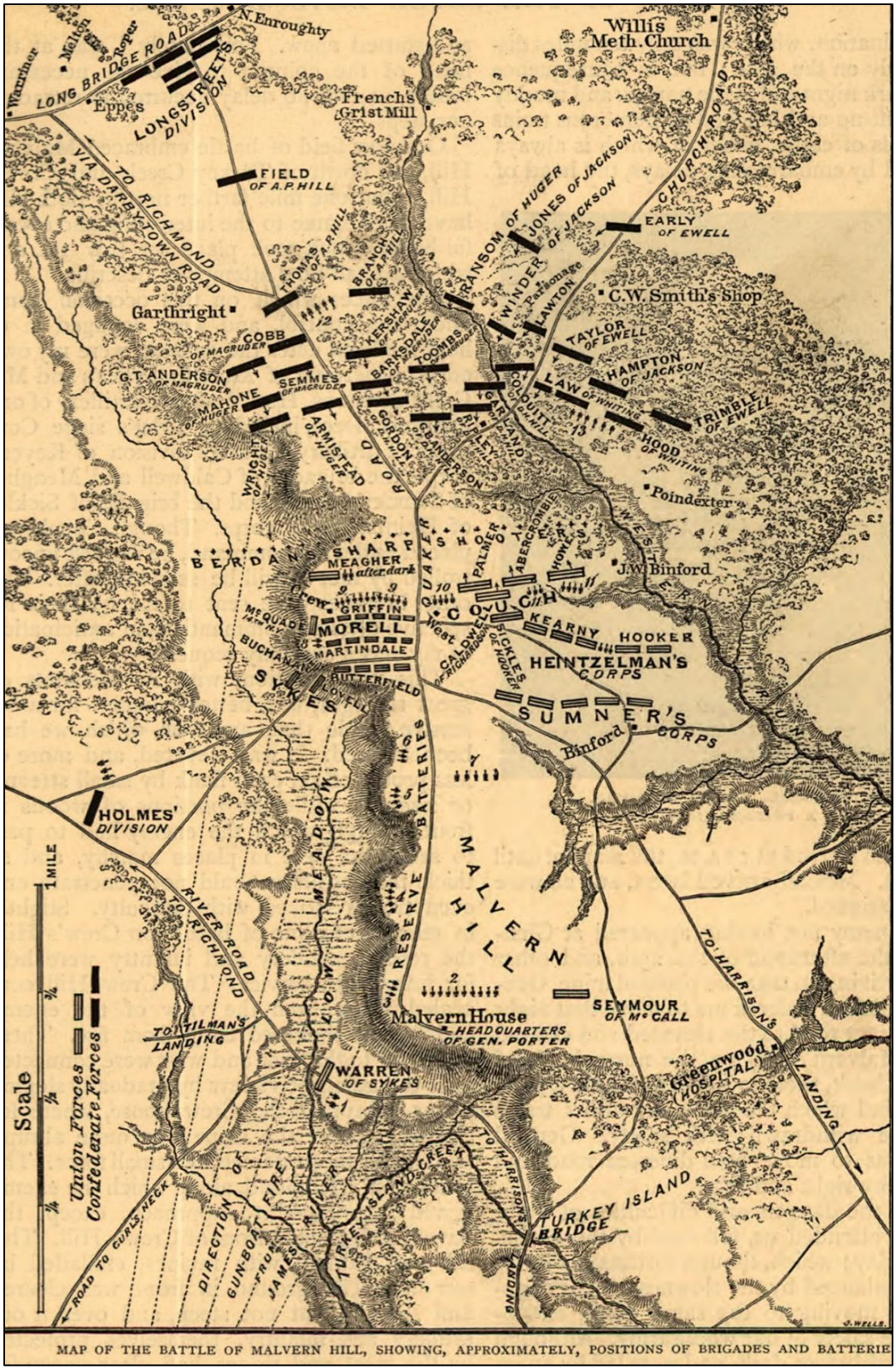


Figure 4-12. *Map of the Battle of Malvern Hill, showing approximate positions of brigades and batteries [July 1, 1862]*. Source: Jacob Wells, 1885, Library of Congress Geography and Map Division, Washington, DC.

By the following morning, July 2, 1862, the Federal forces were well on their way to Harrison's Landing and the safety afforded by the navy's gunboats. McClellan waited there for more than a month without conducting any significant operations before the Army of the Potomac was recalled to confront a threat from Lee's army as it moved into northern Virginia. The last Federal troops embarked from the landing on August 16. Lee was hailed throughout the Confederacy as the savior of Richmond, but the battles of the Seven Days were a mixed success. The Confederates suffered about 20,000 casualties to the Federal army's 15,000, and only Gaines' Mill could be counted as a decisive victory. Continually frustrated by the performance of his generals, Lee reorganized the Army of Northern Virginia after the campaign, ensuring that Richmond would not be seriously threatened again until the spring of 1864.[443]

The Overland Campaign, May 4–June 15, 1864[444]

On March 12, 1864, Lincoln promoted Ulysses S. Grant, who had orchestrated the major Federal victories at Vicksburg (Mississippi) and Chattanooga (Tennessee) the previous year, to the rank of Lieutenant General and gave him overall command of all US armies. Grant came to the position with the outlines of a plan to launch a series of simultaneous offensives designed to destroy the South's capacity to wage war. Federal forces in the West under Major General William T. Sherman were to march on Atlanta, destroy the main western body of the Confederate army under Joseph E. Johnston, and devastate the resources of central Georgia. Major General Nathaniel P. Banks was to coordinate with the US Navy blockading force in the Gulf of Mexico under Admiral David Farragut to seize Mobile, Alabama. The defeat of Lee's Army of Northern Virginia and the capture of Richmond were the primary goals of a three-pronged operation that Grant planned in the East. The main force, consisting of the Army of the Potomac under the command of Major General George Meade and Major General Ambrose Burnside's independent Ninth Corps, was to move across the Rapidan River toward Richmond in hopes of drawing Lee into a decisive battle. At the same time, Major General Benjamin F. Butler's Army of the James was to establish a position at Bermuda Hundred on the James River to threaten Richmond from the south, and Major General Franz Sigel with about 23,000 Federal troops was to operate in the Shenandoah Valley to disrupt Confederate supply lines and draw troops away from the main body of Lee's army.[445]

The US Army offensives got underway simultaneously during the first week of May 1864. Grant decided to personally oversee the Army of the Potomac's operations against Lee during what became known as the Overland Campaign. On May 4, about 120,000 Federal troops crossed the Rapidan River and the following day were met by Lee's Army of Northern Virginia consisting of approximately 70,000 troops (Figure 4-13). The two sides engaged at the vicious Battle of the Wilderness (May 5–7), during which the Federal army suffered more than 18,000 casualties, while the Confederates incurred about 11,400.

[443] Sears, *To the Gates of Richmond*, 355.

[444] Fredericksburg and Spotsylvania National Military Park preserves and interprets the battlefields and other places that are associated with the early part of the Overland Campaign, including the Battles of the Wilderness and Spotsylvania Court House.

[445] Richard W. Stewart, *American Military History, Volume 1: The United States Army and the Forging of a Nation, 1775–1917* (Washington, DC: Center of Military History, United States Army, 2009), 284–285.

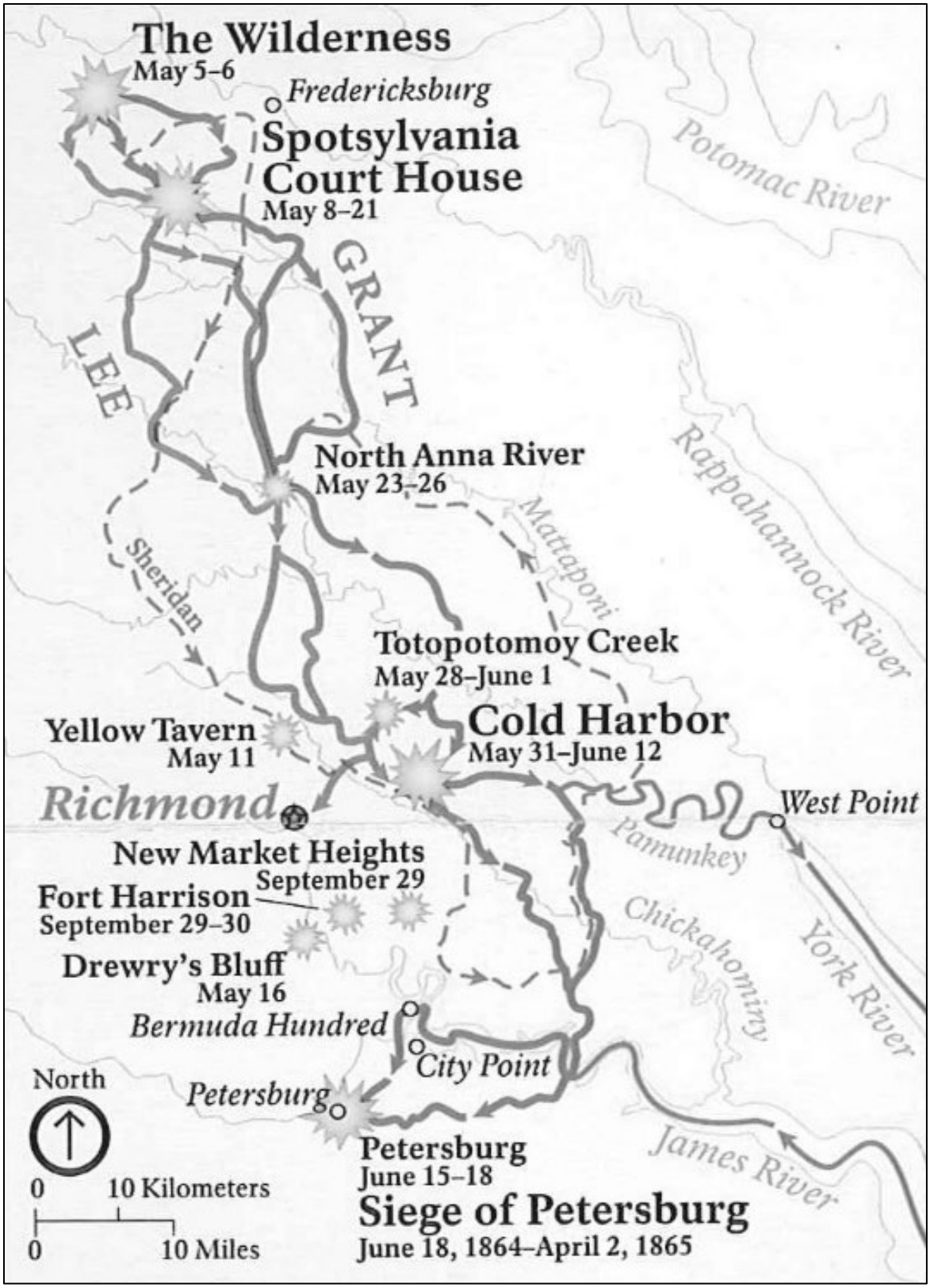


Figure 4-13. Major actions associated with the Overland and Richmond-Petersburg campaigns. Source: Richmond National Battlefield Park.

Unlike previous Federal commanders, however, Grant understood the advantage the United States held in its capacity to replace troops and military materiel much more easily than the Confederacy could accomplish. Instead of retreating, Grant ordered an advance around Lee's right flank toward Richmond. Lee was quick to respond, however, and established a strong defensive position north of the seat of Spotsylvania County on May 8. For nearly two weeks, Grant and Meade tried several assaults at different sectors of the Confederate lines, only to be thwarted by Lee's ability to move men and artillery to points where they were needed most. The Battle of Spotsylvania Court House produced a total of about 30,000 casualties, of which 18,000 were sustained by the Army of the Potomac. [446]

While Grant and Lee faced each other at Spotsylvania Courthouse, the other parts of Grant's plan in the East failed to produce results. Sigel was defeated at the Battle of New Market (May 15, 1864) by a Confederate force under Major General John C. Breckinridge and thereafter retreated northward, abandoning his mission to damage the Confederate supply lines from the Shenandoah Valley. After establishing his position at Bermuda Hundred in early May, Butler was unable to exploit his advantage against the inferior number of Confederate troops that manned the fortifications around Richmond and Petersburg before being trapped in his lines by May 20 (see *Butler's Operations at Bermuda Hundred* below). The one bright spot for Grant's campaign came when Federal Cavalry Commander Major General Philip Sheridan defeated Major General James E. B. (Jeb) Stuart's cavalry at the Battle of Yellow Tavern (May 11, 1864). The battle was among the few Federal cavalry victories of the Civil War at that time and resulted in the mortal wounding of Stuart, thus robbing Lee of his most trusted cavalry officer.

Battle of North Anna, May 23–26, 1864

Grant disengaged from his lines at Spotsylvania Courthouse on May 21 and made another attempt to get around Lee's right flank. Lee responded by moving quickly to Telegraph Road—the key transportation route south through the area. By the morning of May 22, the Confederates established their lines along the south bank of the North Anna River near Chesterfield. Grant followed Lee on Telegraph Road and reached the north side of the river on May 23. That evening, three brigades of the Federal Second Corps under Major General Winfield Hancock stormed Colonel John Henagan's South Carolina brigade, the only Confederates on the north side of the river, at a small earthen redoubt guarding the Chesterfield Bridge crossing on Telegraph Road. Hancock's men seized the bridge but did not advance farther south across the river. Meanwhile, Meade's Fifth Corps under the command of Major General Gouverneur K. Warren crossed the river 4 miles upstream at Jericho Mills and was attacked by Wilcox's division, which advanced from Noel's Station on the Virginia Central Railroad. However, the attack dissolved when one of Wilcox's brigades broke ranks and fell back to the railroad (Figure 4-14).

The **North Anna Battlefield** site in Richmond NBP contains land that was part of the Fontaine family's Rock Castle plantation (see Chapter Three) where the action at Jericho Mills occurred. Resources include **Farm Road Traces**, including one that led down to the ford on the river at the mills; a **Federal Road Trace** that is a remnant of a road

[446] McPherson, *Battle Cry of Freedom*, 723–733; Gordon C. Rhea, *The Battle of Cold Harbor*, National Park Civil War Series (Fort Washington, PA: Eastern National Press, 2001), 2–23.

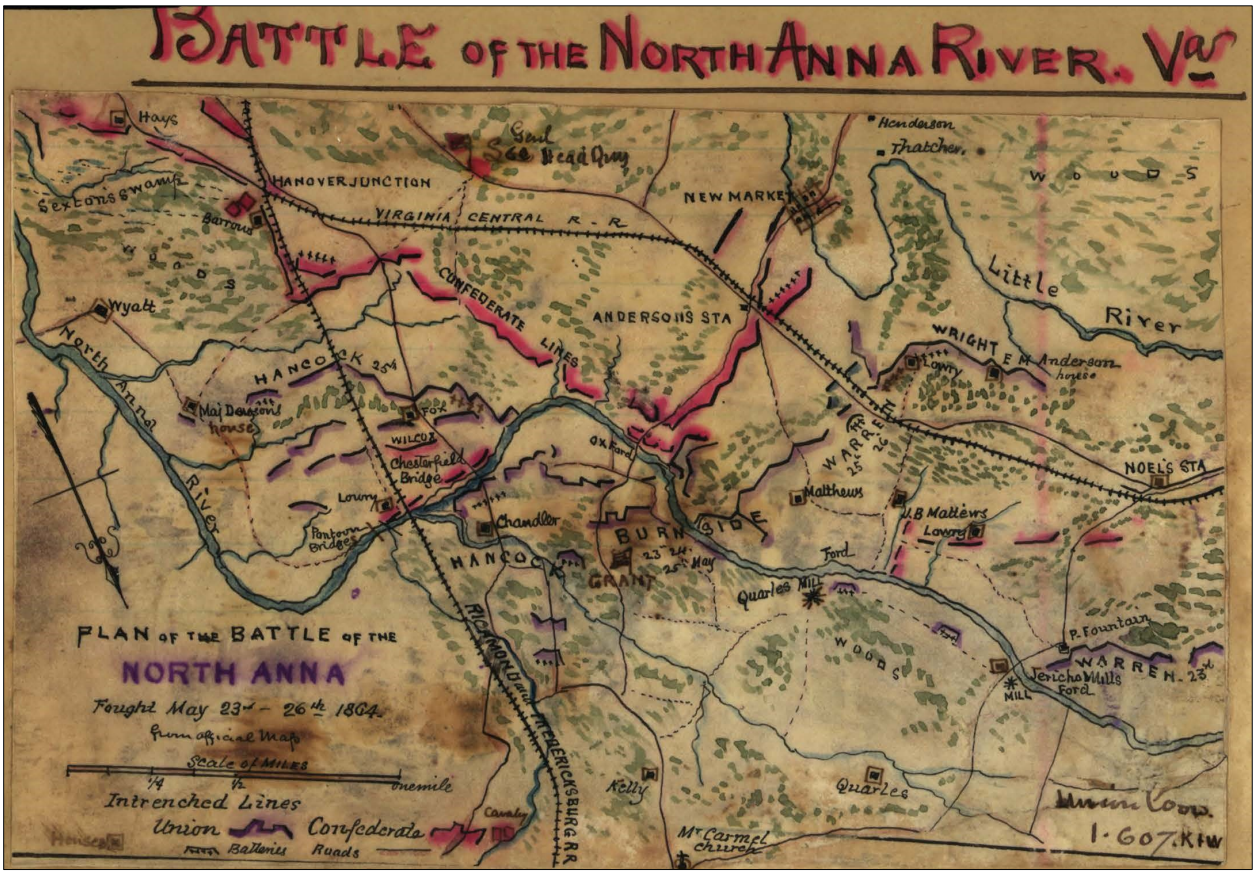


Figure 4-14. *Plan of the Battle of the North Anna, Fought May 23rd–26th 1864*. Source: Robert Knox Sneden, 1864. Library of Congress Geography and Map Division, Washington, DC.

constructed by Federal army engineers during the battle along a terrace above the mills; and **Federal Earthworks** constructed by Warren's corps.[447]

Following the actions at Chesterfield Bridge and Jericho Mills, Lee contracted his lines into an inverted V-shape with its apex on a bluff on the south side of the North Anna River above Ox Ford. The move drove a wedge between Warren's and Hancock's forces and would allow Lee to easily shift troops on interior lines to meet their attacks on either flank. The divided Federal corps could not support one another without marching 6 miles and crossing the river twice. Hancock crossed the river at Telegraph Road on the morning of May 24 and moved south toward the Confederate works on the eastern leg of the inverted V, and Warren moved southeast toward the western leg.

The opportunity to exploit the divided Federal forces was lost when Lee took ill and was confined to headquarters near Hanover Junction, leaving him unable to direct the complex operation. The most significant action of the day occurred in the early afternoon, when Burnside, whose Ninth Corps occupied the Federal center, ordered

[447] NPS, "The Battle of North Anna," Fredericksburg & Spotsylvania National Military Park, VA, 2018; Gordon C. Rhea, *To the North Anna River: Grant and Lee, May 13–25, 1864* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 2000).

Brigadier General James Hewett Ledlie to assault the salient at Ox Ford and was repulsed by Brigadier General William Mahone's Confederates.[448]

Realizing the vulnerable positions of the separated Federal corps, Grant halted further advances during the evening of May 24. For the next two days, the armies faced each other across miles of earthworks. On May 27, Grant decided to pull back and take his army in a wide southeast swing toward White House Landing, where he, like McClellan in 1862, could establish a new supply line using the Pamunkey River and put the Army of the Potomac in position to assault Richmond from the northeast. Fighting along the North Anna River was another inconclusive engagement that cost the Federals and Confederates a combined 4,000 casualties, with most of these at Jericho Mills.[449]

On May 28, five brigades of Sheridan's cavalry engaged about an equal number of Confederates under Major General Wade Hampton at the Battle of Haw's Shop south of Nelson's Ford on the Pamunkey River (outside the park). The inconclusive battle, which turned out to be one of the largest cavalry engagements of the Civil War, alerted Lee to Grant's new position south of the Pamunkey. As a counter, Lee ordered his army to the south side of Totopotomoy Creek between Shady Grove Church and Atlee's Station on the Virginia Central Railroad and waited for Grant's next move.[450]

Battle of Totopotomoy Creek, May 29–May 31, 1864

On May 29, Hancock's Second Corps moved south along the Richmond-Hanovertown Road and established a position along the north side of Totopotomoy Creek, where the portion of the **Totopotomoy Creek Battlefield** within the park is located. Hancock established his headquarters at the extant **Shelton House** (built about 1725) and dug the **Federal Earthworks at Totopotomoy Creek**. Warren's Fifth Corps came in on Hancock's left, extending the US Army line to the south side of the creek. Major General Horatio G. Wright's Sixth Corps anchored the US Army's right, which extended northwest to Crump's Creek. Lee's line consisted of A. P. Hill's Third Corps on the left, Longstreet's First Corps under the command of Major General Richard Anderson in the center, and Lieutenant General Richard S. Ewell's Second Corps commanded by Major General Jubal Early on the right. A small division of reinforcements from the Shenandoah Valley under Breckinridge was placed between Anderson's and Early's troops.[451]

On May 30, Grant ordered Wright to move against the Confederate left flank while Hancock crossed the creek and attacked Breckinridge (Figure 4-15). Warren was to move westward along Shady Grove Road on the Confederate right. After learning of Warren's advance, Lee thought the Federals were once again preparing to move off to the southeast

[448] Rhea, *To the North Anna River*; NPS, "The Battle of North Anna."

[449] McPherson, *Battle Cry of Freedom*, 723–733; Rhea, *The Battle of Cold Harbor*, 2–23; John S. Salmon, *The Official Virginia Civil War Battlefield Guide* 1st ed. (Stackpole Books, 2001), 284–288; Christopher J. Shepard, David W. Lewes, Elizabeth E. Bell, and Charles M. Downing, *Archaeological Overview and Assessment, Richmond National Battlefield, Virginia* (Williamsburg, VA: William and Mary Center for Archaeological Research, The College of William and Mary, 2019), 20.

[450] Rhea, *The Battle of Cold Harbor*, 22–27.

[451] Rhea, *The Battle of Cold Harbor*, 28.

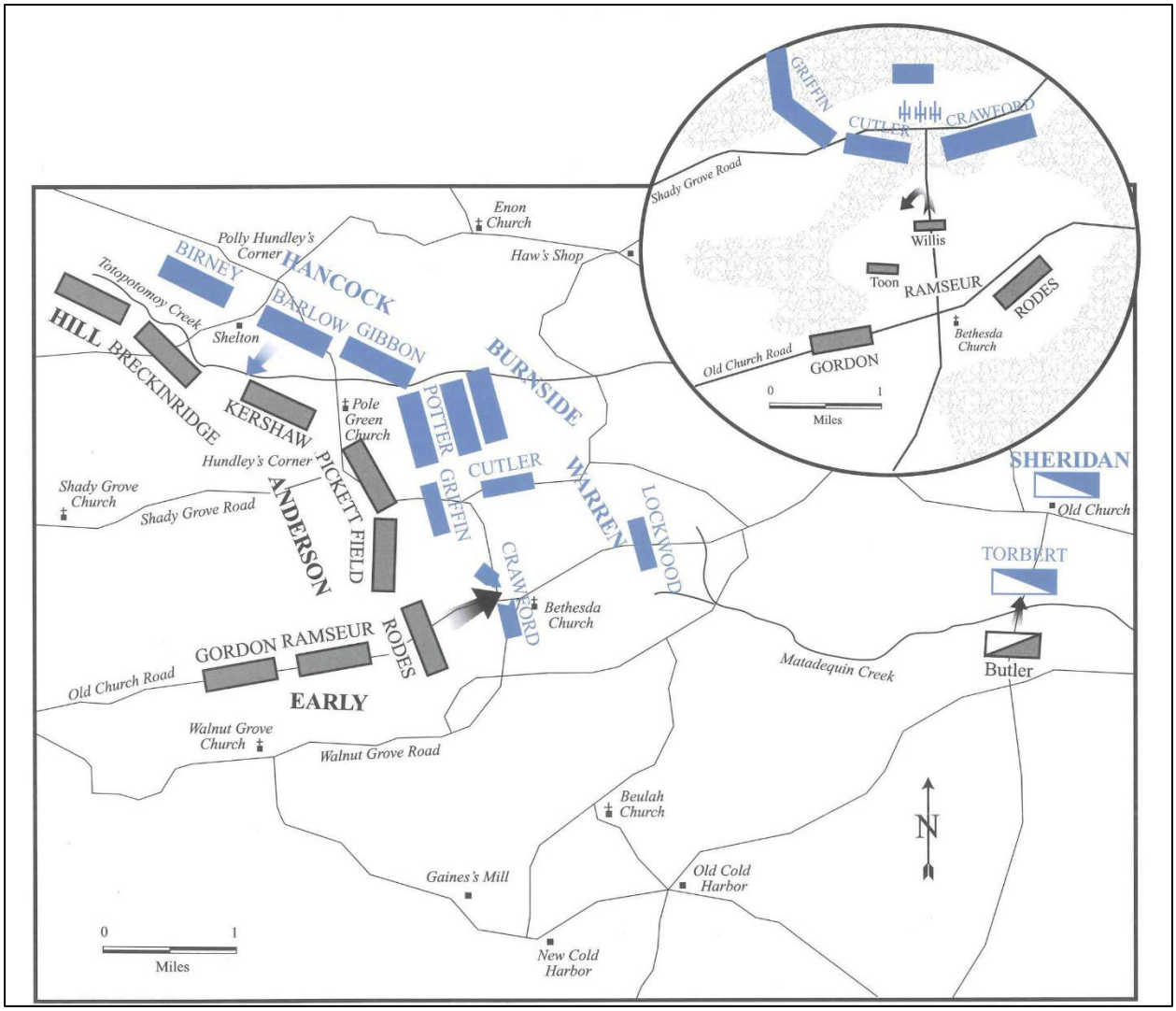


Figure 4-15. Battle of Totopotomoy Creek, May 30, 1864. Source: Rhea 2001:31.

and instructed Early to attack. Early decided to hold Shady Grove Road with part of his corps and sent a detachment led by Major General Robert E. Rodes' division south to the Old Church Road to turn Warren's left flank. As he proceeded west along Shady Grove Road, Warren became concerned about such a move and sent troops under Brigadier General Samuel W. Crawford to Old Church Road to protect his left flank. At a crossroads near Bethesda Church, Rodes slammed directly into Crawford's men and routed the Federals. Rodes did not follow up his advantage, however, and the Fifth Corps' artillery moved into place to prevent a follow-up attack by Major General Stephen D. Ramseur's division. With Burnside on his way to support the Federal attack from the northeast, Warren was freed to move against Early, forcing the Confederates to retire to the rear.[452]

Elsewhere, Wright's Sixth Corps became entangled in a swamp and did not engage in the fighting. Hancock was unable to strike a decisive blow against Breckinridge, but his

[452] Rhea, *The Battle of Cold Harbor*, 28–31.

headquarters at the Shelton House saw repeated action (see Figure 3-6). US Army signalers climbed onto the roof of the house to watch the effect of outgoing artillery shells and observe Confederate movements on the opposite side of Totopotomoy Creek. Confederate artillerymen responded by bombarding the house, striking it 51 times and causing damage that still scars it today. Overall, the Battle of Totopotomoy Creek was another tactical draw. About 1,200 Confederate troops were killed, wounded, or captured to the Federal's 750.[453]

Battle of Cold Harbor, May 31–June 13, 1864[454]

After Hancock made another attempt to cross Totopotomoy Creek on May 31 but found the Confederates in a well-protected entrenched position, Grant decided to execute another slide to the southeast. The chosen route required securing the strategic crossroads at Old Cold Harbor guarded by Confederate cavalry under Major General Fitzhugh Lee. Federal cavalry under Brigadier General Alfred T. A. Torbert successfully drove off Fitzhugh Lee before infantry reinforcements from Major General Robert Hoke's and Anderson's infantry divisions made it to the field. As the Confederate infantry units arrived, they took up a position about 0.5 miles west of the crossroads and began digging an entrenched line.[455]

Grant's plan for June 1, 1864, called for Wright's corps and Major General William F. Smith's Eighteenth Corps, which had been detached from Butler's Army of the James, to break the Confederate line at Old Cold Harbor and get between the rest of Lee's army and Richmond. Wright positioned his three divisions about halfway between the villages of Old and New Cold Harbor, where the portion of the **Cold Harbor Battlefield** in the park is located. Brigadier General David A. Russell's division was posted on the south side of the east–west road that connected the two villages, just east of the Garthright farm that included the extant **Garthright House**. Wright's other two divisions, under Brigadier Generals Thomas H. Neill and James B. Ricketts, were posted to the north of the road, north and south of Bloody Run. Smith arrived in the afternoon and placed his three Eighteenth Corps divisions under Brigadier Generals William T. H. Brooks, John H. Martindale, and Charles Devens Jr. on Neill's right in an extended arc northward to Beulah Church Road. The property at 7219 Beulah Church Road in Richmond NPB contains a **Wartime Road Trace** that was present during the time of the battle and a portion of the **Federal Earthworks at Cold Harbor** that the Eighteenth Corps constructed.[456]

At 6:30 pm, the Federal Sixth and Eighteenth corps moved in unison against Hoke's and Anderson's Confederates (Figure 4-16). The property at **7095 Parrish Place Lane** in the park contains a portion of the area from which Smith launched his attack. The attackers met with heavy fire and little success, except for a temporary breakthrough of the

[453] NPS, "The Battle of Totopotomoy Creek, May 29–31, 1864," Richmond National Battlefield Park, VA, 2018; Rhea, *The Battle of Cold Harbor*, 29.

[454] Also known as the Battle of Second Cold Harbor.

[455] NPS, "Cold Harbor," Richmond National Battlefield Park, VA, 2018; NPS, "The Battle of Totopotomoy Creek, May 29–31, 1864;" Rhea, *The Battle of Cold Harbor*, 32–35.

[456] Rhea, *The Battle of Cold Harbor*, 36–38.

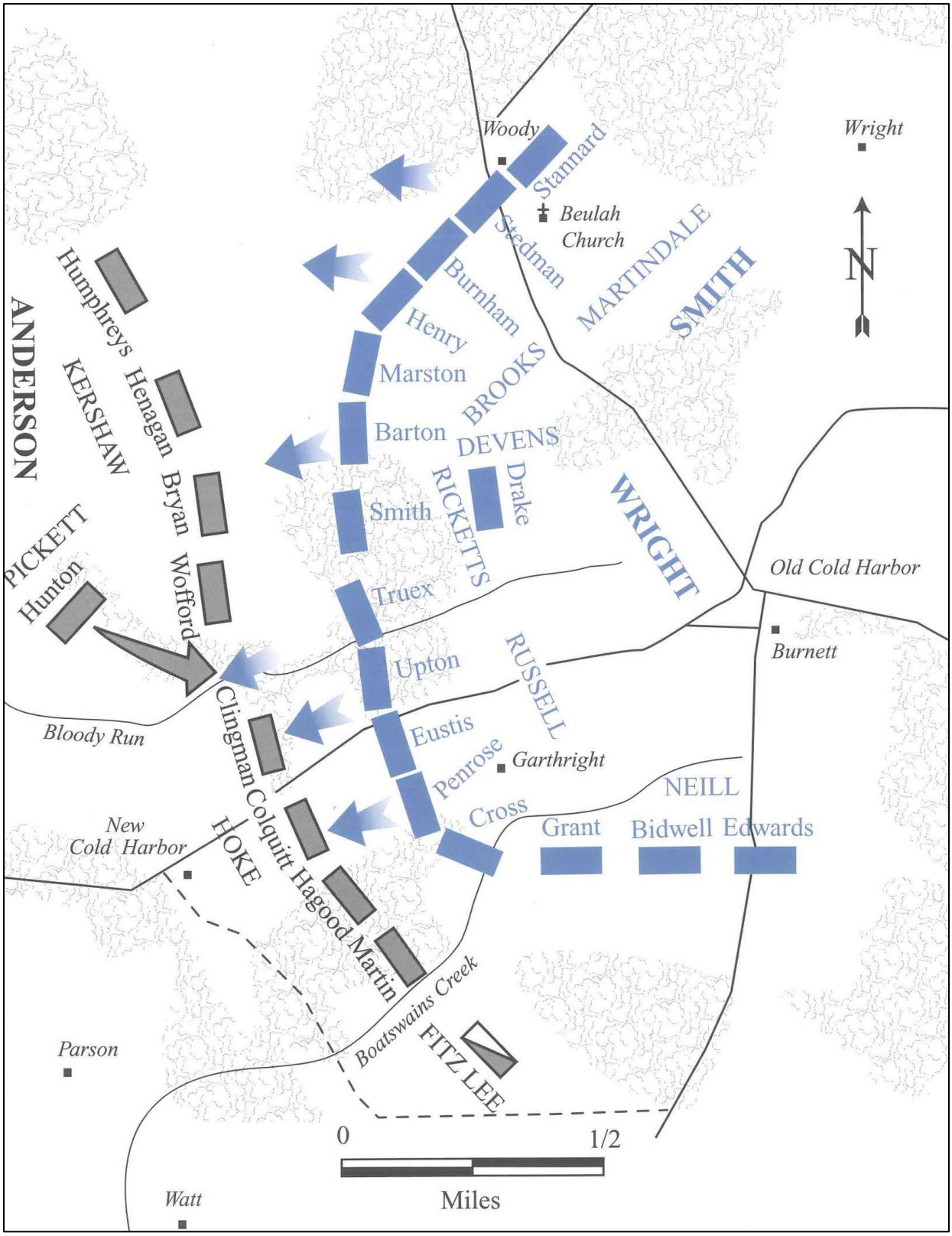


Figure 4-16. Federal attack on Confederate lines at Cold Harbor, 6:30 pm, June 1, 1864. Source: Rhea 2001:39.

Confederate lines at Bloody Run by one of Ricketts' brigades commanded by Colonel William S. Truex. After Brigadier General Eppa Hunton's reserve brigade forced Truex back and sealed the breach, the Federals retreated to their lines, and fighting ended for the day.[457]

On the night of June 1, Hancock was ordered to move his Second Corps from Totopotomoy Creek to Old Cold Harbor to add weight to the attack that Grant planned for the next day. However, Hancock was unable to reach the field until late morning on June 2, so Grant postponed the assault until the following day and consolidated his lines.

Warren's Fifth Corps and Burnside's Ninth Corps moved south to connect with Smith's right. Two of Hancock's divisions under Brigadier Generals Francis Barlow and John Gibbon formed lines opposite A. P. Hill's position at Turkey Hill. The opposing **Federal Earthworks at Cold Harbor** consist of several parallel lines of linear earthworks that run north to south along the eastern half of the Cold Harbor Battlefield (Figure 4-17).[458]

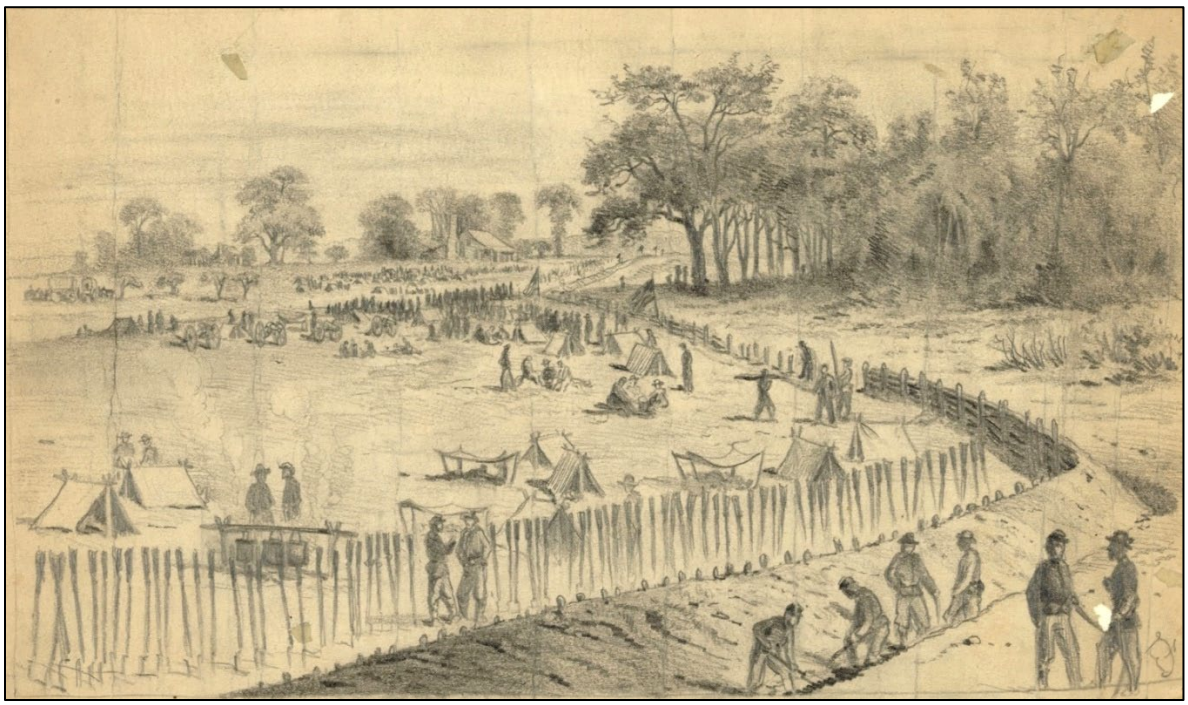


Figure 4-17. *The Battle of Cold Harbor, throwing up breastworks*. Source: Edwin Forbes, June 1864, Library of Congress Prints and Photographs Division, Washington, DC.

During Grant's pause, Lee moved Breckinridge southward to take up a position to Hoke's right on Turkey Hill. A. P. Hill's divisions were placed south of Breckinridge's, closing off a potential Federal flanking route on the southern part of the battlefield. Fitzhugh Lee's cavalry guarded the nearby bridges across the Chickahominy. By nightfall, the fortified Confederate line stretched unbroken for 6 miles.

[457] NPS, "Cold Harbor;" Rhea, *The Battle of Cold Harbor*, 38–40.

[458] Rhea, *The Battle of Cold Harbor*, 41–42.

The three parts of the Confederate lines that are preserved in Richmond NBP are the **Confederate Earthworks at Turkey Hill**, the **Confederate Earthworks at Gaines' Mill** on the north side of **Watt House Road**, and the **Confederate Earthworks at Cold Harbor**. The elaborate system consisted of three lines of interlocking trenches fronted by log barricades and connected by traverses. The uneven topography and heavy woods of the area were used where appropriate to add strength to the army's position. The area in front of the trenches was cleared of trees and brush to provide clear fields of fire. Artillery batteries were placed in a fashion that allowed for overlapping crossfire. An example of a **Confederate Battery Position at Cold Harbor** is in the park, on a narrow dirt trail just south of a branch of Powhite Creek about 0.25 miles northwest of the parking area for the Confederate Earthworks at Cold Harbor.[459]

At 4:30 am on June 3, Federal troops from the Second, Sixth, and Eighteenth corps began a disjointed series of assaults (Figure 4-18). They were met by blanketing infantry and artillery fire from the Confederate lines and became bogged down in swamps, ravines, and heavy vegetation. As a result, the units lost contact with each other, and the Confederates dealt with them piecemeal. The high point of the Federal attack occurred when Hancock's Second Corps managed to seize a portion of the Confederate lines on Turkey Hill before being forced back by enfilading Confederate artillery fire that inflicted heavy casualties. At about 7 am, Grant, still hopeful of success, advised Meade to push reinforcements to any place in the line where he thought the Confederates might be vulnerable. However, misunderstandings and failures to coordinate among the various attacking forces combined to convince Meade and Grant to suspend the attacks at 12:30 pm.[460]

Although the casualties at Cold Harbor on June 3 have been exaggerated (up to 7,000), 3,500–4,000 men fell in the approximately eight hours of combat that day. After the final accounting, the two weeks of battle around Cold Harbor resulted in 13,000 Federal casualties and approximately 5,000 Confederate. Both sides had expanded and improved their elaborate systems of fieldworks. An example in Richmond NPB is on a recently acquired parcel that fronts Sandy Valley Road and is just west of Beulah Church Road. It contains **Fort Fletcher**, an exceptionally well-preserved earthen fortification; the associated **Fort Fletcher Infantry Trenches** were constructed by Burnside's Ninth Corps starting on June 5. A short **Civil War Road Trace** leading to the fort is also on the parcel.[461]

Butler's Operations at Bermuda Hundred, May 5–May 20, 1864

On May 5, 1864, the day after the Army of the Potomac crossed the Rapidan River signaling the beginning of the Overland Campaign, the other element of Grant's plan to threaten Richmond from the south got underway. Butler's Army of the James, consisting of 30,000 troops drawn from operations in the coastal Carolinas, was transported by boat up the James and landed at Bermuda Hundred, about halfway between Richmond and Petersburg. The defensive fortifications that ringed both cities were improved following McClellan's campaign in 1862 but remained imperfect. With Lee off fighting Grant in

[459] Rhea, *The Battle of Cold Harbor*, 40–43.

[460] NPS, "Cold Harbor;" Rhea, *The Battle of Cold Harbor*, 42–48.

[461] Ulysses Simpson Grant, *Personal Memoirs of U.S. Grant*, vol. 2 (New York: Charles L. Webster & Company, 1886), 588; Rhea, *The Battle of Cold Harbor*, 50.

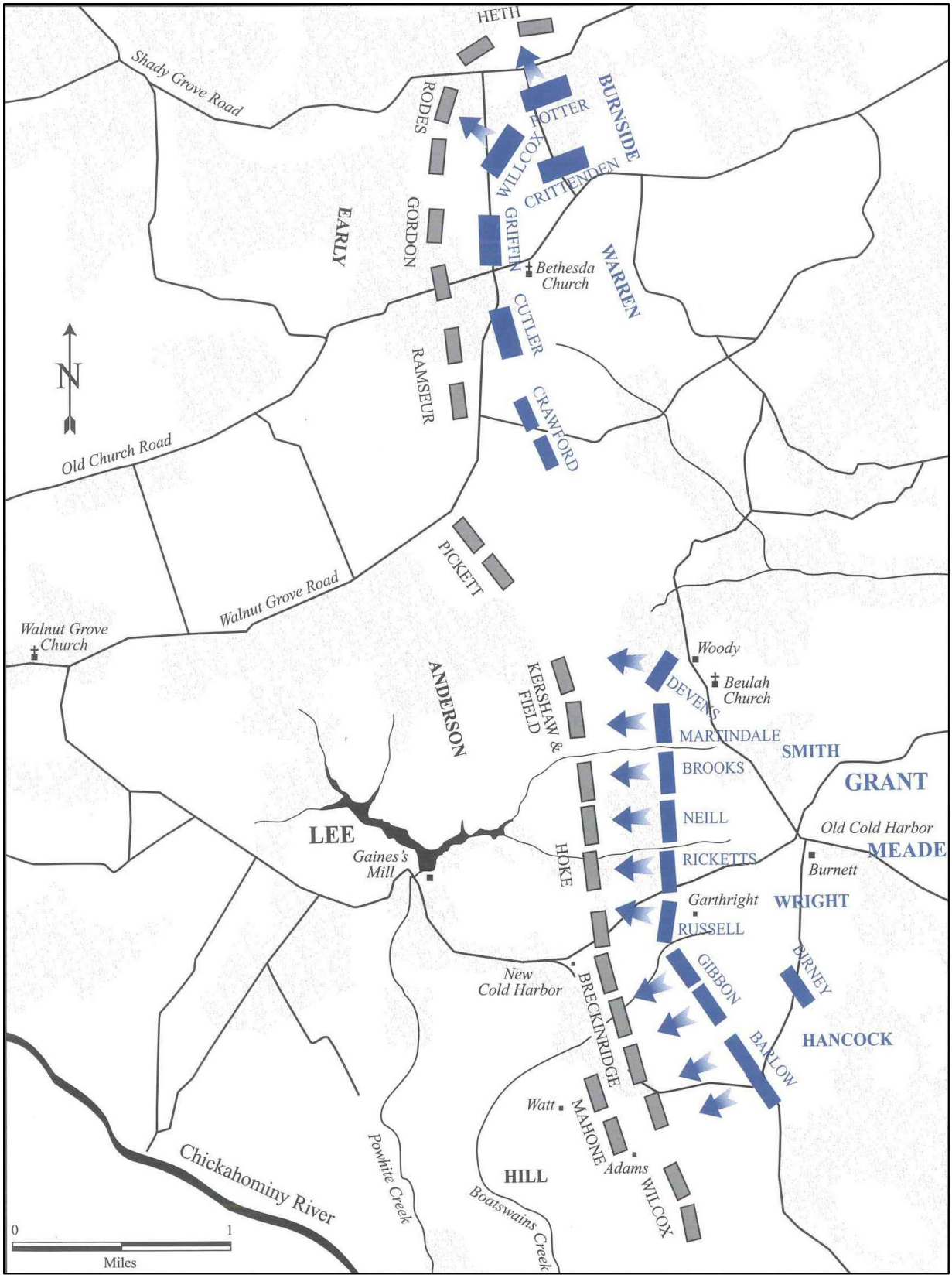


Figure 4-18. Federal attack on Confederate positions at Cold Harbor, 4:30–8:00 pm, June 3, 1864. Source: Rhea 2001:43.

northern Virginia, the combined front stretched more than 30 miles between the two cities and was lightly defended by only about 5,000 Confederate regular and home guard troops under the command of Major General Pierre G. T. Beauregard.

Had Butler moved quickly with his superior force, he might have been able to force his way through and take Richmond from the south. Instead, his initial moves were tentative. On May 6, Butler sent a small force to probe the Richmond-Petersburg Railroad, but Brigadier General Johnson Hagood's brigade of Hoke's division turned the Federals back at Port Walthall Junction. The following day, Butler's men drove the Confederates from the junction and forced them to retire behind Swift Run Creek. On May 9, Butler tried to break the Confederate line defended by Major General Bushrod Johnson's division at Swift Run Creek. The Federals repelled a premature Confederate attack at Arrowfield Church with heavy losses, but Butler's force failed to counterattack, wasting a potential opportunity for breakthrough. The next day, elements of Major General Robert Ransom's division conducted a reconnaissance-in-force against the advanced elements of Butler's army at Chester Station and forced the Federals to retreat to their lines at Bermuda Hundred.[462]

Battle of Proctor's Creek, May 12–16, 1864[463]

The Battle of Proctor's Creek decisively determined the outcome of Butler's independent operations at Bermuda Hundred. Having failed to accomplish anything of substance with his tentative deployments during the first week of the campaign, Butler decided to attack **Drewry's Bluff**, the Confederate stronghold on the James River where the US Navy's attempt to assault Richmond had failed in the spring of 1862. Butler's plan involved a concentrated infantry assault on the Confederate lines that had been established to guard the approach to **Fort Drewry**, assisted by a naval bombardment from gunboats on the James (Figure 4-19). By the time Butler was ready to move, however, Beauregard had received significant reinforcements from Lee and other sources that put his force on more equal footing with the Federal troops. Butler's infantry began its march on May 12 and, on the following day, struck the right flank of the Confederate line at the Wooldridge House.

After carrying the first line of the Confederate position, however, Butler became cautious, because the promised support from the navy never materialized. Butler's hesitation gave Beauregard time to concentrate his forces to meet the Federal threat. The two sides sparred on May 14 and 15 but did not bring on a general engagement.

On May 16, Ransom's Confederate division was successful in rolling up a portion of Butler's right flank. Although subsequent Confederate assaults were ineffective as units lost contact with one another in a thick fog that developed during the morning hours, they had the effect of demoralizing and disorganizing the Federals in their front. Butler decided to extricate his forces from the sharp battle and withdrew once again to his Bermuda Hundred line.[464]

[462] Civil War Sites Advisory Commission (hereafter CWSAC), "Civil War Battle Summaries by Campaign," National Park Service, American Battlefield Protection Program, 2009; McPherson, *Battle Cry of Freedom*, 723.

[463] Also known as the Second Battle of Drewry's Bluff.

[464] CWSAC, "Civil War Battle Summaries by Campaign."

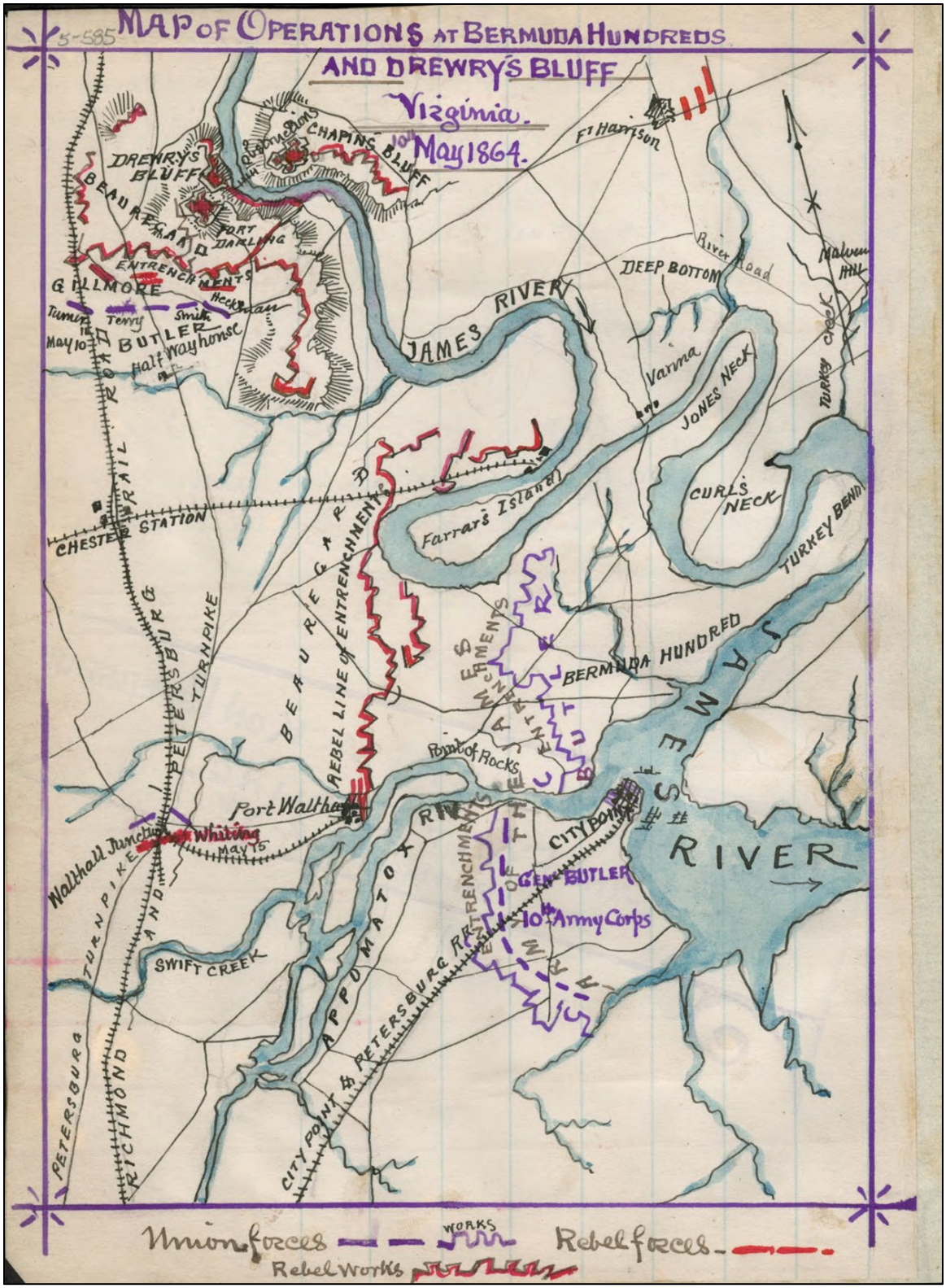


Figure 4-19. *Map of Operations at Bermuda Hundreds* [sic] *and Drewry's Bluff, Virginia, May 1864*. Shows the Federal and Confederate lines established during the Bermuda Hundred Campaign and the Battle of Proctor's Creek, May 12–16, 1864. Source: Robert Knox Sneden, 1864–1865, Library of Congress Geography and Map Division, Washington, DC.

The last major action of the Bermuda Hundred Campaign occurred on May 20, when Beauregard decided to use his troops on hand to attack Butler's advance pickets near Ware Bottom Church. After driving the Federals back behind their main defensive line, Beauregard ordered the construction of the Howlett Line, a strong line of opposing fortifications across the neck of Bermuda Hundred (Figure 4-20). Remnants of the **Howlett Line** in Richmond NBP consist of **Parker's Battery** and the associated

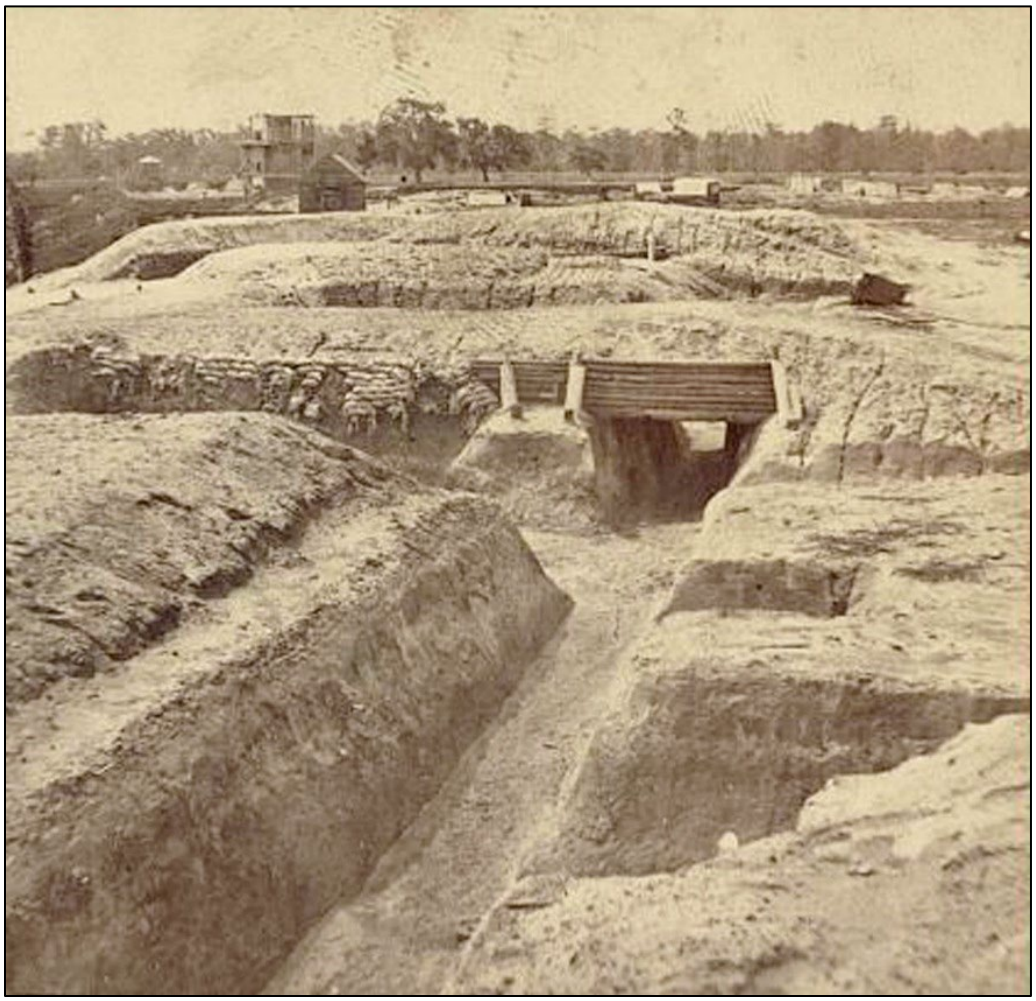


Figure 4-20. *Portion of the Confederate Howlett Line at Bermuda Hundred, 1865*. Source: Library of Congress Prints and Photographs Division, Washington, DC.

Parker's Battery Earthworks. A frustrated Grant later wrote in a report to the War Department that while Butler was safe behind a position of strength, he was "completely shut off from further operations against Richmond as if it had been in a bottle strongly corked."[465] Subsequent operations by the Army of the James were done in combination with movements by the Army of the Potomac once it crossed the James River in mid-June and laid siege to Petersburg.[466]

[465] *O.R.*, Vol. 46, Part 1, 19.

[466] CWSAC, "Civil War Battle Summaries by Campaign;" Douglas Crenshaw, *Fort Harrison and the Battle of Chaffin's Farm* (Charleston, SC: The History Press, 2013), 19–20.

Richmond-Petersburg Campaign, June 15, 1864–April 2, 1865[467]

In the days following the US Army defeat at Cold Harbor, Grant reassessed his situation and decided to pursue a different course of action. The Overland Campaign had cost the US Army approximately 55,000 casualties, and none of its major strategic goals had been accomplished. Although Grant was convinced that the campaign had done significant damage to Lee's army, Cold Harbor proved that the Confederates remained a formidable foe when fighting on the defensive. The high casualty rates of the campaign and the lack of decisive gains combined to decrease public support in the North for the war effort and to erode confidence in the Lincoln administration. The US Army needed significant victories that would turn the tide of the Civil War or Lincoln would face serious challenges in his bid for reelection in November 1864.

Admitting that Richmond could not be taken by direct assault without great loss of life, Grant shifted the focus of Federal operations to cutting the remaining transportation lines that supplied Richmond to force the abandonment of the city. The Army of the Potomac's operations would shift to Petersburg, the vital transportation nexus that supplied Richmond from the south. At the same time, Major General David Hunter, who had replaced Sigel, would secure the Shenandoah Valley and destroy the railroads and the James River and Kanawha Canal that supplied Richmond from the west.[468]

Lee knew that if Grant were able to take Petersburg, it would lead to the demise of Richmond. The 32,000 casualties that Lee's army had sustained during the Overland Campaign made it impossible, as Grant had guessed, for him to undertake a sustained offensive. Lee's only viable option to save Richmond was to occupy the defenses that surrounded the two cities and create a stalemate that might further erode confidence in the North and tilt the US presidential election in favor of a Democrat candidate willing to negotiate peace on favorable terms.[469]

On June 9, 1864, while Grant was making his plans to withdraw from Cold Harbor, Butler took the initiative to launch a strike on Petersburg from his lines at Bermuda Hundred. The engagement known as the First Battle of Petersburg was a wasted opportunity. It ended in a Federal retreat back to Bermuda Hundred after the cautious Federal generals in charge failed to press their large advantage in troops and armament against a small force of local militia and aged and infirmed veterans under Beauregard's command.[470]

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[467] Petersburg National Battlefield preserves and interprets the battlefields and other associated places south of the Appomattox River that are associated with the Richmond-Petersburg Campaign.

[468] Brooks D. Simpson, *The Civil War in the East: Struggle, Stalemate and Victory* (Santa Barbara, CA: ABC-CLIO, 2011), 109.

[469] McPherson, *Battle Cry of Freedom*, 271; Simpson, *The Civil War in the East*, 109; Stewart, *American Military History, Volume 1*, 291. The Democrats nominated George McClellan, the popular former commander of the Army of the Potomac, as their candidate for US president at the Democratic Convention held in Chicago on August 29, 1864. Lincoln's chances of winning the election looked bleak until military successes, including the taking of Atlanta by General William Sherman (September 1, 1864) and General Philip Sheridan's victory at the Battle of Cedar Creek (October 19, 1864), helped to secure his reelection.

[470] Edwin C. Bearss and Bryce Suderow, *The Petersburg Campaign, Volume I: The Eastern Front Battles, June–August 1864* (El Dorado Hills, CA: Savas Beatie, 2012), 3–5, 17–31.

On the evening of June 12, 1864, Grant executed the difficult maneuver of disengaging from his lines at Cold Harbor without alerting the Confederates. Aided by a 2,100-ft-long pontoon bridge that Butler's engineers had constructed at Weyanoke Point, most of the Army of the Potomac crossed the James River the following day. Although Lee had by then discovered that the Federals had left Cold Harbor, he was unsure of Grant's intentions and was slow to put his army in motion. On June 15, with no significant Confederate presence in his way, Grant ordered the Second and Eighteenth corps to assault the Petersburg lines. During the three-day Second Battle of Petersburg the federals were able to gain a foothold in the outer line of defenses, but failed in breaking the lines after Lee reinforced Beauregard.[471]

While the Second Battle of Petersburg was waged, Hunter failed in his attempt to capture Lynchburg and its important transportation links with Richmond, the Southside Railroad and the James River and Kanawha Canal. To meet the threat posed by Hunter, Lee detached Jubal Early's Second Corps to the area and placed him in command of the Confederate forces in the Shenandoah Valley. After Hunter retreated into West Virginia following his defeat at the Battle of Lynchburg (June 17–18, 1864), Early began moving down the Valley to threaten Washington, DC. Forced to respond, Grant sent Sheridan to head the newly created Army of the Shenandoah to pursue Early and lay waste to the valley to eliminate it as a source of Confederate supply.[472]

After losing the opportunity to take Petersburg by direct assault, Grant decided to begin extending his lines to cut the railroads that supplied the city from the south. During what became known as the Battle of Jerusalem Plank Road (June 21–24, 1864), William Mahone led a Confederate force that successfully checked an attempt by the Federal Second Corps to extend the Federal left flank and gain control of the Weldon Railroad.[473]After the Battle of Jerusalem Plank Road, both sides worked to perfect their defensive positions, which evolved over the next 10 months into the most extensive systems of field fortifications constructed during the Civil War. During the lull in action, Ambrose Burnside proposed an unusual plan to tunnel under the Confederate works in front of his front and blow a gap in their lines by exploding a mine. The mine was detonated on July 30, 1864, and produced the desired effect, but the follow-up Federal attack was poorly managed, and the Confederates were able to seal the gap. The Battle of the Crater, which Grant subsequently referred to as "the saddest affair I have witnessed in the war," resulted in 3,800 Federal and 1,500 Confederate casualties.[474]

Battle of Chaffin's Farm/New Market Heights, September 29–30, 1864

Following the debacle of the Crater, Grant refocused on the effort to extend the Federal lines while maintaining pressure on the Confederates along the entire front from Richmond to Petersburg. By the end of August 1864, the Army of the Potomac had

[471] Earl J. Hess, *In the Trenches at Petersburg: Field Fortifications & Confederate Defeat* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2009), 16–17; Stewart, *American Military History, Volume 1*, 291–292.

[472] Bearss and Suderow, *The Petersburg Campaign, Volume I*, 201–202; CWSAC, "Civil War Battle Summaries by Campaign."

[473] Bearss and Suderow, *The Petersburg Campaign, Volume I*, 155–159.

[474] *O.R*, Vol. 40, Part 1, 17; Bearss and Suderow, *The Petersburg Campaign, Volume I*, 201–203, 234–235, 237.

stretched its defensive line westward past the Weldon Railroad, leaving the South Side Railroad as the only remaining railroad supply line into Petersburg. In late September, Grant ordered Meade and Butler to coordinate an attack to gain control of the railroad. Butler's primary objective was to pressure the Confederate lines south and east of Richmond so that Lee would be forced to send troops from Petersburg. In addition to making it more difficult for Lee to resist Meade, the reinforcement of the Richmond lines would prevent Lee from sending troops to the Shenandoah Valley, where Early was struggling to contain Sheridan's campaign of devastation.[475]

Butler's operation called for a three-pronged assault with two of Major General Edward O. C. Ord's Eighteenth Corps to cross the James River at Bermuda Hundred and proceed up Varina Road toward Chaffin's Farm (Figure 4-21). After breaking through the Confederate lines, Ord was to follow the Osborne Turnpike into Richmond. Major General David B. Birney's Tenth Corps and Ord's Third Division of USCTs commanded by Brigadier General Charles J. Paine, were to cross the river at Deep Bottom and attack the Confederate line at New Market. Once past New Market Heights, Birney's force was to take the New Market Road and join with Ord before entering Richmond. Brigadier General August Kautz's cavalrymen would follow Birney across the river and advance northwest toward Richmond on the Darbytown Road. In all, Butler's attacking force consisted of 26,600 troops with about 6,000 Confederates under the command of Richard Ewell facing them in the vast complexes of trenches of the Richmond defensive lines.[476]

Birney's attack began at dawn on September 29 with Colonel Alonzo Draper's Second Brigade (the Fifth, Thirty-sixth, and Thirty-eighth USCT regiments) at the center with Colonel Samuel A. Duncan's Third Brigade (the Fourth and Sixth USCT regiments) to their right. They were opposed by about 2,000 entrenched Confederate troops under the command of Brigadier General John Gregg of the Texas Brigade. After two successive attempts by Duncan's Third Brigade were repulsed, Birney decided to make a third attack using Draper's brigade. It initially fared no better but gained traction after Gregg began to pull out of the New Market Line to reinforce the Confederate lines between Forts Harrison and Gilmer. When Draper's men finally reached the trenches, they found them empty, except for a small detachment that formed Gregg's rear guard.[477]

While Birney was assaulting New Market Heights, Ord's column advanced up Varina Road toward **Fort Harrison**. Named for Confederate engineer William Ellzey Harrison, the fort was held by about 800 Confederates and was the largest bastion in the section of the Outer Line of Richmond's fortifications around Chaffin's Bluff. Brigadier General George J. Stannard's First Division led the Federal assault on the fort, crossing a long, open field under heavy fire before finding a swale that offered protection from the Confederate guns. After a brief rest, the Federals charged the last 100 yards to reach the fort's ditch and, using bayonets and swords stuck into in the fort's earthen walls to serve

[475] *O.R.*, Vol. 42, Part 1, 20.

[476] John David Smith, *Black Soldiers in Blue: African American Troops in the Civil War Era* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2002), 189.

[477] Gordon Berg, "Battle of New Market Heights: USCT Soldiers Proved Their Heroism," *America's Civil War Magazine* (Leesburg, VA: World History Group, March 2006); Melvin Claxton and Mark Puls, *Uncommon Valor: A Story of Race, Patriotism, and Glory in the Final Battles of the Civil War* (Hoboken, NJ: John Wiley and Sons, 2006), 188–189, 198.



Figure 4-21. *Battle of Chaffin's Farm, Sept. 29th, 1864: topography of 1894: roads, houses, trees, etc. of 1864 from Campbell and Chambliss maps: positions and routes assumed from descriptions in official records*.
At dawn on September 29, Ord's First and Second divisions cross the James River on a pontoon bridge and advance up Varina Road toward Chaffin's Farm (1), while Birney's Tenth Corps with Ord's Third Division of USCT cross the James River at Deep Bottom and advance up New Market Road (2). Ord captures Fort Harrison and neighboring sections of the Confederate Outer Line (3). Ord's USCT division captures the Confederate New Market Line (4). During the afternoon, Birney's force attacks the Confederate sections of the Confederate Intermediate Line from New Market Road (5). Federal attacks on Fort Gilmer by elements of Birney's Second and Third divisions and the 5th USCT Regiment are repulsed (6). Source: Library of Congress Geography and Map Division, Washington, DC.

as footholds, swarmed over the parapet to take the fort. Ord's men went on to take the adjacent **Confederate Battery Nos. 10 and 11**, capturing between 200 and 300 prisoners along with about 15 pieces of artillery during the day's action.[478]

The next target for the Federals during the afternoon of September 29 was **Fort Gilmer**, the largest Confederate bastion remaining on the Outer Line after the fall of Fort Harrison. Named for Jeremy F. Gilmer, one of the leading engineers in the Confederacy, Fort Gilmer was sited on a hill and mounted with two 64-pound guns that faced east to command the approaches to Richmond via the Varina and New Market roads.[479] The task of destroying Fort Gilmer was assigned to Brigadier General Robert S. Foster's Second Division of the Federal Tenth Corps with support from Draper's Fifth USCT Regiment, which had suffered significant casualties at New Market Heights earlier that morning.

At 1:35 pm, Foster's men began crossing an open field in front of the fort and quickly became disorganized as they passed through a series of four ravines and tree slashings and undergrowth that the Confederates had left as obstructions. Twice the Federals had to halt in one of the ravines to reform, while under direct fire from Fort Gilmer and crossfire from batteries on the Intermediate Line to the west and **Fort Gregg** to the south. After several unsuccessful tries to gain Fort Gilmer, Foster was forced to retire back to the New Market Road.[480]

After Foster was repulsed, Birney's brother, Brigadier General William Birney, attempted to take Fort Gilmer with several USCT regiments. Due to confusing orders from William Birney, only the Ninth USCT and a portion of the Seventh USCT participated in the attack. The Ninth USCT under Captain Edwin Babcock went in first, advancing from its position in a ravine north of Mill Road toward the fort some 1,500 yards distant. Having to cover the long distance through the open field under heavy enfilading artillery fire, the troops became exhausted, and the charge lost its momentum. Babcock ordered his men to lie down where they were while he went to confer with Birney. While he was away, Captain H. S. Thompson attempted to resume the attack but was forced to retire back to the woods bordering the field in the face of grape shot and canister fire from Fort Gilmer.[481]

The 7th USCT's attack later in the afternoon made it closer to Fort Gilmer, but the troops suffered more casualties than any other Federal unit that took part in the action on September 29. Led by Colonel James Shaw Jr., the regiment reached a position north of the junction of Varina and Mill roads about 2 pm. While preparing to charge with his entire regiment, Shaw received orders from Birney to send only four companies. Even so, the attackers made it to the trench below the fort where they found themselves trapped and unable to climb out. Birney ordered Shaw to send another company to provide covering fire to keep the Confederates from firing down on the trapped men, but the attempt failed. In addition to rifle fire, the Confederates rolled lighted artillery shells into the ditch. Many of the survivors were murdered while trying to surrender, until

[478] Hess, *In the Trenches at Petersburg*, 161–163; *O.R.*, Vol. 42, Part 2, 1091.

[479] Crenshaw, *Fort Harrison and the Battle of Chaffin's Farm*, 66.

[480] Hess, *In the Trenches at Petersburg*, 163; *O.R.*, Vol. 42, Part 1, 760.

[481] *O.R.*, Vol. 42, Part 1, 774–775.

Confederate officers ordered the killing to cease. The debacle resulted in the near complete loss of the four companies with 235 total casualties.[482]

From Richmond to Appomattox, September 1864–April 1865

As Grant had hoped, the direct threat posed to Richmond by the September 29, 1864, attacks on the Richmond lines forced Lee to send a force of about 10,000 troops from Petersburg. The next day, while Federal engineers were in the process of reversing the direction of Fort Harrison for use against the Confederates, Hoke and Major General Charles W. Field made an unsuccessful attempt to retake the fort that resulted in about 1,200 Confederate casualties.[483]

Both sides occupied their time fortifying their lines during a lull in fighting after September 30. Federal engineers constructed a new line of earthworks along New Market Road and extended the portion of the Outer Line seized on September 29 south from Fort Harrison to the James River (Figures 4-22 and 4-23). The **Federal Earthworks from Fort Harrison to Fort Brady** consisted of shallow rifle trenches that connected a series of five artillery batteries, of which three are extant in Richmond NBP: **Federal Battery Nos. III, IV, and V**. The Federals renamed Fort Harrison in honor of Brigadier General Hiram Burnham, who was killed while leading the Federal assault, and armed the batteries with artillery captured from seized Confederate works in the area (Figure 4-24). **Fort Brady**, which formed the southern terminus of the line, occupied a prominent location on Cox's Hill above the north bank of the James River and included the **Wartime Well at Fort Brady** (Figure 4-25). To supply the newly established line, the Federals constructed the extant **Fort Burnham Supply Road**.[484]

The US engineers also built or refaced defenses north of Fort Harrison, including the Confederate earthworks running northeast to **Confederate Battery No. 10** (renamed Federal Battery No. XIX). Smaller reconnaissance and defensive works built west of Fort Harrison, including the extant **Federal Listening Wells** and a **Federal Lunette**, provided troops with safer positions for observing Confederate movements along the nearby Intermediate Line where Confederate engineers were creating a new line that bypassed Fort Harrison and ran southwest from **Fort Johnson** to **Fort Hoke** and **Fort Maury**. The line was also extended north of Fort Gilmer to a new battery named **Battery Alexander**.[485]

Responding to the loss of Fort Harrison and the increasing Federal threat against Richmond, Lee directed an offensive against the US Army's far right flank on October 7. Field's and Hoke's divisions were successful in routing Kautz's cavalry from its position covering Darbytown Road but failed to take the new Federal line on New Market Road.

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[482] Hess, *In the Trenches at Petersburg*, 163; *O.R.*, Vol. 42, Part 1, 134; Richard J. Sommers, *Richmond Redeemed: The Siege at Petersburg, The Battles of Chaffin's Bluff and Poplar Spring Church, September 29 – October 2, 1864* (California: Savis Beatty, LLC, 2014), 90–91.

[483] Hess, *In the Trenches at Petersburg*, 163–164.

[484] Clifford Dickinson, *Union and Confederate Engineering Operations at Chaffin's Bluff/Chaffin's Farm, June 1862–April 2, 1865* (Richmond, VA: US Department of the Interior, National Park Service, Richmond National Battlefield Park, 1989), 105.

[485] Dickinson, *Union and Confederate Engineering Operations*, 111; Hess, *In the Trenches at Petersburg*, 163.



Figure 4-22. *Map of the Neighborhood of Richmond and Petersburg, Virginia*. Map shows the Confederate New Market Line and portions of Outer Line defenses taken by the US Army during the Battle of Chaffin's Farm/New Market Heights. Source: Colonel Sir Henry James, Topographical Depot of the War Office, London, England, 1864. Library of Congress Geography and Map Division, Washington, DC.



Figure 4-23. *Region embraced in the operations of the armies against Richmond and Petersburg*. Shows fortifications south of Richmond, including the Federal line south from Fort Harrison to Fort Brady constructed following the battle of Chaffin's Farm/New Market Heights. Source: United States War Department, Engineer Bureau, Washington, DC, 1865. Library of Congress Geography and Map Division, Washington, DC.



Figure 4-24. *Federal bombproof at Fort Burnham, 1865*. The Federals captured the fort, formerly Confederate Fort Harrison, during the Battle of Chaffin's Farm/New Market Heights (September 29, 1864), reversed it to face a new Confederate line, and renamed it Fort Burnham in honor of Brigadier General Hiram Burnham, who was killed during the battle. Source: Library of Congress Prints and Photographs Division, Washington, DC.



Figure 4-25. *Federal Fort Brady on Cox's Hill overlooking the James River*. The fort was the southern terminus of the Federal line of fortifications constructed south from Fort Burnham (Confederate Fort Harrison) in the fall of 1864. Source: Library of Congress Prints and Photographs Division, Washington, DC.

In late October, Butler conducted several operations against the Confederate lines north of Darbytown Road that were repulsed with heavy casualties. Those actions were the last major engagements north of the James River in 1864.

In December, Grant sent Butler and his Army of the James on a joint expedition with the US Navy to take Fort Fisher, which protected the last major Confederate port at Wilmington, North Carolina. The attack was a complete failure and Grant relieved Butler of his command on January 7, 1865. A little over a week later, the Army of the James under

Major General Alfred Terry, in cooperation with Rear Admiral David Porter's naval squadron, succeeded in taking Fort Fisher.[486]

When Grant resumed offensive operations at Petersburg the following March, the Civil War moved quickly into its final stage. After the Federal victory at the Battle of Five Forks on April 1, 1865, and a breakthrough of the Confederate lines the following day, Lee was forced to abandon Richmond and Petersburg and slipped away during the night of April 2–3, 1865, in hopes of joining up with Joseph Johnston's army in North Carolina. A week later, however, Grant surrounded Lee at Appomattox Courthouse, forcing the surrender of the Army of Northern Virginia on April 9.

CONTRIBUTIONS OF AFRICAN AMERICANS

During the Civil War, African Americans played critical roles for both the Confederate Army and the US Army in the Richmond area. The Confederate government impressed thousands of free and enslaved Black people to construct defensive fortifications, staff hospitals and factories, and drive wagons or cook for the Confederate Army. Black laborers aided the US Army around Richmond by unloading transports, keeping supply lines open, and guiding navigation through the region. Many Black people left the Confederacy to seek better opportunities in the Federal lines. The notable contributions of African Americans, combined with the failure of the Peninsula Campaign to capture Richmond, helped convince many Northerners to support the creation of USCTs in the US Army. The USCTs proved their valor during the Richmond-Petersburg Campaign and enabled the Federals to capture part of the Confederate Outer Line at Fort Harrison and New Market Heights.

Free and Enslaved Black People and the Confederacy

In the fall of 1861, William Ringgold, a free Black man from Baltimore, Maryland, came to Richmond to collect wages for work he had done on the Confederate steamship *Logan* on the York River. Ringgold later reported to US Army intelligence that he saw over 700 free Black and 2,000 skilled and unskilled enslaved persons building defensive works around the city, including those at **Chickahominy Bluff**. Richmond's antebellum population was over one-third Black; in 1859, the city had 38,000 residents, including about 11,700 enslaved and 2,575 free Black people. Most free Black people in the Richmond area did not support the Confederacy willingly but were impressed into service by city and state authorities. Ordinance 84 passed by the Virginia General Assembly in 1861 allowed the impressment of all able-bodied free Black men aged 18 to 50. Other free Black men took what jobs they could find and continued to work for the Confederacy after their forced service ended. Richmond's population swelled as the Civil War continued, and non-military jobs in the city became scarce. Enslaved Black people had little choice and did as

[486] CWSAC, "Civil War Battle Summaries by Campaign."

their enslavers ordered. They were volunteered or hired out by their enslavers and impressed into Confederate Army service as drivers and cooks.[487]

The Confederacy's Engineering Department, which controlled the construction and manning of forts, employed more Richmond-area free Black men than any other department. Some were sent to other jurisdictions, but more often free Black men from elsewhere were sent to Richmond to dig ditches and construct heavy artillery mounts for the city's defenses. In August 1861, 167 free Black men from five surrounding counties joined 53 from Richmond at the Richmond batteries. At least 40 free Black men from the community of Gravel (or Gravelly) Hill (near the **Glendale and Malvern Hill battlefields**; see *Free Black Communities* in Chapter Three) worked for the Engineering Department. Unskilled laborers earned $0.50 per day, and skilled laborers earned at least twice that. One of the highest paid, William Kennedy, a carpenter from Henrico County, earned about $1.66 per day. The Richmond city government started forcing free Black men to work on its entrenchments in December 1861 and placed newspaper advertisements instructing them to "appear at the City Hall … to execute your part in the service of the Southern Confederacy. In failure whereof you shall be dealt with as the law directs."[488]

Enslaved persons from central Virginia had built the fortifications that contributed to the US Army's defeat at Manassas in July 1861. However, many area plantation owners were loath to supply the Confederacy with more free labor at the expense of their own crops and started refusing the Confederate Army's requests. At the same time, white soldiers increasingly complained about the difficult manual labor of building and repairing fortifications that distracted from their "legitimate duties."[489] At the end of 1861, the War Department authorized Major General John B. Magruder to hire enslaved persons for $100 per year (paid to their enslavers) to strengthen the fortifications on the Virginia Peninsula. Magruder averred that "Without this I am sure the works … will not be

[487] Pinkerton to McClellan, December 2, 1861, George B. McClellan Papers, Library of Congress, Manuscripts Division, Washington, DC, quoted in Brasher, *The Peninsula Campaign and the Necessity of Emancipation*, 72–73; Ernest B. Furgurson, *Ashes of Glory: Richmond at War* (New York: Random House, 1996), 4, 18; Southern Claims Commission Records and *Richmond Examiner*, June 29, 1861, quoted in Latimore, "Always a Minority," 91–93. Early publications on Blacks in the Civil War, such as James Brewer's *The Confederate Negro: Virginia's Craftsmen and Military Laborers, 1861–1865* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 1969) and Ervin L. Jordan's *Black Confederates and Afro-Yankees in Civil War Virginia* (Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia, 1995), provide much information on free and enslaved Black labor during the war but contributed to a Lost Cause mythology of Black support for the Confederate Army. The most recent comprehensive study of Black participation in the Confederate war effort is Kevin M. Levin's *Searching for Black Confederates: The Civil War's Most Persistent Myth* (Chapel Hill, NC: The University of North Carolina Press, 2019), which refutes many of the earlier claims and offers a context for the development of the Black Confederate narrative.

[488] *Richmond Examiner*, January 9, 1862, quoted in Brasher, *The Peninsula Campaign and the Necessity of Emancipation*, 86; Virginia Department of Military Affairs Engineer Department, Free Black Pay Rolls, Box 7, Library of Virginia, quoted in Latimore, "Always a Minority," 97–99.

[489] Ira Berlin, Barbara J. Fields, Thavolia Glymph, Joseph P. Reidy, and Leslie S. Rowlands, eds., *Freedom: A Documentary History of Emancipation, 1861–1867*, *Series 1, Vol. 1: The Destruction of Slavery* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1985), 684–685, quoted in Brasher, *The Peninsula Campaign and the Necessity of Emancipation*, 44.

completed and made safe."[490] He sent agents across the Peninsula to recruit men and advertised in the Richmond newspapers. In early 1862, approximately 250 enslaved persons from King George, Henrico, Hanover, James City, Charles City, Surry, Prince George, Frederick, and Nottoway counties worked alongside white troops to fortify **Drewry's Bluff** (see *Battle of Drewry's Bluff* above). Difficulties in obtaining sufficient labor continued, however. In February 1862, the Virginia General Assembly tried to address the shortages by requiring all free Black men aged 18 to 50 to register for employment with the Confederacy.[491]

As the urgency of improving Richmond's defenses increased, the Confederate government impressed one-fourth of the enslaved male population aged 16 to 50 on plantations south of the city in late May–July 1862. The War Department dispatched agents to collect the workers and paid their enslavers $20 per month per person. On October 10, 1862, Confederate President Jefferson Davis asked Virginia's governor, John Letcher, to provide 4,500 enslaved persons to work on fortifications and specifically mentioned the need to complete the **Richmond Defensive Line**. By November 6, 1862, 5,000 Black laborers were working on the fortifications near the city and 2,500 more on the Piedmont Railroad. An additional 4,000 were working on the fortifications by January 14, 1863.[492]

Workers' conditions at the fortifications were difficult, with high rates of injury and death, meager rations, and physical punishment by white supervisors. Some free Black people of mixed Black and white ancestry invoked an 1853 Virginia statute that allowed them to declare themselves "not a Negro by the testimony of a white person."[493] Many others deserted their positions. Isaac Pleasants, a free Black farmer and bricklayer from the Gravel Hill community southeast of Richmond (see *Free Black Communities* in Chapter Three), testified later to the Southern Claims Commission (SCC)[494] that he was "taken by the rebel troops to work on the Batteries around Richmond, they kept me 26 days, at the end of which time I deserted and went home."[495] His neighbor Joseph Atkins, also a free Black farmer, worked on the Richmond batteries for only eight days before deserting. He was impressed again in 1862 and sent to the Yorktown defenses,

[490] *O.R.*, Vol. 4, 715.

[491] Brewer, *The Confederate Negro*, 156–157, quoted in Brasher, *The Peninsula Campaign and the Necessity of Emancipation*, 148.

[492] *O.R.*, Vol. 11, Part 1, 597, quoted in Brasher, *The Peninsula Campaign and the Necessity of Emancipation*, 172; J. B. Jones, *A Rebel War Clerk's Diary*, Vol. 1 (New York: Old Hickory Bookshop, 1935), 183, 237, quoted in G. H. Reid, "The Negro in Richmond on the Eve of and During the Civil War," Master's thesis (College of William and Mary, 1936), 35–36.

[493] *Richmond Examiner*, December 5, 1862, quoted in Werner H. Steger, "'United to Support, But Not Combined to Injure': Free Workers and Immigrants in Richmond, Virginia, During the Era of Sectionalism, 1847–1865," PhD diss. (George Washington University, 1999), 282.

[494] The federal government created the SCC after the Civil War to ensure that those individuals who were loyal to the US Army were compensated for their losses.

[495] Isaac Pleasants Claim, Henrico County, Virginia, in Settled Case Files of the Southern Claims Commission, RG 217, NARA, transcribed in Lee, *Central Virginia at War*, Research Binder, 185–186.

where he again deserted and subsequently avoided the authorities.[496] Records from 1864–1865 indicate that 23 of the 353 impressed Richmond-area men deserted.[497]

Free and enslaved Black men in Richmond also worked for other Confederate departments. Unskilled laborers laid tracks, loaded freight, and did maintenance on the five railroads that converged in the city. Others assembled materials to build ships at one of Richmond's two naval yards or worked on canal boats. Those with some knowledge of trades worked as boilermakers, blacksmiths, carpenters, mechanics, or firemen. The Nitre & Mining Bureau, created in 1863 to supervise the production of nitrate for gunpowder, employed 75 free Black men in the Richmond area in 1864–1865.[498] Confederate military hospitals relied heavily on enslaved Black labor; see *Military Hospitals* below for a discussion of Black staff at Richmond's Chimborazo, one of the Confederacy's largest general hospitals.

The Confederate government also recruited many enslaved and free Black men to work in private factories and shops that supported the war effort. In Richmond, enslaved labor played a critical role in enabling the Tredegar Iron Works to remain operational throughout the Civil War as one of the Confederate Army's primary artillery suppliers. At the outset of the war, the iron works faced financial trouble due to the national Panic of 1857, payment defaults by Southern railroads, and the loss of most federal contracts. Weapons sales had increased by 1860, however, as owner Joseph R. Anderson encouraged individual Southern states to purchase arms from his factory. On August 3, 1861, he signed a contract with the Confederacy to produce shells, guns, rifles, and cannons.[499]

Additional contracts were awarded as the war continued, but severe shortages of raw materials and skilled labor presented considerable obstacles to production. Anderson had to hire enslaved persons to replace the white employees who joined the military, despite some agreements he had for skilled labor details with the Confederate Army and Navy. Before the Civil War, Tredegar's workforce included 10 percent enslaved persons; this number rose to almost 50 percent during the war. At the factory's peak production in 1863, Anderson employed 1,200 Black men (primarily enslaved) and 1,200 white men. Most of the enslaved laborers worked in the rolling mills, but many also staffed the machine shops, foundry, and blacksmith or ran furnaces and coal mines outside the city.[500] Some free or enslaved Black women also likely worked at Tredegar preparing food

[496] Joseph Atkins Claim, Henrico County, Virginia, in Disallowed Case Files of the Southern Claims Commission, RG 233, NARA, transcribed in Lee, *Central Virginia at War*, Research Binder, 235.

[497] War Department Collection of Confederate Records, Register of Free Negroes Enrolled, 1864–1865, RG 197, NARA, quoted in Latimore, "Always a Minority," 100–101. Berlin et al., *Freedom, Series I, Vol. I*, also includes information on free Black impressment and desertion. However, Latimore notes that many Confederate records were lost during the Civil War.

[498] War Department Collection of Confederate Records, Register of Free Negroes Enrolled, 1864–1865, RG 197, NARA, quoted in Latimore, "Always a Minority," 102.

[499] Anderson enlisted in the Confederate Army as a brigadier general but resigned his commission and returned to Tredegar after he was wounded in the Battle of Glendale in June 1862. See Charles B. Dew, *Ironmaker to the Confederacy: Joseph R. Anderson and the Tredegar Iron Works* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1966), 120–122, and Lisa Hilleary, "Richmond Iron: Tredegar's Role in Southern Industry During the Civil War and Reconstruction," Master's thesis (Old Dominion University, 2011), 22–25.

[500] Dew, *Ironmaker*, 27, 262.

for the male laborers, but no payroll records survive for female workers (Black or white) at Tredegar.[501]

Free and Enslaved Black People and the US Army

When the Civil War began in 1861, many free Black men in the North were eager to enlist in the US Army to fight against the South and the institution of slavery. They were initially turned away, however, due to a 1792 federal law that barred them from serving in the US Army. At the outset of the war, President Abraham Lincoln's primary concern was the restoration of the United States. To retain the border states (Delaware, Maryland, Kentucky, and Missouri) and support for the war effort in the North, he was forced to avoid the appearance that the war was being waged to end slavery. Racist attitudes against the ability of Black men to serve as soldiers, and the measure of equality they would achieve if allowed to do so, were prevalent among military personnel and the public.[502]

As the Federal army moved south, it established so-called contraband camps near Federal positions to house the vast numbers of enslaved Black persons who fled to the Federal lines seeking freedom. The term "contraband slave" or "contraband of war" originated in May 1861, when an unnamed Virginia enslaver demanded that Major General Benjamin Butler return three enslaved persons who had sought refuge among the Federal troops at Fort Monroe.[503] Butler refused, because Virginia considered the enslaved persons property rather than people and intended to use them to wage war against the US Army. Congress supported this view and on August 6, 1861, passed the First Confiscation Act, which stated that if enslaved persons were indeed property and the property "was owned by any person in active rebellion against lawful Federal authority, then the U.S. military has every right to deny its use to any such person."[504] Butler availed himself of the additional labor and organized the former enslaved men who joined his camp into a workforce that helped build the entrenchments at Fort Monroe.

When McClellan and his troops arrived at White House Landing in May 1862, they found about 100 enslaved persons (primarily women and children) who remained on the plantation belonging to Lee's son, William H. F. Lee, after the Lee family had abandoned it. The plantation overseer, a man named Jedo, unsuccessfully tried to prevent the enslaved from working for the soldiers, while an elderly enslaved couple, Robert and Diana Meekum, helped organize the others to provide the troops with food and other aid.[505] By the end of May, large numbers of enslaved persons had escaped Confederate service and joined the US Army at White House Landing, where newspaper

[501] Edna Susan Barber, "'Sisters of the Capital': White Women in Richmond, Virginia, 1860–1880," PhD diss. (University of Maryland, 1997), 139.

[502] Joseph T. Glatthaar, *The Civil War's Black Soldiers*, National Park Civil War Series (Fort Washington, PA: Eastern National Press, 2007).

[503] *O.R.*, Vol. 2, 652, quoted in Brasher, *The Peninsula Campaign and the Necessity of Emancipation*, 35.

[504] "An act to confiscate Property used for Insurrectionary Purposes," US Congress, August 6, 1861, pp. 319.

[505] *New York Herald*, May 24, 1862; *Baltimore American and Commercial Advertiser*, May 21, 1862; Luther C. Furst Diary, May 11, 1862, US Army Military History Institute, Carlisle Barracks, Pennsylvania, quoted in Brasher, *The Peninsula Campaign and the Necessity of Emancipation*, 157.

correspondents reported that "hundreds of contraband negroes assist in the discharging of vessels."[506]

Stories about the valuable contributions of African Americans to the Federal war effort in Virginia reached the North and advanced the arguments for emancipation among military and political leaders. Reports that the Confederate Army was also using Black laborers to strengthen the Richmond defenses further supported the arguments. At the same time, the number of white volunteers decreased, and personnel shortages in the US Army prompted the federal government to reconsider its stance on Black men in the military. In July 1862, Congress passed the Second Confiscation and Militia Act, which emancipated enslaved people whose slaveholders were in the Confederate Army and authorized President Lincoln to employ Black men in the suppression of the rebellion in any manner he considered fit. Taking a cue from this act, about four Black volunteer fighting units were organized in Louisiana and Missouri. Following the Battle of Malvern Hill in August 1862, McClellan continued to use Black laborers to assist his troops at Harrison's Landing.[507]

The active recruitment of Black soldiers in the Northeast began after Lincoln issued the final Emancipation Proclamation on January 1, 1863. The Proclamation included a clause that able-bodied Black men would be received into the armed service "to garrison forts, positions, stations, and other places, and to man vessels of all sorts in said service." The cautiousness of this initial call was based on fears by Lincoln and the US War Department that the experiment of integrating Black men into the army would fail. Initial reports from US Army field commanders, however, proved favorable, and Lincoln began actively encouraging the formation of Black combat units. In March 1863, he wrote to Andrew Johnson, then serving as the military governor of Tennessee:

> The colored population is the great *available* and yet *unavailed* of, force for restoring the Union. The bare sight of fifty thousand armed, and drilled black soldiers on the banks of the Mississippi, would end the rebellion at once. And who doubts that we can present that sight, if we but take hold in earnest?[508]

Governor John A. Andrew of Massachusetts issued the first official call to enlist Black soldiers and formed the Fifty-fourth Massachusetts Infantry Regiment in early 1863. In May 1863, the US War Department issued General Order 143, which created a Bureau of Colored Troops (BCT) to provide organizational control over the recruitment of black soldiers. Under the order, all Black units were incorporated into USCT regiments. Most of the preexisting state units were absorbed into USCT divisions, but some established regiments, including the Fifty-fourth Massachusetts, were allowed to keep their names. Believing that Black men did not have the ability to lead troops in battle, the War Department restricted officer commissions to white candidates. These candidates had to submit an application stating their qualifications and, if selected, present themselves to a board of examiners who determined their fitness for command. The BCT considered the

[506] *New York Herald*, May 28, 1862, quoted in Brasher, *The Peninsula Campaign and the Necessity of Emancipation*, 159.

[507] Brasher, *The Peninsula Campaign and the Necessity of Emancipation*, 157–163, 172, 188–191, 215; Glatthaar, *The Civil War's Black Soldiers*.

[508] Abraham Lincoln to Andrew Johnson, March 26, 1863, quoted in Donald Yacovone and Henry Louis Gates, Jr., eds., *Lincoln on Race and Slavery* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2009), 270–271.

ideal candidate to be well-educated, have military experience, and have proved his commitment to working with Black men and toward the abolition of slavery.[509]

It took extra courage for the Black soldiers and their white officers to serve in a USCT unit. In addition to overcoming the substantial amount of prejudice and skepticism toward their abilities in the US Army ranks, Black soldiers were subject to harsh treatment if captured by the Confederates. To Jefferson Davis, the Emancipation Proclamation was a de facto call for a slave rebellion. On December 4, 1862, just one week before Lincoln issued the final proclamation, Davis issued his own proclamation that captured Black soldiers would not be treated as prisoners of war but as escaped enslaved persons in rebellion, even if they had never been enslaved, and dealt with violently according to state laws. White officers in USCT units were to be classified as criminals and potentially subject to prosecution under state laws for inciting revolts among enslaved persons, for which the ultimate penalty was death. Despite those threats, more than 100,000 free and escaped enslaved Black men enlisted in the US Army during the year after the issuance of General Order 143.[510]

Black regiments displayed their capabilities as soldiers in several battles fought in July 1863 to September 1864. On July 18, 1863, the Fifty-fourth Massachusetts became the first Black unit to lead an infantry attack when it stormed Fort Wagner on Morris Island in Charleston, South Carolina. Although the attack failed, the troops' bravery and determination were widely publicized in the North and helped boost the enlistment of Black men and their acceptance as capable soldiers in the US Army. On the Virginia Peninsula, Butler recruited thousands of free and enslaved Black men from the Virginia and North Carolina countryside over the winter of 1863–1864. By the spring of 1864, the 35,000 troops in his newly organized Army of the James included 8,000 free or escaped enslaved Black men. Despite protestations from the War Department, Butler endeavored to make the Black soldiers feel like an integral part of the Army. While Black men in many other Federal Army units were relegated to positions as servants, security guards, or general laborers, the USCTs in the Army of the James, including cavalry and cannoneers, were given the best rations and weapons, spearheaded assaults, and secured footholds in contested lands.[511]

In April 1864, Confederate Major General Nathan Bedford Forrest's cavalry division of approximately 2,500 men attacked a US Army garrison of about 650 white and Black troops stationed at Fort Pillow in Tennessee. Forrest's superior force overran the fort and drove the Federals down the river's bluff into a deadly crossfire. Most of the garrison was forced to surrender, but an unusually high proportion, mostly Black, were killed. Although Forrest denied it, survivors of the fight accused the Confederates of perpetrating a massacre of the Black troops. The "Fort Pillow Massacre" helped to

[509] Gail Buckley, *The Story of Blacks in the Military from the Revolution to Desert Storm* (New York: Random House Trade Paperbacks, 2001), 92; Joseph T. Glatthaar, *Forged in Battle: The Civil War Alliance of Black Soldiers and White Officers* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1990), 38–39; Glatthaar, *The Civil War's Black Soldiers*.

[510] Smith, *Black Soldiers in Blue*, 61.

[511] Glatthaar, *The Civil War's Black Soldiers*; David S. Cecelski, *The Fire of Freedom: Abraham Galloway & The Slaves' Civil War* (Chapel Hill, NC: University of North Carolina Press, 2012), 48–49; Edward G. Longacre, "Black Troops in the Army of the James, 1863–1865," *Military Affairs* 45, no. 1(1981), 1–2.

galvanize support for the USCTs throughout the US military and became a rallying cry in subsequent USCT operations.[512]

At the beginning of the Richmond-Petersburg Campaign in June 1864, the Army of the James and the Army of the Potomac each had one USCT division.[513] Brigadier General Edward Hinks' Third Division of William F. Smith's Eighteenth Corps of the Army of the James consisted of two USCT infantry brigades totaling about 3,700 troops. Brigadier General Edward Ferrero commanded the Army of the Potomac's Fourth Division of Burnside's Ninth Corps, which numbered about 4,000 men. Hinks' division distinguished itself during the initial assault on Petersburg by storming and holding a large section of the Confederate defensive line on the east side of the city. Smith failed to act decisively, however, and missed what proved to be the US Army's best opportunity to take Petersburg by a coup de main (a swift surprise attack).

During the planning for the Battle of the Crater on July 30, 1864, Burnside selected Ferrero's division to lead the attack following the explosion of the US Army mine under the Confederate lines. General Meade, commander of the Army of the Potomac, chose instead to first send a white division out of fear that the risky operation might result in slaughter and accusations that the USCTs were put in the lead to serve as cannon fodder. Ferrero's men followed and fought well, but the battle turned into a disaster for the US Army.[514]

When Butler presented to Grant the plan for his part of the September 1864 offensive aimed at gaining control of the South Side Railroad (see *Battle of Chaffin's Farm/New Market Heights* above), he made it clear that he hoped to use the opportunity to redeem the reputation of the USCTs, which had suffered after the debacle of the Battle of the Crater. He specifically chose the Third Division of the US Army Eighteenth Corps to spearhead the attack against the Confederate line at New Market Heights to "convince myself whether, when under my own eye, the negro troops will fight; and if I can take with the negroes, a redoubt that turned Hancock's corps on a former occasion, that will settle the question." Butler hoped to provide Black soldiers with an opportunity to once again prove that they were as capable and could operate under the pressures of battle as well as their white counterparts.[515]

At 4:30 am on September 29, 1864, Butler arrived to personally observe the operations of Brigadier General Paine's USCT Division. When the troops had formed for attack, he rode through their ranks exhorting them to take the Confederate line at all hazards and once over the parapets to make their war cry, "Remember Fort Pillow." Butler ordered the first wave of men, composed of the Fourth and Sixth USCTs, to remove the percussion

[512] Smith, *Black Soldiers in Blue*, 44–45.

[513] The Army of the James also had a USCT cavalry brigade and a battery of Black artillerymen. Longacre, "Black Troops in the Army of the James, 1863–1865," 2.

[514] Olausen, Kline, and Heitert, *National Register Nomination – Petersburg National Battlefield*.

[515] Benjamin F. Butler, *Butler's Book: Autobiography and Personal Reminiscences of Major General Benjamin Butler* (Boston: A. M. Thayer & Co., 1892), 721–722.

caps from their rifles and attack with only the bayonets attached to avoid having to pause in their charge to reload.[516]

The Battle of Chaffin's Farm/New Market Heights underscored the contributions and sacrifices made by Black soldiers during the Civil War. The day's action led to 14 of the 26 Medals of Honor that have been awarded to Black soldiers and sailors for their actions during the Civil War.[517] Many of the recipients, such as Christian A. Fleetwood (1840–1914) of the Fourth USCT (Figure 4-26), had picked up and carried flags after the color bearers were gunned down. Fleetwood, a free Black from Baltimore, Maryland, had joined the US Army in August 1863 at the highest rank allowed for Black soldiers, i.e., as Sergeant Major. He kept a diary of his war experiences during 1864, and the entry for September 29 reads "Charged with the 6th at daylight and got used up. Saved colors. Remnants of the two gathered and Maneuvering under Col Ames of 6th USCT Marching in line & flank all day saw Gen. Grant & Staff both Birneys and other 'Stars'."[518]

Other Black Medal of Honor recipients, such as Powhatan Beaty (1837–1916) of the Fifth USCT (Figure 4-27), rallied their comrades and took charge after their commanding officers were incapacitated. Beaty, a former enslaved person, was born in Richmond but had moved to Cincinnati, Ohio, and gained his freedom by 1861. He had enlisted in the US Army as a Private in June 1863 and risen to the rank of First Sergeant by the Battle of Chaffin's Farm. The other men awarded a Medal of Honor for their actions at Chaffin's Farm/New Market Heights were Private William H. Barnes, Thirty-eighth USCT; First Sergeant James H. Bronson, Fifth USCT; Private James Daniel Gardner, Thirty-sixth USCT; Sergeant James H. Harris, Thirty-eighth USCT; Private Thomas R. Hawkins, Sixth USCT; Sergeant Alfred B. Hilton, Fourth USCT; Sergeant Major Milton M. Holland, Fifth USCT; Corporal Miles James, Thirty-sixth USCT; First Sergeant Alexander Kelly, Sixth USCT; First Sergeant Robert A. Pinn, Fifth USCT; First Sergeant Edward Ratcliff, Thirty-eighth USCT; and Private Charles Veale (or Veal), Fourth USCT.[519]

Following the Battle of Chaffin's Farm/New Market Heights, the USCT regiments helped to build and garrison the new US Army lines that were held near Fort Harrison and New Market Road (Figure 4-28) until the end of the war (described above). In the November

[516] Berg, "Battle of New Market Heights: USCT Soldiers Proved Their Heroism;" Butler, *Butler's Book*, 731; Claxton and Puls, *Uncommon Valor*, 187.

[517] Congress created the Medal of Honor during the Civil War. It is the highest military decoration presented by the US government to armed forces personnel. The medal acknowledges "conspicuous gallantry and intrepidity at the risk of life above and beyond the call of duty." It is often awarded posthumously and can be presented years after the date of action. The most recent award of a Medal of Honor to a Black Civil War soldier occurred in 2014. United States Department of Defense, "Medal of Honor," Honors for Valor, 2022; Ron Owens, *Medal of Honor: Historical Facts and Figures* (Paducah, KY: Turner Publishing Company, 2004).

[518] National Humanities Center, "Diary of Sergeant Major Christian A. Fleetwood, U.S. Colored Infantry, Fourth Regiment, Company G, 1864, Excerpts" (National Humanities Center Toolbox Library, The Making of African American Identity, 2007).

[519] Claxton and Puls, *Uncommon Valor*, 191, 193; Hondon B. Hargrove, *Black Union Soldiers in the Civil War* (Jefferson, NC: McFarland & Company, Inc., 1988), 187, 216–217; Congressional Medal of Honor Society, "African American Medal of Honor Recipients," 2022.



Figure 4-26. *Sergeant Major Christian A. Fleetwood*, ca. 1881–1887, as Captain of the Washington Cadets resp. Washington Cadet Corps (WCC), a Black militia unit formed in 1880 and later amalgamated with the National Guard of the District of Columbia. Source: Library of Congress Prints and Photographs Division, Washington, DC.

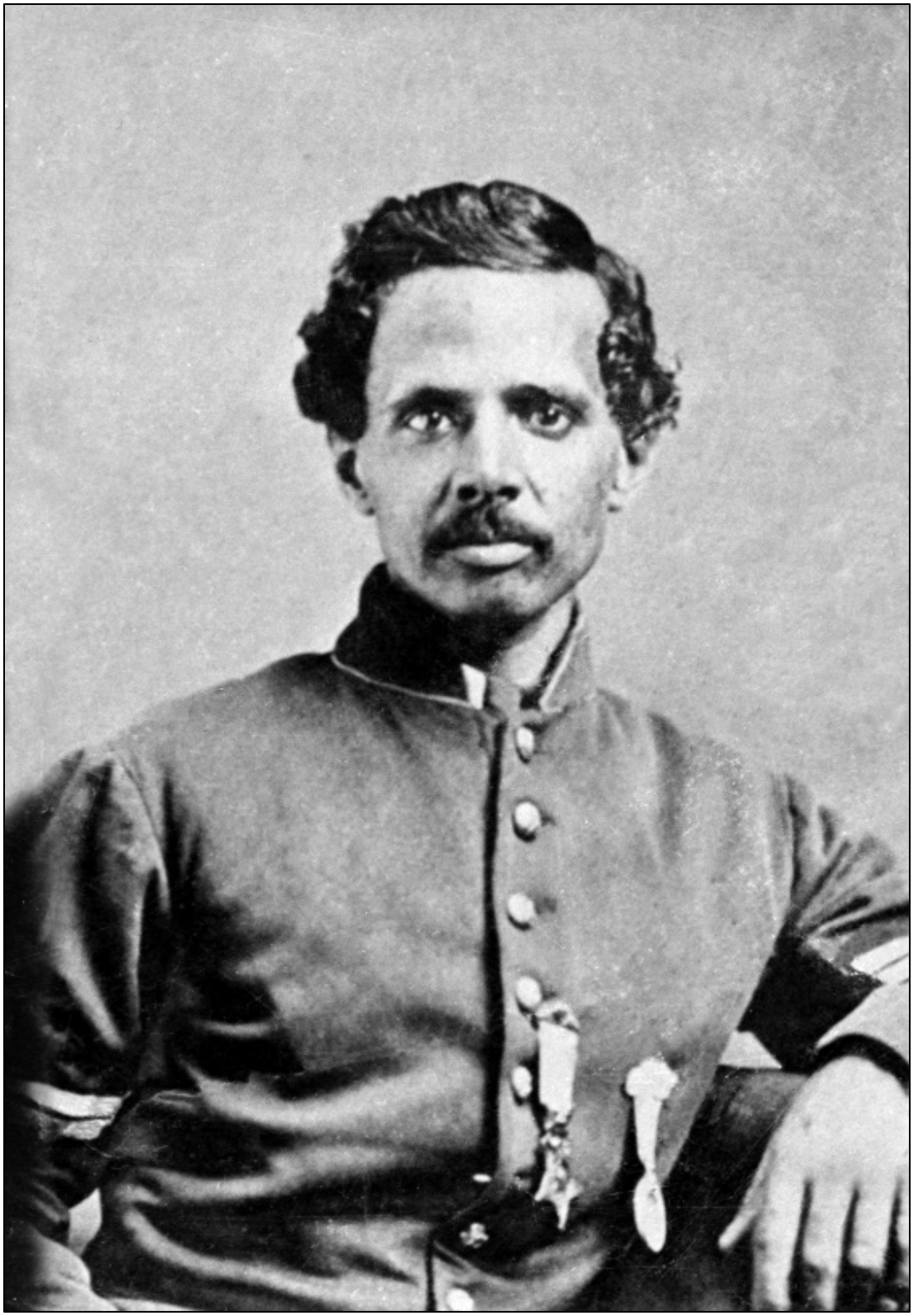


Figure 4-27. *First Sergeant Powhatan Beaty*, ca. 1900 photograph included in material assembled by W. E. B. Du Bois for a 1900 Paris Exposition exhibit on the history and present conditions of African Americans. Source: Library of Congress Prints and Photographs Division, Washington, DC.



Figure 4-28. USCTs at Fort Harrison in 1864. Source: Library of Congress, Prints and Photographs Division, Washington, DC.

1864 presidential election, 191 Black soldiers from Ohio in camps around Fort Harrison voted for the first time.[520] In December 1864, all the USCTs around Richmond and Petersburg were incorporated into the newly formed Twenty-fifth Corps in the Army of the James. Under the command of Major General Godfrey Weitzel, the corps consisted of three divisions and fluctuated from 9,000 to 16,000 men (primarily Black) for the rest of the Civil War.

US troops, including Major General Kautz's First Division of the Twenty-fifth Corps and General Weitzel, were camped along New Market Road east of Richmond at the beginning of April 1865 when rumors circulated that the Confederates had abandoned their lines around the city. Thomas Morris Chester, a correspondent with the *Philadelphia*

[520] Dispatch of November 9, in R. J. M. Blackett, ed., *Thomas Morris Chester, Black Civil War Correspondent: His Dispatches from the Virginia Front* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1989), 188–189.

Press and the only Black journalist to report from the front for a major newspaper, had been travelling with the USCTs during the last year of the war and waited outside Richmond with them. On the morning of April 3, the cavalry attached to Weitzel's headquarters met a delegation from Richmond's mayor near the border of Henrico County and the city proper (at the convergence of Osborne Turnpike and New Market Road) and accepted a surrender note. Accounts differ about which troops followed the cavalry first into Richmond. Chester claimed that General Alonzo Draper's Second Brigade (including the Fifth, Thirty-sixth, and Thirty-eighth USCT regiments) was the first unit to enter, while others recounted that the Army of the James commanders ordered the USCTs to stop when they reached the city limits and let the white regiments in General Charles Devens' division of the Twenty-fourth Corps pass them before they could enter.[521]

Reverend Garland White marched at the head of the Twenty-eighth Regiment of USCTs. Born enslaved in Richmond, he had escaped to Canada and was one of only 14 Black chaplains commissioned to serve as spiritual advisors to Black regiments. The soldiers marched in formation west on Broad Street to Camp Lee on the western edge of Richmond. For the next month, the USCTs did manual labor outside the city, such as finding and reburying Federal soldiers killed on Richmond-area battlefields. In May 1865, General Ord ordered the entire Twenty-fifth Corps under his command to serve on border duty in Texas. The troops served in the Southwest until January 8, 1866, making it the last Civil War infantry corps to muster out of service.[522]

CONTRIBUTIONS OF VIRGINIA INDIANS

Virginia Indians participated in every major US war since the American Revolution, and the Civil War was no exception. This brief overview of Virginia Indian participation and engagement in the Civil War provides only a snapshot of the roles Virginia's tribal communities played. While more research is required to fully capture their roles, Virginia Indians made concerted and dangerous decisions to serve as US Army supporters. Those who were members of the Pamunkey and Chickahominy Indian tribes took a perilous stance given their proximity to the Confederate capital of Richmond, their white slave-owning neighbors who supported secession, and their status as non-US citizens.[523]

Much of what we know about the Civil War experiences of these tribal members comes from interviews in 1872 by the SCC, which interrogated claimants about their loyalties to the US Army and the details of their property losses. The collected information describes the various ways in which Virginia Indian men served in the US Army and the consequences of their service, as well as the ways other tribal members supported the

[521] Dispatch of April 10, in Blackett, *Thomas Morris Chester*, 303; Nelson D. Lankford, *Richmond Burning: The Last Days of the Confederate Capitol* (New York: Viking, 2002), 44–45, 101, 118, 126, 130–131.

[522] Lankford, *Richmond Burning*, 126–127; Noah Andre Trudeau, *The Last Citadel: Petersburg, Virginia, June 1864–1865* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1991), 491, 494.

[523] American Indians gained widespread citizenship to the United States in 1924 with the passing of the Indian Citizenship Act.

Federal cause. Even as they risked their safety and lives, they remained, as one claimant said, "Union …, tooth and nail."[524]

Social, Political, and Economic Reasons for Supporting the US Army

Numerous factors influenced the decision of Virginia Indians to support the Federal cause, including their social standing as free people of color, their political designation as non-citizens, and their deep knowledge of Virginia's riverine environment. By the start of the Civil War, Virginia Indians were increasingly subsumed in the larger population of people of color in the minds of white Virginians. The issues and laws that plagued Black people in the region carried similar negative effects for tribal communities.

Members of the Virginia Indian community experienced racism throughout the nineteenth century as the reservation lands of tribal communities were allotted and sold, as their ability to move freely and engage economically across the region was restricted, and as they faced outward hostility to their identification as Indigenous peoples. Laws meant to curb the possibility of slave uprisings were used to deny Indians the right to establish independent congregations[525] and to unlawfully disarm them.[526] Many needed "free papers" issued to travel outside their reservation boundaries.[527] For the Pamunkey, who were known for harboring runaway enslaved persons and for intermarriage with the free and enslaved Black communities, racial animus led to the presentation of petitions in which white landowners called on the Commonwealth to terminate the tribe's treaty status and allot their reservation lands for sale.[528] An 1843 petition captures the sentiment of the Pamunkey's white neighbors in the surrounding county, who had

> … serious apprehensions … from the increase of these free mulattoes and their present combination in places accessible by a bold and early navigation to every vessel that enters the rivers. They could be readily converted into an instrument of deadly annoyance to the white inhabitants by northern fanaticism.[529]

[524] Claim of Terrill Bradby. NA RG 217 Treasury Dept. E. 732, Settled Case Files-SCC Box 371. Claim no. (6306).

[525] Pamunkey tribal members associated with Colosse Baptist Church attempted to establish an independent church and congregation on the reservation in the 1830s. However, the denial of their request prevented their full religious independence/self-determination because it required Pamunkey to retain outside (white) preachers so they could not "associate" freely. Minutes of the Dover Baptist Association, Convened at Upper King & Queen Meeting-House, King and Queen County, Virginia, on Saturday, Sunday and Monday, October 11th, 12th, and 13th, 1834. Richmond: *Religious Herald*. Held at the Virginia Baptist Historical Society, University of Richmond, Richmond, VA.

[526] Henry A. Wise, Executive Letter Book, December 9, 1856–November 29, 1860. Governor Henry A. Wise Executive Papers, 1856–1859. Accession 36710, State Government Records Collection, Library of Virginia, Richmond, VA.

[527] Lavinia Sampson Free Papers, 1841, Petersburg Free Negro and Slave Records, 1787–1865, Library of Virginia, Richmond, VA.

[528] Pamunkey Indian Tribe, January 20, 1843, Petition, Virginia State Archives, Legislative Petitions, King William County, B1207, Library of Virginia, Richmond, VA.

[529] Pamunkey Indian Tribe, January 20, 1843, Petition, B1207.

When asked during their SCC interviews why they supported the US Army, many Pamunkey and Chickahominy individuals remembered the fear that they would be stripped of their lands, the few/scant rights they had would be taken away, or they would be enslaved if the Confederates were to win the war. Spotswell Adkins of the Chickahominy Indian Tribe explained in his SCC interview, "we were all Union people all the time—and all free born, my Father and Mother as well …. We thought if the secessionists got the best of the war we should all be slaves."[530] Pamunkey Tribal member Frank Sweat echoed that sentiment: "I had no rights as a citizen. I have some Indian blood in my veins and was not permitted to vote or sit in the jury box. I was but one step from a slave."[531]

Sweat's comments raise an important issue regarding the political status of Indian people not only in Virginia during the Civil War but also throughout the country. American Indians were not considered citizens of the United States, which gave them a measure of freedom to choose how they would engage in the war because they could not be drafted or forced to enlist. This status did not stop Confederates from pressing Virginia Indian people into service, but their non-citizen status did eventually enable them to be freed from forced labor and even served as the basis for their release from Richmond-based Confederate prisons. However, the non-citizen status also provided a degree of danger as it reinforced the minimal rights afforded.

Interviewed tribal members also mentioned their economic connections in the North as a motive for supporting the US Army. Working the water as fishermen, sailors, and navigators was the predominant occupation of Virginia Indian men at that time. Their economic endeavors on the waterways of the Eastern Seaboard took them to the northern ports of Washington, DC; Maryland; Pennsylvania; New York; and Massachusetts.[532] Pamunkey sailor Terrill Bradby stated that "when the War broke out my sympathies were with the Union cause. I had been a sailor for years out of northern ports, as a great many of our people were."[533]

These social, political, and economic factors culminated in the extremely dangerous decision of several Virginia Indian communities to be Federal supporters. Tribal leaders understood the perils their communities could face with the onset of the Civil War and thus approached the pro-US Army Restored Government of Virginia for counsel. Pamunkey leader Thomas Sampson asked the Restored Government's leaders and the tribe's trustees[534] how the tribe should respond to the growing hostilities. Sampson explained, "I always thought it best to keep to ourselves. We asked the advice of Governor

[530] Claim of Spotswell Adkins; NA RG 217 Treasury Dept. E. 732, Settled Case Files-SCC Box 217, Claim no. (51398).

[531] Claim of Frank Sweat; NA RG 217 Treasury Dept. E. 732, Settled Case Files-SCC Box 371, Claim no. (18498).

[532] Ashley Spivey, "Knowing the River, Working the Land, and Digging for Clay: Pamunkey Indian Subsistence Practices and the Market Economy 1800–1900," PhD diss. (College of William and Mary, 2017).

[533] Claim of Terrill Bradby; NA RG 217 Treasury Dept. E. 732, Settled Case Files-SCC Box 371, Claim no. (6306).

[534] During the eighteenth century, the General Assembly appointed trustees for Virginia tribes that continued to hold reservation lands. The initial role of a trustee was to oversee the sale or lease of tribal lands. However, by the beginning of the nineteenth century, trustees functioned as intermediaries for issues that arose between tribal governments and the Commonwealth.

Pierpont and our trustees and that was the advice they gave us."[535] However, keeping to themselves amid the conflict proved untenable as the theater of war encroached on the tribal communities and became impossible to ignore.

Pamunkey and Chickahominy Participation

Fighting during the Civil War made its way to the core of the Chickahominy community in Charles City, and it came to the Pamunkey Indian Reservation along the banks of the Pamunkey River. For the Chickahominy Indian Tribe, fighting came to where several tribal families lived and farmed the land during the Battle of Saint Mary's Church, also referred to as Nance's Shop, on June 24, 1864, during Grant's Overland Campaign.[536]

Three major US Army encampments were constructed on and around the Pamunkey Reservation. The Pamunkey River was a hub of war activity as the main thoroughfare for the transportation of supplies and people. During the Peninsula Campaign of 1862, the Army of the Potomac turned White House Landing, directly across the river from the reservation's southwest side, into a base for the movement of army supplies on the Pamunkey River. During this encampment, approximately 14 Pamunkey men were recruited to join the Federal campaign. In 1863, Major General John Dix in command of the Department of Virginia set up an encampment at Cumberland Landing southeast of the reservation and treated wounded US Army soldiers there. In 1864 and 1865, Major General Philip Sheridan brought his cavalry through the reservation.

Such direct engagement made it impossible for the tribes to remain neutral, and Virginia Indian communities came to serve the US Army is a variety of ways. Men were recruited to join and enlisted as soldiers. Those who could not physically fight aided the Federal cause by nursing wounded soldiers and providing food and other services such as laundering, cooking, and fishing. Tribal members also provided pertinent information and intelligence to US Army leaders, and they allowed their property to be conscripted as a war resource by the US Army troops encamped near their communities.

Virginia Indian men, not officially classified as Black or white, served under white and USCT regiments in a variety of roles. Some were recruited and enlisted to serve as scouts and gunboat pilots to navigate the James, York, Pamunkey, and Mattaponi rivers.[537] Others served as land guides and even as spies under Allan Pinkerton's Union Intelligence Service (see *US Army Spies* below).[538] Over 20 individuals from the Chickahominy and Pamunkey communities served in the US Army.[539]

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[535] Claim of Thomas Cook; NA RG 217 Treasury Dept. E. 732, Settled Case Files-SCC Box 371, Claim no. (6305).

[536] Salmon, *The Official Virginia Civil War Battlefield Guide*.

[537] Lawrence Hauptman, *Between Two Fires: American Indians and the Civil War* (New York: Simon and Schuster, Inc., 1995); Claim of Caroline Cook. NA RG 217 Treasury Dept. E. 732, Settled Case Files-SCC Box 371. claim no. (21816).

[538] Hauptman, *Between Two Fires*, 74; Claim of Terrill Bradby. NA RG 217 Treasury Dept. E. 732, Settled Case Files-SCC Box 371. Claim no. (6306).

[539] Many more Indian individuals from the other Tribal communities in Virginia likely served; however, more research is required to understand the full scope of Virginia Indian engagement in the Civil War.

Of the Pamunkey men who served in the US Army, Terrill Bradby was one of the few veterans who survived to see compensation from the SCC in the 1870s. In his 1872 interview with the SCC, Terrill said

> I am an Indian by birth and live on an Indian reservation. In 1862, it was 14 of the Indian boys started from the same place listed under General McClellan as pilots and guides and I am the only one that is living . . . I entered into the Union Services the first chance I got and stuck to it till the end. I always wanted to see the Union preserved and the separatists put down, and I feel I frequently risked my life for the Union Cause . . . though I was not a citizen and had no vote.[540]

Terrill was born about 1833 on the Pamunkey Indian Reservation and worked as a sailor in Virginia and along the Eastern Seaboard before the outbreak of the Civil War. He officially entered service with the US Army on May 24, 1862, as a land guide and scout for McClellan's Army of the Potomac. Terrill and the other dozen Pamunkey men who joined the Army contributed to the Peninsula Campaign, fought in the Seven Days' Battle (June 25–July 1, 1862), and served until July 26, 1862.[541] Terrill then enlisted under Major Allan Pinkerton (alias E. J. Allen) and served as a spy for the Union Intelligence Service (predecessor of the US Secret Service). Following his service as a spy, Terrill enlisted with the US Navy in 1863 to work as a second-class gunboat pilot with the James River Flotilla Fleet. He served as Chief of the tribe from 1885 until his death in 1894.[542]

Ritson and Nemo Adkins were two sons of Elias and Mary Adkins, who had a homestead and farm in the core community of the Chickahominy Indian Tribe, just a few miles from the Charles City Court House. At the start of the Civil War, Ritson and Nemo were forced to work on Confederate fortifications. Their brother Spotswell recalled: "My older brothers were compelled to go and work on the fortifications two or three months when the war first began. The Confederate soldiers came to our house and made my brothers go. They afterward joined the Union Army."[543] Although no definitive evidence exists, their compelled Confederate service may have led Ritson and Nemo to later enlist in the US Army and support the Federal cause.

Ritson, born about 1841, enlisted at Fort Monroe on May 16, 1864, and joined Company H of the USCT Thirty-seventh Regiment Infantry.[544] He was mustered in as a cook and promoted to Corporal in 1866 while also working extra duty as a "boatman."[545] He was

[540] Claim of Terrill Bradby. NA RG 217 Treasury Dept. E. 732, Settled Case Files-SCC Box 371. Claim no. (6306).

[541] Claim of Terrill Bradby.

[542] Albert Gatschet, 1920, Smithsonian Manuscript 2197, National Anthropological Archives, Suitland, MD; Chief W. A. Bradby, Second Chief C. S. Bradby, and Headmen G. M. Cooke, R. L. Sampson and Riley Bradby, and Trustees C. J. Hill and R. C. Hill, Sr., to President Grover Cleveland, ca. 1888, National Archives, Record Group 75, Entry 91, LR 1888-7731.

[543] Claim of Spotswell Adkins; NA RG 217 Treasury Dept. E. 732, Settled Case Files-SCC Box 217 Claim no. (51398).

[544] *Compiled Military Service Records of Volunteer Union Soldiers Who Served with the United States Colored Troops: Infantry Organizations, 36th through 40th*; National Archives, Microfilm Serial: *M1993*; Microfilm Roll: *27,* Washington, DC.

[545] *Compiled Military Service Records of Volunteer Union Soldiers Who Served with the United States Colored Troops: Infantry Organizations, 36th through 40th*.

mustered out on February 11, 1867, from Raleigh, North Carolina.[546] Nemo was born about 1843 and enlisted at Fort Monroe on February 8, 1864. Nemo also served with Company H of the USCT Thirty-seventh Regiment Infantry and was initially ranked as a Private.[547] By the time he was discharged in 1867 from Raleigh, Nemo had been promoted to Sergeant. Both men experienced direct wartime action, because the Thirty-seventh Regiment Infantry was engaged in several battles across Virginia and North Carolina, including the capture of Fort Powhatan on May 5, 1864; the Battle of Chaffin's Farm/New Market Heights, Virginia, on September 29–30, 1864; the capture of Wilmington, North Carolina, on February 22, 1864; and the advance and occupation of Raleigh, North Carolina, on April 9–14, 1864.[548]

Un-enlisted tribal community members offered important physical and material support to the US Army. As noted above, some tribal members cooked, cleaned, and fished for the US Army soldiers. Some provided information and intelligence, and others tended to wounded soldiers. When asked during her SCC interview if she had ever done anything for the Federal cause, Pamunkey tribal member Caroline Cook explained, "I was always doing all I could for the Union soldiers when here. I used to cook and wash for them all the time. I have cooked for them all day long and most of the night many times."[549]

Pamunkey Reservation residents also offered their intimate knowledge of the Pamunkey River and its environs. Edward Bradby claimed, "I did everything I could do to help the Union cause. I fed the soldiers and I got to give all of the information I could to the Union forces about the roads and country in my neighborhood."[550] One Pamunkey tribal member, Frank Sweat, recalled aiding US Army soldiers who escaped from Richmond's Libby Prison in 1864:

> I did all I could in a secret way. When the … Union officers escaped from Richmond, two of them came to my house and I kept them concealed and fed them for a week until there was a chance for them to escape …. I took them in a boat in the night down the Pamunkey River. Then I gave them the last boat I had and told them how to proceed to get to the Union camp at Yorktown. I told them to go down the York river at night and stick to … the reed marshes during the day. They had no money and I gave them the boat and provisions.[551]

Chickahominy Indians Elias and Mary Adkins witnessed the June 24, 1864, Battle of Saint Mary's Church in Charles City County, which occurred on their farm. Elias and other family members aided the US Army soldiers during the battle by helping with the

[546] National Park Service, "Battle Unit Details, United States Colored Troops, 37th Regiment United States Colored Infantry," https://www.nps.gov/civilwar/search-battle-units-detail.htm?battleUnitCode=UUS0037RI00C, accessed July 12, 2022; Claim of Spotswell Adkins; NA RG 217 Treasury Dept. E. 732, Settled Case Files-SCC Box 217 Claim no. (51398).

[547] Historical Data Systems, Inc., *American Civil War Research Database,* Duxbury, MA.

[548] National Park Service, "Battle Unit Details, United States Colored Troops, 37th Regiment United States Colored Infantry."

[549] Claim of Caroline Cook; NA RG 217 Treasury Dept. E. 732, Settled Case Files-SCC Box 371 Claim no. (21816).

[550] Claim of Edward Bradby; NA RG 217 Treasury Dept. E. 732, Settled Case Files-SCC Box 371 Claim no. (14976).

[551] Claim of Frank Sweat; NA RG 217 Treasury Dept. E. 732, Settled Case Files-SCC Box 371 Claim no. (18498).

wounded and providing them with supplies. Spotswell Adkins, another son of Elias and Mary, filed with the SCC on behalf of the family in 1872 and recalled their experience witnessing the battle and their support of the soldiers. He explained that their property "was all taken in June 1864 by the armies of General Grant and Sheridan on their way to City Point"[552] and that the family gave up their "house to the wounded union soldiers for nine or ten days while general Sheridan's troops were crossing the James River."[553] They also "fed the Yankee soldiers and took care of their wounded and gave them all the information we could."[554]

Un-enlisted tribal community members also offered material support to the US Army by allowing their property to be taken by the soldiers. During the three separate encampments established on and around the Pamunkey Indian Reservation, US Army troops dismantled fences and homes, removed crops from farms and gardens, and took animals. Tribal member Caroline Cook recalled,

> I was present and saw my hogs and my chickens taken from my fathers' place when I was there living, and I saw my house surrounded and the fields around it covered with Union troops and tents. The hogs and chickens were taken in the day time, and the rails and building were taken any time they wanted it … The property—my fences and my house—were used for fuel by the Navy of General Dix, which came here in May 1863 on a raid with the Cavalry, Infantry, and Gun Boats. The Gun Boats and Transports landed at White House directly opposite Indian Town, and the cavalry coming from West Point on the north side of the river and camped all over my place, which lies immediately on the Railroad where it passes through Indian Town.[555]

Another tribal member, William Langston, learned that he might be reimbursed after the war for the things that were taken by the soldiers:

> I complained to the officers, but they said they must have the things. They said they were working for us (meaning, colored people) that we would get paid, though they didn't say when or how. I was too ignorant and scared to think about asking for any receipt.[556]

Consequences of Service and Support

The Virginia Indians' services and materials for the Federal cause did not go unremarked by the pro-Confederate citizens who surrounded the Pamunkey and Chickahominy communities. An 1862 article in a Richmond newspaper described what they called traitorous Federal sympathizers:

[552] Claim of Spotswell Adkins; NA RG 217 Treasury Dept. E. 732, Settled Case Files-SCC Box 217 Claim no. (51398).

[553] Claim of Spotswell Adkins.

[554] Claim of Spotswell Adkins. The Adkins family completed their interviews in September 1872, and their claim of $410 was allowed and awarded on December 13, 1878.

[555] Claim of Caroline Cook; NA RG 217 Treasury Dept. E. 732, Settled Case Files-SCC Box 371 Claim no. (21816).

[556] Claim of William Langston; NA RG 217 Treasury Dept. E. 732, Settled Case Files-SCC Box 371 Claim no. (21949).

> We learn that the Yankees, while operating on the line of the Pamunkey and Chickahominy rivers, received much assistance and information from the Indian tribe in King William, who are familiar with every inch of the country, and therefore expert guides. They still occupy their old settlement and have not been called to account for their proceedings.[557]

Confederate leaders attempted to capture and imprison Virginia Indians who served as US Army soldiers and informants. For example, Confederate leaders stationed in Richmond gave orders to capture Pamunkey Indians who served with the Federal army during the Seven Days' Battles and send them to prison. In August 1862, the *Richmond Daily Dispatch* reported the following:

> Information having been sent to this city that the Federal army, while operating on the Chickahominy, was piloted and sided by the Pamunkey Indians, detective officer George W. Thomas was dispatched last week to King William County, with a squad of men, for the purpose of arresting such of the mongrel tribe as were engaged in the business. The party entered the village on Friday night, and captured eleven, one of whom escaped on the way back, and three more were discharged after an examination at King William Court-House, while the remaining six were brought on to Richmond, where they are now held as prisoners.[558]

Not only were these Pamunkey men captured, but the Confederates who trespassed on their reservation threatened their families, claiming that if US Army support continued, they would be back to remove all tribal members from the reservation.[559] The Pamunkey man who escaped Confederate capture was Terrill Bradby, whose experience as a sailor, soldier, and spy is described above. He recalled his experience:

> Ten of our tribe were arrested at one time and 8 of them were taken to Castle Thunder. I was taken with the rest, but I escaped while passing through a swamp. With few shots fired at me, I was reported dead. But, in a few days I was going up the James as a pilot on a gunboat.[560]

The Pamunkey men who were brought to Richmond were imprisoned at Castle Thunder, a former tobacco warehouse on the north side of Cary Street between 17th and 18th streets that had been converted by the Confederacy to a prison. Those incarcerated there included not only Confederate soldiers charged with crimes but also civilians, captured US Army spies, political prisoners, and those charged with treason. One of the Pamunkey prisoners, Thomas Bradby, explained, "We were kept in Castle Thunder for seven weeks and finally discharged as I supposed because we were Indians."[561] Their status as non-citizens saved them and secured their pardon to leave Castle Thunder.

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[557] "The Pamunkey Indians," *Richmond Daily Dispatch*, July 23, 1862.

[558] "The Pamunkey Indians," *Richmond Daily Dispatch*, August 1, 1862.

[559] Claim of Caroline Cook; NA RG 217 Treasury Dept. E. 732, Settled Case Files-SCC Box 371 Claim no. (21816).

[560] Claim of Terrill Bradby; NA RG 217 Treasury Dept. E. 732, Settled Case Files-SCC Box 371 Claim no. (6306).

[561] Claim of Thomas Bradby; NA RG 217 Treasury Dept. E. 732, Settled Case Files-SCC Box 371 Claim no. (15142).

Confederates also impressed captured Virginia Indians into forced labor on the fortifications (similar to the US Army's activities when encamped near the Pamunkey Indian Reservation). Chickahominy and Pamunkey men often had no choice and risked their lives if they refused to join the Confederates. Chickahominy Indian William Adkins, older brother of Ritson, Nemo, and Spotswell, explained,

> I am 38 years old. I am a farmer and live four miles from Charles City CH [courthouse] ... I am the oldest son of Eli Adkins ... I was compelled to work on rebel fortifications some where the war first began, before I had learned to elude [sic] the guards, but soon learned to keep out of their reach.[562]

Pamunkey Indian William Langston recalled his experience of impressment:

> In the second year of the war I was seized by the rebels and forced to work at my trade (I'm a carpenter) on the hospital buildings. They kept me two months, then let me go on account of a hurt to my head. When I was seized, a great many others were seized along with me. They paid me very little wages. Nothing to speak of. I was under guard all the time. I could not have got away. This is all I ever did in any way to help the rebellion and this I was forced to do. The rebels threatened to kill me. They accused me of giving information to the Yankees. I had set up several nights to watch for them. They took my two guns and broke them.[563]

However, their status as tribal Indians and non-citizens often saved the Pamunkey from further forced service to the Confederacy. As Pamunkey tribal member William Wheely explained,

> I was pressed to go on the breastworks (chest high barriers to protect soldiers from gunfire) in the first summer of the war. I was so weakly that I was allowed to wait on some officers. After two months I was discharged by getting a certificate that I was an Indian.[564]

Even with the constant threat Virginia Indians faced by supporting the US Army, they continued to do so throughout the Civil War. In some cases, the threat directly compelled tribal members to enlist to fight against the Confederates.

The Pamunkey Indian Tribe pursued a coordinated effort to file claims with the SCC to receive compensation for conscripted property. Although the SCC allowed and compensated only about 32 percent of all the claims it received, it compensated about 86 percent of the approximately 22 Pamunkey claimants when it ruled that the tribe was loyal to the US Army.[565] Several Pamunkey men pooled their awards to establish a joint stock

[562] Witness Testimony of William Adkins, Claim of Spotswell Adkins; NA RG 217 Treasury Dept. E. 732, Settled Case Files-SCC Box 217 Claim no. (51398).

[563] Claim of William Langston; NA RG 217 Treasury Dept. E. 732, Settled Case Files-SCC Box 371 Claim no. (21949).

[564] Claim of William Wheely; NA RG 217 Treasury Dept. E. 732, Settled Case Files-SCC Box 371 Claim no. (19202).

[565] National Archives, *Southern Claims Commission Case Files*, https://www.archives.gov/research/military/civil-war/southern-claims-commission, accessed July 15, 2022.

company and operate a general merchandise store on their reservation.[566] The store provided cash income not only for the store owners but also for Pamunkey people who sold their surplus produce, furs, fish, and game there.[567] It also was apparently patronized by white residents of the county.[568]

US ARMY SPIES

Hundreds of Black persons and white women served formally and informally as undercover agents of the US Army espionage network that operated in and around Richmond during the Civil War. Both groups were all but invisible as they gathered critical intelligence for the Federal Army. Free and formerly enslaved Black people knew the local terrain and could blend in with local enslaved populations. In addition, white Southerners often viewed their enslaved laborers as incapable of spy craft or of working against the Confederacy. Likewise, few people expected women "to engage in such 'unladylike' activity, or to have the mental capacity and physical endurance" to be effective at it.[569]

At the start of the Civil War, the US Army obtained most of its military intelligence using civilian private detectives such as those working for the National Detective Agency managed by Allan Pinkerton (1819–1884). Pinkerton primarily relied on Northern agents planted in Richmond, such as former New York City police officer Timothy Webster. However, Pinkerton also used Black individuals and claimed that "from the commencement of the war, I found the Negroes of invaluable assistance."[570] As early as December 1861, Pinkerton had received key intelligence about Confederate Army positions on the Virginia Peninsula from William Ringgold, the free Black laborer from Baltimore who had visited Richmond that fall, and forwarded it to McClellan, who used it to refine his strategy for attacking the eastern side of the city. In early 1862, Pinkerton sent John Scobell, a recently freed Black looking for work with the Federal troops, to Richmond to pose as the servant of a white female operative named Hattie Lawton to collect more details about fortifications and armaments.[571]

Pinkerton ordered his operatives to interview all refugees (white and Black) behind the Federal lines. Formerly enslaved Black men who had been impressed into service for the Confederate Army tended to be the most informative and substantiated details obtained

[566] Roger Gregory to William Palmer on August 24, 1875, William Price Palmer (1821–1896), Palmer Family Papers, 1782–1894. Section 5. Manuscripts, Mss1 P1827 b 87-152. Virginia Historical Society, Richmond, VA.

[567] Spivey, *Knowing the River, Working the River, and Digging for Clay*, p. 163.

[568] Independent Pamunkeys, "An Indian Tribe that Has No Relation with the United States Government," *New Haven Evening Register* (May 11, 1899).

[569] Nathan Hall, "Mary Jane Richards: A Black Union Spy in Richmond," Richmond National Battlefield Park, VA, 2022; Cate Lineberry, "Elizabeth Van Lew: An Unlikely Union Spy," *Smithsonian Magazine* (May 4, 2011).

[570] Allen Pinkerton, *The Spy of the Rebellion; Being a True History of the Spy System of the United States Army during the Late Rebellion* (New York: G. W. Dillingham, 1888), 344, quoted in Brasher, *The Peninsula Campaign and the Necessity of Emancipation*, 82.

[571] United States Central Intelligence Agency (hereafter US CIA), *Intelligence in the Civil War* (Office of Public Affairs, Washington, DC, 2005); Pinkerton, *The Spy of the Rebellion*, 344–345, quoted in Brasher, *The Peninsula Campaign and the Necessity of Emancipation*, 85–86.

through other methods. As the number of these fugitives increased in the Federal camps around Richmond, Northern newspaper correspondents reported on the asset they were to the US military. From McClellan's headquarters at White House Landing in May 1862, a *New York Evening Post* reporter wrote, "It is well known that these negroes have a more thorough knowledge of the enemy's country than any white men,"[572] and a *New York Herald* article noted that "fugitives come through the enemy lines from Richmond constantly, and give much information as to the designs, force and spirit of the rebels."[573] Some of the men claimed to have been enslaved by high-ranking Confederate generals such as Magruder and Lee or even by Confederate President Davis. Deserters, prisoners, and escaped enslaved persons provided the Federal troops with valuable details about local road conditions, directions, and Confederate locations.[574]

In February 1863, Colonel George H. Sharpe and former Pinkerton employee John C. Babcock created the first formal American intelligence service called the Bureau of Military Information, which directed US Army intelligence in the East for the rest of the Civil War. Sharpe organized about 70 white men to work for the bureau, which also continued to rely on the informal underground network of spies in the Richmond area.[575] On August 11, 1863, Richmond police arrested 25 free Black men in Gravel Hill for providing information to the Federal government. An article in the *Richmond Dispatch* earlier that week had publicized their activities:

> The Indian halfbreeds, at Indiantown, on the Pamunkey River [see *Contributions of Virginia Indians* above], and the free Negroes on the James River, in the lower part of Henrico and Charles City, are in the regular employ of the Yankees as spies, and ought to be taken charge of by the Confederate authorities with as little delay as possible. Not only do they act as guides to raiding parties and pilots to the gunboats, but they keep a careful watch on our land and naval forces, and report every movement in defense of the South. Why these creatures have been allowed to remain so long in positions from which they can do so much harm, is a matter of great surprise.[576]

The underground spy network included white Federal sympathizers William Ammons, James McCawley, James McDowell, and Alfred Buffin, who testified on behalf of those arrested. McDowell ran a grocery store in Richmond, where free Black farmers such as Richard and Isaac Sykes sold their produce. White and Black members of the network maintained active communication lines between Richmond and the US Army and used Richard Sykes' house (on or near the **Richard Sykes Farmstead** site) as a meeting spot.[577] Participants in the area's Federal activities included New York native William S. Rowley (Figure 4-29), who lived with his wife and three young sons on a rented farm outside Richmond, and a small community of working-class German immigrants led by Richmond

[572] *New York Evening Post*, May 31, 1862.

[573] *New York Herald*, May 20, 1862, quoted in Brasher, *The Peninsula Campaign and the Necessity of Emancipation,* 158.

[574] Brasher, *The Peninsula Campaign and the Necessity of Emancipation,* 82, 85.

[575] US CIA, *Intelligence in the Civil War*.

[576] *Richmond Dispatch*, August 8, 1863, and August 11, 1863, quoted in Latimore, "Always a Minority," 116.

[577] SCC Records quoted in Latimore, "Always a Minority," 117–118.

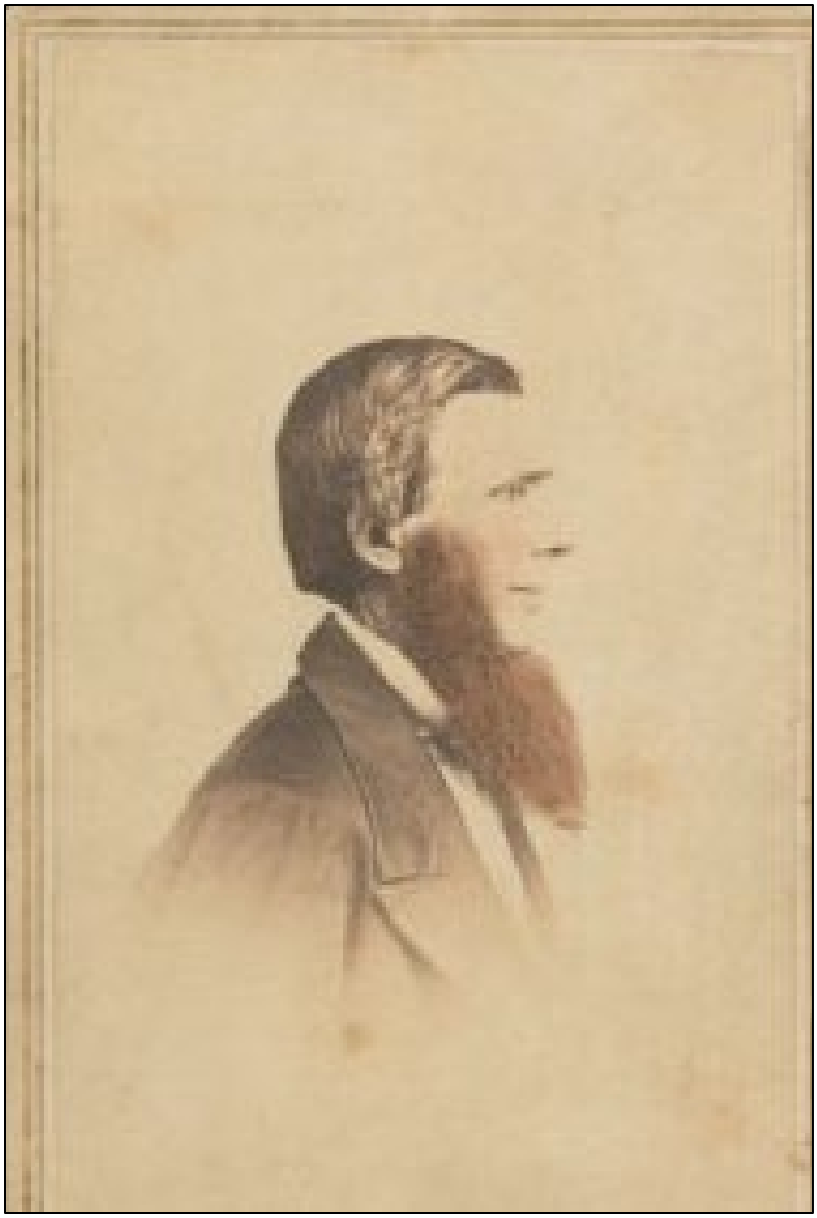


Figure 4-29. Undated portrait of William S. Rowley. Source: New York Public Library Digital Collections.

grocer Frederick William Lohmann; his carpenter brothers Eberhard, Herman, and John Lohmann; and saloon owner Christian Burging. Rowley and the Lohmanns were associated with efforts to help Federal troops escape from the harsh conditions in Richmond's Confederate prisons. They also became connected with Elizabeth Van Lew (1818–1900; Figure 4-30), a prominent member of Richmond society and one of the US Army's most important intelligence agents in the Confederate capital.[578]

[578] Claim of William S. Rowley, SCC Records, Allowed Claims, RG 217, NARA, quoted in Elizabeth Varon, *Southern Lady, Yankee Spy: The True Story of Elizabeth Van Lew, A Union Agent in the Heart of the Confederacy* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2003), 81–82.



Figure 4-30. Undated portrait of Elizabeth Van Lew. Source: The Virginia Historical Society.

Van Lew lived with her widowed mother, Eliza, in the southern part of the neighborhood known as Church Hill.[579] Elizabeth's father, John Van Lew, had owned a successful hardware business in the city and, like most of his peers, had enslaved Black people––as many as 15 Black men and women in the years before his death in 1843. Records show

[579] Church Hill, adjacent to present-day Chimborazo Park, historically has had an economically and racially diverse population. In the mid-nineteenth century, residents included "a few very wealthy people [like Van Lew's family], many middle-class professionals, immigrants from Europe, free blacks, and slaves." See Marguerite Crumley and John G. Zehmer, *Church Hill: The St. John's Church Historic District* (Little Compton, RI: Fort Church Publishers Inc, 1991), 11.

that about a dozen Black individuals continued to work for Eliza and Elizabeth in the late 1850s and early 1860s, but the enslaved status of those individuals is unclear. Elizabeth Van Lew's biographer, Elizabeth R. Varon, points out that several obstacles would have prevented the Van Lew women from formally emancipating their household labor should they have wished to. John Van Lew's will included a codicil that gave Eliza the authority to use but not sell or free the family's enslaved persons. In addition, an 1806 Virginia statute required newly freed Black persons to leave the Commonwealth within one year or be re-enslaved. However, sources indicate that at least some of the Black people working for Eliza and Elizabeth during the Civil War had been freed.[580] Elizabeth Draper (about 1848–1922), a Black woman likely born into slavery but possibly freed when she worked as an assistant to the Van Lews' cook, later became the mother of Maggie Lena Walker (1864–1934), the Black businesswoman and civil rights activist whose house in Richmond is preserved as Maggie L. Walker National Historic Site (see Chapter Six).

The two Van Lew women maintained a facade of loyalty to the Confederacy when the Civil War began but started assisting Federal prisoners from the 1861 Virginia battles of Manassas and Ball's Bluff held at a former warehouse on the corner of 25th and Main streets down the hill from their house. The *Richmond Enquirer* reported, "Two ladies, a mother and a daughter, living on Church Hill, have lately attracted public notice by their assiduous attentions to the Yankee prisoners…. these two women have been expending their opulent means in aiding and giving comfort to the miscreants who have invaded our sacred soil."[581] A *Richmond Dispatch* editorial commented that if the Van Lews didn't stop their efforts, they would be "exposed and dealt with as alien enemies of the country."[582] Undeterred, Elizabeth Van Lew covertly passed information to prisoners with the food, books, and medical supplies she brought; bribed guards to give them special treatment; and helped some plan their escape.

Major General Benjamin Butler learned about Elizabeth in December 1863 from two US Army soldiers who had escaped from prison. In January 1864, he sent her an encrypted note with instructions to "write through Flag of Truce, directed to James Ap. Jones, Norfolk, the letter being written as this is."[583] The note included a key to her secret cipher, which survives among her papers archived at the New York Public Library (Figure 4-31).

Van Lew became Butler's chief correspondent in Richmond, and Rowley reported to her. Her earliest extant dispatch, from January 30, 1864, informed Butler that the Confederacy was planning to ship inmates from Richmond's overcrowded prisons to Andersonville Prison in Georgia. Her note suggested the number of forces he would need to attack and free the prisoners and warned him not to underestimate the Confederates.[584] Butler immediately sent Van Lew's report to Secretary of War Edwin Stanton, who ordered a

[580] Varon, *Southern Lady, Yankee Spy*, 26–33.

[581] *Richmond Examiner,* July 29, 1861.

[582] *Richmond Dispatch*, July 31, 1861.

[583] Butler to Van Lew, January 18, 1864, in Benjamin F. Butler, *Private and Official Correspondence of General Benjamin F. Butler Volume III February 1863–March 1864* (privately issued, 1917), 319, quoted in Varon, *Southern Lady, Yankee Spy*, 113.

[584] Van Lew to Butler, January 30, 1864, quoted in Varon, *Southern Lady, Yankee Spy*, 114.

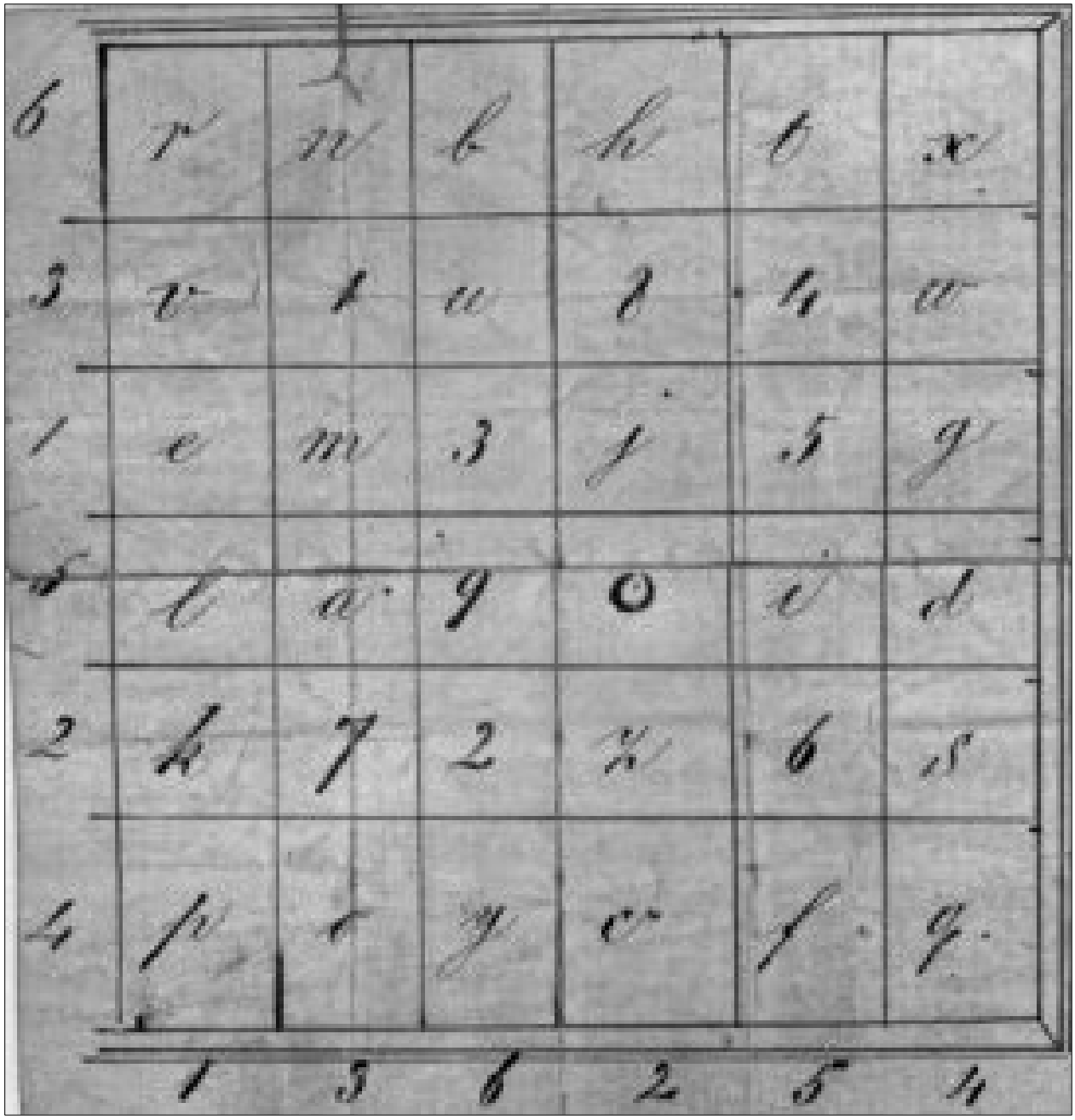


Figure 4-31. The cipher Elizabeth Van Lew used to send messages to US Army commanders. Source: New York Public Library Digital Collections.

raid on the Richmond prisons, but the Confederate Army had been warned by a US Army soldier on its payroll and rebuffed the attack.[585]

As Grant's Overland Campaign got underway in the spring of 1864, information conveyed to Butler by Van Lew helped to propel the US Army's advance toward Richmond. A letter she had sent in early March indicated that a Federal attack on the city would likely

[585] Varon, *Southern Lady, Yankee Spy*, 115–117.

succeed since most of its troops had been sent north to help Lee.[586] Van Lew acted as the "spymaster" for a network of couriers and scouts that consisted of Black and white men from Henrico and Charles City counties and her own Black servants, including a woman known as Mary Jane Richards.[587] The network relayed hidden messages to Federal scouts at five stations between Richmond and the US Army headquarters at City Point. The stations included a 12-acre vegetable farm owned by the Van Lews along the Osborne Turnpike near the James River. Post-war accounts in the *Richmond Dispatch* describe how two of the Van Lews' unnamed male servants brought goods daily from the farm to the city and hid letters, maps, and plans in their shoes or in dummy eggs. The locations of the other stations are not known, but the preferred communication route was the Charles City Road east and then south of the city. The members of the spy network also delivered messages between Richmond Federals and their family and friends behind Federal lines.[588]

Elizabeth Van Lew recorded in her diary that "most generally our reliable news is gathered from negroes, and they certainly show wisdom, discretion, and prudence."[589] Sylvanus J. Brown, a free Black farmer near Wilcox's Landing on the James River who had a pass to sell goods at Richmond's markets, was a member of Van Lew's network. He testified after the Civil War that he "carried a good many persons white and colored from Richmond in his cart and helped them to escape to Union lines" and carried "letters to Union men and women."[590] Brown also accompanied a US Army scout "across the Chickahominy Swamp and by the rebel camps in the night close up to Richmond to see the position of the Confederates."[591]

Colonel Sharpe established contact with Van Lew in late June 1864, and for the next several months she communicated "well and persistently" through Sharpe with General Grant at his City Point headquarters.[592] She and other agents sent Sharpe an average of three reports a week with critical details about the Richmond defenses, such as the strength of the picket posts and fortified lines around the city, the condition of the Confederate troops, and the movement of men and supplies in the region. These communiques informed Sharpe's own intelligence reports and influenced the decisions made as the Richmond-Petersburg Campaign proceeded. Just before the Second Battle of Deep Bottom (August 13–20, 1864), an agent reported "a camp of seven regiments of

[586] Benjamin F. Butler, *Butler's Book* (Boston: A. M. Thayer & Co., 1892), 640–641, quoted in Varon, *Southern Lady, Yankee Spy*, 154–155.

[587] Richards appears in historical records under various other names, including Mary Elizabeth Bowser, Mary Jane Henley, and Mary Jones. In September 1865, she spoke at churches in Harlem and Brooklyn in New York City under the names Richmonia Richards and Richmonia R. St. Pierre about her experiences as a spy. See Hall, "Mary Jane Richards," 2022.

[588] Van Lew v. Duke, Chancery Court Cases, File 15, 1869, Richmond; *Richmond Dispatch*, July 17, 1883, quoted in Varon, *Southern Lady, Yankee Spy*, 160.

[589] Van Lew, "Personal Narrative," May 14, 1864, Elizabeth Van Lew Papers, quoted in Varon, *Southern Lady, Yankee Spy*, 155.

[590] Claim of Sylvanus J. Brown, SCC Records, Allowed Claims, RG 217, NARA, quoted in Varon, *Southern Lady, Yankee Spy*, 163.

[591] Claim of Sylvanus J. Brown, SCC Records quoted in Varon, *Southern Lady, Yankee Spy*, 163.

[592] Sharpe to Comstock, January 1867, Elizabeth Van Lew Papers, quoted in Varon, *Southern Lady, Yankee Spy*, 158.

infantry near Deep Bottom" and "work being done to the fortifications on the north side of the city."[593] In the days leading up to the Battle of Chaffin's Farm/New Market Heights a month later, agents reported: "Eight guns have been sent to Chaffin's farm … signs all day long of great uneasiness in the city … one of the city battalions was immediately ordered out and sent down to Chaffin's Farm. Hampton's cavalry still remains on New Market Hill."[594]

Intelligence received on September 16, 1864, that "no iron suitable for making nails or spikes has been on hand for two weeks past" at the Tredegar Iron Works, combined with other reports from Richmond's underground spies, confirmed that the Confederate Army faced severe shortages of men and supplies.[595] Van Lew's sources also supplied Grant with information about the movement of reinforcements between Lee's Army of Northern Virginia and Early's Army of the Valley, including details obtained from a "council of general officers" held at Confederate President Davis' house in mid-September.[596] As Grant engaged Lee around Richmond in October 1864, the underground network kept Sharpe and his aides informed about the location of Lee's headquarters and Confederate debates about allowing enslaved Black men to fight. That month, Van Lew recruited Samuel Ruth, the head of the Richmond, Fredericksburg, and Potomac Railroad, to assist in facilitating communication between Richmond and City Point.[597]

Van Lew received some payment for her efforts, but she lost much of her personal fortune and social standing in the South at the end of the Civil War after Confederate authorities had conducted a formal investigation of Van Lew and her family. Under President Grant, she held an appointed position as the head of the Richmond post office. Later in life, she relied on the generosity of wealthy Bostonians whom she had helped during the Civil War. Van Lew's involvement in US Army espionage is known about primarily through her own writings, while the names of the numerous free and enslaved Black people who braved dangerous field conditions to transmit valuable information to Van Lew and other intelligence agents are largely unknown.

FAMILY FARMS IN THE PATH OF WAR

The families living on farms and plantations around Richmond could do nothing but run or hide as violence and bloodshed came suddenly to their homes during the Civil War. Fragmentary documentation offers some information about the inhabitants of various properties north and east of the city during the Seven Days' Battles, and their stories were likely similar to those of others in the area.

Before Federal troops arrived at the Watt farm (in the Gaines' Mill park unit) on the morning of June 27, 1862, family members and enslaved persons had moved 77-year-old

[593] Sharpe to Theodore S. Bowers, August 13, 1864, quoted in Varon, *Southern Lady, Yankee Spy*, 170.

[594] Sharpe to A. Humphreys, September 25, 1864, quoted in Varon, *Southern Lady, Yankee Spy*, 170.

[595] Sharpe to A. Humphreys, September 17, 1864, quoted in Varon, *Southern Lady, Yankee Spy*, 170.

[596] Sharpe to A. Humphreys, September 7, 1864, quoted in Varon, *Southern Lady, Yankee Spy*, 172.

[597] Ruth to Stanton, December 21, 1865, Hillyer Papers, University of Virginia, quoted in Varon, *Southern Lady, Yankee Spy*, 173.

widow Sarah Watt to a neighboring farm. Sarah's granddaughter Mary Jane Haw (1835–1927) later wrote of the events of that summer:

> One day mother [Mary Austin Watt Haw] unexpectedly returned [from visiting Sarah at the Watt farm] and shocked us with the tidings that the Confederate army, now rapidly approaching, would take a position in defense of Richmond on the other side of the Chickahominy, leaving our whole section in the Federal lines. … All around us was bustle and commotion, infantry marching, cavalry dashing about, artillery and ammunition wagons rumbling through the fields. … Grandmother flatly refused to leave her home but yielded to our entreaties on the condition that Uncle Peter [likely Sarah's son Pitman] would remain to take care of the house and the negroes.[598]

Despite Sarah's plea, Pitman Watt and the enslaved members of the Watt household left the property as well. US Army Major General Fitz John Porter occupied the **Watt House** for his headquarters. He recalled later, "I fixed my headquarters at first at the Adams House [southeast of the Watt farm]; but early in the battle that locality became a hospital, and I advanced to the Watt House, on more elevated ground."[599] Aaron C. Kepler of the 11th Pennsylvania Reserves was injured in the fighting at the Watt farm and wrote after the Civil War that he and a few of his comrades "attempted to seek shelter by crawling into an old log hut nearby [likely one of the enslaved quarters on the property], but soon the stone chimney, and, even the top of the house was torn off by cannonballs, and we abandoned it."[600] Mary Jane Haw watched from afar as "The smoke of battle hung a sulphurous canopy over the woods bounding the horizon, and the roar of the guns was deafening."

The day after the Battle of Gaines' Mill, George Watt, Sarah's youngest son, rode from his home in Richmond to investigate the damage at the farm. He informed the rest of his family that the Watt House "had been the scene of the fiercest fighting of the day, and was a total wreck. It was now being used as a hospital, and every building on the place was crowded with the enemy's wounded." Several months later, Mary Jane Haw returned to the farm, where a "sickening odor pervaded the air" and a "profound stillness and mournful silence brooded over the scene." She noted that the house had received significant damage with its "walls and roof … torn by shot and shell, the weather-boarding honeycombed by minié balls, and every pane of glass shattered."[601]

The Gaines family apparently did not leave their nearby property until the fighting began, despite warnings from their enslaved cook named Mary that Confederate troops were approaching. A *New York Times* correspondent reported that Dr. Gaines was "the most unblushing, undaunted and defiant rebel that we have yet encountered … exceedingly ungrateful and indulges in the most insulting expressions."[602] Gaines' wife, Jane; his

[598] M. J. Haw, "My Visits to Grandmother," *Christian Observer*, May 18, 1910, 23.

[599] *Battles and Leaders of the Civil War* (4 volumes, New York, 1887), II, 335.

[600] Brenden Bowman, "Expanding the Narrative at Gaines Mill, Hanover County VA," Designing the Parks, 2020.

[601] Haw, "My Visits to Grandmother," 23.

[602] *New York Times*, May 28, 1862, quoted in Brasher, *The Peninsula Campaign and the Necessity of Emancipation,* 182.

daughter Fannie Gaines Tinsley; Fannie's young daughter; enslaved cook, Mary; and an enslaved nurse fled toward the Confederate lines as the troops attacked. Although Federal soldiers camped on the Gaines property were ordered to protect the buildings, Tinsley recounted that when she returned after the battle, she found "everything on the place was destroyed, and all the negroes left except some old ones who could not get away."[603]

Reverend James J. Marks, a chaplain in the Sixty-third Pennsylvania Regiment of Kearny's division during the Peninsula Campaign, was detailed after the June 29 Battle of Savage's Station (outside Richmond) to remain at the hospitals there. He learned of the desperate conditions in the US Army battlefield hospitals at Glendale (see *Military Hospitals* below) and traveled by horse on July 4, 1862, to visit the wounded men, offer spiritual comfort, and deliver supplies. Marks later described his experiences passing through a desolate landscape of broken wagons, abandoned ambulances, torn garments and knapsacks, and Confederate stragglers. At the farm of Richard and Virginia Whitlock (John Whitlock Jr.'s son and daughter-in-law; see *Henrico County* in Chapter Three) he saw

> The field over the entire extent was covered with the mounds which marked the spots where our brave men had fallen. Extended over a portion of the field was the breastwork of rails they had hastily constructed, and along this were many dead. I saw no one unburied. In this field was a farm-house surrounded by apple and peach trees; under these had been buried a considerable number of our soldiers. . . .The fruit-trees were shattered and the branches torn and twisted as by a tornado; each of the houses which formed the cluster had been the scene of a conflict.[604]

According to Surgeon Edward Donnelly of the Second Pennsylvania Reserves, Richard and Virginia Whitlock and their seven small children were hiding in the cellar of their house before the June 30 Battle of Glendale. Captain Weidman of the Fourth Pennsylvania Cavalry recalled his troops cooking meals in the house and said the owner's wife "begged me to see the General, and have the house turned into a hospital." Weidman responded, "if her house proved to be in the line of the enemy's fire, a hospital flag would not be respected by them, as they had fired on one the day before. I advised her to move herself and her family as fast as she could, and to as great a distance in our direction as she could go." A Confederate account describes how a mother, "whose home was this humble cabin, startled by the awful proximity of war, had seized her young child and fled for safety" and returned the day after the battle to a "bloody scene."[605]
At the **Richard Sykes Farmstead**, Reverend Marks reported:

[603] Fanny W. Gaines Tinsley Memoir, Virginia Historical Society, Richmond, quoted in Brasher, *The Peninsula Campaign and the Necessity of Emancipation,* 186. See Dickinson, *Union and Confederate Engineering Operations*, 10; Brasher, *The Peninsula Campaign and the Necessity of Emancipation,* 181–186; Bowman, "Expanding the Narrative."

[604] Rev. J. J. Marks, *The Peninsula Campaign in Virginia, or Incidents and Scenes on the Battle-fields and in Richmond* (Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott & Co., 1864), 319, 326; John W. Hammond, *Cultural Landscape Report for Glendale Battlefield, Richmond National Battlefield Park, Virginia* (Boston, MA: Olmsted Center for Landscape Preservation, National Park Service, 2019), 39–51.

[605] A. L. Slack, "After the Battle of Frazier's Farm," *Confederate Veteran*, 2(1):20, 1894.

> In the field, about one hundred yards from the road, stands a house occupied by a negro family. In this house and the outhouses around it were many of our wounded men, under the care of Dr. Collins. The garden was enclosed with a picket fence, nearly every strip of which bore witness to the severity of the battle. Balls of all descriptions had torn through the house.[606]

The day before the Battle of Glendale, soldiers from Major General George McCall's division had commandeered the neighboring properties belonging to the free Black farmer Richard Sykes and his brother Isaac and told the men to leave immediately with their families. They had just enough time to grab some items from the house and run toward the woods. According to Marks, "As the branches of the trees around and above them were cut and falling, he called on his family to follow him, and running a few steps he had to return and carry in his arms one of his children, that appeared to be struck with a palsy of fear." One member of Richard's family, "a sister-in-law," refused to leave and fled to the cellar, where she remained through the duration of the battle.[607]

McCall used Richard's house as his headquarters and used his barn and outhouses as hospitals. Damage claims submitted to the SCC by the Sykes brothers after the Civil War enumerate the losses they suffered. The soldiers damaged most of the buildings on Richard's property, killed both men's livestock, and confiscated 400 pounds of bacon that Richard had likely intended to sell to the Richmond markets to feed Federal troops. These losses decimated the brothers' ability to make a profit from their farm that year and made subsistence difficult. Isaac Sykes complained that the Federal soldiers "didn't leave me even an axe."[608] The government compensated only a small percentage of the brothers' losses, using the rationale that anything stolen by Federal soldiers was not eligible for payment.[609]

Post-war recollections document similar devastation in the wake of the battles around Richmond to properties belonging to white and Black people alike. Emily Atkins told the SCC about her free Black uncle Joseph Atkins' farm after the Seven Days' Battles: "All you could see then on the place was banks of ashes. The fences were gone. The garden was all worked up. There wasn't a mouthful to eat, his bed was gone and he did not have anything to cook on."[610]

Chaplain Edward D. Neill, a member of the First Minnesota Volunteer Infantry, described his experiences at the West House during the Battle of Malvern Hill:

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[606] Marks, *The Peninsula Campaign in Virginia*, 320.

[607] Marks, *The Peninsula Campaign in Virginia*, 322.

[608] SCC Records, Isaak Sykes file, quoted in Latimore, "Always a Minority," 112.

[609] Erik Kreusch, *Urban Archeology Corps, Archeological Investigations at The Isaac Sykes Farm Property, Richmond National Battlefield Park, Henrico County, Richmond, Virginia. NRAP Project Number: RICH 2015A*, 2015. Richard Sykes claimed $2,750 and received only $514.50; Isaac claimed $2,500 and received only $303. See Hammond, *Glendale*, 56.

[610] Emily Atkins Deposition, February 24, 1873, Joseph Atkins Claim, Henrico County, Virginia, in Disallowed Case Files of the Southern Claims Commission, RG 233, NARA, transcribed in Lee, *Central Virginia at War*, Research Binder, 236.

> When night came I slept on a sofa in the West house. The person who seemed to be the head of the household was a gentlemanly man, but greatly worried by the irruption [sic] of an invading army trampling down his crops. … About eight o'clock [the next morning] Confederate artillery took position in a wheat-field on the Poindexter farm, and opened fire, the shells bursting near the West house. The family, with some of their neighbors, in consternation fled into the cellar, to which there was access by a large outside door. The head of the house in great distress enquired, "What shall I do?" There was a dressing-table draped with red cloth, and I suggested that it be torn off and fastened on a long pole over the house, in the hope that it might alter the range of the shots. It was distressing to hear the moans and see the tears of the women in the cellar, and as General Meagher was riding by I directed his attention to them. With the impulsiveness of a kind Irishman, he drove up to the cellar-door, and looking down, assured the frightened ones that they would soon be relieved; but in what way I did not see.[611]

Federal Brigadier General Philip Kearny established his headquarters during the July 1, 1862, engagement at the vacant early nineteenth-century cottage on James Binford's neighboring property, which appears to have survived the battle along with Binford's own vacant house.[612] However, the two Binford buildings were likely among those burned during a follow-up skirmish led by Brigadier General Joseph Hooker on August 5 that resulted in the Federal recapture of Malvern Hill and the looting and burning of many houses and outbuildings.[613] Walter Shelton was only 14 years old when the US Army occupied his family's Rural Plains plantation during the Battle of Totopotomoy Creek (May 29–May 31, 1864). About his experience, he later wrote, "The next morning when I looked out I did not know the place."[614]

MILITARY HOSPITALS

Known and potential post-contact archeological sites at Richmond NBP are associated with the enormous permanent Confederate military hospital at Chimborazo and with some of the many expedient field hospitals set up in houses, barns, and outbuildings near battlefields. These sites have the potential to yield important data about topics such as the quality of available medical care among and between US Army and Confederate troops, the general health of those troops before and during the Civil War, and the experiences of those who worked at the hospitals in a variety of roles.

Before the Civil War, Americans typically associated hospitals with disease and poverty, and only the poor went to hospitals to convalesce from illnesses. The war shifted that belief when thousands of men who were not well enough to return to their military units were transferred to general hospitals in cities along rail lines for further treatment or for time to recuperate away the battlefield. The armies established general hospitals behind troop lines, generally along communication routes. US Army hospitals were primarily in

[611] Chaplain Edward D. Neill, D. D., "Incidents of the Battles of Fair Oaks and Malvern Hill," in Mollus Minnesota 3 (1892):473, quoted in JMA, *Glendale and Malvern Hill*, 94.

[612] James Binford left the area after his wife's death earlier that year.

[613] JRIA, *Archaeological Investigations*, 15.

[614] Dutton & Associates, *Cultural Landscape Report, Part 1: Totopotomoy Creek Unit*.

Washington, DC, which was accessible by rail, wagon, and sea. Richmond functioned as the medical center of the Confederacy because of its accessibility by protected rail lines, and more than 60 percent of the Southern wounded and sick passed through its city hospitals. The park's Chimborazo Hospital site, now the site of the Civil War Medical Museum housed in the 1909 Richmond Weather Station (see Chapter Six), is a portion of what was one of the largest hospitals in the world at the time. Over the course of the war, about 70,000 patients received treatment at Chimborazo.[615]

More common by far than large urban hospitals such as Chimborazo were the field hospitals set up during and after battles. Any available structure, whether occupied or unoccupied, could be used as a field hospital. Troops generally set up field hospitals 1–2 miles behind the battle lines. They selected sites based on their proximity to potable water, the availability of buildings they could commandeer to supplement hospital tents to house the wounded, and the distance from the battle lines. Federal soldiers typically consolidated field hospitals into corps hospitals to allow for increased efficiency in the care of the wounded, while Confederates organized field hospitals at the division level. In the park, farm buildings near the Gaines' Mill, Glendale, and Malvern Hill battlefields, including the extant Watt and Garthright houses, served as field hospitals.

Chimborazo Hospital Site

An estimated six of every seven casualties during the Civil War were attributable to disease and events occurring at camp. With little or no working knowledge of germ theory, the most rudimentary of medical instruments, no antiseptics, and afflictions such as dysentery, typhoid fever, pneumonia, tuberculosis, whooping cough, measles, and gangrene killed 250,000 US Army soldiers and 164,000 Confederate soldiers off the battlefield. The establishment of the US Sanitary Commission in 1861 and the appointment of physicians Samuel Preston Moore and William Alexander Hammond as surgeons general to the Confederate and US armies, respectively, helped to standardize hospital organization and hygiene. Mortality rates, however, remained staggeringly high.[616]

After the large number of deaths in the summer of 1861 related to the crowded conditions in Richmond's makeshift hospitals housed in hotels, warehouses, stores, and private homes, Confederate Surgeon General Moore saw the need to standardize military hospitals and create a formal medical service. In October 1861, winter quarters for the garrison troops of Richmond were under construction on Chimborazo Hill on the city's eastern outskirts.[617] Moore had the quarters repurposed as a large hospital and placed prominent Richmond physician James B. McCaw (1823–1906) in command as surgeon-in-

[615] Clifford Dowdey, Experiment in Rebellion (Garden City, NY: Doubleday, 1946), 241, quoted in Carol C. Green, *Chimborazo: The Confederacy's Largest Hospital* (Knoxville, TN: University of Tennessee Press, 2004), 5; *The Medical and Surgical History of the Civil War*, 12 vols., 1870–1888 (Reprint, Wilmington, NC: Broadfoot Publishing Co., 1990), vol. 5, 29, quoted in Green, *Chimborazo*, 114.

[616] Clarence R. Geier and Kimberly Tinkham, "Cultural Landscapes and Collateral Damage: Fredericksburg and Northern Spotsylvania County, Virginia, in the Civil War" in *Historical Archaeology of Military Sites: Method and Topic* (College Station, TX: Texas A & M University Press, 2011).

[617] The name Chimborazo may be a reference to Mount Chimborazo, a volcano in Ecuador.

chief. Chimborazo Hospital admitted its first patients on October 18, 1861. By December 1861, 1,200 men were convalescing at the complex, which consisted of five divisions with a total of 98 wards by mid-1862 (Figure 4-32).[618]

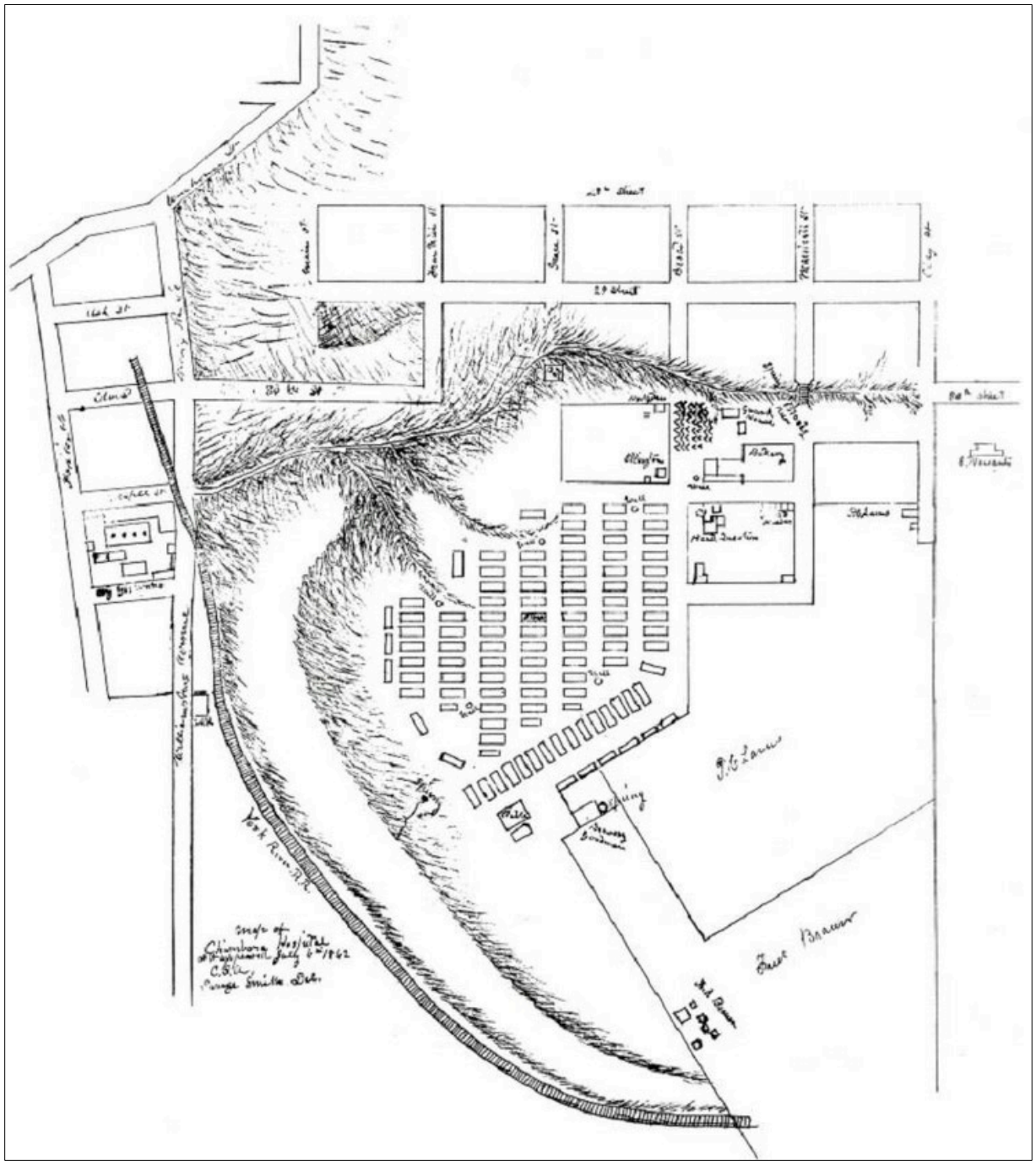


Figure 4-32. *Plan of Chimborazo Hospital in July 1862*. Source: Collections of the Health Sciences Library at Virginia Commonwealth University, Richmond, VA.

[618] Green, *Chimborazo*, 7–10, 12–13.

The hospital layout used a progressive pavilion-style design to take advantage of healthful cross-breezes off the James River and to match the specifications dictated by Florence Nightingale following her experiences in the Crimean War (1853–1856).[619] The hospital's physical layout, documented by historical photographs and drawings and by the personal recollections of former patients and staff, sprawled well beyond the 5.6-acre NPS-owned site boundaries into what is now the City-owned Chimborazo Park.

The hospital's administrative headquarters was in an existing residence on the hill overlooking dozens of patient wards arranged in long columns to the south. The one-story, side-gable ward buildings were constructed of 2-inch-thick, whitewashed, vertical pine planking. A low partition wall divided each building into two wards, and four rows of bunk beds accommodated about 20 men in each ward. Avenues 40 ft wide and alleyways 10 ft wide formed an easily navigable grid throughout the hospital grounds, and a central warehouse provisioned the entire facility. The northern and eastern edges of the property housed the many support structures needed to maintain the huge patient and staff populations. The structures included several kitchens, an enormous bakery, carpentry shops, apothecaries, icehouses and soaphouses, a chapel and guardhouse, a large stable, and five mortuaries. Chimborazo's design was replicated enthusiastically in the construction of hospitals throughout the Confederacy, including Winder Hospital, referred to as Camp Winder, on the western side of Richmond, which accepted its first patients in April 1862. A third Confederate hospital of this type, Howards Grove in Mechanicsville, accepted its first patients on June 26, 1862, the day of the Battle of Beaver Dam Creek.[620]

To staff Chimborazo, Dr. McCaw hired dozens of physicians and organized them into a hierarchy of surgeons-in-charge, surgeons, and assistant surgeons. He hired contract surgeons as needed, and civilian doctors occasionally volunteered their services. Like all Confederate military hospitals, Chimborazo also employed nursing and support staffs, which consisted almost entirely of free and enslaved Black men and women. Convalescing or detailed soldiers initially filled such roles, but the enormous labor needs at Chimborazo and other large hospitals and the pressure for soldiers to return to the front required new workforce options. Throughout 1862, the Confederate government issued several orders and laws authorizing the employment of civilian (white and Black) nurses and cooks at military hospitals in place of enlisted men. These regulations culminated in the Hospital Act signed by Confederate President Davis on September 27, 1862, "to better provide for the sick and wounded of the Army in hospitals," which expanded hospital chiefs' authority to hire matrons, assistant matrons, ward masters, nurses, and cooks as needed.[621]

Dr. McCaw recognized early on the necessity of hiring Black people, writing to Surgeon General Moore on May 17, 1862, "I have at this time only two hundred and fifty-six cooks and nurses [slaves] in my hospitals, to take care of nearly four thousand sick soldiers … it

[619] Florence Nightingale, *Notes on Hospitals* (London: John W. Parker and Son, 1859).

[620] Green, *Chimborazo*, 8–15; Dale C. Smith, "Military Medical History: The American Civil War," *OAH Magazine of History* 19(5):17–19, 2005.

[621] Green, *Chimborazo*, 31–33, 42–44.

will be entirely impossible to continue the hospital without them."[622] McCaw advertised for help in local newspapers throughout the war. As discussed above in *Contributions of African Americans*, enslaved Black men were impressed into service by the Confederate government or hired out by their enslavers. In large cities such as Richmond, broker agents often supplied hospitals with enslaved labor. Free Black people also obtained jobs at military hospitals. James Fox, a free Black nurse, earned $13 per month at Chimborazo Division 2 in 1861.[623] From September to November 1862, the head surgeon at Chimborazo Division 2 hired 47 Black nurses to assist 9 white civilian men and 7 detailed soldiers on his staff.[624] Some surgeons at Chimborazo and other hospitals brought enslaved Black individuals with them; an 1863 Chimborazo roster lists 15 medical doctors who earned additional wages from their 35 enslaved nurses, including at least two enslaved by Dr. McCaw.[625]

Black men typically worked as nurses in Confederate military hospitals, which employed far fewer female nurses (approximately 1,000) than US Army hospitals (approximately 9,000) during the Civil War.[626] In 1863, the nursing staff at Chimborazo consisted of 264 primarily enslaved Black men, 79 white detailed soldiers, 26 white stewards, and 30 white matrons.[627] The presence of Black male nurses shocked some patients. Alexander Hunter, a wounded infantryman, recorded his three-day stay at Chimborazo in May 1864 in a diary, writing "There are only two brute attendants, both black (they call them nurses, God save the mark!) to take care of us."[628] Nursing duties involved bathing patients, changing bed linens, and cleaning the wards. Chimborazo rosters document two enslaved male nurses, Charles and Jim, who also worked as cooks and another, Reuben Dickson, who also worked as a baker. Enslaved Black men also attended to other hospital tasks that involved manual labor such as lifting patients, driving ambulances, digging graves, chopping wood, and caring for the goats and milk cows kept on the grounds. Some worked on nearby farms that supplied produce to the hospital.[629]

Some Confederate hospitals had female Black nurses; however, most hospital administrators appear to have preferred to assign them to non-patient duties. Enslaved Black women generally cooked and did laundry—tasks similar to those they performed on plantations.[630] In 1862, two enslaved women named Lucy and Hannah earned $16 per month from their labor in the washhouse for their enslaver N. G. Turnley, who also

[622] McCaw to Moore, May 17, 1862, Chimborazo Records (NARA RG 109), vol. 707, 101, quoted in Green, *Chimborazo*, 47.

[623] Chimborazo Records, Division No. 2, Box 9, December 1861, quoted in Nancy Schurr, "Inside the Confederate Hospital: Community and Conflict during the Civil War," PhD diss. (University of Tennessee, 2004), 167.

[624] Chimborazo Records, Division No. 2, Box 9, November 1862, Hospital Muster and Pay Rolls, quoted in Schurr, "Inside the Confederate Hospital," 117.

[625] Green, *Chimborazo*, 48–49; Schurr, "Inside the Confederate Hospital," 133.

[626] Green, *Chimborazo*, 42.

[627] Chimborazo Records, ch. 6, vol. 708, quoted in Barbara Maling, "Black Southern Nursing Care Providers in Virginia During the American Civil War, 1861–1865," PhD diss. (University of Virginia, 2009), 234.

[628] Alexander Hunter, *Johnny Reb and Billy Yank* (New York: The Neale Publishing Company, 1905), 560–565.

[629] Schurr, "Inside the Confederate Hospital," 150–151; Chimborazo Records, ch. 6, vol. 98, pp. 26–27, 47–48, quoted in Maling, "Black Southern Nursing Care Providers," 191.

[630] Maling, "Black Southern Nursing Care Providers," 236.

worked at Chimborazo as a steward. Another enslaved woman named Nancy also washed clothes and bedding at Chimborazo.[631] Unlike the enslaved workers, free Black women Flaney Baker and Eliza Mickens were able to keep the $8 per month they each earned as laundresses at Chimborazo Division 1 in 1862.[632] Confederate hospitals also hired working-class white women as nurses and laundresses, but Richmond hospitals had fewer white laundresses than other places. Chimborazo employed about 60 laundresses, including 25-year-old Agnes Ann Wilson, a white tinner's wife, and a Black woman named Sally who she enslaved. Both women earned $8 per month in 1862, but Sally's wages went to her enslavers.[633]

Most middle- and upper-class white women employed in Confederate military hospitals worked as matrons. The 1862 Hospital Act provided that each hospital could employ two chief matrons at salaries not to exceed $40 per month to "exercise a superintendence over the entire domestic economy of the hospital" and two assistant matrons at salaries of up to $35 per month "to superintend the laundry, to take charge of the clothing of the sick, [and] the bedding of the hospital, to see that they are kept clean and neat."[634] Each ward could also employ two ward matrons for salaries of $30 per month to oversee the condition of the ward, the preparation and distribution of medicine and meals, and the nursing care.

Phoebe Yates Levy Pember (1823–1913), a Jewish widow from Charleston, South Carolina, accepted a position as chief matron at Chimborazo Division 2 in late 1862 and remained in the job through April 1865. She chose to work in Richmond rather than stay at her father's house in Georgia, where she had moved after her husband's death. However, it was "rather a startling proposition to a woman used to all the comforts of luxurious life," Pember later wrote in her 1879 memoir, *A Southern Woman's Story: Life in Confederate Richmond*. She recalled that, while sitting outside the head surgeon's office on her first day, "there was no mistaking the stage-whisper which reached my ears from the open door of the office … in a tone of ill-concealed disgust, that 'one of them [meaning a woman supervisor] had come.'"[635] Pember responded to criticism of her activities:

> In the midst of suffering and death, hoping with those almost beyond hope in this world; praying by the bedside of the lonely and heart stricken; closing the eyes of the boys hardly old enough to realize man's sorrows, much less suffer man's fierce hate, a woman must soar beyond the conventional modesty considered correct under different circumstances.[636]

[631] Chimborazo Records, Division No. 1, May 1862, Box 8, Hospital Muster and Pay Rolls, quoted in Schurr, "Inside the Confederate Hospital," 133, 155.

[632] Chimborazo Records, Division No. 1, May 1862, Box 8, Hospital Muster and Pay Rolls, quoted in Schurr, "Inside the Confederate Hospital," 166.

[633] Chimborazo Records, Division No. 1, May 1862, Box 8, Hospital Muster and Pay Rolls, quoted in Schurr, "Inside the Confederate Hospital," 107.

[634] James M. Matthews, *The Statutes at Large of the Confederate States of America, Passed at the Second Session of the First Congress* (Richmond, VA: R. M. Smith, 1862), 64.

[635] Phoebe Yates Pember, *A Southern Woman's Story: Life in Confederate Richmond* (G. W. Carleton & Company, 1879), 17.

[636] Pember, *A Southern Woman's Story*, 105.

Hospital work was vastly different from most comfortable white women's experiences before the Civil War, but many filled the necessary roles. Sarah Tignor was an assistant matron at Chimborazo in 1863, and her husband, farmer William J., and son James also worked there as nurses.[637] Sara Rice Pryor (1830–1912) accompanied her husband, Confederate Brigadier General Roger A. Pryor, to Richmond during the 1862 Peninsula Campaign and volunteered at a hospital established in one of the city's warehouses. She describes in her 1905 memoir, *Reminiscences of Peace and War*, how she fainted when she first arrived at the hospital and saw a soldier's amputated arm. She returned the following day armed with "spirits of camphor" to prevent her "fine-lady faintness" and continued to work 12 hours a day attending to the dozens of wounded men who filled the hospital after the battles of Gaines' Mill, Glendale, and Malvern Hill.[638]

Over the course of 1862, the Confederate medical service opened and operated three large hospitals like Chimborazo and 28 smaller general hospitals using repurposed warehouses and other existing buildings in Richmond. A few small private hospitals continued to operate in private homes and churches. During the active battle season from April to November, all these hospitals were usually filled, with an estimated total of 10,000–15,000 patients that year. General hospitals initially accepted Confederate wounded as they arrived, with no order or system as to who would be treated at which location. After those from the 1862 Seven Days' Battles were treated, the sick and wounded were directed to particular hospitals based on their state of origin. Soldiers from Georgia, Kentucky, Maryland, Missouri, Tennessee, and Virginia were sent to Chimborazo.[639] Within the hospitals, soldiers were grouped by home state in the wards. This practice made patient visitation and mail distribution more straightforward and allowed for supply packages sent by individual states to get to the correct units.[640]

The level of medical care at Chimborazo Hospital varied greatly. Many accounts praised the doctors and the care provided by the female matrons, although some patients complained that sufficient food was sometimes unavailable and that some wards were poorly supervised. In November 1862, 360 patients at Chimborazo petitioned the Confederate Congress for better food.[641] Some eyewitnesses went so far as to pronounce the medical staff negligent and the environment filthy and foul-smelling. However, the system worked. For the period from November 1, 1861, to November 1, 1863, Chimborazo had a mortality rate of about 6.4 percent.[642] Later in the war, hospital staff and open beds were in short supply, with many hospitals having closed during the winter

[637] Chimborazo Records, Division No. 2, May 1863, Box 9, Hospital Muster and Pay Rolls, quoted in Schurr, "Inside the Confederate Hospital," 103–104.

[638] Sara Rice Pryor, *Reminiscences of Peace and War* (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1905), 180–192; Gary E. Bryant, "Working Women in the Confederate South: White Southern Women in the Paid Labor Force During the Civil War," PhD diss. (University of Houston, 2008), 17.

[639] Soldiers from Georgia, Kentucky, and Tennessee were also sent to Winder Hospital on the west side of the city. See Green, *Chimborazo*, 17.

[640] Green, *Chimborazo*, 11–15, 17, 66–67; Rebecca Barbour Calcutt, *Richmond's Wartime Hospitals* (Gretna, LA: Pelican Publishing Company, 2005), 109.

[641] Barber, "Sisters of the Capital," 115.

[642] *Confederate States Medical and Surgical Journal*, vol. 1, no. 1 (January 1864), p. 8, *Civil War Richmond*, https://civilwarrichmond.com/3847-1864-01-csmsj.

of 1864. Wood for fuel was particularly scarce, due in part to a lack of labor to procure it. In January 1865, Dr. McCaw received only 200 of the 300 cords he requested, and Chimborazo Division 2 assistant surgeon John Jackson reported, "On examination I find scarcity of fuel as to an extent of discomfort and exposure of patients."[643] Black workers were dispatched from Chimborazo, Howard's Grove, Winder, and Jackson hospitals for 15 days to cut wood for Richmond's hospitals.[644]

On March 21, 1865, Confederate Medical Department officials directed McCaw to transfer "all patients who will not be injured by transportation, and who will not be fit for duty within 15 days" from Chimborazo to hospitals elsewhere in Virginia.[645] The day after the Confederate Army abandoned Richmond on April 2, 1865, Dr. McCaw surrendered the hospital to a group of US Army surgeons, and ambulances began delivering US Army patients, who were placed in separate wards from the remaining Confederates (less than 650 men).[646] The Confederate patients were all transferred to other hospitals over the next few weeks. The US Army abandoned Chimborazo Hospital by late 1865. The hospital buildings went through many uses before all were razed in 1876 to make way for the current Chimborazo Park (see Chapter Five).

Archeological monitoring in 2016 near the extant 1909 weather station did not find any evidence of the former hospital buildings in that location. However, intact archeological remains of the hospital complex may survive within the larger Chimborazo Hospital site, which has the potential to provide important structural and artifact data about a critical element of the Civil War landscape.[647]

Battlefield Hospitals

After each battle during the Seven Days' Battles in the summer of 1862, the Confederates transported most of their wounded to Richmond hospitals with help from city residents. The retreating US Army left its wounded soldiers in makeshift hospitals created in houses, barns, and sheds on farms throughout the countryside that were then occupied by the advancing Confederate army. The wounded soldiers and the doctors and other personnel caring for them thus became Confederate prisoners of war. The field hospitals all reported a severe lack of food and medical supplies. US Army Private Andrew Roy was wounded at Gaines' Mill and left on the battlefield as a prisoner of war for over two weeks. He expected to die from a lack of medical care but received assistance from

[643] Chimborazo Records, vol. 358, quoted in Green, *Chimborazo*, 93; Daily Report from Acting Assistant Surgeon John Jackson to Surgeon S. E. Habersham, January 3, 1865, "Reports of Officers of the Day, Chimborazo Hospital No. 2," Chimborazo Records, ch. 6, vol. 324, quoted in Maling, "Black Southern Nursing Care Providers," 310.

[644] "Letters Received and Sent, Medical Director, Richmond, Virginia, 1861–1864," *Confederate Records*, ch. 6, vol. 364, p. 209, quoted in Maling, "Black Southern Nursing Care Providers," 310.

[645] Carrington to McCaw, March 21, 1865, Chimborazo Records, vol. 709, p. 310, quoted in Green, *Chimborazo*, 144.

[646] Most of the hospital's physicians took their case books with them; the US Army Surgeon General's Office collected the rest of the hospital's records and later turned them over to the National Archives (RG 109). See Green, *Chimborazo*, 151.

[647] Shepard et al., *Archaeological Overview and Assessment*, 97.

civilians before he was eventually transported to a hospital in Richmond.[648] Another US Army soldier wounded at Glendale on June 30 by a musket ball in his thigh told Reverend Marks that he had remained on the battlefield until July 3, but that the Confederate soldiers guarding the field hospitals often stopped to converse with him, brought him water, and made a shelter using tree branches to provide shade. On July 11, more than a week after the Battle of Glendale, the wounded US Army soldiers were moved from the field hospitals to the prisons and hospitals of Richmond.[649]

After the 1862 Battle of Gaines' Mill, Federal troops used the **Watt House** as a field hospital. Mary Jane Haw recalled: "Grandmother's immaculate floors! From garret to cellar there was scarcely a space of flooring as large as a man's hand that did not bear the dark purple stain of blood."[650] The US Army also used the **Hooper/Garthright House**, owned at that time by Confederate cavalryman Miles Garthright, as a field hospital during the 1864 Battle of Cold Harbor. The Garthright family took refuge in the basement and watched blood drip through cracks in the ceiling above them. After the Army of the Potomac left the area in 1864, the house served as a Confederate hospital.[651]

The primary battlefield hospitals at Glendale were in the Nelson, Whitlock, **Richard Sykes**, Brackett, and Gatewood houses and the Willis Methodist Church. Two hospitals were also on the property of Richard **Sykes' brother Isaac** and one on property belonging to Isaac Pleasants. The **Willis Methodist Church Parsonage**, of which only **ruins** remain, also is believed to have served as a field hospital during the Battle of Malvern Hill. Officers were generally treated in the chambers upstairs, and wounded enlisted men were crowded on the ground floor or sheltered in outbuildings or on cots in the yards of the houses. Dr. Julius Skelton oversaw the hospitals at the Nelson house, which held 200 patients, and the nearby Gatewood house to the east. A Dr. Marsh directed the care of 100 patients at the Willis Methodist Church south of the Nelson house, and a Dr. Collins was at the Richard Sykes house. Surgeon Edward Donnelly commanded the hospital at the Whitlock house.[652]

[648] Andrew Roy, *Fallen Soldier: Memoir of a Civil War Casualty*, William J. Miller, ed. (Southbury, CT: Elliott & Clark Publishing, 1996), pp. 27–62, quoted in Maling, "Black Southern Nursing Care Providers," 204–205.

[649] Marks, *The Peninsula Campaign in Virginia*, 305.

[650] Haw, "My Visits to Grandmother," 23.

[651] Curtis S. King, William Glenn Robertson, and Steven E. Clay, *Staff Ride Handbook for the Overland Campaign, Virginia, 4 May to 15 June 1864: A Study in Operational-Level Command* (Fort Leavenworth, KS: Combat Studies Institute Press, 2006), 39; Charles W. Mitchell, *Travels Through American History in the Mid-Atlantic* (Baltimore, MD: Johns Hopkins Press, 2014), 115; Clayton R. Newell, Charles R. Shrader, and Edward M. Coffin, *Of Duty Well and Faithfully Done: A History of the Regular Army in the Civil War* (Lincoln, NE: University of Nebraska Press, 2011), 180; Smith, "Military Medical History," 18; Shepard et al., *Archaeological Overview*, 133.

[652] Marks, *The Peninsula Campaign in Virginia*, 318–320, 333.

CHAPTER FIVE: RECONSTRUCTION AND BEYOND, 1865–1920

After the surrender of Robert E. Lee to Ulysses S. Grant at Appomattox Court House on April 9, 1865, the South entered the period of post-Civil War recovery known as Reconstruction (about 1865–1877). Overall economic decline accompanied the destruction of the physical landscape and inhibited Southerners' efforts to rebuild. Richmond-area residents nonetheless adapted to their changed circumstances and forged ahead with new development.

During Reconstruction, federal laws offered observable protection of civil rights for formerly enslaved and free Black people, even in the South. The end of Reconstruction, however, ushered in the Jim Crow era of racial discrimination and segregation in the late nineteenth to mid-twentieth centuries, as white Southerners attempted to recast the Civil War as a patriotic struggle for states' rights rather than a fight over slavery. The US Supreme Court's landmark *Plessy v. Ferguson* decision of 1896 enshrined segregation law for decades. At the same time, white Northerners and Southerners developed narratives to commemorate the people and places involved in the Civil War, but these narratives excluded Black people and other minorities.

Historic resources within Richmond NBP associated with the Reconstruction and Jim Crow eras consist of the Civil War Chimborazo Hospital site, the extant Tredegar Iron Works Pattern Storage Building (within the park's authorized boundary but not owned or currently used by the park), the many farmsteads surrounding Richmond that continued to operate after the Civil War, the Black neighborhood at Gravel Hill, and the Veterans' Monument at Parker's Battery.

REBUILDING RICHMOND

Word of Richmond's fall on April 3, 1865, spread slowly and erratically through the surrounding countryside. Many residents of Chesterfield, Hanover, and Henrico counties migrated to the city after the Civil War in search of food, supplies, and jobs, but the destruction from the fires set as the Confederates evacuated the city on April 2, 1863, and the large numbers of refugees arriving meant that resources were scarce.[653] On April 21, 1865, the president of Richmond's Office of Relief Commission reported the following to the Assistant Adjutant General of the US Army:

> The great difficulties existing in regard to furnishing employment in a captured and half-burnt city, the danger of fostering spirit of idle vagabondism, the throngs of negroes recently freed, who have come from their homes in the country to add to the starving mouths in town, and the large number of disbanded soldiers, paroled prisoners of war, who also have flocked to Richmond, all have complicated the duties of this commission, and obstructed, in some degree, its operations.[654]

[653] Latimore, "Always a Minority," 9–10.

[654] Adam Badeau, Lieutenant-Colonel and President of Relief Commission, to Lieut. Col. Edward W. Smith, Assistant Adjutant General, April 21, 1865, *Civil War Richmond*, https://civilwarrichmond.com/3904-1865-04-21-official-records.

The former Civil War hospital complex at Chimborazo accommodated hundreds of Richmond's refugees and freedpeople in the initial post-war period before its transformation into a municipal park. The Tredegar Iron Works and other factories in the area reopened quickly to create new products for the post-war economy and provided more job opportunities for the influx of people. Agriculture remained a major contributor to the region's economy into the twentieth century, however, and many of the farmsteads in the area that is now Richmond NBP continued to operate under the same ownership after the Civil War. Table 5-1 shows the population growth in Richmond and the surrounding counties after the Civil War and until 1920.

Table 5-1. Population of Richmond, Virginia, and Counties Surrounding Richmond NBP, 1870–1920.[655]

City/County	1870	1880	1890	1900	1910	1920
City of Richmond	—	—	—	85,050	127,628	171,667
Chesterfield[656]	18,470	25,085	26,211	18,804	21,299	20,496
Hanover	16,455	18,588	17,402	17,618	17,200	18,088
Henrico[657]	66,179	82,708	103,894	30,062	23,437	18,972

Chimborazo

The Chimborazo unit of Richmond NBP illustrates many aspects of Richmond during the Reconstruction and Jim Crow eras (see below). The former Confederate hospital site at the northeastern edge of the city became a Freedmen's Bureau school and refugee camp, then a neighborhood of freedpeople, and finally a public city park with a federal weather station.

Freedmen's Bureau School and Camp

Congress established the federal Bureau of Refugees, Freedmen, and Abandoned Lands (commonly called the Freedmen's Bureau) under the War Department on March 3, 1865, to supervise "all abandoned lands, and the control of all subjects relating to refugees and freedmen from rebel states" (13 Stat. 507).[658] The Bureau Commissioner, Major General Oliver Otis Howard, appointed state commissioners, who in turn appointed officers to lead regional and local bureaus. Virginia's office of the Freedmen's Bureau, headquartered in Richmond, oversaw 10 district offices with multiple subordinate offices throughout the state. Bureau functions initially included issuing rations and clothing (Figure 5-1), operating hospitals and refugee camps, and supervising labor contracts

[655] US Census, *Twelfth Census of the United States, Census Bulletin No. 51, Population of Virginia by Counties and Minor Civil Divisions*, February 6, 1901, https://www2.census.gov/library/publications/decennial/1900/bulletins/demographic/51-population-va.pdf; Virginia Places, "Population Growth."

[656] Includes City of Manchester up to 1900 and portions of City of Petersburg up to 1890; parts of county annexed to Richmond in 1914.

[657] Includes City of Richmond up to 1900; parts of county annexed to Richmond in 1905 and 1914.

[658] United States, *Statutes at Large, Treaties, and Proclamations of the United States of America*, Vol. 13 (Boston, 1866), 507–509.

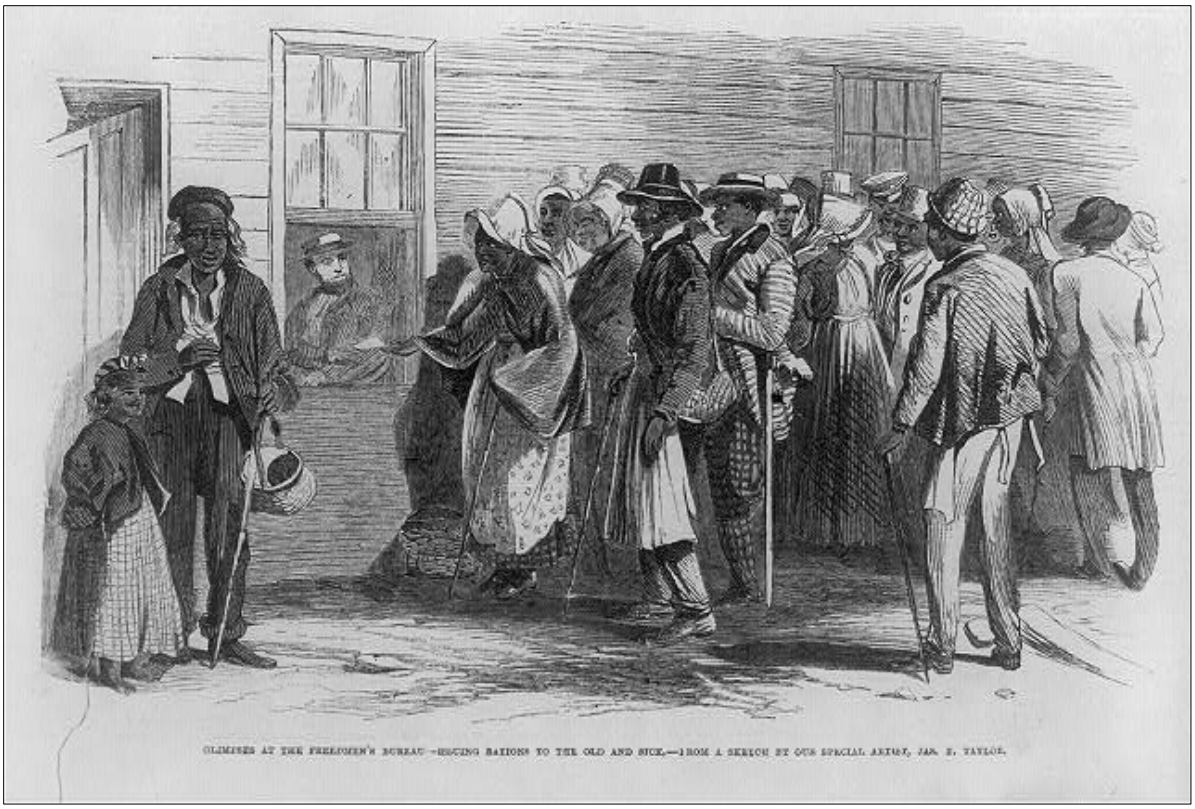


Figure 5-1. *Glimpses at the Freedmen's Bureau – Issuing rations to the old and sick – from a sketch by our special artist, Jas. E. Taylor*. Source: James E. Taylor, Artist, Illus. in *Frank Leslie's Illustrated Newspaper*, v. 23, September 22, 1866, p. 5, Library of Congress Prints and Photographs Division, Washington, DC.

between planters and freedpeople. The bureau also managed labor disputes and complaints, compiled registers of households to legalize marriages and birth records, provided transportation for refugees and freedpeople attempting to reunite with their family or to relocate to parts of the country with more employment opportunities, and worked with Northern aid societies and local Black communities to establish schools for newly freed Black people (Figure 5-2).

As Congress extended the bureau's operations on July 16, 1866 (14 Stat. 173), and July 6, 1868 (15 Stat. 83), it added duties, including assisting Black soldiers and sailors to obtain back pay, bounty payments, and pensions. Pursuant to legislation passed on July 25, 1868 (15 Stat. 193), the bureau closed its state and subordinate offices beginning in early 1869 and ended most of its operations by July 1, 1869. Educational activities continued through August 15, 1870, and a substantially reduced headquarters staff processed claims until Congress officially abolished the Freedmen's Bureau in June 1872 (17 Stat. 366). Bureau records provide invaluable documentation of the circumstances faced by Black people during Reconstruction.[659]

[659] NARA, Microfilm Catalog M1913, Records of the Field Offices for the State of Virginia, Bureau of Refugees, Freedmen, and Abandoned Lands, 1865–1872 (Washington, DC: US Congress and National Archives and Records Administration, 2006), https://www.archives.gov/files/research/microfilm/m1913.pdf; The Freedmen's Bureau Online: Records of the Bureau of Refugees, Freedmen and Abandoned Lands, https://www.freedmensbureau.com.



Figure 5-2. *Glimpses at the Freedmen – The Freedmen's Union Industrial School, Richmond, Va. – from a sketch by our special artist, Jas E. Taylor*. Source: James E. Taylor, Artist, Illus. in *Frank Leslie's Illustrated Newspaper*, v. 23, September 22, 1866, p. 5, Library of Congress Prints and Photographs Division, Washington, DC.

The schools established with the assistance of the Freedmen's Bureau served as vital centers for Black men and women who generally had received no educational instruction during slavery. In most states, including Virginia, the Freedmen's Bureau school system constituted the first form of statewide public education, albeit limited to Black persons. Typically, the state bureaus helped to coordinate the organization of the school system and provided the funds to construct or procure school buildings, to repair and maintain them, and to pay for transporting teachers to the South. Northern aid societies usually paid the teachers' salaries and donated supplies. Local freedpeople sometimes contributed to the salaries and often subscribed or paid tuition to the schools.

Reverend Ralza Morse Manly (1822–1897), chaplain of the First US Colored Cavalry at Virginia's Fort Monroe in 1864–1865, served as the Virginia Freedmen's Bureau superintendent of schools from November 1865 until August 1870. By May 1866, more than 136 teachers throughout the state provided instruction to about 8,000 students, and about 270 schools with more than 350 teachers and about 20,000 students operated by the

fall of 1868.[660] Schools assisted or maintained by the Freedmen's Bureau in Virginia included day schools for children, night schools for adults, and Sabbath schools. Students received instruction in reading, writing, arithmetic, and geography, among other subjects. Teachers were mainly white Quaker women from the Northeast, although some came from the local white and Black populations.[661]

The Freedmen's Bureau used its authority over former Confederate properties to provide buildings for a school for free Black people at the former Chimborazo Hospital complex in Richmond. The school, one of three in Richmond's East End supported by the New York Society of Friends,[662] opened in the first week of June 1865 with 180 students and had enrolled 345 students (166 male and 179 female, mostly aged 6 to 16) by November 1, 1865. Six former hospital wards served as classrooms that fall, and each classroom had one teacher (Figure 5-3).[663] According to M. Jennie Armstrong, one of the first teachers at the school, "It is not uncommon to find persons considerably advanced in book knowledge by little systems of bribery, exchanging with the white children a nut or an apple for a letter; many have learned to read in spite of the whipping post."[664] The school's student population decreased in subsequent years as additional schools opened. At the end of June 1868, the *Richmond Daily Dispatch* reported that 120 of the city's 1,716 "colored students" attended the school at Chimborazo.[665] Mary Elizabeth "Bessie" Cartland (b. 1849), a schoolteacher's daughter from Lee, New Hampshire, taught 59 at Chimborazo in 1868 and 76 students with an assistant, Lizzie P. Nichols, in 1869.[666]

[660] Senate Ex. Doc. 6, Serial Vol. 1276, 164–165; Annual Reports of the Assistant Commissioners, Virginia, October 8, 1867, pp. 9–14, and October 19, 1868, pp. 16 – 18, Records of the Office of the Commissioner, Records of the Bureau of Refugees, Freedmen, and Abandoned Lands, NARA Record Group (RG) 105, Washington, DC.

[661] Smithsonian Institution, Smithsonian Online Virtual Archives, National Museum of African American History and Culture, Records of the Field Offices for the State of Virginia, Bureau of Refugees, Freedmen, and Abandoned Lands, 1865–1872, https://sova.si.edu/record/NMAAHC.FB.M1913.

[662] The other two schools were at the Wesley Chapel on Union Hill and in the Rocketts neighborhood, and each had an average of 150 students in July 1867. At that time, five other Northern aid societies supported six additional freedpeople schools in Richmond with student populations of 100 to 500. Superintendent Manly organized the city's Freedmen's Bureau schools into four districts and assigned aid organizations to each district to minimize conflicts between the organizations and the Black communities. See *Richmond Daily Dispatch*, July 16, 1867, "Colored Schools in Richmond," Reconstructing Virginia, accessed January 6, 2023, https://reconstructingvirginia.richmond.edu/items/show/663; Hilary Green and Keith S. Hébert, *Historic Resource Study of African American Schools in the South, 1865–1900* (Washington, DC: US Department of the Interior, National Park Service, August 2002), 28–29.

[663] *The National Freedman*, Vol. 1, No. 11 (December 1865), "Report of Chimborazo Schools, Richmond, Va., from October 9, 1865, to November 1, 1865," *Civil War Richmond*, https://civilwarrichmond.com/7136-1865-12-the-national-freedman.

[664] *The National Freedman*, Vol. 1, No. 5 (June 1865), pp. 154–155, "Richmond: Our Schools," M. Jennie Armstrong to Reverend Wm. Geo. Hawkins, June 3, *Civil War Richmond*, https://civilwarrichmond.com/7134-1865-06-03-the-national-freedman.

[665] *Richmond Daily Dispatch*, June 27, 1868.

[666] Records of the Superintendent of Education for the State of Virginia, Bureau of Refugees, Freedmen, and Abandoned Lands, 1865–1870, NARA RG 105, Series M1053, Roll 11. Cartland's school register is in the collections of the Virginia Historical Society; see https://virginiahistory.org/learn/freedmens-schools.



Figure 5-3. *The Misses Cooke's School Room, Freedmen's Bureau, Richmond, Va./from a sketch by Jas E. Taylor*. Source: James E. Taylor, Artist, Illus. in *Frank Leslie's Illustrated Newspaper*, v. 23, November 17, 1866, p. 132, Library of Congress Prints and Photographs Division, Washington, DC.

Decreases in government and charitable resources limited the Freedmen's Bureau's ability to sustain its school system without further state and local investment. Commissioner Howard strongly endorsed the creation of free public schools in the South for white and Black people, and several Northern organizations sponsored free schools for white people in Richmond and other Southern cities in the immediate post-war period.[667] Virginia's state constitution ratified on July 6, 1869, authorized the creation of its first statewide public school system for all children aged 5 to 21, which the General Assembly established on July 11, 1870, with separate schools for Black and white students. Notably, school department officials referenced Freedmen's Bureau statistics when advocating for state-funded education for Black people.[668]

[667] Scott Britton Hansen, "Education for All: The Freedmen's Bureau Schools in Richmond and Petersburg, 1865–1870," Master's thesis (Virginia Commonwealth University, 2008).

[668] Walter J. Fraser Jr., "William Henry Ruffner and the Establishment of Virginia's Public School System, 1870–1874," *The Virginia Magazine of History and Biography*, Vol. 79, No. 3, July 1971, pp. 259–279.

Richmond's city government did not wait for the state legislation, however. The City Council created a school board in April 1869 and appropriated $15,000 for its public schools on June 12, 1869.[669] The Freedmen's Bureau and the Peabody Fund, a Massachusetts philanthropic organization, contributed matching funds. The city's free public schools opened in October 1869 with 1,008 students in the white schools and 1,769 in the Black schools, which included the existing Freedmen's Bureau schools.[670] For the 1869–1870 school year, Augusta Woodbury and Helen M. Prescott, both white women from Maine, taught at the Chimborazo school, which occupied rented rooms near the intersection of North 26th and N streets until the school department constructed a new building nearby in 1881.[671] The Richmond public school system was incorporated into the state system after its creation in 1870.

The Freedmen's Bureau also used former barracks and other buildings at the Chimborazo hospital complex to house the influx of refugees and freedpeople to the city. In April 1865, the president of Richmond's Office of Relief Commission reported the following:

> The medical department has furnished necessary medicines for the poor, and two large Confederate hospitals, the Chimborazo and the Winder, are now nearly ready to be placed at the disposition of the commission, to furnish shelter for such of the poor as cannot find it elsewhere. The provost-marshal's department has given orders for the policing and guard of these hospitals when turned over by the medical department.[672]

On July 15, 1865, the Assistant Commissioner of the Virginia Freedmen's Bureau, Colonel Orlando Brown, reported to Major General Howard that all but 818 of the 2,571 freedpeople received at the Chimborazo camp had found work and "homes elsewhere." He went on to note "All of the eight hundred and eighteen still left are supporting themselves. Meanwhile there have been ninety-eight white persons similarly accommodated with quarters in these barracks, *sixty of whom are supported by the Government* [emphasis in original]."[673] Brown described the accommodations as

> simply coarse hospital barracks, nothing more. Owing to high rents in the city of Richmond—ten dollars a month being cheap for a single room in most wretched localities—a portion of these barracks has been set apart as homes for such

[669] The first school board included Reverend Manly from the Freedmen's Bureau and an agent with the New York Society of Friends. See Hansen, "Education for All," 184.

[670] Richmond was the second city in Virginia, after Petersburg, to establish universal (segregated) public schools for white and Black populations; in the 1850s, Norfolk established public schools for white people only. See Rebekah Roberts Sharp, "A History of the Richmond Public School System, 1869–1958," Master's thesis (University of Richmond, 1958).

[671] *Richmond Daily Dispatch*, October 2, 1869; US Census, *Ninth Census of the United States, 1870* (M593, 1,761 rolls), National Archives and Records Administration, Washington, DC, ancestry.com database; Church Hill People's News, "The Freedmen's Bureau School at Chimborazo," March 12, 2015, https://chpn.net/2015/03/12/.

[672] Badeau to Smith, April 21, 1865.

[673] O. Brown, Colonel and Assistant Commissioner, to Major General O. O. Howard, July 15, 1865, printed in *Reporter* (Washington [Pa.]), July 26, 1865, *Civil War Richmond*, https://civilwarrichmond.com/6945-1865-07-26-washington-pa-reporter.

> persons as could not afford exorbitant rents, and for the reception of such persons as have been forced to leave their homes by their former masters.[674]

The bureau's monthly report for September 1865 listed 1,208 people living in 91 barracks at the Chimborazo camp, "all but 64 self-sustaining."[675]

In December 1865, a group of formerly enslaved Black people who had organized the first Black church in Richmond's Church Hill community in 1859, reorganized as the Fourth Baptist Church under local Black preacher Reverend Scott Gwathmey and built a small church on the former hospital site with wood from abandoned barracks. Gwathmey assisted the teachers at the Chimborazo school, ministered to the residents of the camp, and led a normal school in the Chimborazo area that trained Black men and women to be teachers. His group later constructed a church on P Street (Figure 5-4).[676]

The Chimborazo camp remained open at the beginning of 1866, when one of the teachers at the Chimborazo school wrote to the New York aid society asking for donations of shoes for the school children. In her letter, she recounted:

> We called to-day to see Lieut. Townsend, the officer in charge of Chimborazo Camp, hoping to enlist his sympathies in behalf of our suffering poor. We were very kindly received, and after stating our case, found him quite disposed to favor us; his sympathies were aroused, and he promised to do everything in his power to make the buildings more comfortable, and to assist them in getting rations, which many find a very difficult matter. So now, we think, with the donations of money which some of us have received in answer to appeals to our friends at the North for the purchase of fuel and other necessaries, we will be able to alleviate much of the suffering which would otherwise be unbearable.[677]

However, newspapers reported altercations between groups of white men and boys in the neighborhood and the Black residents of the camp, which was outside the jurisdiction of the local police.[678] One article noted that the white individuals were "treating the free in a manner which would not have been permitted towards slaves."[679] In response to the escalating violence, the Freedmen's Bureau ordered all the estimated 1,000 inhabitants of the quarters at Chimborazo "who are able, by working, to support themselves" to vacate by April 1, 1866. Only those determined to be too old or infirm to work or with large

[674] Brown to Howard, July 15, 1865.

[675] NARA RG 105, Series M1913.

[676] Fourth Baptist Church, "Our History," https://fourthbaptist.com/religious-organization-about-us/our-history/; *The National Freedman*, Vol. 2, No. 2 (February 1866), pp. 60–61, R. M. Manly to Rev. W. G. Hawkins, *Civil War Richmond*, https://civilwarrichmond.com/7139-1866-02-02-the-national-freedman.

[677] *The National Freedman*, Vol. 2, No. 1 (January 1866), p. 17, L.G.C. to Mr. Hawkins, *Civil War Richmond*, https://civilwarrichmond.com/7138-1866-01-06-the-national-freedman.

[678] "Va. Historical Society Addresses the History of Chimborazo Park," *The Commonwealth Times*, October 18, 2016, https://commonwealthtimes.org/2016/10/18/chimborazo-history/.

[679] *Richmond Daily Dispatch*, March 10, 1866.

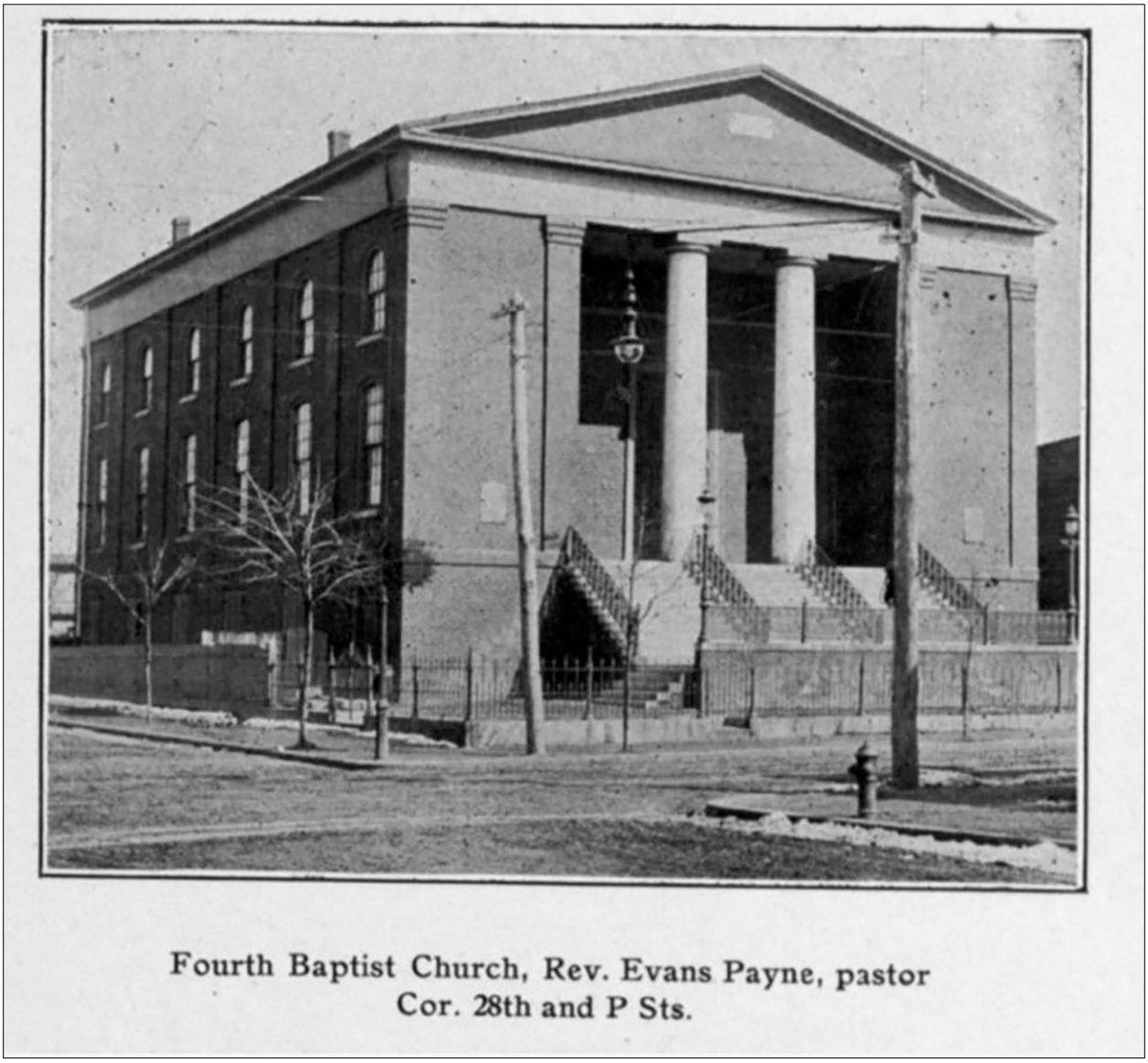


Figure 5-4. Fourth Baptist Church at corner of 28th and P streets. Source: *Souvenir views: Negro enterprises & residences, Richmond, Va*. (Richmond: D. A. Ferguson, 1907), 22.

numbers of dependent children (150 people at most) would be allowed to remain.[680] The bureau advertised the sale of 25 wooden hospital barracks at Chimborazo on April 13, and three days later newspapers reported a fire that burned several other buildings.[681]

A May 26, 1866, article in a Louisiana newspaper describes the racist attitudes of many Southerners about the camp:

> The Federal blue has taken the place of the Confederate grey; where gallant soldiers once reclined on painful couches, lazy negroes now snore in their

[680] *Richmond Daily Dispatch*, "The Negroes to Evacuate Chimborazo by April 1st – An Important Order," March 24, 1866.

[681] *Richmond Times*, April 13, 1866; *Richmond Daily Dispatch*, April 16, 1866.

> blankets, after a night's debauch; and where Southern women moved like beautiful ministering angels of love and tenderness around the bedsides of the sick and the dying, school-marms, with nasal intonations, discourse the mysteries of *a b* ab for the edification of negro picaninnies. But the farce which has followed the tragedy is about to close, and the curtain is being rung down by a series of government auctions, and under the stroke of the auctioneer's hammer the buildings are vanishing rapidly. Many have been already torn down and others are following. Some are, however, purchased by negroes for residences; but we sincerely hope the owner of the land will not allow this beautiful spot to be occupied by a crowd of thrifty idlers, who will breed cholera as surely as they are allowed to remain.[682]

Bureau reports for May and July record only four frame barracks buildings still on the site; by September. the reports list no Freedmen's Bureau property in Henrico County.[683]

Chimborazo Park

Even after the Freedmen's Bureau closed the camp at Chimborazo, some freedpeople remained as squatters and continued to face opposition from white city residents, who complained to the City Council about the squalid living conditions and violence. According to an August 3, 1866, Richmond newspaper item, "The black vagabonds who infest Chimborazo and Navy Hill have repeatedly, we learn, appeared armed with muskets and rifles, of Government make."[684] An act passed by Virginia's General Assembly on February 13, 1867, authorized the City of Richmond to annex the land between 18th and 34th streets, including much of the Chimborazo site, but the situation remained unchanged for several years (Figure 5-5).[685] The Richmond *Daily Dispatch* reported on April 27, 1868, "People residing in the eastern suburbs of the city complain very much of the depredations of the horde of negroes living at Chimborazo," and on September 11, 1868, "The people of the neighborhood complain of careless pistol-firing at night in the neighborhood of Chimborazo."[686]

At the same time, Richmond leaders recognized the need to relieve the city's increasing density and provide residents with open space by creating public parks. The City Council adopted a resolution to appropriate $35,000 for the purchase of 35 acres at Chimborazo on November 10, 1874. The municipal government then began acquiring parcels through purchase or condemnation and forced the Black residents of the site to relocate. Some squatters, including a man named Braxton Howard (or Harwood) or "Ole Braxton,"

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[682] *Shreveport (La.) Semi-Weekly News*, May 26, 1866, p. 2.

[683] NARA RG 105, Series M1913.

[684] "The Day Book, Norfolk," *Richmond Times*, August 3, 1866.

[685] William Simmons, Annexation History, GeoHub, City of Richmond, VA, 2020, https://richmond-geo-hub-cor.hub.arcgis.com/datashets/cor::annexation-history/explore; "An Act to Extend and Define the Boundaries of the City of Richmond," *Acts of the General Assembly of the State of Virginia, Passed in 1866–67, in the Ninety-first Year of the Commonwealth* (Richmond: James E. Goode, 1867), 635–637.

[686] "A Nuisance," *Richmond Daily Dispatch*, April 27, 1868; "Odds and Ends," *Richmond Daily Dispatch*, Sept 11, 1868.

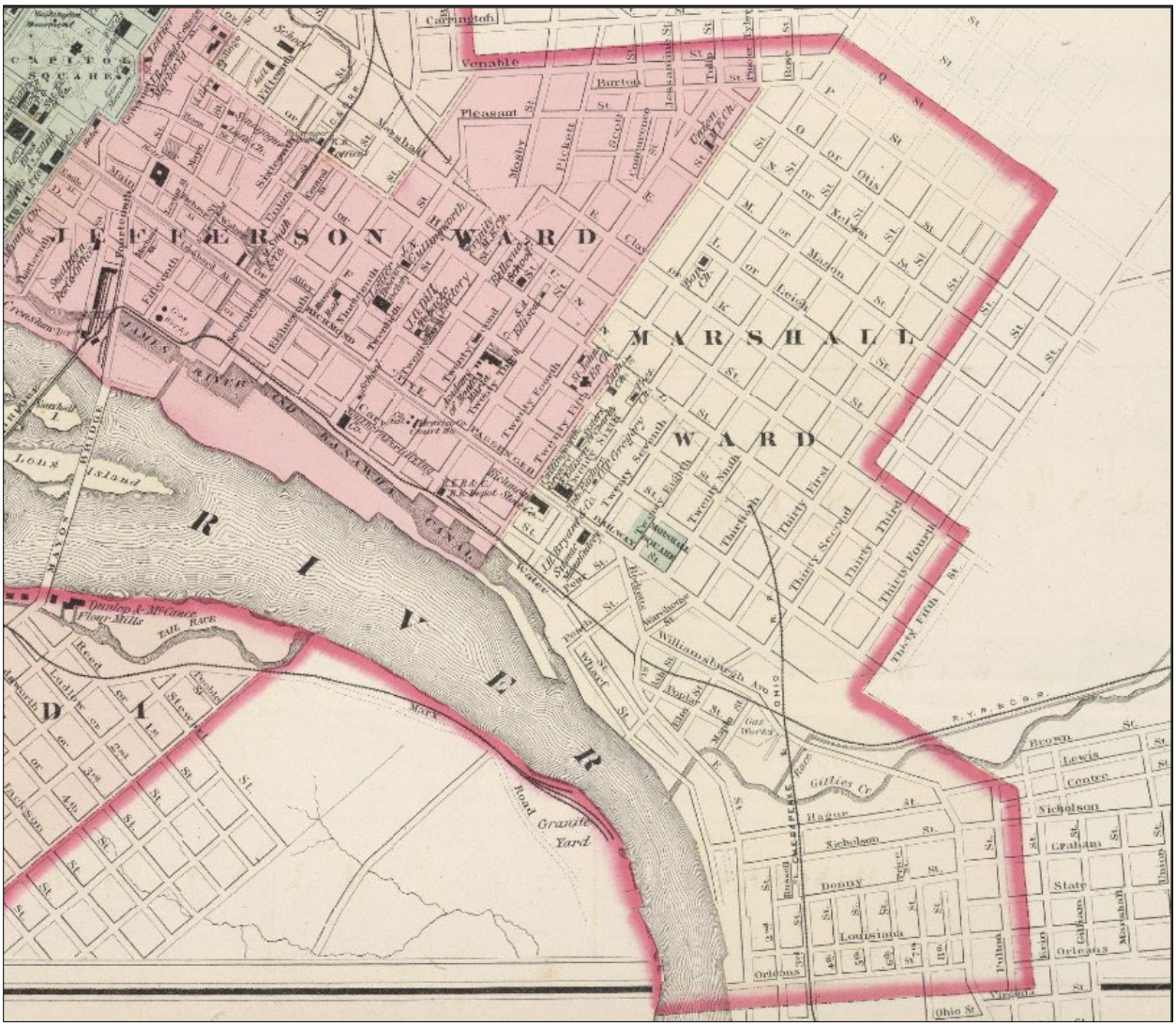


Figure 5-5. Detail from 1878 map of Richmond, Henrico County, Virginia. Source: O. W. Gray, *The National Atlas* (Philadelphia: O.W. Gray & Son, 1878), David Rumsey Historical Map Collection.

Richmond's municipal government underwent a complete overhaul in 1870, when conservative former Confederates replaced so-called "Radical" Republicans as mayor and city councilors after what became known as the Municipal War. By April 1871, the idea of converting the "settlement of freedmen" at Chimborazo to a city park began to gain support, and one newspaper editorial claimed that the "ignorant, starving wards of the nation" who had occupied the site after the Civil War "stuck there with a pertinacity most disagreeable to their neighbors ever since, paying a rent of only about $300 yearly for the use of the property."[687] Troubles continued to plague the community as residents submitted petitions to the City Council for the park proposal. In February 1872, the local police raided a "Chimborazo den" of gamblers and arrested 14 negroes and 2 white men known as "the notorious Phelps brothers."[688]

[687] "Chimborazo–What It Is and What It Might Be Made," *Richmond Daily Dispatch*, April 25, 1871.

[688] "Raid on a Chimborazo Den," *Richmond Daily Dispatch*, February 26, 1872.

moved the converted hospital barracks in which they lived to nearby vacant lots (Figure 5-6).[689] The City Council auctioned the last remaining wood buildings in 1880 and opened the almost-completed **Chimborazo Park** in 1881.[690]City Engineer Wilfred E. Cutshaw (1838–1907) designed the park, along with four similar parks in the city: Marshall Square

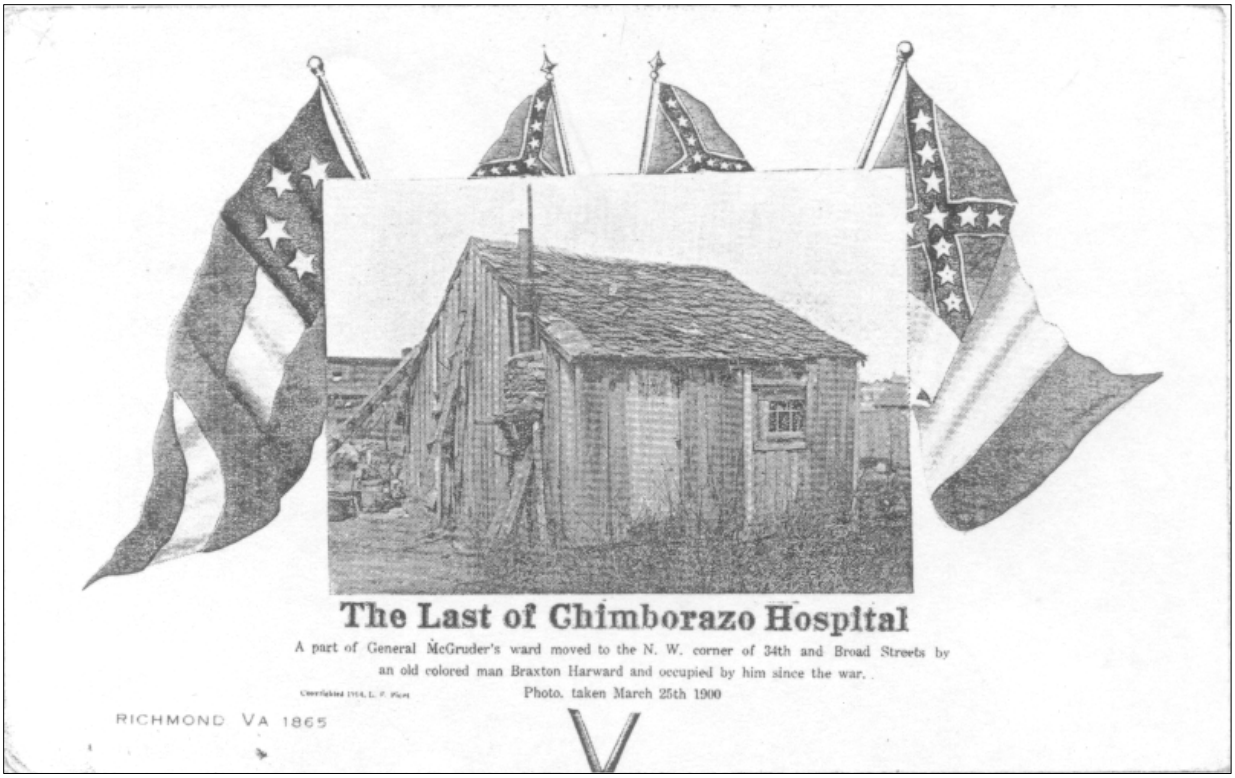


Figure 5-6. *The Last of Chimborazo Hospital*. Source: 1914 postcard, Eleanor S. Brockenbrough Library, Museum of the Confederacy, Richmond, VA.

(now Libby Hill) Park, Monroe Park, Gambles Hill Park, and New Reservoir (now William Byrd) Park. Inspired by an 1879 visit to parks in European and northern US cities, including Central Park in New York, Cutshaw created scenic landscapes that responded to the natural topography and reflected picturesque design principles such as winding carriage roads punctuated with dramatic reveals. He laid out Chimborazo Park along a north–south axis with tree-lined drives that flow past a large circular expanse of grass,

meandering walkways, and scattered plantings.[691] The *Richmond Daily Dispatch* reported in June 1884:

[689] *St. Louis Republic*, December 24, 1901, p. 4; "Va. Historical Society Addresses the History of Chimborazo Park," *The Commonwealth Times*, October 18, 2016, https://commonwealthtimes.org/2016/10/18/chimborazo-history/.

[690] The Oakwood-Chimborazo Historic District (NRIS #04001372) includes the entire 37.2-acre city park as a contributing resource.

[691] The Cultural Landscape Foundation, "Wilfred Cutshaw," https://www.tclf.org/pioneer/wilfred-e-cutshaw; University of Virginia, *Richmond's Post-Industrial East End,* Community History Project (Richmond, VA: University of Virginia, 2011), 49–50.

> Those of our citizens who appreciate beautiful scenery and a happy exhibition of work of nature and art would be repaid for a ride any morning or evening of this delightful season around and through Chimborazo and Marshall Parks . . . Passing along Broad street over the deep ravine that has now been filled across . . . you immediately enter the wonderful Chimborazo Park.[692]

The neighborhood around the park developed gradually as the owners of adjacent large estates subdivided their land for residential development (Figure 5-7). By 1896, the Richmond Traction Company operated two nearby streetcar lines, including one that ran directly to the Chimborazo Park entrance on Broad Street. The area remained

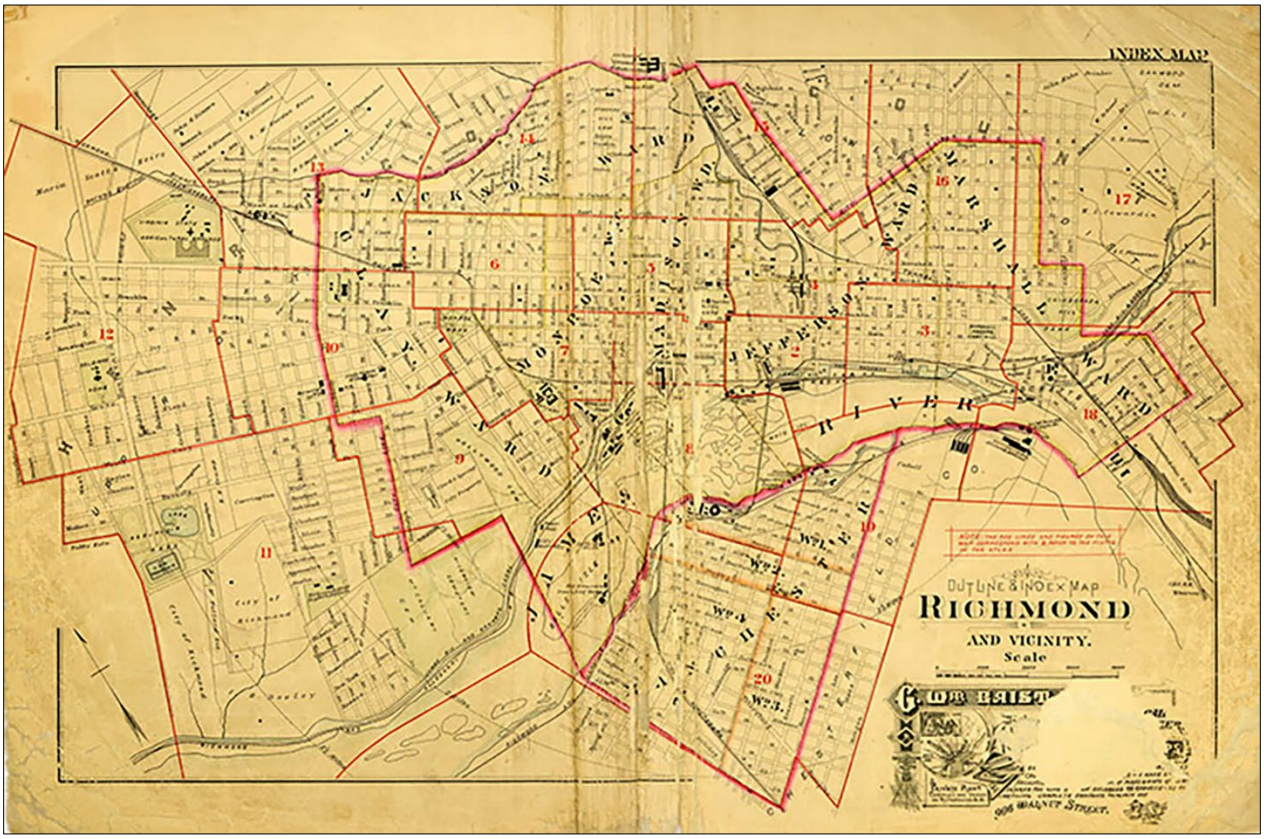


Figure 5-7. *Outline and Index Map of Richmond and Vicinity*. Source: G. Wm. Baist, *Atlas of the City of Richmond, Virginia and Vicinity* (Philadelphia: G. Wm. Baist, 1889), James Branch Cabell Library Special Collections and Archives, Virginia Commonwealth University.

economically and racially diverse into the twentieth century. Streetcar advertisements and schedules appeared in the *Richmond Planet*, a Black weekly paper founded in 1882 by 12 formerly enslaved individuals and in circulation through 1938. In August 1896, the paper described "quite a good sprinkling of Black Americans among the spectators" for a special program in the park that included a play called "Black America."[693] Employees of the Fulton Gas Works, just down Chimborazo Hill from the park, and others looking to

[692] Letters to the Editor, *Richmond Daily Dispatch*, June 1, 1884.

[693] Harry Kollatz Jr., "A Meander along the Boulevard," *Richmond Magazine*, April 29, 2014; Church Hill People's News, "The Oakwood-Chimborazo Historic District"; *Richmond Planet*, August 11, 1896.

escape the pressures of urban living visited the popular park, which had benches, concession stands, and an entertainment pavilion built by the streetcar company by the early twentieth century.[694] Development extended north and east of the park after the City of Richmond annexed more land in 1906.

Richmond Weather Station

In 1909, the federal government purchased 150 square feet of land in the northwest corner of Richmond's Chimborazo Park on which to build a US Weather Bureau station, the first such facility constructed in the city. Before the Civil War, over 500 locations throughout the country had voluntarily reported weather observations via telegraph to the Smithsonian Institution. President Grant created the US Army Signal Service, the predecessor to the US Weather Bureau, on February 9, 1870, and the Army established Virginia's first full-time weather offices in Norfolk and Lynchburg in 1871. In 1891, the federal government transferred the Signal Service to the Department of Agriculture and renamed it the US Weather Bureau (now the National Weather Service).[695]

The Weather Bureau initially rented space in downtown areas for forecasting offices and opened its first Richmond office in October 1897 in the Chamber of Commerce building (demolished in 1912) at the corner of 9th and Main streets.[696] The agency began acquiring or constructing its own weather stations about the same time as a more economical approach than renting; the new buildings also served as residences for the station directors in most locations. Willis C. Moore, Chief of the Weather Bureau from 1895 to 1913, believed that purpose-built facilities for meteorological observation were crucial, not only for the ability to properly set up instrumentation but also to "[place] the Weather Bureau on a footing of equality with other branches of the Government service such as the Light-House Board and Life-Saving Service. Aside from this, they … add dignity to the service and compel more respect from the general public for our forecasts."[697] Moore was also responsible for upgrading station equipment and introducing automatic registers that maintained continuous records of principal meteorological conditions.[698] Congress

[694] The Fulton neighborhood is no longer extant, a victim of urban renewal; paths that once led to the neighborhood now end near a set of railroad tracks. See University of Virginia, *Richmond's Post-Industrial East End*, 57.

[695] The Weather Bureau remained part of the Department of Agriculture until 1940, when it was transferred to the Department of Commerce. The Environmental Science Services Administration was created within the Department of Commerce in 1965 and became the National Oceanic and Atmospheric Administration (NOAA) in 1970, and the Weather Bureau was renamed the National Weather Service. See NWS Heritage Projects Editorial Staff, *The National Weather Service at 150: A Brief History*, 2020, https://vlab.noaa.gov/web/nws-heritage/-/the-national-weather-service-at-150-a-brief-history.

[696] The office moved to the fourth floor of the *Richmond Times* building at the corner of 10th and Bank streets in May 1900 and to the ninth floor of the Mutual Assurance Society building (opposite the Chamber of Commerce) in June 1905. See "The History of Richmond's Weather Records as Influenced by the National Developments," http://www.glenallenweather.com/upload/richmondclimate/JOSEPH%20HENRY.pdf, 5–8.

[697] US Weather Bureau, *Report of the Chief of the Weather Bureau, 1902–1903* (Washington, DC: US Department of Agriculture, US Weather Bureau, 1903), xxxviii–xxxix.

[698] Donald R. Whitnah, *A History of the United States Weather Bureau* (Urbana, IL: University of Illinois Press, 1961).

authorized the construction of five to seven Weather Bureau stations each year and included Richmond in its appropriations for the fiscal year beginning July 1, 1908.[699]

The City Council initially recommended a site in Gamble's Hill Park, near the James River and the center of Richmond, for the weather station, but neighboring property owners and citizens of other sections of the city protested. Weather Bureau Chief Moore visited Richmond in late 1908 and wrote to Virginia Congressman John Lamb with his preference for Chimborazo Park: "I would select the little knoll about 200 feet southeast of the watchman's pagoda … The structure that the Weather Bureau intends to erect will be an ornament to the park, and will not obstruct the view of any one [sic]."[700]

The Chimborazo site faced some opposition as well; a letter to the editor in the January 8, 1909, issue of the *Richmond Times-Dispatch* called for all "interested property owners and neighbors … to save our beautiful park from this invasion." The writer, identified only as M. L. W., described the former Confederate hospital site as "hallowed ground" and the idea of allowing a federal building on it as "an offense to our conception of the eternal fitness of things."[701] Nonetheless, the City Council Committee on Grounds and Buildings voted 5 to 2 on January 26, 1909, in favor of the site chosen by Moore.[702] As the Richmond Weather Bureau director, Edward Avery Evans (1858–1930), explained to city officials: "The idea in getting the building is to increase the efficiency of the bureau in Richmond. The most up-to-date appliances will be installed there, and the whole object will be to improve the service for the benefit of the business interests of our city and section."[703]

Richmond architect Peter J. White (1850–1933) prepared the plans for the Classical Revival-style Richmond Weather Station (Figure 5-8), likely using general schematics provided by the Weather Bureau, and local engineer O. B. Slaughter supervised construction of the building, which cost $15,489.[704] Twenty-eight of the 48 stations acquired or built by the Bureau in 1897–1915 featured designs similar to that of the Chimborazo station with a two-story, rectangular plan; a flat roof surrounded by a balustrade; and Classical Revival entry porches on three elevations. Other weather station styles had a hipped roof with or without a round cupola or were one-off designs that fit into the surrounding terrain.[705] The buildings typically had four bedrooms and a

[699] US Weather Bureau, *1902–1903*; US Weather Bureau, *Report of the Chief of the Weather Bureau, 1908–1909* (Washington, DC: US Department of Agriculture, US Weather Bureau, 1909).

[700] "Chimborazo May get Weather Bureau Site," *Richmond Times-Dispatch*, January 4, 1909.

[701] "Voice of the People: Chimborazo and the Weather Bureau," *Richmond Times-Dispatch*, January 8, 1909.

[702] "Decline Sloan's Lot with Thanks: Committee Rejects Playground Site in East End—Weather Bureau Located at Last," *Richmond Times-Dispatch*, January 27, 1909.

[703] "Reject Site Offered on Chimborazo Brow: Chief Moore Wires that Government Must Have Original Location or None," *Richmond Times-Dispatch*, February 6, 1909.

[704] US Weather Bureau, *1908–1909*; US Weather Bureau, *Report of the Chief of the Weather Bureau, 1909–1910* (Washington, DC: US Department of Agriculture, US Weather Bureau, 1910); "Decline Sloan's Lot with Thanks"; Permit Number 1090, "U. S. Weather Bureau Building at Richmond, Va., P. J. White, Architect, Richmond, Va.," 1909 (Richmond (Va.) Bureau of Permits and Inspections, Building Permit Architectural Blueprints and Specifications, 1907–1976, Collection, Library of Virginia). Records in the Maggie L. Walker Family Papers at Maggie L. Walker NHS indicate that White had previously designed St. Luke Hall on St. James Street in Richmond, built in 1902–1903 as the primary headquarters for the Independent Order of St. Luke led by Walker.

[705] As of 2008, approximately 20 of the 48 buildings were extant. See US Weather Bureau, *1908–1909*, 33; Stephen



Figure 5-8. Ca. 1900 postcard of the US Weather Bureau building at Richmond, VA. Source: NOAA Photo Library, courtesy of Steve Doty, NOAA NCDC (ret.).

bathroom on the second story and a living room, dining room, kitchen, and instrument room with barometers on the first story (Figure 5-9). The primary exterior instruments consisted of a wind vane, rain gage, and multiple thermometers covered by a small shelter.

The Weather Bureau moved its Richmond office to the new station at Chimborazo at the end of January 1910, and Director Evans moved into the building with his wife, Harriet "Hattie" (1859–1948), and three of their children. Evans was born in Brooklyn, New York, and had moved to Alexandria, Virginia, as a child. He studied meteorology at the US Army Signal School of Instruction at Fort Whipple (now Fort Myer) in Arlington, Virginia, and worked at observation posts around the country before returning to Virginia to accept a position with the Weather Bureau. Evans headed the Richmond bureau from its opening in 1897 until his death in 1930.[706]

Doty, *A History of United States Department of Agriculture Weather Bureau Owned Buildings, 1890–1915* (Report prepared for National Climactic Data Center, Washington, DC, 2008), 2, 6.

[706] "Edward Evans, Local Weather Man, Succumbs," *Richmond Times-Dispatch*, March 29, 1930; Edward Avery Evans, Find a Grave Memorial ID 149643526, https://www.findagrave.com/memorial/149643526/edward-avery-evans; US Census, *Thirteenth Census of the United States, 1910* (T624, 1,178 rolls), National Archives and Records Administration, Washington, DC, ancestry.com database; US Census, *Fourteenth Census of the United States, 1920* (T625, 2,076 rolls), National Archives and Records Administration, Washington, DC, ancestry.com database.

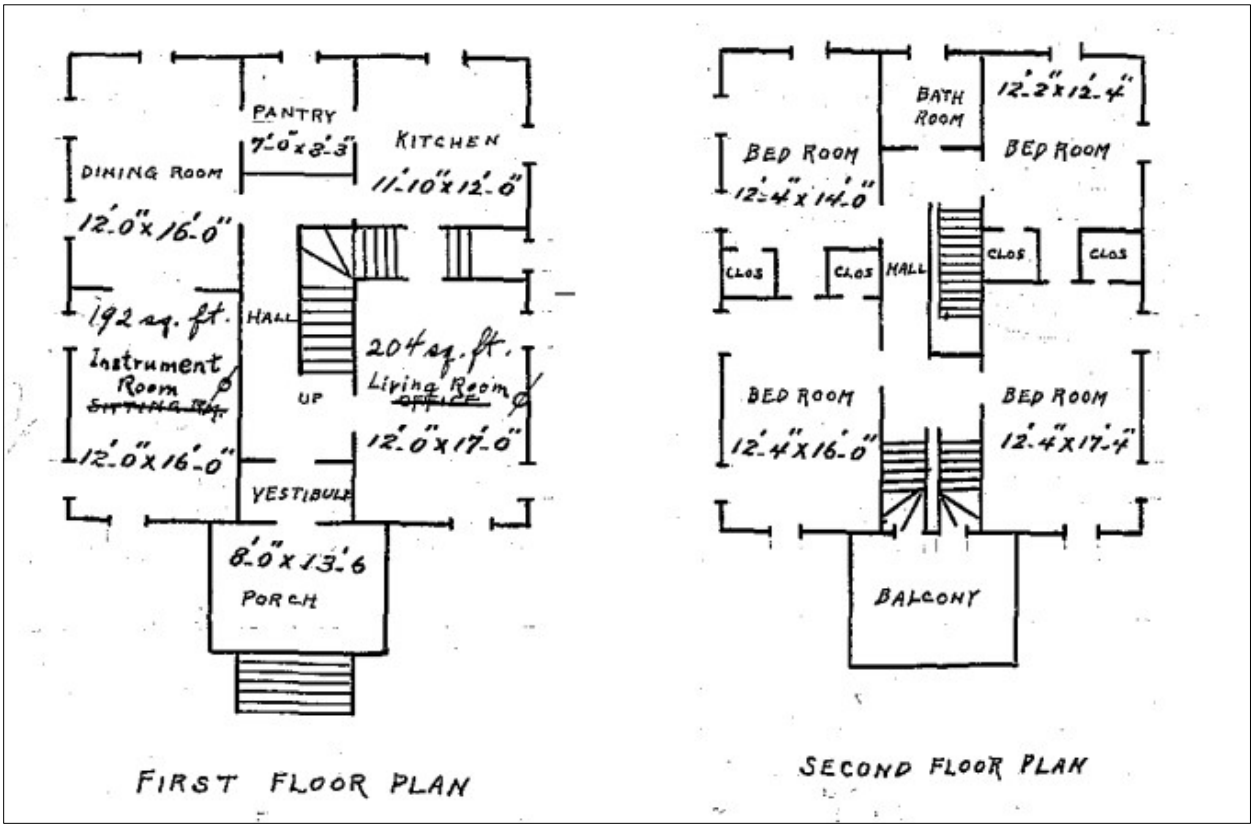


Figure 5-9. *Typical Floor Plans of US Weather Bureau Buildings*. Source: Stephen Doty, *A History of United States Department of Agriculture Weather Bureau Owned Buildings, 1890–1915* (Report prepared for National Climactic Data Center, Washington, DC, 2008), 5.

Tredegar Ironworks

Although much of Richmond's downtown industrial district burned on April 2, 1863, the Tredegar Iron Works survived almost intact (Figure 5-10). Most work stopped while the US Army occupied the site from April 3 to August 2, 1865, but the company's owner, Joseph Anderson, convinced President Andrew Johnson to restore the property to him to help rebuild the Southern railroad infrastructure. The factory ramped up production almost immediately, and Anderson looked for capital from Northern investors as he increased sales to pre-war numbers by 1867.[707]

On February 27, 1867, Anderson reorganized the business as the joint stock Tredegar Company, valued at $1 million. The company profited by producing rails, fastenings, wheels, bridge trusses, and rolling stock for the rapidly expanding national railroad industry. Other customers included the Richmond Gas Works, Southern Fertilizing Company, and Virginia Steamship Company. By 1873, the complex covered 15 acres along the James River and included three rolling mills and three foundry shops. The factory

[707] Dennis Maher Hallerman, "The Tredegar Iron Works: 1865–1876," Master's thesis (University of Richmond, 1978); Hilleary, "Richmond Iron."

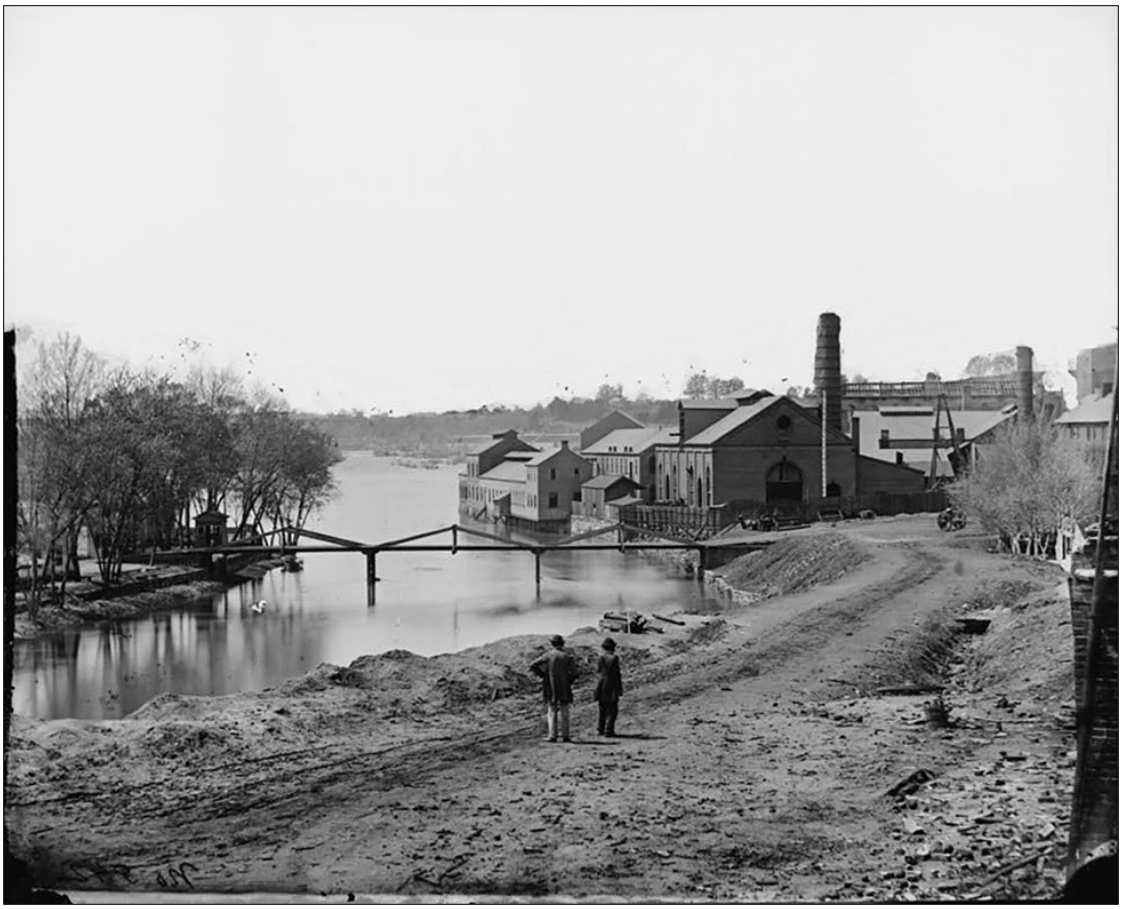


Figure 5-10. *View of the Tredegar Iron Works, with footbridge to Neilson's Island, April 1865*. Source: Alexander Gardner, photographer, Library of Congress Prints and Photographs Division, Washington, DC.

employed between 700 and 1,000 men, of whom approximately 30 to 50 percent were Black, and produced five times its pre-war output. Tensions arose between the white and Black workers at times. In 1866, white laborers recruited from Philadelphia refused to work alongside Black men on the factory floor. Placing profit above race, however, Anderson dismissed the white workers.[708]

The national financial Panic of 1873 and the subsequent economic depression severely impacted the Tredegar Company, which had to lay off workers and briefly suspend operations that year and again in early 1876. The iron industry never fully recovered as steel replaced iron in the 1880s. Anderson lacked the capital to invest in the expensive new machinery required for steel production, but his company remained one of the largest iron manufacturers in the South. After his death in 1892, his son Archer (1838–1918) served as president of the company until his own death in 1918. Under Archer's leadership, the factory continued making products for the railroad industry and expanded its production of horseshoes. During the Spanish-American War and World War I, Tredegar benefited from lucrative contracts with the US Army and US Navy for armament and munitions. Archer Anderson Jr. (1866–1942), born during Reconstruction, became

[708] Hilleary, "Richmond Iron," 43–44, 52–53.

company president in 1918, and the Tredegar Company remained a key component of Richmond's twentieth-century industrial economy.[709]

Post-War Farming

Touring the South in the summer of 1865, Massachusetts author John Townsend Trowbridge (1827–1916) observed the abandoned earthworks and farmsteads in the desolate countryside around Richmond. He described how residents had dismantled the wooden abatis and revetments of the Richmond Defenses for use as firewood, how "the earth was blotched with 'gopher holes'" where the opposing picket lines "lay and watched each other through the last weary Autumn and Winter of the war," and how the winter quarters of the US Army along New Market Road lay "now deserted and in ruins." Past New Market Heights, "where Butler's colored regiments formed unflinchingly under fire, and made their gallant charge, wiping out with their own blood the insults that had been heaped upon them by the white troops," Trowbridge rode on horseback through overgrown fields and a maze of trenches and fortifications without seeing a soul. He and his travel companions eventually reached a farmhouse near Fort Harrison that had belonged to Edward Cox before the Civil War, where "the sight of a calf and a churn gave us a promise of milk, and we tied our horses at the door. The house had been a goodly mansion in its day, but now everything about it showed the ruin and dilapidation of war. The windows were broken, and the garden, out-houses, and fences destroyed." In an 1866 book, Trowbridge recounted:

> We found lying on a bed in a dilapidated room a poor man sick with the prevailing chills. He had some bread and milk brought for us, and gave us some useful hints about avoiding the torpedoes [landmines] when we should reach Fort Harrison. He described to us the depredations committed on the place by 'Old Butler'; and related how he himself was once taken prisoner by the Yankee marines on the river. 'They gave me my choice, - to be carried before the admiral, or robbed of my horse and all the money I had about me. I preferred the robbing; so they cleared me out and set me free.'[710]

In the spring of 1869, an unnamed "Boston Traveller" visited the area around the **Cold Harbor Battlefield** and found the countryside was beginning to recover from the damages of war and abandonment:

> The earthworks are fast disappearing under the hands of the diligent lead searchers who are found everywhere along the line; a profitable business they make of it too; tons of old iron and lead are carted into Richmond from this field, for which a round price is paid. We met several negroes with large sacks collecting the bones of dead horses, which they sold to the bone grinders in Richmond; upon questioning them to ascertain it they also carried off human bones, they emphatically replied, "No, sah; we don't want no ghosts axing us fur der bones." Without doubt this superstitious people, who nail a horseshoe over their door that visitors may bring good luck, and who believe in all manner of

[709] Hallerman, "The Tredegar Ironworks," 80; Hilleary, "Richmond Iron," 59, 70–72.

[710] J. T. Trowbridge, *The South: A Tour of its Battle-fields and Ruined Cities, a Journey through the Desolated States, and Talks with the People* (Hartford, CT: L. Stebbins, 1866), 153–205.

> signs and ghosts withal, do abstain from disturbing the bones of soldiers; but it is questionable if this is the case with all the white people. The trees and stumps everywhere show the marks of battle, and the traces of ricocheting shot can be distinctly observed. Much of the field has been ploughed up and cultivated since the battle, thus destroying many landmarks that might otherwise be found. But the ruins of the old Gaines's Mill stand just as they have stood since McClellan's battle in '62.[711]

Property owners attempted to recover from the damages sustained during the Civil War fighting and adapt to the depressed circumstances of the Reconstruction era. Formerly enslaved workers often stayed on as paid laborers or tenant farmers. In Hanover County, for example, the population included 9,740 Black people (9,483 enslaved) in 1860 and 8,562 Black people in 1870, indicating that most remained in the area after the war.[712] An anonymous writer reporting Hanover County news to the *Richmond Daily Dispatch* in July 1867 noted how the sandy soil was great for melon growing and that "freedmen in this section, I am pleased to state, are working faithfully. The best feeling prevails between them and the whites, and I trust that the entente cordiale may remain unbroken."[713]

However, the loss of enslaved labor directly affected profitability for white farm owners after the war. Some property owners who had remained loyal to the US Army during the war received compensation from the SCC. However, land values declined drastically; for example, land that sold for $10 per acre before the war declined in value in some places to $1 to $3 per acre.[714] Large landholders often subdivided their farms and sold tracts or leased them to tenant farmers to pay taxes and invest in improvements so they could return at least some land to active cultivation. Table 5-2 shows the increase in the number of farms in the counties around Richmond from 1900 to 1920.

Table 5-2. Farms in Counties Surrounding Richmond NBP, 1900–1920.[715]

County	1900	1910	1920
Chesterfield[716]	1,494	1,897	1,827
Hanover	2,506	2,461	2,647
Henrico[717]	1,370	1,508	1,686

[711] *Boston Traveller*, "Battle-fields of the Rebellion," April 3, 1869, p. 2, *Civil War Richmond*, https://civilwarrichmond.com/6831-1869-04-03-boston-traveller.

[712] Jody Lynn Allen, "Roses in December: Black Life in Hanover County, Virginia during the Era of Disenfranchisement," PhD diss. (College of William and Mary, 2007), 39.

[713] *Richmond Daily Dispatch*, July 18, 1867, cited in Allen, "Roses in December," 58–59.

[714] Kimble A. David, *Historic Context for Domestic and Agricultural Buildings in Stafford County, Virginia* (On file, Virginia Department of Historic Resources, Richmond, VA, June 2004), 23.

[715] US Census, *Fourteenth Census of the United States*, *Bulletin, Agriculture: Virginia*, 1920, https://www2.census.gov/library/publications/decennial/1920/bulletins/agriculture/agriculture-va.pdf, 14, 16.

[716] Parts of county annexed to Richmond in 1914.

[717] Parts of county annexed to Richmond in 1905 and 1914.

In 1920, tenants operated 17 to 20 percent of the farms in each of the three counties. That year, most farms in Chesterfield and Henrico counties consisted of 20 to 49 acres, while Hanover County had an almost equal number of farms of 20 to 49 acres and 50 to 99 acres. The 1920 agricultural census records the percentage of non-white farmers as 27 percent in Chesterfield County, 32 percent in Hanover County, and 24 percent in Henrico County.[718]

Changing markets after the Civil War also affected the types of farms and agriculture in the South. Wheat farming declined as railroads opened access to larger farms in the West, while an increase in forestry and logging prompted many local landowners to sell timber rights. By the end of the nineteenth century, a developing truck farming economy supplied Richmond markets with fresh produce and dairy products via railroad and later automobiles. Claims to the SCC indicate that truck and market farming existed in the Cold Harbor area of Hanover County by the late 1870s.[719] Richmond-area farms continued to grow cereal crops, livestock fodder, and tobacco, but Henrico County became a leader in vegetable growing and canning. Local farmers also created cooperative associations to share knowledge and equipment.[720]

Farms within the current park lands reflected regional agricultural trends after the Civil War. Many, including the Binford, Nelson, Fontaine, Shelton, Garthright, and Watt farms, remained in the same families as before the war and continued to operate in the changing agricultural market through the early twentieth century. Some relied on family labor, while others used paid farm labor (Black and white). The Watt family rented its Hanover County property to tenant farmers. In the early twentieth century, railroads expanded the market opportunities for agricultural products.

The following sections describe examples of post-war farms that operated in or near the current park lands in Chesterfield, Hanover, and Henrico counties.

Chesterfield County

Augustus H. Drewry sold the property containing Drewry's Bluff at the end of the Civil War to Captain James B. Jones, a veteran of Drewry's Southside Heavy Artillery. Jones continued to operate a large farm with livestock, but the property decreased substantially from its pre-war value of $60,000. In 1870, the farm consisted of 350 improved acres and 550 acres of woodland worth only $10,000. That year, Jones paid $2,000 in farm wages and sold wheat, corn, oats, peas, potatoes, butter, and hay. By 1880, he had expanded the cultivated land to 900 acres and reduced the woodland to 450 acres, and the farm value had decreased to $4,000.[721]

[718] US Census, *Fourteenth Census … Agriculture*, 14, 16.

[719] Lee, *Central Virginia at War*, Research Binder, 174–179.

[720] Manarin and Dowdey, *The History of Henrico County,* 340–341, 368–370.

[721] US Census, *Ninth Census of the United States, 1870, Productions of Agriculture, Chesterfield County, Virginia,* National Archives and Records Administration, Washington, DC, ancestry.com database; US Census, *Tenth Census of the United States, 1880, Productions of Agriculture, Chesterfield County, Virginia,* National Archives and Records Administration, Washington, DC, ancestry.com database.

After Jones' death in 1886, two men acquired the property as an investment and sold it in 1887 to James Bellwood, a Canadian farmer who moved to Virginia for health reasons. Bellwood turned the property into a demonstration farm with one of the first herds of purebred Holstein cattle in Virginia and represented the state at an agricultural exposition in San Francisco in 1914.[722]

William Howlett retained ownership of his farm near Parker's Battery in 1870 but ran a much smaller operation than before the war. He grew corn, oats, peas, potatoes, and sweet potatoes and produced butter and hay on 50 improved acres. He also owned 100 woodland acres and 200 unimproved acres, for a total value of $2,000. By 1880, no Howletts appear in the agricultural census.[723]

Hanover County

James Fontaine continued to own the large Rock Castle plantation in Hanover County after the Civil War. His 800 improved acres, 800 woodland acres, and 300 unimproved acres decreased in value from $35,000 in 1860 to $25,000 in 1870. The farm products for 1870 were valued at $2,400 and included wheat, rye, corn, oats, potatoes, sweet potatoes, wool, pork, and butter. Even as tobacco farming in general decreased in the area, the property continued to grow tobacco, reporting 2,500 pounds in 1870. Fontaine's personal property decreased from over $33,000 to $2,000 with the loss of his enslaved laborers, and he paid $1,000 in farm wages in addition to employing two domestic servants.[724] James' oldest son, William Morris Fontaine (1835–1913), lived on the property in 1870 and worked as a teacher after completing his education at the University of Virginia and the Royal School of Mines in Freiberg and Saxony, Germany. By 1873, William had moved to a position as professor of chemistry and geology at West Virginia University.[725] James Fontaine died in 1875, but his widow, Juliet, remained at Rock Castle with their daughter Sallie and youngest son, Joseph Morris Fontaine (1854–1915), until her death in 1907. Joseph operated the farm until his death; with no heirs, it likely was sold out of the family.[726]

Edwin Shelton died at the Shelton House on November 4, 1874, and left his wife a life estate on approximately 360 of his more than 800 acres, including the house, and another

[722] Shepard et al., *Archaeological Overview*; Barnes and Wiedenfeld, *National Register Nomination – Bellwood (2011 Update)*.

[723] US Census, *Ninth Census, Productions of Agriculture, Chesterfield County*; US Census, *Tenth Census, Productions of Agriculture, Chesterfield County*.

[724] *Ninth Census of the United States, 1870*; US Census, *Ninth Census of the United States, 1870, Productions of Agriculture, Hanover County, Virginia,* National Archives and Records Administration, Washington, DC, ancestry.com database.

[725] William Morris Fontaine taught at West Virginia University until 1878 and then in the Natural History and Geology department at the University of Virginia until 1911. He was a fellow of the Geological Society of America and wrote several geological publications. See Special Collections Department, University of Virginia Library, "A Guide to the William Morris Fontaine Letters 1874–1885," https://ead.lib.virginia.edu/vivaxtf/view?docId=uva-sc/viu03251.xml.

[726] *Tenth Census of the United States, 1880*; *Twelfth Census of the United States, 1900*; *Thirteenth Census of the United States, 1910*; VDHR Architectural Survey Form, Rock Castle. James, Juliet, William, and Joseph Fontaine were buried in the nearby family cemetery at Beaverdam; see Hanover County, Virginia, Genealogy Project.

30 acres containing an overseer's house, orchard, and former enslaved quarters. The family partitioned the house parcel in 1879 into five tracts that were distributed among three of the Shelton children: 126.25 acres with the house to Walter M. and his wife Bertie, and two parcels each to Frances F. and Emma E. Shelton. The 1880 census records Walter, a 31-year-old farmer, living with his wife, three young children, mother, an aunt, a niece, sisters Frances and Emma, and Emma's husband John B. Oliver. The family also had three Black "servants: 25-year-old Lucy Cotts, 14-year-old Martha Spearman, and 14-year-old William Barkley.[727] The 1880 agricultural census lists Walter as owner of 700 acres, with 350 in cultivation and the rest woodland. The farm was valued at $5,000 and produced $1,800 of corn, oats, wheat, sweet potatoes, butter, eggs, and forest products. Shelton paid $600 wages to farm laborers that year.[728]

Walter was still a farmer in 1900, when he lived with his wife and six children, including 23-year-old William R. Shelton (1877–1958), a "farm laborer."[729] In January 1903, William purchased the Shelton House and 126.25 acres for $1,500.48 at auction after his father defaulted on a loan. His mother died in July 1903, and his father and two brothers moved away by 1910, but William remained with his three sisters. Three Black farmhands/laborers (23-year-old Buck Underwood, 14-year-old Leroy Appleton, and 18-year-old M. Wiffin) also lived on the property in 1910. William Shelton married Maud Greenlee (1884–1949) on June 2, 1915, and the couple had two children: Mary Winn (1916–1967) and William Robert Jr. (1920–2006). No other household members are listed in the 1920 census. William continued farming but shifted to growing fruits such as watermelon and cantaloupe for shipment by truck across the state.[730]

Miles Garthright and his descendants owned the farm on Cold Harbor Road through 1920. In 1880, Miles had 157 acres worth $1,800, an increase from his 1860 holdings of 120 acres worth $1,440. The farm consisted of 100 acres of tilled fields, 2 acres of meadow, 30 acres of woodland, and 25 acres of old fields. The Garthrights paid $125 in farm wages and sold $175 of farm products, including corn, oats, sweet potatoes, butter, and eggs that year. In addition, they earned $50 from the sale of apples and peaches, $400 from a market garden, and $25 from forest products. In comparison, Garthright's neighbor William H. Steward, who had reported $2,500 in real estate in 1860, lived with his wife, son, and daughter-in-law in 1880 on a 30-acre rented farm valued at $300. No crops were sold, and he sold only $10 in forest products.

Miles Garthright and his wife, Margaret, lived with their two daughters, a son-in-law, and a grandson in the Hooper/Garthright House next to the home of their son Walter and his wife, Sallie McGhee (1850–1890).[731] By 1900, Miles and Margaret had died, and Walter's sons Basil and Zephaniah lived and worked on the farm.[732] Basil Garthright (1874–1920)

[727] *Tenth Census of the United States, 1880*.

[728] US Census, *Tenth Census of the United States, 1880, Productions of Agriculture, Hanover County, Virginia,* National Archives and Records Administration, Washington, DC, ancestry.com database.

[729] *Twelfth Census of the United States, 1900*.

[730] Yocum, *Shelton House*, 50. William and Maud started the successful Rural Plains Nursery, cultivating shrubs and evergreens on the property, in 1927; their son, William Jr., continued to run the nursery until his death in 2006.

[731] *Tenth Census of the United States, 1880*; US Census, *Tenth Census, Productions of Agriculture, Hanover County*.

[732] *Twelfth Census of the United States, 1900*. Walter lived in Richmond at the time of his death in 1933; *Virginia*

married in 1906 and lived in Richmond briefly before returning to the Hanover County property with his wife, Ella (1854–1953), and two children by 1910. He operated it as a truck farm and owned it free and clear in 1910 but had mortgaged it by 1920.[733]

Sarah Watt never returned to the **Watt House** (in the Gaines' Mill park unit) before her death in April 1863 at her daughter Mary's home known as Oak Grove. Her son Pitman died several years later at the home of an unnamed brother in Greensboro, Alabama.[734] Within three weeks of the June 27, 1862, Battle of Gaines' Mill, her youngest son George Watt, acting as the family's agent, had advertised the sale of the farm's cattle, mules, horses, market carts, and wagon, stating that the farm was practically useless "because of the breaking up of my mother's estate by the Friday's battle on Boatswain [Boatswain's] Swamp, near Gaines' Mill, in Hanover County."[735]

George published a second advertisement on October 22, this time for the sale of a "valuable farm" that was "known by the name of 'Springfield' on which Mrs. Watt resided."[736] He was never able to sell the property, however, and likely hired tenants to manage the farm, which continued as a small operation after the Civil War.[737] A March 1876 estate inventory records 5 mules, 11 head of cattle, 25 hogs, 2 wagons, 2 carts, and assorted farm implements. The people formerly enslaved by the Watt family may have stayed on the farm as paid laborers, as happened at the nearby Gaines plantation known as Fairfield.[738]

George Watt lived with his family in Richmond, where he owned a well-regarded plow manufacturing company.[739] The "Watt plough, generally conceded to be one of the very best in use" was first patented in 1856 and improved by four more patents through 1867.[740] He died in 1884 at the Richmond residence of his son-in-law and business partner, Manfred Call, the husband of his daughter Sarah Elizabeth (Betty) Watt Call (1853–1926).[741]

Deaths, 1912–2014, Virginia Department of Health, Richmond, VA, ancestry.com database.

[733] *Twelfth Census of the United States, 1900*; Richmond, Virginia, City Directory, 1908, ancestry.com database; *Thirteenth Census of the United States, 1910*; *Fourteenth Census of the United States, 1920*; Basil Hope Garthright, Find a Grave Memorial ID 77807203, https://www.findagrave.com/memorial/77807203/. Basil's widow, Ella, married her neighbor Alexander McGhee in 1921 and still lived on a Cold Harbor Road farm in 1930; see US Census, *Fifteenth Census of the United States, 1930* (T626, 2,667 rolls), National Archives and Records Administration, Washington, DC, ancestry.com database.

[734] Death Notice, *Richmond Daily Dispatch*, September 1, 1868.

[735] For Sale, *Richmond Daily Dispatch*, July 18, 1862.

[736] Real Estate for Sale, *Richmond Daily Dispatch*, October 22, 1862.

[737] Hanover County Historical Society, *Old Homes*, 59.

[738] John T. Willett, *A History of Richmond National Battlefield Park* (Southeast Regional Office, National Park Service, US Department of the Interior, 1956. On file, Richmond National Battlefield Park, Richmond, VA); Christian E. Fearer, "When War Came: One Family's Encounter with America's Civil War Part 2," *Emerging Civil War*, March 7, 2012, https://emergingcivilwar.com/2012/03/07.

[739] *Eighth Census of the United States, 1860*; *Ninth Census of the United States, 1870*.

[740] "Watt & Knight," *Richmond Daily Dispatch*, September 15, 1870.

[741] "Death of George Watt, Sr.," *Richmond Dispatch*, December 27, 1884.

At the north edge of the Watt farmland in the park, trace remnants of the **Richmond and Rappahannock River Railway Bed**, constructed in 1912–1916, are visible along Boatswain's Creek. Joseph E. Willard (1865–1924), businessman and US Ambassador to Spain in 1913–1921, chartered the Richmond and Rappahannock River Railway Company in 1912 to take over the Richmond, Urbanna, and Peninsular Railway Company's planned extension of the existing Seven Pines streetcar line in Richmond to the Rappahannock River as a freight line. The Seven Pines line, chartered as an excursion train in 1888 and electrified for streetcars in 1892, ran along Nine Mile Road (present-day Route 33) to Seven Pines National Cemetery and surrounding Civil War battlefield lands.

John C. Robertson, president of the Richmond Telephone Company, had chartered the Richmond, Urbanna, and Peninsular Railway Company in 1908 to build a freight line to open "valuable farming and trucking lands" in Urbanna and other locations in the Tidewater region of the state to trade. The company did not begin construction, possibly for lack of financing, and instead purchased the Seven Pines line in January 1912 with plans to extend it. Willard's company took over the title to the Seven Pines line six months later and extended it as a passenger and freight line across the Chickahominy River through Gaines' Mill and Cold Harbor battlefields to the Pamunkey River by 1916. The company also hoped to attract industrial and residential developers to build along the railway. However, substantial declines in passenger train travel, combined with the negative economic effects of World War I, led to its failure by the end of 1917 (Figure 5-11).[742]



Figure 5-11. Ca. 1930 photograph of the filling in of the Richmond and Rappahannock River Railway Bed at the Garthright House. Source: Hanover County Historical Society.

[742] *Richmond Dispatch*, February 5, 1888; *Richmond Times-Dispatch*, October 29, 1908; March 11, 1911; June 29, 1912; *and* October 1, 1912; *Virginian*, June 20, 1916; *Virginian*, December 18, 1917; Richmond and Rappahannock River Railway Company, *Battlefields Around Richmond Reached by the Richmond and Rappahannock River Railway* (Richmond, VA: Richmond and Rappahannock River Railway Company); Willett, *A History of Richmond National Battlefield Park*, 27; County of Henrico, Nine Mile Road, Historical Marker HC-32, 2010.

Henrico County

James W. Binford died in Surry County in 1866, but his daughter Mary (1847–1888) and her husband, Thomas Guy (1842–1914), returned to his Henrico County farm (in the **Malvern Hill** unit of the park) in the early 1870s and built a new house on the property (not extant).[743] Guy obtained clear title to approximately 240 acres of Binford's former property in 1876 and owned it through October 1911, when he deeded it to W. H. and Ivey Adams. The 1880 agricultural census records Guy as owner of a $3,300 farm with 180 tilled acres and 60 acres of woodland. He paid $200 for eight weeks of labor that year and grew corn, oats, wheat, potatoes, and sweet potatoes. He also produced eggs and butter; had 20 apple trees and 12 peach trees; and sold $40 in cut wood.[744]

Reginald H. Nelson (1832–1923) inherited the Glendale farm from his aunts and continued to farm the property into the twentieth century. Immediately after the Civil War, the federal government established Glendale National Cemetery (outside the park boundary) on a 2-acre parcel of farmland acquired from the Nelsons. In 1880, Reginald and his wife, Sally (1839–1891), lived on the 350-acre farm (100 tilled acres, 50 acres of meadow, and 200 acres of woodland) valued at $1,400, with nine children. The Nelsons sold $500 of farm products that year: corn, oats, wheat, potatoes, sweet potatoes, butter, wool, and eggs. They also had 6 apple trees and 30 peach trees, produced 15 pounds of honey, and sold some timber.[745]

In 1900, the widowed Reginald still farmed and lived at Glendale with four of his children. He sold the property in 1906 to his neighbor John W. Warriner (1880–1960), who built a new farmhouse (not extant) after a 1907 fire destroyed the Nelson house.[746] Reginald's son, R. H. Nelson Jr. (1867–1963), had married Ella Warriner (relationship to John W. unknown) in 1895. Reginald Nelson Sr. and three of his children moved to a dairy farm on Osborne Pike owned by one of his other sons. John W. Warriner resided on the farm at Glendale with his widowed mother, a sister, and nieces and nephews initially and, after his 1918 marriage, with only his wife.[747]

Some farm owners near Glendale chose not to return after the Civil War. John McDowell, an Irish immigrant who ran a grocery store in Richmond before the war, had purchased

[743] Mary Binford Guy, Thomas Guy, and their two children are buried in the Willis Methodist Church cemetery, which was established about 1873. See Seitz, "Willis Church Cemetery." A building, likely their house, appears on USGS maps of the property through 1984. See JRIA, *Archaeological Investigations*, 17.

[744] JRIA, *Archaeological Investigations*, 15–17; Henrico County Chancery Case File No. 56, Administrators of James W. Binford vs. Mary E. Guy, Thomas Guy et al., Index #1893-026, ca. 1872–1876, Library of Virginia; US Census, *Tenth Census of the United States, 1880, Productions of Agriculture, Henrico County, Virginia,* National Archives and Records Administration, Washington, DC, ancestry.com database.

[745] US Census, *Tenth Census of the United States, 1880* (T9, 1,454 rolls), National Archives and Records Administration, Washington, DC, ancestry.com database; *Tenth Census of the United States, 1880, Productions of Agriculture, Henrico County*.

[746] The Warriner house incorporated a portion of the foundation from the Nelson house or a related outbuilding and stood until 2016. See Hammond, *Glendale Battlefield*, 71–72.

[747] US Census, *Twelfth Census of the United States, 1900* (T623, 1,854 rolls), National Archives and Records Administration, Washington, DC, ancestry.com database; *Thirteenth Census of the United States, 1910*; *Fourteenth Census of the United States, 1920*.

the former Whitlock farm on Long Bridge Road near Gravel Hill in September 1863 from Whitlock's daughter Jane Melton. McDowell, reputedly a Federal sympathizer, farmed the property without any enslaved labor for 18 months before traveling north toward the end of the war. After the war, he submitted a claim to the SCC for damages to his farm incurred when Federal troops passed through the area on the way to Malvern Hill in the summer of 1864. In an SCC deposition, McDowell states that "Genl Gregg came to my place in July or early in August. They camped on my ground and remained about a week. They took my fencing and the plank from my dwelling, barn, and stable … and … used up the corn and potatoes."[748] Despite corroborative testimony from his neighbors Richard and Isaac Sykes, the SCC agent disallowed McDowell's claim. By 1870, McDowell returned to Richmond, where he worked as a machinist, and eventually sold the farm in Henrico County.[749] Agricultural operations continued under the next several owners, and a new farmhouse (not extant) replaced the Whitlock house.

In the late nineteenth century, wealthy Northerners, attracted to the South by low real estate prices and scenic landscapes, began to buy property in Henrico County, including in the Malvern Hill unit of the park. Some new owners experimented with specialty farming, while others converted the properties into country retreats for hunting or winter recreation. New York City businessman William H. "Henry" Hall (1826–1894) purchased the Malvern Hill estate in the late nineteenth century for use as a retreat and mining operation. Hall formed the Malvern Hill Marl & Phosphate Company in 1890 with local and New York investors and established the corresponding Malvern Hill Railroad Company to transport the products. The January 1890 edition of *Scientific American* describes the mine at Malvern Hill as "an unusually rich deposit of marl … the marl beds abound in bones, petrified, fossilized, and also decayed, of all shapes and sizes."[750]

William Henry Hall Jr. (1869–1914) inherited the property from his father and hosted a hunting party there in December 1908 when a fire, reportedly caused by a problem with a chimney flue, destroyed the manor house built about 1720.[751] Hall Jr.'s sister Martha Hall Lansdell acquired the property after his death in 1914 and donated it to the endowment of the National Dental Hygiene Association, an organization created by her charitable foundation. The extant Farm Manager's House was built about 1914 as a house for the property manager.[752] In 1920, the *Richmond Times-Dispatch* reported that "W. L. Woods [presumably the property manager at that time] will reopen the old pit and begin taking out marl in quantities for farmers, it being estimated that on a co-operative basis this marl can be delivered to soil in the neighborhood of Malvern Hill at a cost of $2.25 a ton."[753]

[748] John McDowell Deposition, March 20, 1872, John McDowell Claim, Henrico County, Virginia, in Disallowed Case Files of the Southern Claims Commission, RG 233, NARA, transcribed in Lee, *Central Virginia at War*, Research Binder, 253–254.

[749] *Ninth Census of the United States, 1870*; Hammond, *Glendale Battlefield*, 58.

[750] "Malvern Hill Phosphate Co.," *Scientific American*, Supplement No. 732 (January 11, 1890), Vol. 63, p. 18.

[751] "Historic Home Prey of Flames," *Richmond Times-Dispatch*, December 5, 1908; "Fire Destroys Malvern Hill," *Fredericksburg Free-Lance*, December 8, 1908. Only a small portion of the east chimney and the foundations below grade remained as of 2019.

[752] McDonald et al., *National Register Nomination – Malvern Hill (2020 Update)*, 42–43.

[753] "Malvern Hill Farmers Get Marl for Fertilizer," *Richmond Times-Dispatch*, September 24, 1920.

JIM CROW LAWS AND SEGREGATION

The landmark Civil Rights Act of 1866 declared that all persons born in the United States (except Native Americans) were citizens regardless of race, color, or previous condition of slavery or involuntary servitude. As such, Black people had the right to make and enforce contracts and to purchase and hold property. However, Southern provisional legislatures established under President Andrew Johnson, including Virginia's, adopted a series of laws commonly known as "black codes" that restricted the rights and legal status of freedpeople.[754] Continuing Southern resistance prompted Congress to approve the first Military Reconstruction Act in March 1867, which separated the former Confederate states (except Tennessee) into five military districts overseen by Federal generals.[755]

The occupying federal troops and the Freedmen's Bureau established in the immediate aftermath of the Civil War forced some modifications of racial policies in many parts of the South, including Richmond and the surrounding communities. For example, when four Black men in Richmond staged a sit-in in April 1867 protesting their exclusion from a privately owned streetcar, federal military authorities overruled City officials and said that all paying passengers had a right to ride the streetcars but nonetheless allowed the use of segregated cars. The ratification of the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Amendments to the US Constitution in 1868 and 1870, respectively, and the Civil Rights Act of 1875 further extended civil rights for Black people (not Native Americans) by guaranteeing equal protection under the law, suffrage, and equal access to hotels and other public facilities regardless of race, color, or previous enslavement.[756]

The Compromise of 1877, in which Southern Democrats accepted the election of Republican Rutherford B. Hayes as president in exchange for less federal intervention in Southern politics, enabled white Southerners to revoke many of the rights that had been granted to Black people immediately after the Civil War. After 1877, legislative policies and social customs based on the concept of "separate but equal" proliferated throughout the country and especially in the South. As the Southern economy continued its post-war decline, white Southern Democrats took over the legislatures in the former Confederate states and began passing more restrictive voter registration, electoral, and segregation laws.

In 1883, the US Supreme Court declared the 1875 Civil Rights Act unconstitutional and asserted that the Fourteenth Amendment forbid states, but not individual business owners, from discrimination. In 1896, the same court issued the *Plessy v. Ferguson* ruling that "separate but equal" facilities satisfied the Fourteenth Amendment equal protection

[754] Howard N. Rabinowitz, "From Exclusion to Segregation: Southern Race Relations, 1865–1890," *The Journal of American History* 63 (September 1976):326.

[755] National Park Service (NPS), *Civil Rights in America: A Framework for Identifying Significant Sites* (Washington, DC: The National Historic Landmarks Program, Cultural Resources, National Park Service, US Department of the Interior, 2002), 9–12.

[756] Tsahai Tafari, Presidents and Their Role in Civil Rights for African Americans, 2002, http://www.pbs.org/wnet/jimcrow/struggle_president.html; Susan Cianci Salvatore, Matt Garcia, Alton Hornsby Jr., Steven Lawson, and Theresa Mah, *Civil Rights in America: Racial Desegregation of Public Accommodations, A National Historic Landmarks Theme Study* (Washington, DC: The National Historic Landmarks Program, Cultural Resources, National Park Service, Department of the Interior, 2004, revised 2009), 9–14.

guarantees. Both cases effectively sanctioned the Jim Crow laws that enforced racial segregation throughout the South and influenced the treatment of Black individuals throughout the country.[757]

Jim Crow laws varied slightly by state but generally required separate accommodations for Black and white people in transportation and eventually most other public facilities, including hospitals, hotels, insane asylums, restaurants, saloons, prisons, theaters, and burial grounds. In 1900, Virginia's legislature passed the first statewide segregation laws mandating that railroad companies furnish separate but equal cars based on race and that steamboat companies likewise provide separate but equal accommodations. Later laws tightened these restrictions; for example, a 1904 law allowed railroad operators to bar Black people from entering sleeping, dining, or other specific cars.[758]

Richmond was the testing ground for some laws that were later expanded to apply statewide, such as a 1901 law that required the segregation of Richmond's Seven Pines streetcar line and a 1911 residential segregation ordinance that led to concentrations of Black residents in neighborhoods like **Chimborazo** immediately north of Broad Street (Figure 5-12). Virginia, like all former Confederate states, also revised its state constitution to conform to the *Plessy v. Ferguson* decision. The state's 1902 constitution not only mandated the continued segregation of the state public school system but also disenfranchised large numbers of Black and poor white people by severely restricting voter eligibility and instituting a poll tax. Black and Indigenous people throughout the South responded to Jim Crow policies by creating and strengthening their own communities, such as the free Black neighborhood at **Gravel Hill** (in Henrico County but outside the park boundary), and by increasing their political involvement.[759]

Many of the original Black residents remained in the Gravel Hill community after the Civil War, and descendants of the Atkins, Sykes, and Pleasants families (among others) still lived in the area just outside the park boundary as recently as 2012.[760] The Sykes brothers continued to farm until their deaths in 1882 (Richard) and 1883 (Isaac). Richard left his farm, house, furniture, livestock, and crops to his wife, Mary Ann, and 48 acres to

[757] NPS, *Civil Rights in America: A Framework*, 9, 10, 14, 16. The namesake of the system of segregation and discrimination known as Jim Crow is a white Northerner named Thomas Dartmouth Rice. In the early 1830s, he began performing an act in which he painted his face black and did a song and dance—"Jumping Jim Crow"—he claimed was inspired by an enslaved Black person he saw. Jim Crow became a derogatory term for describing African Americans. Becky Little, "Who Was Jim Crow?" National Geographic, 2015, https://education.nationalgeographic.org/resource/who-was-jim-crow/.

[758] Charles E. Wynes, "The Evolution of Jim Crow Laws in Twentieth Century Virginia," *Phylon*, Vol. 28, No. 4 (4th Qtr., 1967), pp. 416–425; June Purcell Guild, *Black Laws of Virginia: A Summary of the Legislative Acts of Virginia Concerning Negroes from Earliest Times to the Present* (Richmond, VA: The Press of Whittet & Shepperson, 1936), 144–148.

[759] Library of Virginia, Virginia Memory, Online Exhibitions, *Mapping Inequality*, https://www.virginiamemory.com/online-exhibitions/exhibits/show/mapping-inequality; Hamilton Lombard, *Richmond's Quiet Transformation*, University of Virginia StatChat web series, April 7, 2015, https://statchatva.org/2015/04/07/richmonds-quiet-transformation/.

[760] Melissa Scott Sinclair, "The Descendants," *Style Weekly* (Richmond), June 19, 2012. https://www.styleweekly.com/richmond/the-descendants/Content?oid=1724271.

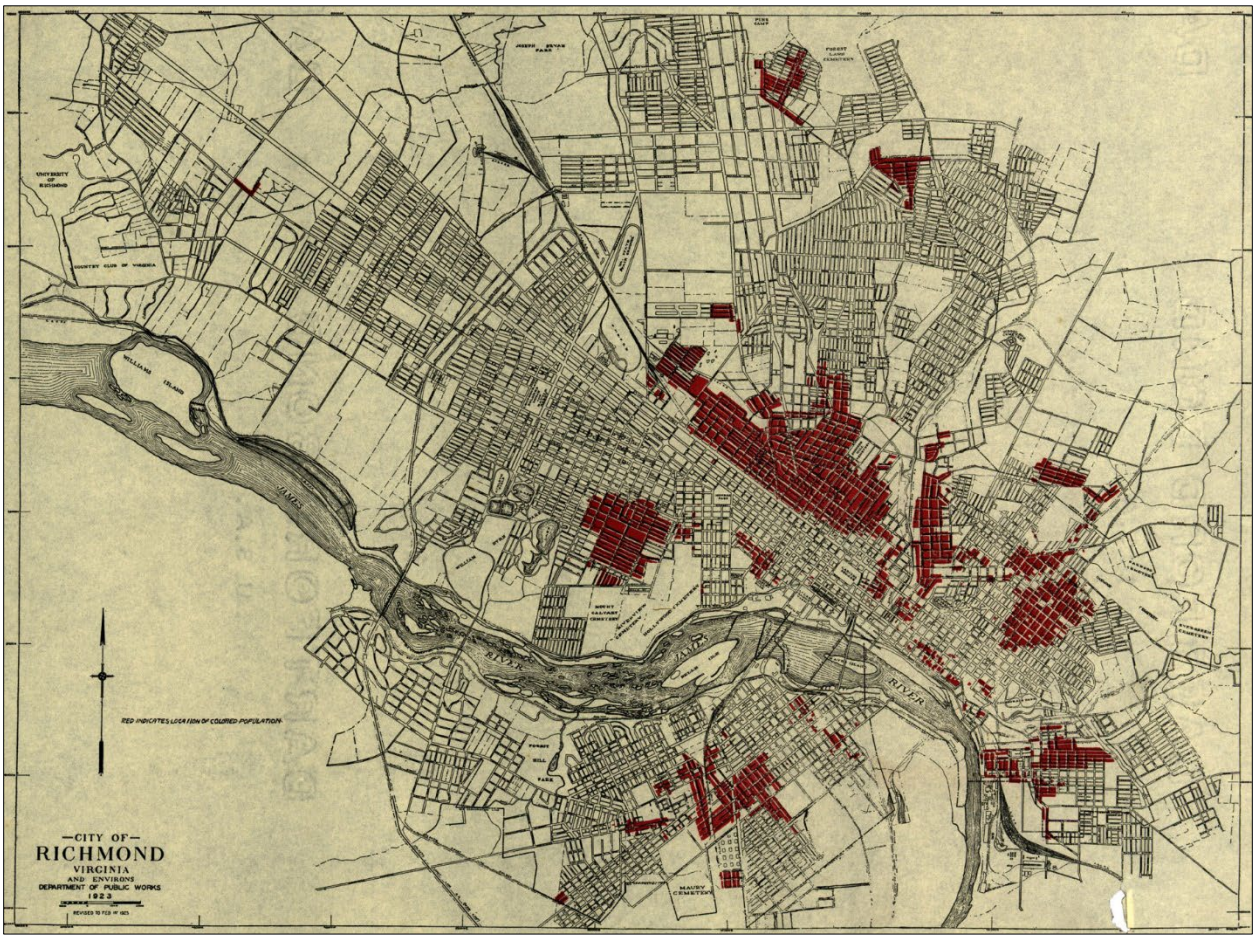


Figure 5-12. 1923 Public Works map of Richmond's Black neighborhoods. Source: Hamilton Lombard, Richmond's Quiet Transformation, University of Virginia StatChat web series, April 7, 2015, https://statchatva.org/2015/04/07/richmonds-quiet-transformation/.

his children and grandchildren. His grandson William H. Pleasants, son of Isaac and Nancy (née Sykes) Pleasants, eventually inherited the property and owned it through the 1930s, when about 12.5 acres were cultivated. Isaac Sykes divided his property between three of his children, with his daughter Mary Ann receiving the house and 12 acres. Mary Ann died in 1900, and the farm passed to her children and grandchildren. Coleman Sykes owned it in the 1930s and cultivated about 7 acres.[761]

Virginia Indians were among the groups who moved to Richmond after the Civil War for the city's better opportunities for work and, like Black people, often faced discrimination. At first, Richmond provided a wider variety of economic prospects than rural communities, and tribal members labored as business owners, retail employees, and factory workers.[762] However, Virginia's Indigenous people did not have equal access to employment opportunities, because few workplaces were known to openly hire Indians.

[761] Will Book 20, p. 434, and Will Book 21, p. 16, Henrico County Records, Henrico County Courthouse, VA, cited in Hammond, *Glendale Battlefield*, 56–57.

[762] Spivey, *Knowing the River, Working the Land and Digging for Clay*, 279–294.

Manufacturing jobs, which were less visible and prestigious and thus less prone to racist action, were the most popular form of wage labor among Indians.

Richmond's Cedar Works Manufacturing Company, at the East End industrial center of Rocketts Landing, attracted numerous Indigenous laborers about the turn of the twentieth century. Most Indian people lived in nearby neighborhoods such as Shockoe Bottom, Chimborazo, and Fulton.[763] Virginia Indian families that chose to live and work in Richmond throughout the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries kept close ties with relatives and friends who continued to reside within their core communities in the rural Tidewater region, as demonstrated in the collection of news stories about relatives living in the city and in the correspondences shared between friends.[764] Tribal members also returned to their core communities during certain seasons to hunt, fish, and trap. Indian wage laborers also sent portions of their earnings to family members who continued to reside in rural localities and who welcomed the supplemental cash.[765]

Richmond became the battleground where the Virginia Indian community challenged Jim Crow segregation laws. As the state capital, Richmond had embodied the government-to-government relationship between Virginia Tribes and the Commonwealth since 1780. Laws that regulated the segregation of people in public spaces along the lines of race also applied to Virginia Indians. Virginia tribal leaders successfully lobbied against only one segregation law: the bill passed in 1900 that required all railroad companies to provide separate coaches for the transportation of white and Black passengers.[766] The Pamunkey Indian Tribe petitioned state leaders and officials from the Southern Railway Company, which decided that Pamunkey tribal members would no longer be forced to ride in the "Jim Crow Cars."[767] With that one exception, Virginia Indians were forced to follow the same segregation laws as all other people of color under threat of violence and arrest if they refused. However, tribal members protested the city's increasingly segregationist environment in other ways, such as supporting Richmond business owners who did not force them to the back of the building to order a meal or refuse to serve them outright. Individuals of various ethnic backgrounds also deemed "colored" under Virginia's system of legal classification operated many of these businesses in the neighborhoods of the city's East End.

The wider Virginia Indian community faced several attempts by the Commonwealth to tax their activities related to fishing, which was of vital subsistence and economic importance.[768] Shad fishing, in particular, was economically important to the Chickahominy, Chickahominy Eastern Division, Rappahannock, Pamunkey, and Mattaponi tribes. The Pamunkey and Mattaponi tribes have managed shad fish hatcheries

[763] Spivey, *Knowing the River, Working the Land and Digging for Clay*, 284–287.

[764] Spivey, *Knowing the River, Working the Land and Digging for Clay,* 290–291.

[765] Spivey, *Knowing the River, Working the Land and Digging for Clay*, 292.

[766] "Jim Crow Car Bill," *Virginia Pilot*, January 27, 1900.

[767] Pamunkey Indians frequently used the Southern Railway because it bisects the reservation and was the only line available for travel between Richmond and the reservation in King William County. However, the company's ruling did not extend beyond this specific line. See "Jim Crow Car Bill," *Virginia Pilot*, January 27, 1900; "Pamunkey Indians Angry: Virginia Tribes Object to Riding in 'Jim Crow' Cars," *The New York Times,* July 29, 1900.

[768] Spivey, *Knowing the River, Working the Land and Digging for Clay*.

on their reservations for over a century. Thus, when the Commonwealth chose to interfere and attempt to impose taxes related to fishing, tribal leaders protested. George Major Cook, Chief of the Pamunkey Indian Tribe from 1901 until his death in 1930, traveled to Richmond throughout his tenure to address the Commonwealth's General Assembly and governors to argue for the economic and subsistence rights of the Pamunkey and other Virginia Tribes. When Virginia's fish inspector attempted to tax Pamunkey fishermen in 1911, Cook went to the capitol to address Governor William Mann directly: "There is no law whereby we are liable for taxes … We fish when there are fish to be caught, and we hunt when we have the chance. But our earnings are small and we have a hard time providing for our wives and children."[769]

Cook's visit left an impression on Mann, who expressed in a letter to Commissioner of Fisheries McDonald Lee that he trusted the state's Attorney General "will find that the Indians are exempt."[770] After the 1911 dispute was resolved, tribal leaders returned to Richmond to fight for tax-exempt status on numerous occasions in the twentieth century.

EARLY COMMEMORATION AND BATTLEFIELD PRESERVATION EFFORTS

Commemorative activities began in the Richmond area immediately after the Civil War, as people faced the magnitude of the death, defeat, and devastation that surrounded them. On a practical level, their first concern was collecting the corpses that scattered the landscape and providing them with decent burials. The federal government created the National Cemetery System and established five national cemeteries for Federal soldiers in the Richmond area in 1866: Cold Harbor, Fort Harrison, Glendale, Richmond, and Seven Pines. All are near or adjacent to Richmond NPB lands but outside the park boundary and are administered by the Department of Veterans Affairs.[771] Women's memorial organizations, area residents, and families of the dead mobilized to bury Confederate soldiers who died in the fighting in and around Richmond in the city's Oakwood, Hollywood, Shockoe Hill, and Hebrew cemeteries; Hanover County's Woodland Cemetery; and smaller town and churchyard cemeteries.

During the difficult years of Reconstruction, Confederate veterans and Ladies' Memorial Associations helped to shift the focus of public memory in the South from grief and defeat to the patriotism of the Confederate leaders. Their work contributed to the emergence of the so-called "Lost Cause," an interpretation of the Civil War developed by white Southerners that romanticized the Confederate war effort. Historians have referred to the counter-narrative of public memory that developed in the North as the "Cause Victorious." The end of the Reconstruction era (about 1877) coincided with the centennial anniversary of the American Revolution and kicked off a period of renewed patriotic and nationalistic fervor. In the 1870s and 1880s, local celebrations throughout the North and South marked the anniversaries of important battles and events from the

[769] "Virginia Indians Need Not Pay Taxes," *The Evening News*, May 11, 1922.

[770] Governor William Mann to McDonald Lee, May 5, 1911, Executive Papers of Governor William Hodges Mann, 1899–1914. Accession 41428, State government records collection, The Library of Virginia, Richmond, VA.

[771] Therese T. Sammartino, Department of Veterans Affairs, *National Register Multiple Property Documentation Form – Civil War Era National Cemeteries*, 1994, National Park Service, Department of the Interior, Washington, DC.

Revolutionary and Civil wars, and veterans' groups held reunions, usually on the anniversary of a particular battle or on Decoration Day (the original name of Memorial Day). Beginning in the early 1880s, Federal and Confederate veterans gathered together on battlefields and in cities and towns around the country in what became known as Blue-Gray reunions.[772] In 1887, a group of Confederate veterans visited the **Hooper/Garthright House** near the **Cold Harbor Battlefield**.[773]

Veterans and their families erected fewer commemorative objects on the Richmond area's battlefield sites than at other Civil War sites in Virginia such as Petersburg and Fredericksburg. The **Veterans' Monument** at Parker's Battery, installed by a Confederate veterans' group in 1886, is the only commemorative installation from before 1920 on current Richmond NBP lands. Lieutenant J. Thompson Brown (1840–1921), a Richmond native and member of the unit that constructed and manned **Parker's Battery** in 1864, purchased 4 acres of the battery site on the south bank of the James River in the 1880s to preserve it from development associated with nearby railroad construction.[774] Brown also provided the funds for a granite monument to commemorate the unit. About 20 surviving members of Parker's Battery, including Brown, met at the site on July 14, 1886, to erect the monument where the unit captain's tent had supposedly been pitched. Following the installation, the group held a luncheon at the site, and a newspaper published an account of the day:

> The biggest pot of Brunswick stew was produced that had ever been seen in Chesterfield county, and its contents were richly enjoyed. Lager beer and claret punch were the mild stimulants in flow on the occasion. The afternoon was spent in tracing our own and the enemy's lines, examining trees struck by cannon-balls, &c., &c. Music (a violin) was furnished by Mr. Hoff, who now occupies the old Howlett House.[775]

The veterans of Parker's Battery continued to hold annual reunions and formed the Parker Battery Association to create a memorial park for such events at the battery site, which Brown donated to the Association in 1889.[776] However, the battlefield preservation movement did not fully develop in the Richmond area until after World War I (see Chapter Six).

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[772] Alice Fahs and Joan Waugh, eds., *The Memory of the Civil War in American Culture* (Chapel Hill, NC: The University of North Carolina Press, 2004), 107–111; John R. Neff, *Honoring the Civil War Dead: Commemoration and the Problem of Reconciliation* (Lawrence, KS: University Press of Kansas, 2005); Caroline E. Janney, *Remembering the Civil War: Reunion and the Limits of Reconciliation* (Chapel Hill, NC: The University of North Carolina Press, 2013), 140–142, 156; Ann Hunter McLean, "Unveiling the Lost Cause: A Study of Monuments to the Civil War Memory in Richmond, Virginia and Vicinity," PhD diss. (University of Virginia, 1998), 11, 37, 59–102.

[773] A photograph taken of the 1887 visit is on the NPS wayside marker at the Hooper/Garthright House with no source cited.

[774] The Farmville and Powhatan Railroad extended a freight line for the logging industry in 1890 just north of the current park unit, and construction began on the Richmond, Petersburg, and Carolina Railroad along the unit's northeastern boundary by 1900. See Shepard et al., *Archaeological Overview*, 332; Francis Earle Lutz, *Chesterfield: An Old Virginia County* (Richmond, VA: William Byrd Press, 1954), 296–297, 303.

[775] *Richmond Dispatch*, July 15, 1886.

[776] *Richmond Dispatch*, May 29, 1889; June 16, 1901; and July 19, 1902.

Memorial associations and civic leaders sponsored the installation of several public monuments to Confederate soldiers in Richmond, including the South's largest collection of large-scale Lost Cause monuments, along the median of Monument Avenue, in the 1890s.[777] Although some Northerners found the sentimental rhetoric of the Reconstruction era offensive and remained wary of reconciliation, commemoration efforts in the North and South largely ignored issues of race and Black freedom. The romanticized legacy of the Lost Cause in the South and the Cause Victorious in the North overshadowed the existence of slavery and racial oppression and excluded Black people from participating in the creation of a national history.

Despite the formidable obstacles of white opposition and limited resources, Black veterans and freedmen did attempt to incorporate their stories into the national narrative. They responded to the segregation of most veterans' associations by forming their own and organizing their own parades and Decoration Day exercises. Black men and women also organized large celebrations for the anniversaries of General Lee's surrender (April 9, 1865) and the abolitionist Frederick Douglass' birthday (February 14, 1818). They also celebrated the anniversary of Emancipation Day, which was selected to be an annual event on January 1 after a committee of Black men from across the country gathered in Richmond in October 1890 and chose to commemorate the January 1, 1863, Emancipation Proclamation.[778] Over 400 people reportedly attended an Emancipation Day event held in eastern Hanover County in January 1893.[779]

[777] The monuments were removed in recent years; see Chapter Six.

[778] *Richmond Dispatch*, October 18, 1890.

[779] *Richmond Planet*, January 14, 1893.

CHAPTER SIX: COMMEMORATION AND PRESERVATION OF RICHMOND'S CIVIL WAR BATTLEFIELDS, 1921–PRESENT

The current appearance of Richmond NBP began to take shape during the country's prosperous post-World War I period, when a renewed interest in Civil War commemoration and battlefield preservation resulted in the creation of the state-run Richmond Battlefield Park in 1927 and its transfer to the NPS in 1936. Funding and labor provided by federal New Deal programs added a layer of park infrastructure to the landscape of battlefield sites increasingly surrounded by suburban development. At the same time, state and local policies of racial segregation influenced aspects of the park's appearance and programming. The boom in American tourism that occurred after World War II led to a new era of park development defined by the simultaneous initiatives of the NPS Mission 66 program in 1956–1966 and the Civil War centennial celebration in 1961–1965. Broadened interpretive themes that include Black history and increased battlefield preservation efforts have characterized the development of Richmond NBP since 1966. Resources within the park associated with the events of the past 100 years include the Freeman Markers, Battlefield Park Road, Fort Harrison Visitor Center and Landscape, fortifications and battlefields cleared and restored by the Civilian Conservation Corps, Chimborazo Visitor Center, Cold Harbor Visitor Center, and recently added battlefield areas.

BATTLEFIELD TOURISM

As mentioned in Chapter Five, some battlefield tourism occurred in the Richmond area in the late 1880s and early 1890s, when an excursion train ran between Richmond and Seven Pines National Cemetery. Confederate veteran and Richmond businessman A. G. Babcock (1835–1894) had established the Seven Pines line through his farmland in 1888 to serve the "thousands of visitors to the National cemetery and the great battlefield of Seven Pines." His company also intended "to suitably mark the prominent points of interest on the battlefield and to have an authenticated map of the same with a guide and description book."[780] Richmond residents looking to escape the city enjoyed picnics and evening entertainment in the cemetery for several years.[781] By 1892, however, Babcock had sold most of his property along the rail line to a residential subdivision developer and connected the rail line to Richmond's electric streetcar system, which served early suburban commuters.[782]

The increase in automobile use in the second decade of the twentieth century sparked an increased interest in battlefield tourism. In 1914, the president of the Chesapeake and Ohio Railway proposed the construction of a roadway linking the significant Civil War battlefield sites east of the city, but the onset of World War I prevented implementation of

[780] *Richmond Dispatch*, June 16, 1888.

[781] *Richmond Dispatch*, July 23, 1890.

[782] Laura Knott, Christina Osborn, and Sarah Traum, Commonwealth Heritage Group, Inc., and Maral Kalbian, *National Register Nomination – Highland Springs Historic District* (On file, Virginia Department of Historic Resources, Richmond, VA, 2018).

this plan.[783] Perhaps the first organized tour of the area's Civil War sites was on Labor Day in 1921, when the Richmond Rotary Club sponsored an automobile tour in Hanover and Henrico counties led by club members Douglas Southall Freeman (1886–1953) and J. Ambler Johnston (1885–1974).[784] Freeman, a historian and editor of the *Richmond News Leader* from 1915 to 1949, and Johnston, a Richmond architect, also initiated the Rotary Club's effort to identify and memorialize the area's important battle sites through commemorative markers. The club incorporated the Battlefield Markers Association (BMA) in April 1924 and raised money matched by the Richmond City Council to install 59 numbered roadside markers (most still intact) in the Richmond area between 1925 and 1928. The so-called Freeman markers are cast-iron tablets set at an angle on granite bases with concrete capstones so they can be read easily from an automobile.[785]

Fifteen of the markers are within Richmond NBP: Freeman Marker #3 at Beaver Dam Creek; Freeman Markers #7 and #8 at Gaines' Mill; Freeman Markers #17 and #18 at Glendale; Freeman Markers #20, #21, and #22 at Malvern Hill; Freeman Markers #25, #26, and #27 at Cold Harbor; Freeman Markers #44 and #49 at Fort Harrison; Freeman Marker #51 at Totopotomoy Creek; and Freeman Marker #59 at Drewry's Bluff.

The sites chosen by the BMA for commemoration (primarily for their association with Confederate troops and events) and the text of the inscriptions (almost all written by Freeman) reflect the prevalent Civil War historiography of the 1920s, which emphasized the common stories of valor and heroism in combat rather than the divisive issues of slavery and race.[786] For example, the inscription on Freeman Marker #49 reads:

> Fort Gilmer
> *Outer Line of Richmond Defences [sic]*
> To the right of this road was Fort Gilmer,
> Successfully defended against Federal assaults
> And held until the eve of the evacuation of
> Richmond. Kershaw's Division, the last Confederate
> Infantry to leave the Richmond line, abandoned
> Fort Gilmer at 3 A.M., April 3, 1865.

[783] "Movements Everywhere at Hand to Preserve Battlefields Here," *Richmond Times-Dispatch*, March 1, 1929, summarizes the history of the battlefield preservation movement in Richmond.

[784] "Rotarians make tour of state battlefields," *Richmond Times-Dispatch*, September 6, 1921.

[785] Bernard J. Fisher, "Virginia's Early Battlefield Markers," *On Richmond's Front Line: Richmond Battlefields Association Official Newsletter*, 9(2):2, Summer 2010, http://www.saverichmondbattlefields.org/pdf/v09_n2_2010_Summer.pdf; Willett, *A History of Richmond National Battlefield Park*, 27.

[786] Freeman's editorials in the *Richmond News Leader* relied heavily on Lost Cause rhetoric (see *Early Commemoration and Preservation Efforts* in Chapter Five). His multi-volume biography of Lee (published in 1934–1935), which won the Pulitzer Prize in 1935, solidified his reputation as a historian and scholar and furthered the Lost Cause narrative that celebrated Lee as a Confederate hero. See Lauranett L. Lee and Suzanne Slye, *"The Virginia Way": Race, The "Lost Cause," & the Social Influence of Douglas Southall Freeman*, University of Richmond Inclusive History Project, January 2021, https://equity.richmond.edu/inclusive-history/freeman/report/Douglas-Southall-Freeman-Final-Report-20210216.pdf, 34–41.

A dedication ceremony was held on November 6, 1925, for the first marker installation at Walnut Grove Baptist Church in Hanover County (outside the park). The mayor of Richmond presented the markers to the governor of Virginia, who in turn gave custody of them to Hanover and Henrico counties.[787] The *Richmond Times-Dispatch* described the dedication ceremony as a gathering "in homage to the dream of the Confederacy—a dream which has left its ideals with indelible imprint on the people of the South." Governor E. Lee Trinkle, the son of a Confederate soldier, spoke of the

> sacred obligation of designating to the eye of the future by enduring signs these hallowed fields of battle … And so, in imitation of the Greeks … we purpose to erect markers of stone to indicate to strangers and to those who seek exact locations the identical localities of the battles of our Civil War, believing that such ground is sacred, not only to the past, but to the future.[788]

Governor Trinkle's successor Harry Byrd (1887–1966), who served as governor of Virginia in 1926–1930, strongly advocated the promotion of the state's historic and scenic resources to attract tourism and, more importantly, economic development. To this end, he created the Virginia State Commission on Conservation and Development (VA CCD) in 1926 and appointed his campaign manager, William E. Carson (1870–1942), as the commission's first chairperson. The commission implemented a state historical marker program, likely inspired by the Freeman markers, and ordered the first 60 markers to designate sites along the Richmond-Washington Highway in August 1927. The commission hoped to install 300 markers on highways throughout the state by January 1928.[789] In December 1927, Byrd addressed his constituents:

> Tourist travel in Virginia will increase beyond the expectation even of the most optimistic among us … The marking of historic points by the Conservation and Development Commission, and the national advertising campaign proposed, will stimulate many people to visit every section of the State… The tourist who is in Virginia for study of its history should encounter no difficulty whatever in knowing where he is and for what the place is especially famous.[790]

RICHMOND BATTLEFIELD PARKS CORPORATION

The increased use of automobiles not only increased tourism but also facilitated development outside Richmond and resulted in more activity on and near Civil War sites. Virginia lagged behind states such as Tennessee, Mississippi, Georgia, Maryland, and Pennsylvania in mobilizing the political will to set aside battlefield lands for

[787] Fisher, "Virginia's Early Battlefield Markers," 3; Willett, *A History of Richmond National Battlefield Park*, 28; *Richmond Times-Dispatch*, November 7, 1925.

[788] *Richmond Times-Dispatch*, November 7, 1925. The Association for the Preservation of Virginia Antiquities (APVA), founded in 1889 as the nation's first statewide historic preservation organization, also placed historical markers emphasizing Southern history and traditions throughout the state, including the **APVA Marker** installed at Rural Plains in 1932. The APVA Marker has erroneous text about Patrick Henry's wedding occurring at the Shelton House.

[789] *Richmond Times-Dispatch*, August 17, 1927, and September 17, 1927.

[790] *Richmond Times-Dispatch*, December 11, 1927.

preservation.[791] Recognizing potential development threats, the same group of citizens that erected the Freeman markers led a grassroots effort in the late 1920s to preserve Richmond's Civil War battlefield sites. In the summer of 1927, members of the BMA joined with some of those involved in the 1914 tour road discussions to buy an approximately 200-acre parcel of land at **Fort Harrison**, "said to have the best preserved of the defense fortifications of Richmond."[792] The group harvested lumber from the trees covering the site to defray the $18,000 purchase price.[793] After acquiring an additional large tract at **Cold Harbor**, the members organized the non-profit Richmond Battlefield Parks Corporation (RBPC) "to preserve and make accessible the battlefields around Richmond."[794] Freeman served as the corporation's vice-president, and Johnston was secretary-treasurer. Tazewell M. Carrington, president of the Carrington Tobacco Company in Richmond and of the Richmond Chamber of Commerce, served as president of the RBPC. Within a year, the RBPC raised $50,000 and purchased or received donations of land at **Beaver Dam Creek**, **Gaines' Mill**, **Malvern Hill**, **Drewry's Bluff**, **Parker's Battery**, and **Fort Harrison** totaling approximately 540 acres.[795]

The RBPC presented its ambitious plans for developing and interpreting the park lands at an April 4, 1928, meeting attended by about 150 "prominent business and professional men" and broadcast on a local radio station. The proposal included the creation of a small memorial park at Beaver Dam Creek and a battle museum at the Watt House; the restoration of the forts at Fort Harrison and Drewry's Bluff; and the provision of ferry access to Drewry's Bluff. The *Richmond News Leader* stated, "It is believed that within a decade the Richmond battlefield park will take rank with that of Gettysburg, which is visited by millions of tourists. … the scheme is calculated to promote the growth and prosperity of Richmond to an almost unprecedented degree."[796] An advertisement the following week for the sale of the rebuilt Gaines' mill adjacent to RBPC property declared it "bound to enhance in value," reflecting local boosterism about the park's potential.[797]

The RBPC also resurrected the idea of connecting the battlefield sites via a system of tour roads. As early as 1915, the *New York Times* had lauded improvements in Virginia's roadways for automobile touring and noted Richmond in particular as "a centre of good roads to many places of great historic interest … destined to become an important tourist gateway between the North and the South."[798] However, many of the roads leading to the area's battlefields remained barely passable through the 1920s. The RBPC convinced the

[791] Congress established the country's first four national military parks at the Civil War battle sites of Chickamauga and Chattanooga in Georgia and Tennessee (1890); Shiloh in Tennessee (1894); Gettysburg in Pennsylvania (1895); and Vicksburg in Mississippi (1899). It also established the first national battlefield site at Antietam in Maryland in 1890.

[792] "Site of Bloody Battle is Bought by Local Men," *Richmond Times-Dispatch*, August 12, 1927.

[793] *Richmond Battlefield Parks Acquired for the Public by Richmond Battlefield Parks Corporation*, March 1928, Eckenrode File, Library of Virginia, quoted in Willett, *A History of Richmond National Battlefield Park*, 30.

[794] "Battlefield Corporation granted charter by state," *Richmond Times-Dispatch*, August 19, 1927.

[795] *History of the Richmond Battlefield Parks*, Eckenrode File, Library of Virginia, quoted in Willett, *A History of Richmond National Battlefield Park*, 31–32.

[796] "$65,760 Now is Needed for Battlefield Park," *Richmond News Leader*, April 5, 1928.

[797] "For Sale on Battlefield Park Route," *Richmond Times-Dispatch*, April 8, 1928.

[798] *New York Times*, October 10, 1915.

Commonwealth of Virginia and the counties of Hanover and Henrico to contribute funds toward the development of a usable tour road system. Most of the roads were complete by the end of February 1929, and the *Richmond Times-Dispatch* reported on March 23, 1930, that "all is in readiness for the annual descent of the motorists."[799] A dedication ceremony on September 28, 1930, marked the opening of the new route.[800]

The 38.25-mile network of improved roadways began near Beaver Dam Creek in Mechanicsville and followed the course of the Seven Days' Battle to Malvern Hill via Cold Harbor and Gaines' Mill, past Seven Pines, Savage's Station, and White Oak Swamp (Figure 6-1).[801] From Malvern Hill, the tour route ran west along State Route 41 (now State Route 5) to Battery Alexander and then southwest to Osborne Turnpike. It followed existing roads such as **Cold Harbor Road** and **Willis Church Road**—with new roadbeds constructed of "sand-clay with an oil dressing" replacing hard-packed dirt or gravel—and included 19 miles of new roads, such as the **Battlefield Park Road** between New Market Road and Osborne Turnpike. The RBPC published an auto tour guide to go along with the route and constructed a small log cabin "rest house" near Fort Harrison, now the **Fort Harrison Visitor Center**.[802] Recognizing the need for more funding to manage and maintain its battlefield sites, the corporation began to explore the possibility of a national military park as early as February 1929, when Johnston mentioned the idea in a presentation to the Richmond Chamber of Commerce.[803]

STATE VERSUS NATIONAL PARK

On May 23, 1929, Congress passed legislation authorizing funds for the "study, investigation, and survey, for commemorative purposes, of battle fields in the vicinity of Richmond, Virginia" (Public Law 46 Stat. 4).[804] The legislation referenced a May 28, 1925, Army War College report on the country's historic battlefields, which had ranked them according to their importance as Class I (5 battlefields), Class IIa (16), or Class IIb (64) and set forth recommendations for the commemoration and preservation of each class. The report had recommended that the June 26–July 1, 1862, battles around Richmond and the Battle of Cold Harbor (May 31–June 12, 1864) be listed as Class IIa, "the idea being that limited areas of ground on the site of the battle could be purchased and appropriately

[799] "May Form Chain of Battlefield Parks in State," *Richmond Times-Dispatch*, February 27, 1929; "Battlefields Around Richmond Will Be Linked into Chain of Parks," *Richmond Times-Dispatch*, March 23, 1930.

[800] "Formal Dedication of Richmond Battlefield Parks is Observed," *Richmond Times-Dispatch*, September 29, 1930.

[801] *Richmond Times-Dispatch*, March 23, 1930.

[802] Various maps of tour route on file at Richmond NBP Archives, Richmond, VA, quoted in JMA, *Glendale and Malvern Hill*, 132; J. Ambler Johnston, *Echoes of 1861–1961*, Richmond Chamber of Commerce, Richmond, VA (On file, Richmond NBP, Richmond, VA, 1970); *Richmond News Leader*, January 28, 1930, and September 16, 1930; *Richmond Times-Dispatch*, March 23, 1930; Records of Battlefield Parks Corporation, J. Ambler Johnston, Atlantic Life Building, Richmond, VA, quoted in Willett, *A History of Richmond National Battlefield Park*, 72.

[803] *Richmond Times-Dispatch*, February 27, 1929.

[804] Virginia Representative A. J. (Andrew Jackson) Montague (1862–1937) first introduced the bill on December 21, 1928, and it passed both houses of Congress in early 1929 but did not reach President Coolidge's desk before he left office, so Montague reintroduced it in the next session of Congress. See US Congress, *Congressional Record*, Volume 71, Part 1, March 4, 1929, to May 11, 1929 (Washington, DC: US Government Printing Office, 1929), 914.

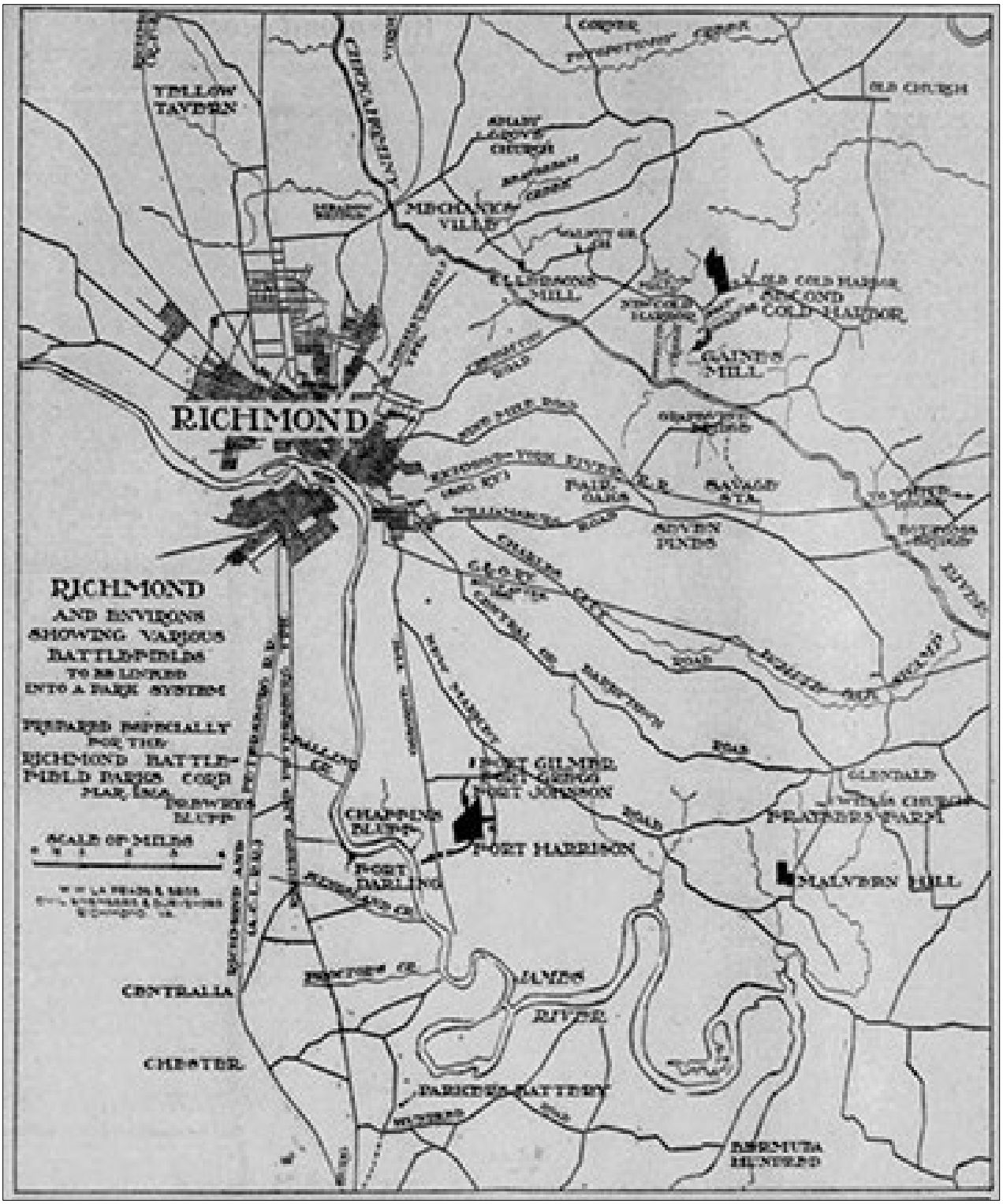


Figure 6-1. March 1928 Richmond Battlefield Parks Corporation map. Source: W. W. La Prade & Bros., printed in "Battlefields Around Richmond Will Be Linked into Chain of Parks," *Richmond Times-Dispatch*, March 23, 1930.

marked and the whole aggregation of separate areas designated as a national monument."[805] Congress had authorized similar studies of the Class IIa Civil War battlefields at Fredericksburg and Petersburg in 1924 and 1925, respectively, and a national study of all battlefields on June 11, 1926. Lieutenant Colonel Howard Landers, a representative of the War College's History Section, first visited Richmond in August 1929 to begin the survey.

Amid the national economic depression that followed the stock market crash on October 29, 1929, the RBPC initially supported the idea of a national military park. Members voted in March 1930 to convey the corporation's property to the US government at some time in the future provided it would eventually become part of a national battlefield park.[806] However, when Landers returned to Richmond in October 1931 to hold public hearings on his proposal for a national military park, he encountered a "marked reluctance … to sanction transfer to the National Government."[807] Virginia's state historian and chief historian for the Sons of Confederate Veterans, H. J. Eckenrode (1879–1952), strongly objected to the idea. He was unhappy with the War Department's work at the military parks established in Petersburg (1926) and Fredericksburg (1927) and the NPS's work at Colonial National Monument and George Washington Birthplace National Monument (both established in 1930). Eckenrode had written to VA CCD Chairman Carson in August 1931, "The more I see of the US historians, the more important I think it is for the state of Virginia to hold on to Richmond."[808] Carson agreed and told Landers, "We regard these battlegrounds as most important in the state and we believe they should remain the property of Virginia."[809] He expressed a general concern that "Northern historians might destroy the value of the area as a great Confederate memorial park by markers out of harmony with southern convictions."[810] Shortly after meeting with Landers, Carson reiterated this concern in a letter to Eckenrode, writing that he hoped the War Department would transfer their battlefield parks to the states or a national parks department "as I do not believe the War Department, with its preconceived ideas and tradition, is the right organization to develop the Civil War Battlefields."[811]

[805] US House, 69th Congress, 1st Session, "Study and Investigation of battle fields in the United States for commemorative purposes" (H. Rpt. 1071), May 4 (*Serial Set* 8533) (Washington, DC: US Government Printing Office, 1926).

[806] "Local Battlefield Grounds Will Be Offered U.S. As Park Sites," *Richmond Times-Dispatch*, March 28, 1930.

[807] *Richmond Times-Dispatch*, October 9, 1931, quoted in Willett, *A History of Richmond National Battlefield Park*, 41.

[808] Eckenrode to Carson, August 19, 1931, RG 18, Box 56, Library of Virginia. Eckenrode had initially encouraged the RBPC to work directly with the NPS to negotiate a park management structure that would enable the VA CCD to oversee the battlefield markers. However, he became unhappy when NPS staff did not take his advice on matters related to Colonial National Monument. See Erin Krutko Devlin, *Segregation in Virginia's National Parks, 1916–1965* (Washington, DC: US Department of the Interior, National Park Service, July 2022), 14.

[809] *Richmond Times-Dispatch*, October 9, 1931, quoted in Willett, *A History of Richmond National Battlefield Park*, 42.

[810] *Richmond Times-Dispatch*, October 9, 1931, quoted in Willett, *A History of Richmond National Battlefield Park*, 42.

[811] Carson to Eckenrode, October 22, 1931, RG 18, Box 56, Library of Virginia, quoted in Devlin, *Segregation*, 12. The NPS had lobbied for the transfer of the War Department's historic properties to its jurisdiction since the early 1920s, but efforts had stalled in part because of the ongoing War Department battlefield study.

Consequently, the RBPC negotiated with the Commonwealth of Virginia, and just over 684 acres of battlefield lands were transferred to the state in January 1932. The formal dedication of Richmond Battlefield Park, Virginia's first state park, occurred on June 22, 1932, at the former Frayser farm (Glendale), in conjunction with the 42nd Reunion of United Confederate Veterans (Figure 6-2).[812]


Richmond Battlefields Park Presented to State as 7,000 Look On

Figure 6-2. Photographs from Richmond Battlefield Park dedication ceremony. Source: *Richmond Times-Dispatch*, June 23, 1932.

The VA CCD's division of parks oversaw the initial management of the Richmond Battlefield Park after its creation. The state conducted preliminary studies on development plans, prioritizing "the preservation of remaining fortifications, locating troop movements and positions, marking these, and making the whole group of areas

[812] Willett, *A History of Richmond National Battlefield Park*, 41–44; *Richmond Times-Dispatch*, June 23, 1932.

available to the student and tourist."[813] Director of Parks Robert E. Burson also proposed recreational development for activities such as hiking, fishing, riding, swimming, and camping. Despite Governor Byrd's stated support for parks and recreational areas, the Virginia legislature remained fiscally conservative and reluctant to appropriate funding for such programs. Less than one year after the dedication of Richmond Battlefield Park, VA CCD Chairman Carson, with Eckenrode's support, proposed the transfer of the state park to the federal government to "relieve the State of the expense which it is financially unable to undertake at this time."[814] Carson and Eckenrode encouraged the General Assembly to approve the administration of the park by the NPS, which assumed oversight of all the national military parks from the War Department on June 10, 1933.[815]

The Commonwealth of Virginia authorized the transfer of all land and assets within Richmond Battlefield Park to the federal government for protection as a national military park in 1934. However, state legislators insisted on attaching provisions to the transfer to ensure the state's continued involvement in the park's development. The legislation stipulated that "no marker shall be erected, moved or destroyed, and no change, alteration or abrasion shall be made in the park area without the consent of the Virginia Commission on Conservation and Development" and that control of the property would revert back to the state if the federal government failed to "properly maintain" it.[816]

US Representative Andrew J. Montague from Virginia introduced Bill H.R. 1415 accepting the state park lands and establishing Richmond National Battlefield Park. The bill passed in the House on January 20, 1936. Virginia Senator (and former governor) Byrd steered it through the Senate, and President Franklin Delano Roosevelt signed the enabling legislation (Public Law 49 Stat. 1155) on March 2, 1936. The act stipulated that when the United States acquired title to them, the park would consist of

> all such lands, structures, and other property in the military battlefield area or areas in the city of Richmond, Virginia, or within five miles of the city limits of said city or within five miles of the boundary of the present Richmond Battlefield State Park … designated by the Secretary of the Interior … as necessary or desirable for national battlefield park purposes … Provided, that such area or areas shall include, at least, the Richmond Battlefield Parks now belonging to the State of Virginia.[817]

[813] "Development of Virginia Battlefield Areas – Detail of Treatment," n.d., RG 18, Box 7a, Library of Virginia, quoted in JMA, *Glendale and Malvern Hill*, 153.

[814] VA CCD Minutes, June 3, 1933, Library of VA, quoted in Devlin, *Segregation*, 17.

[815] Eckenrode had changed his mind about NPS involvement because Director Horace Albright had assured him of participation in all decisions related to Virginia's battlefield parks. See Devlin, *Segregation*, 17–20.

[816] *Laws of Virginia Relating to State Commission on Conservation and Development* (Richmond: Division of Purchase Printing, 1935), Chap. 285, p. 41, quoted in Devlin, *Segregation*, 18–19.

[817] US Congress, *United States Statutes at Large*, Volume 49 (Washington, DC: US Government Printing Office, 1936), 1155–1156.

The act also placed the battlefield park under the direction of the NPS and authorized the Secretary of the Interior to acquire property through donation, by purchase through donated funds, or by condemnation. The prolonged legal process of transferring title to all the state park lands took until July 14, 1944 (Figure 6-3).

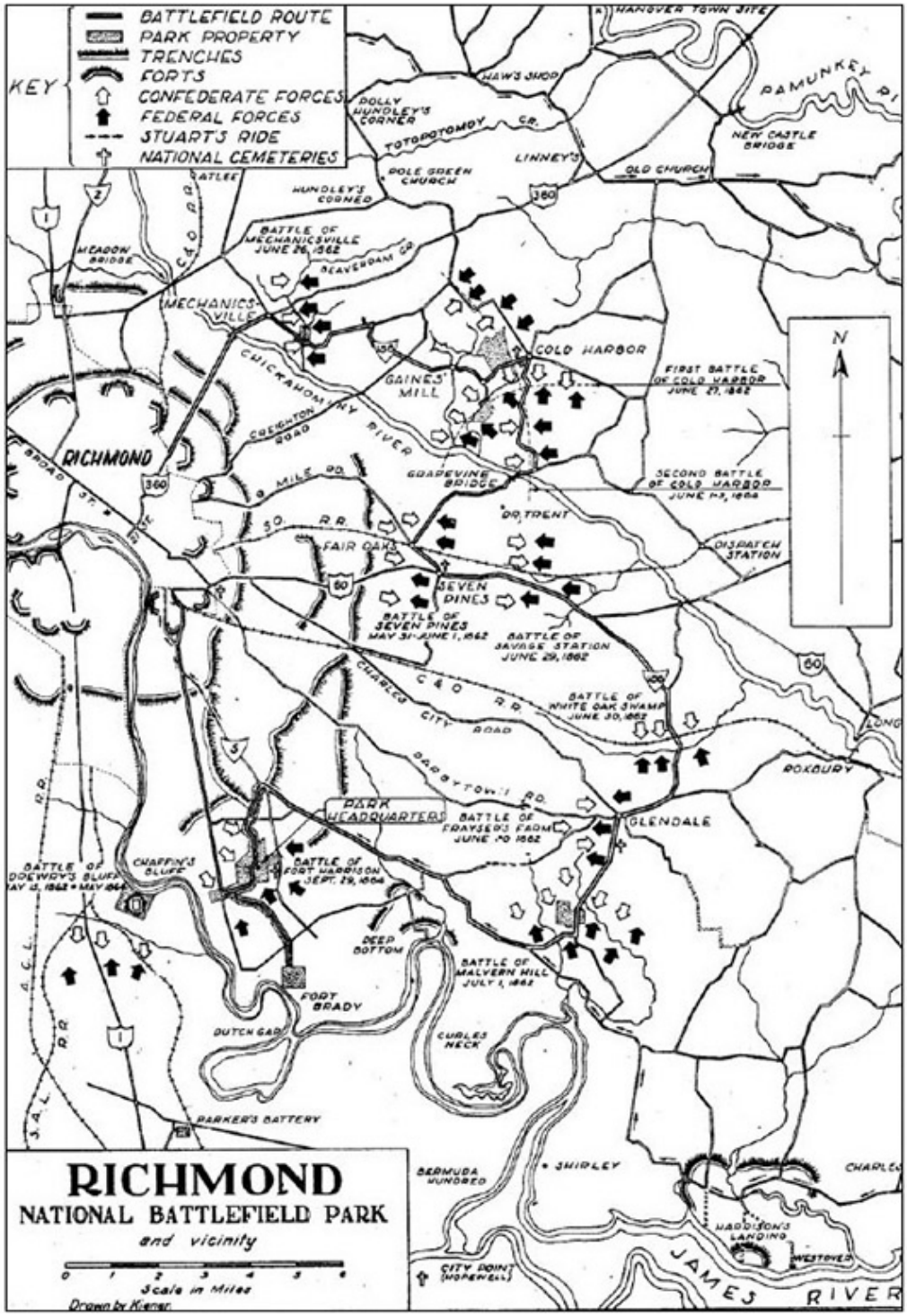


Figure 6-3. Richmond National Battlefield Park map, 1944. Source: Alderman Library, University of Virginia.

RICHMOND'S CIVILIAN CONSERVATION CORPS (CCC) CAMPS

President Roosevelt's New Deal relief and funding programs—specifically, the Civilian Conservation Corps (CCC)[818] created by the Emergency Conservation Work (ECW) Act of April 1933 and the Public Works Administration (PWA) established under the National Industrial Recovery Act of June 1933—provided the resources for the initial development of Richmond NBP. The CCC had the dual purpose of providing work and training for unemployed young men and accomplishing much-needed conservation work on America's public lands. CCC laborers performed clearing, grading, and other activities at national, state, and local parks throughout the country. Funding for most CCC construction projects came through the PWA, which was administered by Secretary of the Interior Harold Ickes. The PWA primarily provided grants and loans to states and local governments but could initiate its own projects and make allotments to other federal agencies. From 1933 to 1937, the PWA allocated $40 million for NPS projects, including road and trail construction, campground development, museum construction, and historic structure restoration.[819]

The infusion of funds and manpower from the CCC was critical in helping the NPS accomplish its expanded mission in the 1930s. Following the transfer of national military parks to its purview, the NPS also received jurisdiction over all 161 historic sites, battlefields, monuments, and parks previously administered by the Department of Agriculture and the Office of Public Buildings and Public Parks of the National Capital. In addition, the NPS was developing large new parks in the eastern United States, including Great Smoky Mountains, Shenandoah, Mammoth Cave, and the Blue Ridge Parkway. Responsible for planning and supervising CCC projects on state lands as well as federal, the NPS used CCC funds to greatly increase its staff of landscape architects, engineers, and foresters. During the Depression, the NPS was able to hire accomplished professionals who had few opportunities for private employment. Many temporary jobs paid for with CCC funds eventually became career positions with the NPS.[820]

The Department of Labor recruited men nationwide for the CCC and aimed to enroll 200 unmarried men aged 18 to 25 years in each camp. The enrollees had to be willing to live away from home for at least six months and send at least $22 of their $30 monthly wage home to their parents. The CCC soon expanded its ranks to include limited numbers of World War I veterans, Native Americans, and local experienced men (known as LEMs). Enrollees in these three additional categories were exempt from the standard age and marital status requirements and could live outside the camps. The LEMs usually had

[818] From 1933 to 1937, the organization's official name was Emergency Conservation Work. The program was commonly referred to as the Civilian Conservation Corps from the start; in June 1937, Congress made the popular name the official name. John C. Paige, *The Civilian Conservation Corps and the National Park Service, 1933–1942: An Administrative History* (Washington, DC: National Park Service, 1985), 24 (hereafter called *The CCC and the NPS*).

[819] Arthur M. Schlesinger Jr., *The Coming of the New Deal* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1959), 284–88; Harlan D. Unrau and G. Frank Williss, *Administrative History: Expansion of the National Park Service in the 1930s* (Denver, CO: National Park Service, 1983), 96–101; Donald C. Swain, "The National Park Service and the New Deal, 1933 1940," *Pacific Historical Review* 41 (1972), 324.

[820] Conrad L. Wirth, *Parks, Politics, and the People* (Norman, OK: University of Oklahoma Press, 1980), 111; Unrau and Willis, Administrative History, 59–62.

forestry or other specialized skills to teach to inexperienced recruits, known as "juniors."[821]

The 1933 legislation authorizing the CCC stipulated that "no discrimination shall be made on account of race, color, or creed."[822] In practice, however, local and state enrollment processes often resulted in blatant discrimination. Although Black unemployment was twice the national average in 1933, Black enrollment in the CCC lagged far behind that of other races. Henrico County, Virginia, enrolled only 6 of 50 Black applicants that year, and most cities and counties in the state, aside from Norfolk and Richmond, reported similar statistics.[823]

Direction from the program's federal administrators further restricted opportunities for Black participation. CCC Director Robert Fechner (1876–1939) was a Southerner and sanctioned the segregation of CCC camps in the South from the program's outset. In September 1934, he ordered Black enrollees nationwide to be placed in Black-only camps, although local opposition and low Black enrollment prevented the creation of separate Black camps in many places. To avoid community protestations about CCC camps with Black workers, the CCC often placed them on federal land. By 1935, Virginia had the most Black CCC camps in the country (17 of the 46 total camps), including Colored Company 1375 established near Fort Harrison on July 21, 1933. The majority of the 17 camps were on military installations or national parks in the Tidewater region, and many enrollees in the Black camps came from out of state.[824] Even in Black or mixed camps, Black enrollees were often not assigned to positions of authority.[825] In Virginia, Black camps were not assigned Black supervisors until 1938.[826]

The NPS supervised the CCC's work in Richmond from 1933 to 1941, first under the auspices of the state and after 1936 as part of its own system of national parks. State conservation officials were actively involved in all development related to the battlefield park. At VA CCD Chairman Carson's request, the NPS appointed Eckenrode and Freeman to serve as historical consultants for Richmond and, in September 1933, for all battlefield parks in Virginia.[827] NPS historical technician Branch Spalding initially was

[821] John A. Salmond, *The Civilian Conservation Corps, 1933–1942: A New Deal Case Study* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 1967), 26–34 (hereafter cited as *The CCC, 1933–1942*); Paige, *The CCC and the NPS*, 10–15.

[822] *An Act for the relief of unemployment through the performance of useful public work, and for other purposes*, 48, *US Statutes at Large 55* (1933).

[823] Will Alexander to W. Frank Persons, June 12, 1933, Selection Division Records of the CCC, quoted in Joseph Carvalho III, "Race, Relief and Politics: The Civilian Conservation Corps in Virginia, 1933–1942," Master's thesis (The College of William and Mary, 1977), 55.

[824] CCC Records quoted in Carvalho, "Race, Relief and Politics," 55; "17,000 Negroes are Listed in 472 CCC Camps," *New Journal and Guide* (Norfolk, VA), March 30, 1935.

[825] Salmond, *The CCC, 1933–1942*, 88–101.

[826] John A. Salmond, "The Civilian Conservation Corps and the Negro," *Journal of American History* 52 (June 1965), 87.

[827] "National Park Official Plans Battlefield Work," *Richmond Times-Dispatch*, June 15, 1933; Carson to Col. R. A. Gilliam, Executive Secretary State Commission on Conservation and Development, June 6, 1933, RG 18, Box 56; Cammerer to Freeman, September 7, 1933; Cammerer to Eckenrode, 8 September 1933, RG 18, Box 10, Library of Virginia, quoted in Devlin, *Segregation*, 20.

placed in charge of interpretive work at Richmond and Petersburg; later, as coordinating superintendent of all Virginia's battlefield parks,[828] he was directed to "refer matters of policy" to Eckenrode and Freeman before submitting them to Washington. "The National Park Service is genuinely pleased to be able to contribute to Richmond Battlefield program," NPS Director Albright wrote, "and it is our desire to satisfy everyone in Virginia who has that program at heart."[829] The NPS hired Richmond native Floyd B. Taylor, later superintendent of Richmond NBP,[830] to serve as junior historian assigned to Company 1375. To facilitate the close relationship between state and federal officials, Taylor worked directly out of the VA CCD's office in Richmond.[831]

Two hundred Black men aged 18–25 years arrived at Fort Harrison from Virginia, Maryland, and Washington, DC, during the summer of 1933 and set up camp in tents around the site.[832] By November, the enrollees had constructed temporary wood-frame barracks arranged in a U-shape around a central quadrangle in the western part of the park unit (the current location of the maintenance yard). Over the next few years, they also constructed several wood-frame utility buildings and a superintendent's residence at Fort Harrison, none of which are extant.[833]

The camp workers initially focused on clearing brush and trees from the earthworks near Fort Harrison and completed much of that work by July 1934. A photo essay prepared for the park in April of that year illustrates the CCC's transformation of the **Fort Harrison Landscape**.[834] The men carefully graded the roadsides along **Battlefield Park Road**, replacing steep banks in cuts and grades with rolling grades, flattening steep slopes, filling in stump holes, and seeding the banks with grass. They covered the earthworks along the road with a heavy layer of pine needles to prevent erosion. The section of the road south of Fort Harrison was paved. A letter to the editor of the *Richmond Times-Dispatch* lauded their efforts: "As one drives along the road, leading to the main fort, and sees long line of breastworks, trenches and moat, completely cleared of shrubs, weeds and the accumulated trash of 70 years, the magnitude of the job done by the conservation corps simply amazes."[835] Another admirer called the CCC's work "a dream come true for that

[828] From 1936 to 1951, a coordinating superintendent managed all NPS Civil War areas in Virginia, which, in addition to Richmond NBP, included the national battlefield park at Manassas, the national military parks in Petersburg and Fredericksburg/Spotsylvania, and Appomattox Court House National Historical Monument.

[829] Albright to Eckenrode, June 21, 1933, RG 18, Box 2, Library of Virginia, quoted in Devlin, *Segregation*, 20.

[830] When the NPS officially accepted management responsibility for all Richmond NBP lands in 1944, Floyd B. Taylor returned as Park Custodian. He became the park's first dedicated Superintendent in 1948 and remained in that post through 1953. See Willett, *A History of Richmond National Battlefield Park*, 68.

[831] Verne E. Chatelain, NPS Chief Historian, to Eckenrode, June 22, 1933, RG 18, Box 11; Spalding to Eckenrode, June 26, 1933, RG 18, Box 68, Library of Virginia, quoted in Devlin, *Segregation*, 20.

[832] The Fort Harrison camp raised its upper age limit to 28 in 1935. See Peter E. Baril, *"They Found a Jungle and Made a Park": The Civilian Conservation Corps at Richmond National Battlefield Park* (Richmond, VA: US Department of the Interior, National Park Service, Richmond National Battlefield Park, ca. 1995), 2.

[833] The extant NPS Maintenance Garage may contain some portion of a CCC barracks but has had extensive alterations.

[834] "Richmond Battlefield Park: Virginia SP-1," April 15, 1934, RG 79, Box 135, NARA, quoted in Baril, *"They Found a Jungle,"* 11.

[835] "Praises Fort Harrison," *Richmond Times-Dispatch*, November 28, 1934.

group of noble hearted and liberal minded Virginians who, some years before had given their time and means unstintingly to preserve the important battlefield areas around Richmond."[836]

The CCC workers added pullouts and waysides along the park road and a picnic area just north of the fort. They also built **Picnic Road** in 1934 to provide access to the picnic area and connect Battlefield Park Road with Varina Road.[837] The *Richmond Times-Dispatch* reported on August 16, 1936, that "The park, with its increasing picnic accommodations, grows more popular each week. More than 2,000 people took the 55-mile Battlefield Park drive last week end, and many large groups picnicked in the park, including Richmond's Eightieth Division convention delegates, Camera Club and Young Democratic Club."[838]

The CCC camp workers in the Fort Harrison area devoted much of 1935 to the rehabilitation of **Fort Hoke**, a large fortification on the Richmond Defensive Line about 1 mile southwest of Fort Harrison. NPS historical staff provided research information about Civil War field fortification construction, which enabled the men to rebuild the fort in conformity with the specifications in historical field manuals. The following year, the CCC started work on **Hoke-Brady Road**, which extends southeast from Battlefield Park Road near Fort Hoke to Fort Brady. The workers cleared the Federal earthworks along the alignment, finished rough grading of the road in November 1936, and opened it to public access in early 1938. During the work, they uncovered Civil War artillery shells that became part of the park's museum collections.[839]

In 1935, the CCC also initiated projects at several other areas within the Richmond Battlefield Park. They cleared **Parker's Battery** and **Drewry's Bluff** by September and cut fire breaks at **Malvern Hill Battlefield**. From 1935 to 1938, the camp developed **Cold Harbor Battlefield** with a foot trail around the Confederate earthworks, a wood-frame contact station (no longer extant) at the site entrance, a parking lot and picnic area, and the **Cold Harbor Battlefield Tour Road**. CCC funds provided for some repair and restoration work at the adjacent **Hooper/Garthright House** and some grading of the site. Landscape and roadside improvements continued at Fort Harrison through the spring of 1937. The CCC also erected more than 400 markers throughout the park, primarily designation markers explaining the fortification remains.[840]

The CCC men generally worked from 7:15 am to 4:00 pm with 30 minutes for lunch. In the evenings and on weekends, they participated in recreational activities, took classes, and

[836] Transcript of WRVA radio broadcast from September 9, 1937, on file in Richmond NBP Archives and quoted in Baril, *"They Found a Jungle,"* 9.

[837] *Richmond News Leader*, July 21, 1934; "70th Year of Ft. Harrison Marked," *Richmond News Leader*, September 24, 1934; *Richmond News Leader*, October 2, 1934; Baril, *"They Found a Jungle,"* 10–15.

[838] *Richmond Times-Dispatch*, August 16, 1936.

[839] "Narrative Report, Richmond Battlefield Park: Fifth Enrollment Period, April 1–September 30, 1935," RG 79, Box 32, NARA, quoted in Baril, *"They Found a Jungle,"* 12–13; Floyd B. Taylor, "Monthly Report, April 1938," Richmond NBP Archives, quoted in Baril, *"They Found a Jungle,"* 16; "Shells Fired in Sixties Found Still 'Alive' on Battlefields," *Richmond Times-Dispatch*, June 4, 1936.

[840] "Narrative Report … April 1–September 30, 1935," quoted in Baril, *"They Found a Jungle,"* 11–15; NPS-CCC Camp Application, February 11, 1938, NPS, Washington, DC, quoted in Willett, *A History of Richmond National Battlefield Park*, 62–63.

attended lectures. Most camps, including Company 1375, published newsletters documenting their activities (Figure 6-4). A Black minister from Richmond offered services on Sundays. The camp also had a traveling baseball team that played other nearby CCC camps.[841]

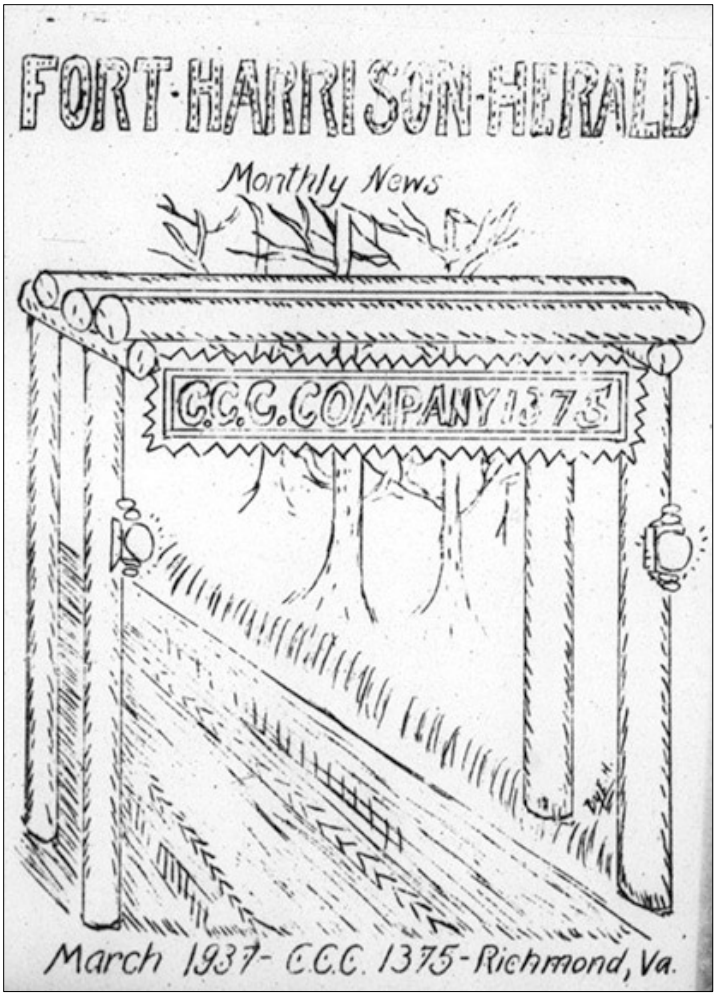


Figure 6-4. Cover of March 1937 CCC Company 1375 newsletter. Source: Fort Harrison Herald, Volume 2, Number 3, March 1, 1937, Virginia Chronicle: Digital Newspaper Archive, Library of Virginia.

The CCC's educational program began in the Black-only CCC camps at Yorktown, Virginia, where local Prudential life insurance salesman Hughes A. Robinson introduced weekly literacy classes in the summer of 1933. When over 60 percent of the Yorktown enrollees participated in the classes and requested additional vocational courses, Robinson partnered with Arthur Howe, president of the nearby Hampton Institute, to develop a program of instruction that became the model for CCC camps across the country. CCC Director Fechner had guidelines developed for similar programming across the entire CCC by the end of 1933, and the government then hired educational advisors

[841] Bert M. Dunkerly, "The CCC at Work in Richmond National Battlefield Park," *On Richmond's Front Line*, Vol. 16, No. 1 (Summer 2017):1–2, http://www.saverichmondbattlefields.org/pdf/v16_n1_2017_Summer.pdf.

for each camp.[842] Officials initially selected only white male advisors for all the camps, but vocal appeals from Howe and Robinson, pressure from the national Democratic Party (which was courting Black voters), and articles denouncing the CCC in Black-run newspapers caused the CCC to change its policy. The program formally assigned ten Black male educational advisors to serve in Black CCC camps in August 1934.[843] By July 1938, most advisors assigned to Black CCC camps were Black men, including James Spaulding assigned to Company 1375 at Fort Harrison (Figures 6-5 and 6-6).[844]

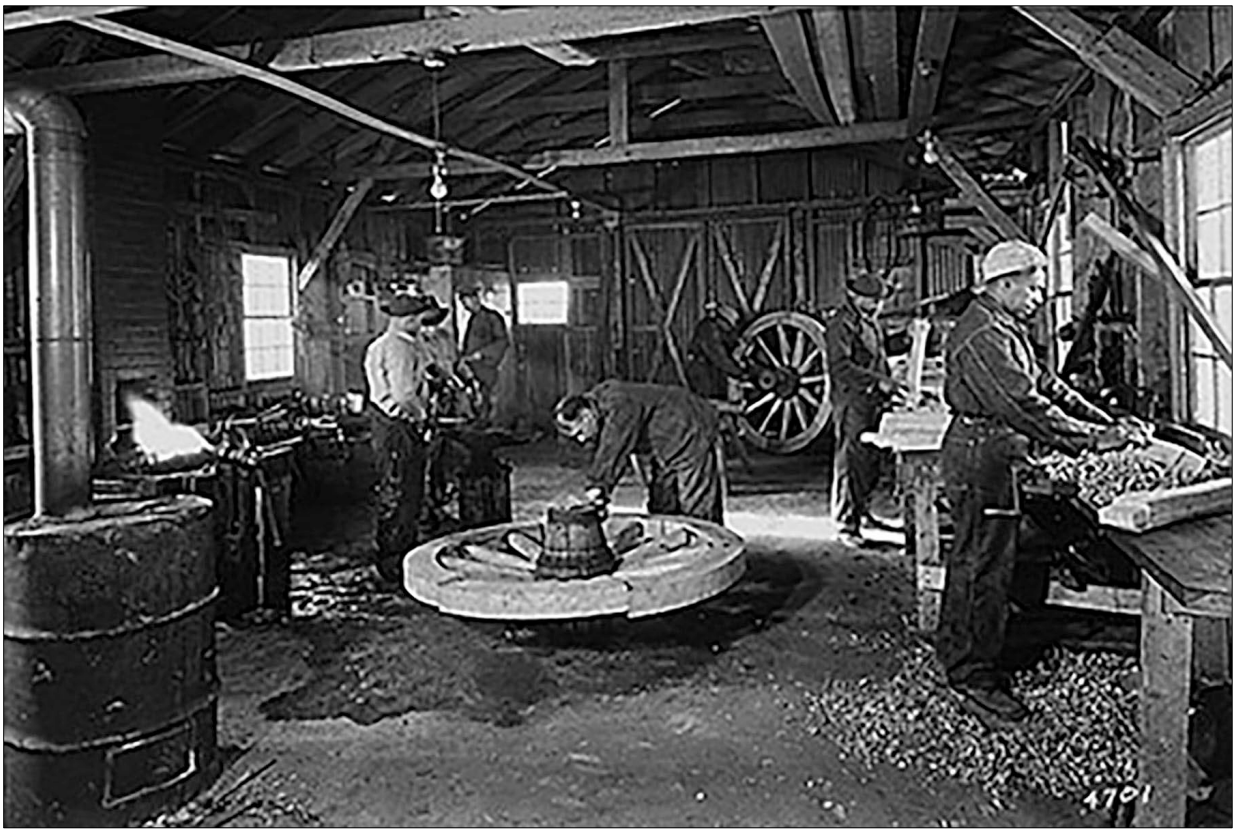


Figure 6-5. *CCC, Third Corps Area: Richmond, Virginia, Co. 1372 and 1375 – auto mechanics class at Armstrong Night School, 1933*. Source: Digitized Historical Photographs, FDR Presidential Library & Museum.

[842] Michael Hoak, "The Men in Green: African Americans and the Civilian Conservation Corps, 1933–1942," Master's thesis (College of William and Mary, 2002), 27–41, 46–47; Alison T. Otis, William D. Honey, Thomas C. Hogg, and Kimberly K. Lakin, *The Forest Service and the Civilian Conservation Corps:1933–42*, 1986, https://www.nps.gov/parkhistory/online_books/ccc/ccc/index.htm.

[843] "CCC Lifts Ban on Negroes and Camp Advisors," *New Journal and Guide*, March 24, 1934; "Volunteer Trail Blazers for Negro CCC Advisors Reveal New Technique for Breaking Down Barriers," *New Journal and Guide*, August 18, 1934; "Second Annual CCC Training Conference at Hampton Institute," *New Journal and Guide*, August 15, 1936, quoted in Devlin, *Segregation*, 43–44.

[844] William Aery, Director of Education Hampton Institute, "The Education of the Negro," *New Journal and Guide*, July 16, 1938, quoted in Devlin, *Segregation*, 44.



Figure 6-6. *CCC, Third Corps Area: Richmond, Virginia, Co. 1372 and 1375 – cabinet making class at Armstrong Night School, 1933*. Source: Digitized Historical Photographs, FDR Presidential Library & Museum.

As the economy improved and private-sector job opportunities increased nationally in the late 1930s, the federal government found it more difficult to recruit CCC workers. In addition, some administrators felt that the Black enrollees in the Fort Harrison camp were not "suitable" as interpretive guides for a Civil War battlefield site.[845] In October 1938, the NPS moved Company 1375 to Seashore State Park in Virginia Beach, despite opposition expressed in a local newspaper, which praised the "well directed Negro boys" who "found a jungle and made a park."[846] The federal government established a side camp (a subset of workers moved from a main camp to a special job site) of 25 to 40 white World War I veterans from Company 1364 at Petersburg National Military Park. They remained at Fort Harrison through December 1941 and established additional pullouts along Battlefield Park Road, erected 12 cannons in the park, prepared and placed 164 log markers, and took care of general park maintenance. In 1940, the men started dismantling the CCC buildings in the park.[847] Congress terminated the CCC program in 1942 because men were needed in the military during World War II. A second side camp consisting of five to seven men from the Swift Creek Recreational Demonstration Area finished the shutdown of the Fort Harrison camp between January and June of 1942.[848]

[845] Ray M. Schenck, Investigator, Memorandum to Acting Regional Director Herb Evison, February 18, 1938, RG 79, Box 7, NARA, quoted in Baril, *"They Found a Jungle,"* 18.

[846] *Richmond News Leader*, September 9, 1938, quoted in Baril, *"They Found a Jungle,"* 19.

[847] Narrative Report, April 1940, quoted in Willett, *A History of Richmond National Battlefield Park*, 66–67.

[848] W. S. Bahlman, Acting Associate Regional Director, Memorandum, February 13, 1942, quoted in Willett, *A History of Richmond National Battlefield Park*, 67.

RACIAL SEGREGATION IN THE EARLY NATIONAL PARK ERA

Segregationist Jim Crow laws remained in effect in the South through the first half of the twentieth century, and state legislatures passed more in the 1920s and 1930s (see *Jim Crow Laws and Segregation* in Chapter Five). Strongly influenced by the eugenics movement, Virginia's General Assembly enacted a series of laws in 1924–1930 known as the Racial Integrity Laws. Walter Plecker (1861–1947), the State Registrar of Vital Statistics in 1912–1946, sought to use his position to prevent race mixing by further separating whites and people of color. As co-founder of a eugenics-based Richmond group called the Anglo-Saxon Clubs of America in 1922, Plecker lobbied the General Assembly to sanction his racist policies and practices with new legislation. The hostile environment in the Richmond area during the 1920s and 1930s led many Virginia Indians and Black people to leave the Commonwealth to seek better economic opportunities in Northern cities such as Baltimore, Philadelphia, and New York City.

The Commonwealth's 1924 Racial Integrity Act required every Virginian to register as one of only two categories: "White" or "Colored." The law particularly impacted Virginia Indians by denying their existence in the state in an attempt to limit tribal sovereignty. Tribal leaders, including Pamunkey Indian Chief George Major Cook, Chief O. W. Adkins of the Chickahominy Indian Tribe, and Mattaponi Chief George F. Custalow, coordinated their response to the proposed law by arguing vehemently, but unsuccessfully, in newspaper articles, letters to the editor, and speeches before legislative committees in Richmond against the law's passage.[849] Virginia Indians had to wait until the 1967 Supreme Court ruling in *Loving vs. Virginia* overturned the Racial Integrity Act to legally identify as such on their vital records. The 1924 act, often referred to as Virginia's "Paper Genocide," resulted in over four decades of erasure of Indigenous people from the state's vital records that still reverberates in Virginia's Indigenous communities today. As a result, many tribes had difficulty providing the necessary documentation to pursue US federal acknowledgement in the late twentieth and early twenty-first centuries.

Virginia's 1926 Public Assemblages Act required racial separation in all places of public entertainment, thus legally sanctioning the state's prevailing customs of segregation. Although the law did not explicitly list parks, it directly impacted Richmond NBP and the other state and national parks developed in Virginia in the 1930s. At the same time, policies based on race within the NPS, and the Department of the Interior as a whole, were evolving. Secretary of the Interior Harold Ickes, who held the position from 1933 to 1946, received praise from civil rights advocates for his desegregation of many aspects of the department and for the example he set for other federal government offices by appointing Black men and white progressives to prominent positions.[850] However, NPS employees often faced conflicting direction regarding segregation and equity from state conservation officials and those in the Department of the Interior, and the federal government's unwritten policy seems to have followed local laws. In 1937, Secretary Ickes replied to an inquiry from Walter White, the executive secretary of the National

[849] "Pamunkey Chief Wrath at Classification of Those of His Tribe as Negroids," *Daily Press*, July 9, 1925; "Mattaponi Indian Chief Says Tribe Not Negroid," *Richmond Times-Dispatch*, July 14, 1925; "Claim Full Blood," *Richmond Times-Dispatch,* January 21, 1928.

[850] Devlin, *Segregation*, 24–25.

Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP), with a statement that his department would construct "recreational areas for both white and colored people in conformity with the customs of the State in which the park is located," meaning separate areas in some states.[851]

Some parks and monuments in Virginia had separate comfort stations, picnic areas, and campgrounds as well as concessioners operating segregated facilities. For example, the NPS built separate comfort stations at Colonial National Monument in Yorktown in conjunction with the 1931 Sesquicentennial Celebration of the Revolutionary War Battle of Yorktown. At Fredericksburg and Spotsylvania National Military Park, the visitor center built in downtown Fredericksburg in 1936 had restrooms for white patrons in the basement, while Black visitors had to use separate restrooms in the adjacent park maintenance building. The 1940 master plan for the military park also included segregated picnic areas at the Fredericksburg and Wilderness battlefields. The picnic areas built by Black CCC laborers in the 1930s at Richmond NBP's **Fort Harrison** and **Cold Harbor** do not appear to have been explicitly segregated, although local customs may have dictated use. A 1937 article in the *Richmond Times-Dispatch* describes the availability of "outdoor fireplaces, drinking fountains and tables and benches for picnickers" and notes that large groups should call or write for reservations.[852] In May 1938, the newspaper published an NPS map of the park (Figure 6-7) that shows both picnic areas along with comfort stations at Fort Harrison and another picnic area near Fort Brady.[853]

In the late 1930s, the NPS removed all racial designations from maps, park literature, and park planning documents and minimized segregation signs within the parks, although it continued to plan and build separate facilities. Explicit signage was often unnecessary, because everyone knew the areas intended only for white people, and park rangers often directed visitors accordingly. A 1939 NPS internal memo stated that in parts of the country where segregation was enforced, the NPS should provide "dual facilities."[854]

However, the NPS often prioritized the development of facilities for white visitors and, thus, did not complete planned Black facilities before the New Deal funding and work programs ended. NPS Director Cammerer tried to justify the lack of facilities for Black visitors by pointing to visitation records that showed less demand for such facilities. Others pointed out, however, that the lack of such facilities itself discouraged visitation. In 1939, W. J. Trent, the Department of the Interior's Advisor on Negro Affairs, argued to park superintendents that the construction of facilities for Black people would increase visitation just as it had for white people.[855] After several years of internal debates among NPS staff at parks throughout the South and various directives from Secretary Ickes regarding racial discrimination policies, NPS Director Newton B. Drury notified the

[851] Harold Ickes to Walter White, February 4, 1937, RG 79, Box 1650, NARA, quoted in Devlin, *Segregation*, 67.

[852] "Dogwood Trees in Full Bloom Line Battlefield Route," *Richmond Times-Dispatch*, April 25, 1937.

[853] "Richmond Battlefields Offer Pleasant Tour," *Richmond Times-Dispatch*, May 1, 1938.

[854] H. Thompson, Chief of Landscape Division, to Chief of Planning, January 24, 1939, RG 79, Box 379, NARA, quoted in Devlin, *Segregation*, 87.

[855] W. J. Trent, "The Negro and the National Parks: A Discussion before Superintendents of the National Parks," 1939, RG 48, Box 10, NARA, quoted in Devlin, *Segregation*, 89.

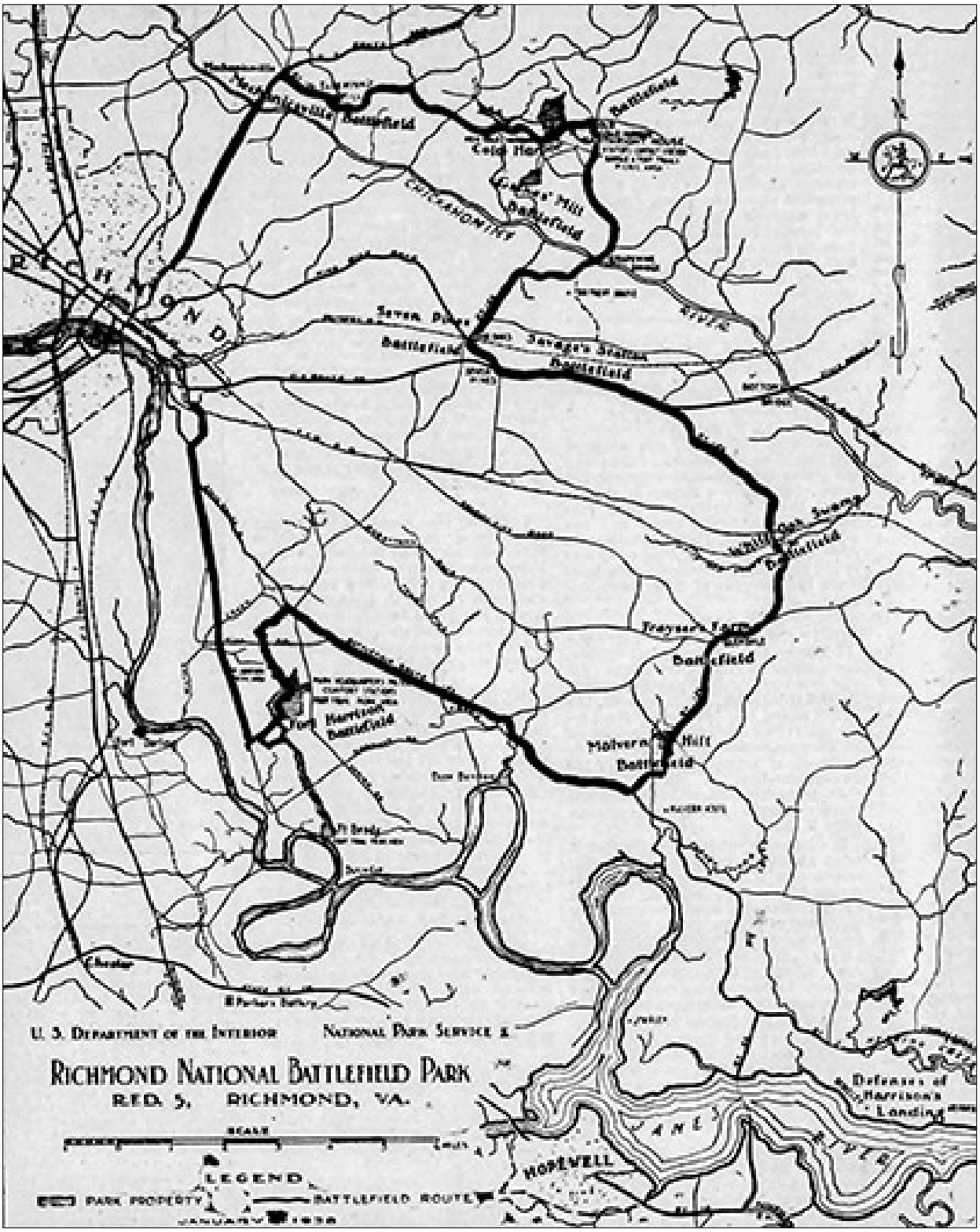


Figure 6-7. Richmond National Battlefield Park map, January 1938. Source: *Richmond Times-Dispatch*, May 1, 1938.

NAACP in July 1942 that picnic grounds in all national parks and monuments would no longer be segregated.[856]

Architectural historian Richard Weyeneth has defined a two-pronged "architecture of segregation" that resulted from racial discrimination in this country. White people created architectural spaces for Black people by enacting use restrictions or by constructing physical partitions or "separate but equal" facilities, and Black people created their own architectural spaces by establishing independent communities and institutions where they felt comfortable living without restrictions.[857]

Black tourists contended not only with segregation inside state and national parks but also with discrimination by many commercial businesses near the parks. Black people traveling in Virginia in the early twentieth century relied on word of mouth or on newspapers such as the *Richmond Planet* and the *Norfolk Journal and Guide* for recommendations of safe and accessible places to visit. Beginning in 1938, *The Negro Traveler's Green Book*, published by New York City mailman Victor Hugo Green, provided Black motorists with a state-by-state guide to hotels, restaurants, service stations, and other places across the country (and later even internationally) that would serve them. The *Green Book* listed over 300 businesses, primarily lodgings, in 56 cities in Virginia through 1967, when publication ceased. The listed sites do not include any within current park lands, but many were near the center of Richmond, which appears to have been a modest draw for Black tourists.[858]

CIVIL WAR CENTENNIAL AND CIVIL RIGHTS MOVEMENT

After 1944, austerity measures throughout the National Park System curtailed development at Richmond NBP for several decades, while at the same time the City of Richmond expanded rapidly as its population increased from 193,042 in 1940 to 230,310 in 1950. Two major national events in the 1960s—the centennial anniversary of the start of the Civil War in 1961 and the 50th anniversary of the creation of the National Park Service in 1966—sparked intensive development throughout the national park system from 1956 to 1966, with particular emphasis on many Civil War sites. The changes that occurred at Richmond NBP during this period, however, were minimal compared to those at other parks. At the same time, the segregated environment of the first half of the twentieth century gave rise to the civil rights movement of the 1960s, which became intertwined with Civil War centennial celebrations across the country.

The $1 billion Mission 66 program finalized by the NPS in 1955 represented the largest investment ever initiated for the national park system. The NPS designed it as a 10-year program to restore park infrastructure and services that had deteriorated during the previous 15 years and to address the increased visitor traffic at most national parks in the

[856] Drury to Frank D. Reeves, NAACP Administrative Assistant, July 17, 1942, Shenandoah Resource Management Records, Luray, VA, quoted in Devlin, *Segregation*, 138.

[857] Robert R. Weyeneth, "The Architecture of Racial Segregation: The Challenges of Preserving a Problematical Past," *The Public Historian*, 27 no. 4 (Fall 2005).

[858] Anne Bruder, Susan Hellman, and Catherine W. Zipf, "The Architecture of *The Negro Travelers' Green Book*," https://community.village.virginia.edu/greenbooks/, 2018–2023.

prosperous early 1950s. To get Congressional approval for funding Mission 66, NPS officials presented a concise and well-thought-out program that articulated the clear goal to provide modern amenities at the parks by 1966. The program touched every park in the system and dramatically improved facilities at most. The NPS completed major projects that had languished due to lack of funding, such as the St. Louis Gateway Arch and the 469-mile Blue Ridge Parkway, and added 78 new parks to the National Park System. Construction efforts included new roads, trails, campgrounds, amphitheaters, visitor centers, administration buildings, and employee housing.[859]

NPS staff at Richmond NBP developed a proposal for $458,000 in Mission 66 improvements to the park that would include the construction of a visitor center along Route 60 east of Seven Pines National Cemetery. The NPS erected more than 100 new visitor centers during Mission 66 as one of the program's most visible and important efforts. The term "visitor center" identified a new type of NPS building designed to provide the primary introduction point for park visitors with amenities, including interpretive exhibits, museum space, theaters, public restrooms, and administrative offices for park staff.

Other projects under consideration at Richmond NBP during Mission 66 consisted of the rehabilitation of the Watt House for use as an employee residence and contact station, construction of a maintenance area, repairs and improvements to the park headquarters at Fort Harrison, construction of an access road from Route 156 to Forts Hoke and Brady, and installation of markers and signs throughout the park. Richmond NBP Superintendent Wallace Stephens predicted that, based on trends at the Jamestown-Williamsburg-Yorktown historical parks, annual visitation to the park would increase from about 65,000 in 1956 to 250,000 by 1961, the centennial anniversary of the start of the Civil War.[860]

The availability of the former Richmond Weather Station building at Chimborazo provided the NPS with an alternative to constructing a new primary visitor center for the park. The US Weather Bureau had occupied the building from its construction in 1910 through 1954. Following the death of the Richmond station's first director, Edward Avery Evans, in March 1930, three other directors had resided in the building: William P. Stewart (1930–1933), Foy N. Hibbard (1934–1945), and Stanley S. Schworm (1946–1953).[861] A greater demand for aviation forecasting prompted the transfer of the Weather Bureau to the Department of Commerce in 1940.[862]

In March 1946, the Weather Bureau took over a vacated US Army weather station at Richmond's Byrd Airport and moved most of its area forecasting and experimental work there from Chimborazo. The Weather Bureau continued to take rainfall and temperature readings at Chimborazo; however, about 1950 it decided to operate only one station in each city and closed all additional stations throughout the country. The last observation

[859] Christine Madrid French, "The Emergence of the Mission 66 Visitor Centers," http://npshistory.com/publications/mission66/vc-french.pdf, 2022.

[860] "Improvements to Battlefield Park Studied," *Richmond News Leader*, April 18, 1956; "Battlefield Park Improvements Set," *Richmond Times-Dispatch*, July 14, 1956.

[861] Doty, *A History of United States Department of Agriculture Weather Bureau Owned Buildings*, 53.

[862] NWS Heritage Projects Editorial Staff, *The National Weather Service at 150*.

recorded at Chimborazo occurred on June 30, 1953, and the Weather Bureau transferred all official readings for Richmond to the station at Byrd Airport the next day.[863]

The Chimborazo building reverted to the City of Richmond after the Weather Bureau left. In January 1954, the City Manager, Horace Edwards, recommended the building's use as a combined health clinic and recreation center. A group of primarily white East End civic organizations, including the East End Businessmen's Association, East Gate Lions Club, and Church Hill Garden Club, supported the creation of a community center in the building as a way to reduce juvenile crime in the area but opposed the health clinic idea as "detrimental to Chimborazo Park."[864] By the 1950s, the neighborhoods near the park were largely home to Black residents, because in the 1930s most of Church Hill had been redlined, i.e., marked unsuitable for housing loans by banks based on racial demographics (Figure 6-8). Edwards offered no new proposals after the City Council voted against his original plan in November 1954, and the building remained vacant.[865]

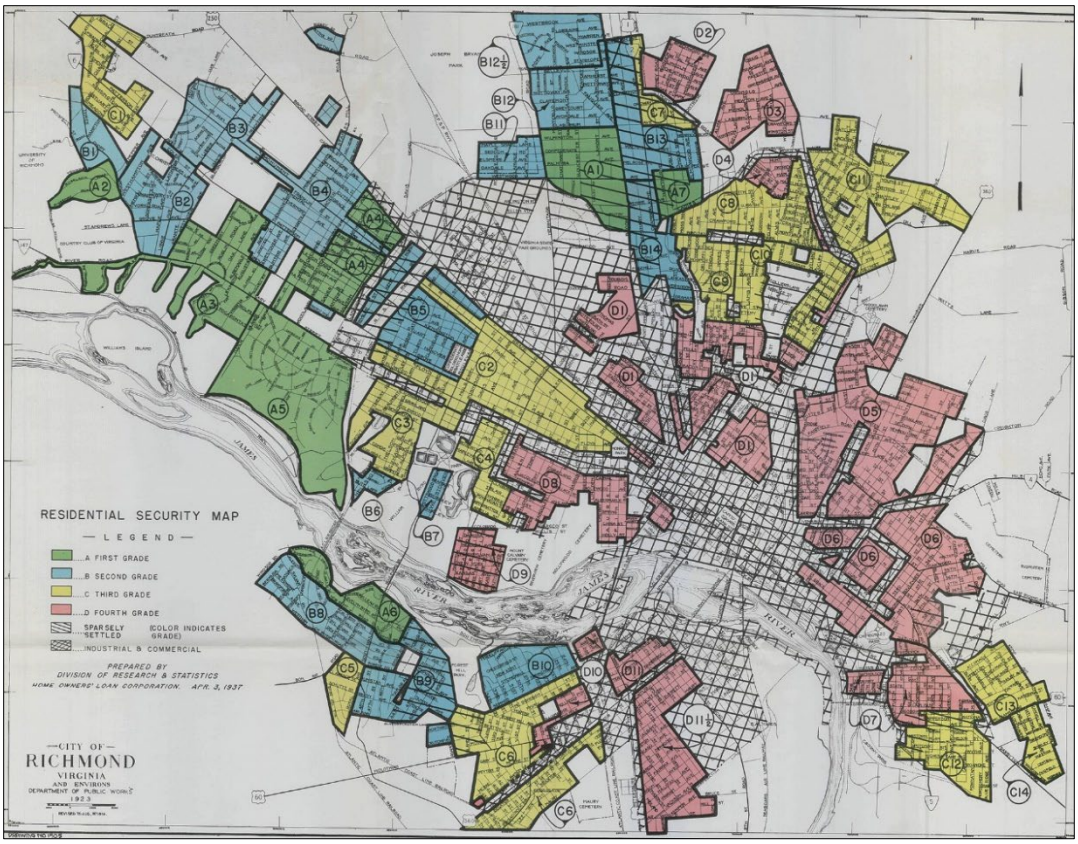


Figure 6-8. Home Owners' Loan Corporation (HOLC) Map of Richmond, 1937. Source: Home Owners' Loan Corporation, Courtesy John Moeser, Bonner Center for Civic Engagement, University of Richmond, in Mapping Inequality, Library of Virginia Online Exhibitions, https://www.virginiamemory.com/online-exhibitions/items/show/32.

[863] *Richmond Times-Dispatch*, July 2, 1953.

[864] "Council Sees Chimborazo Structure; Bagley Dubious," *Richmond Times-Dispatch*, September 1, 1954; Ed Grimsley, "Chimborazo Clinic Plan Gets Protest," *Richmond Times-Dispatch*, September 2, 1954; Ed Grimsley, "Fate of Weather Station in East End Uncertain," *Richmond Times-Dispatch*, October 23, 1955.

[865] "Chimborazo," *Richmond Times-Dispatch*, November 14, 1954.

In August 1956, J. Ambler Johnston, Richmond architect and founding member of the RBPC, suggested that the City Council consider offering the property to the NPS for use as a visitor center. Johnston anticipated that "1961–1965 will see a period of great activity in publicizing various battlefields on account of their centennials."[866] NPS Regional Director Elbert Cox agreed that if the building were made available it could be developed "as a part of our over-all program for Richmond National Battlefield Park with federal funds."[867] In April 1958, the *Richmond News Leader* reported that "legal technicalities have been cleared away and the city can proceed with plans to convey the building and a few acres of land at Chimborazo Park to the National Park Service."[868] The NPS completed its renovations to the interior of the building that fall and opened it to the public on November 26, 1958.[869] The **Chimborazo Visitor Center** served as the primary visitor center and museum for Richmond NBP through the end of the twentieth century, when the NPS established a presence at the Tredegar Iron Works site (see *Newer Trends in Civil War Commemoration and Preservation* below).

Aside from the creation of the visitor center at Chimborazo, the Mission 66 development program implemented at Richmond NBP primarily focused on adding interpretive exhibits, such as gun emplacements and waysides, to the existing park resources. Small secondary visitor centers were constructed at **Cold Harbor** (substantially altered) and Fort Harrison (removed); small interpretive shelters at several sites, of which only the one at **Malvern Hill** is extant; a **garage** for equipment storage near the Watt House; and an **employee residence area and maintenance buildings** at Fort Harrison (all altered). The park's acreage increased to almost 800 acres with the 1958 donation of the **Chickahominy Bluff** site (Figure 6-9).[870]

As the NPS embarked on its Mission 66 development plans, it also organized and participated in events to celebrate the Civil War centennial. Congress created the US Civil War Centennial Commission (CWCC) in September 1957 to oversee the national commemoration of the war's upcoming anniversary, and almost every state and many cities and towns had their own centennial commission by the end of 1960. Commission goals included generating tourism to battlefield sites, countering desegregation efforts in the South, and, most prominently, fostering a nationalist spirit in response to the ongoing Cold War. Johnston chaired the Richmond CWCC, created in 1959 "to commemorate the idealism, dedication, courage and sacrifices of the men and women of this city."[871] He and the other members of the commission appointed by the mayor (all white men) determined the direction of Richmond's celebrations, which primarily focused on military and

[866] "Park Service May Get Old Weather Station," *Richmond Times-Dispatch*, August 14, 1956.

[867] *Richmond Times-Dispatch*, August 14, 1956.

[868] "New Use for Chimborazo Park," *Richmond News Leader*, April 19, 1958.

[869] "Tourist Center Work Progresses," *Richmond News Leader*, September 3, 1958; "Visitors Center," *Richmond Times-Dispatch*, November 27, 1958.

[870] NPS, "Mission 66 General Development Plan," on file NPS Denver Service Center, Denver, CO, 1960; Joseph P. Cullen, *Richmond National Battlefield Park, Virginia*, National Park Service Historical Handbook Series No. 33 (Washington, DC: National Park Service, 1961), 46.

[871] Richmond Civil War Centennial Commission, RG 71, Box 26, Library of VA, quoted in Eric Wendell Leiden, "Marketing the Civil War Centennial: Atlanta, Charleston, and Richmond," Master's thesis (Georgia Southern University, 1999), 52.

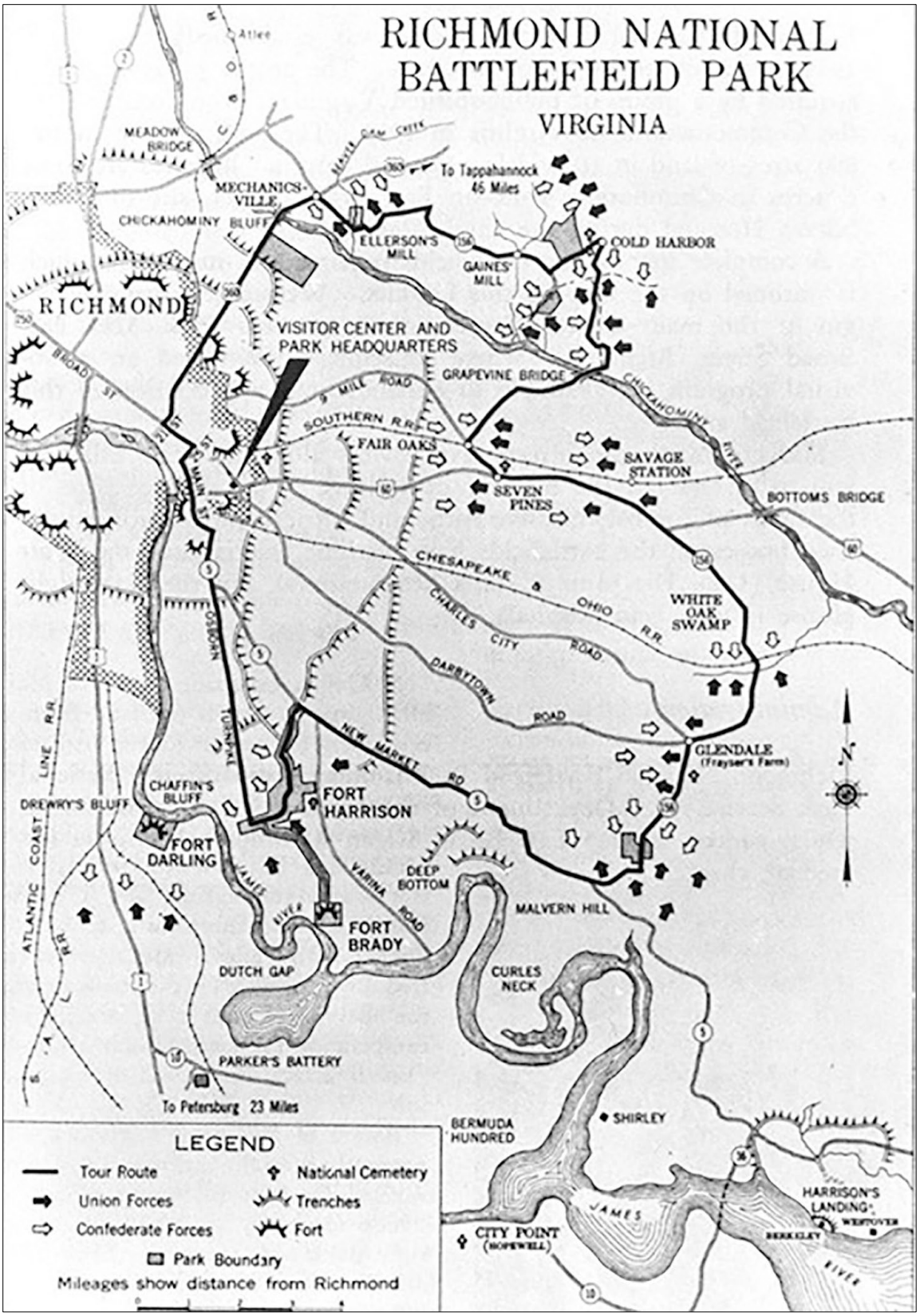


Figure 6-9. Richmond National Battlefield Park map, 1958. Source: Joseph Cullen, *Richmond National Battlefield Park, Virginia* (Richmond, VA: US Department of the Interior, National Park Service, 1961).

political history. Elements of the Lost Cause narrative remained in their agenda, as Johnston stated at the start that he did not want to "lose the Centennial" to a "strictly northern slanted" perspective.[872] However, the selection of Robert Waitt as the commission's executive secretary angered some members of the Sons of Confederate Veterans and United Daughters of the Confederacy because Waitt's ancestors had fought for the Federal side in the war.

The sentiment of the general public regarding Richmond's centennial varied. One letter to the editor of the *Richmond News Leader* echoed Johnston's feelings, saying "Let the mongrelized, integration loving Yankee hold his own Centennial … but let us keep ours pure and in tradition," while another opined "The Civil War is a part of our history of which we should be ashamed and want to forget."[873]

At the Richmond CWCC's request, the City Council passed an ordinance making it a criminal offense "for any person to relate or describe to others in the city, for compensation, any fact, information or event concerning the War Between the States or any person therewith" without a license issued by the City through the CWCC. The CWCC said the ordinance was intended to prevent "vultures from preying upon unsuspecting visitors to our City for the lure of tourist gold."[874] Prospective guides had to tour the battlefields along Route 156 and the **Battlefield Park Road** and visit a list of sites in Richmond that included the Robert E. Lee House, the Confederate statues along Monument Avenue, the Confederate Museum (now the Museum of the Confederacy), and the new Richmond NBP Visitor Center at Chimborazo. The CWCC also gave them a required reading list.

Few Black people participated in the CWCC's planning efforts and, as might be expected, Richmond's Black newspaper in the 1960s, *The Afro-American*, focused more on the growing civil rights movement and barely mentioned the Civil War centennial except to reference the anniversary of the Emancipation Proclamation.[875] At the national level, the US CWCC created a civil rights controversy by deciding to hold its 1961 meeting at a segregated hotel in Charleston, South Carolina. The New Jersey CWCC threatened to boycott the meeting if its Black delegate, Madaline Williams, could not be accommodated at the hotel. At the suggestion of President Kennedy's administration, the US CWCC moved its meeting to the desegregated US naval base in Charleston, but the incident tainted the commission's legacy. In a pointed move the following year, the Richmond CWCC's Waitt invited Williams to visit the city, which a New Jersey newspaper said had "quietly desegregated its hotels, restaurants, and other public facilities." Williams told the paper, "It gives me great pleasure that a member of my race should be accepted with such

[872] Johnston to Colonel Allen P. Julian, February 16, 1960, RG 71, Box 26, Library of VA; Johnston Mayor Advisory Committee, November 7, 1960, RG 71, Box 26, Library of VA, quoted in Leiden, "Marketing the Civil War Centennial," 54–55.

[873] "Urges Commemoration to Follow Southern Ideal," *Richmond News Leader*, April 12, 1961; "War Centennial Goes Too Far," *Richmond News Leader*, May 9, 1961.

[874] "Licensing the War," Richmond News Leader, June 13, 1961; "Reading List, Tour Set for Guides Here," *Richmond Times-Dispatch*, August 11, 1961.

[875] "NAACP Branches Map Fetes to Mark Emancipation," *The Afro-American*, January 5, 1963, quoted in Brandon P. Butterworth, "Interpreting the War Anew: An Appraisal of Richmond's Civil War Centennial Commemoration," Master's thesis (Virginia Commonwealth University, 2005), 50.

grace in a southern city."[876] Nonetheless, the centennial celebrations across the country, including those in Richmond, emphasized the traditional wartime stories and ignored all aspects of the Civil War related to slavery, emancipation, and the role of USCTs.

NEWER TRENDS IN CIVIL WAR COMMEMORATION AND PRESERVATION

In 1970, the NPS established the Task Force for the National Parks Centennial Commission, a 34-member advisory committee, to survey and define the then current and long-range challenges and goals for the next century. Many of the survey recommendations called for the NPS to become more inclusive in its sites and in the narratives told at the sites. At that time, only three sites in the National Park System focused on the history of Black Americans (Frederick Douglass's house in Washington, DC; George Washington Carver's birthplace and childhood home in Diamond, Missouri; and Booker T. Washington's birthplace in Hardy, Virginia). The survey report urged the NPS to remove "old historical and cultural biases" from its interpretive materials and conduct original research to counter outdated sources.

In response to the report, the NPS developed a Historic Plan in 1972 that categorized significant themes in American history. These included traditional themes such as exploration, colonization, war, and political/military issues but also emerging topics such as labor, intellectual, and social movements. The plan reflected a growing historiography that explored the roles of grassroots movements, community history, and everyday people. To identify potential sites associated with Black history, the NPS worked with the AfroAmerican Bicentennial Corporation (later renamed the Afro-American Institute for Historic Preservation and Community Development), founded in 1970 by brothers Robert DeForrest and Vincent DeForest (they spelled their names differently) to ensure that significant Black history sites would be included in the nation's bicentennial celebrations.[877]

The grassroots preservation initiatives resulted in numerous Black history and culture museums. In 1975, a group of Black Richmond residents formally organized the Maggie L. Walker Historical Foundation (MLWHF) to support the purchase and restoration of the Jackson Ward[878] home of Maggie Lena Walker (1864–1934), a civil rights activist and the first Black woman bank president in the United States.[879] The Walker house was the first historically significant Black-owned structure in Richmond listed in the National Register. The MLWHF hired Vincent DeForest to conduct a feasibility study on converting the house into a museum. At the same time, DeForest successfully lobbied Congress to include enabling legislation and appropriations for the NPS to acquire the house in the National Parks and Recreation Act of 1978 (Public Law 95-625), which passed on November 10, 1978. Maggie L. Walker NHS was dedicated in 1979 and formally

[876] "Richmond Quietly Erases Color Line," *The Daily Home News* (New Brunswick, NJ), June 1, 1962.

[877] Megan Taylor Shockley, *The Maggie L. Walker National Historic Site: An Administrative History*, August 2022 (hereafter cited as *The Maggie L. Walker NHS*).

[878] Once known as the "Harlem of the South," Jackson Ward, designated a National Historic Landmark District in 1978, was the center of Richmond's Black life and culture in the Jim Crow era.

[879] Virginia's governor appointed Walker to represent the state at the celebration of the Emancipation Proclamation's fiftieth anniversary in New York City in 1913.

opened to the public in July 1985 after substantial restoration work. The NPS established a Memorandum of Agreement with the MLWHF that stated the new national park would fall under the administration of the Richmond NBP Superintendent, who at the time was Sylvester Putman, one of the first Black NPS superintendents. Maggie L. Walker NHS and Richmond NBP are separate NPS entities but share administrative staff and operate collaboratively when possible.[880]

Continued growth and development in the Richmond area prompted new concerns about threats to battlefield lands in the late twentieth century. A collaborative partnership of landowners, local governments, the Commonwealth of Virginia, and the NPS reported on the conservation status of Richmond's Civil War sites in 1990, when Richmond NBP consisted of 732 acres, with just over 50 acres added since its establishment in 1936. The NPS acquired about 20 additional acres over the next ten years, including most of the property at Glendale, and prepared a General Management Plan in 1996 that identified over 7,000 acres in and around Richmond as suitable for future inclusion in the park.

On the basis of the findings of the 1990 Civil War Sites Advisory Committee and the NPS, Congress passed legislation in 2000 to revise the authorized boundary for Richmond NBP (Public Law 114 Stat. 2373). Since then, the park's size has almost tripled to more than 4,000 acres. The Totopotomoy Creek unit was added in 2006, and the North Anna unit was added in 2022. The NPS acquired battlefield land at Malvern Hill in 2000 and 2022, at Cold Harbor (including the Turkey Hill tract) in 2005–2022, at Glendale in 2013, and at Gaines' Mill in 2014. Most of the additional property was undeveloped acreage or farmland.

The 2000 legislation also authorized the Secretary of the Interior to acquire the Tredegar Iron Works buildings and associated land in the City of Richmond for use as a visitor center for Richmond NBP, but the federal government has not opted to purchase the buildings or land. After a 1955 fire at the Tredegar Iron Works site, the Tredegar company had moved its operations to Chesterfield County and eventually sold the property in downtown Richmond. The Ethyl Corporation (now the New Market Corporation) has owned the property since the 1970s and currently (in 2024) licenses the American Civil War Museum to manage and use the facility. From October 2003 to October 2019, the NPS in turn leased the Pattern Storage Building from the American Civil War Museum for use as the main Richmond NBP visitor center and changed the focus of the exhibits at the Chimborazo Visitor Center to Civil War hospitals and medicine.[881] Since 2019, the NPS once again uses Chimborazo as the park's primary visitor center.

Amid nationwide social justice demonstrations and the rise of the Black Lives Matter movement in 2020, protests erupted that summer over the Confederate statues on Richmond's Monument Avenue. The charged environment that eventually resulted in the city's removal of the monuments also impacted ongoing efforts to develop part of the

[880] The two parks share a collections storage facility at Maggie L. Walker NHS. See Shockley, *The Maggie L. Walker NHS*, 116, 181.

[881] NPS, *Foundation Document*, 64; *Richmond Times-Dispatch*, October 2, 2019.

New Market Heights battlefield in Henrico County. Although the NPS does not own the battlefield site, the 2000 boundary legislation for Richmond NBP included a stipulation that

> the Secretary shall provide for the establishment of a monument or memorial suitable to honor the 14 Medal of Honor recipients from the United States Colored Troops who fought in the Battle of New Market Heights. The Secretary shall include the Battle of New Market Heights and the role of black Union soldiers in the battle in historical interpretations provided to the public at the battlefield park.[882]

In 2018, Virginia historian Tim Talbott founded the Battle of New Market Heights Memorial & Education Association to erect a historical monument at a county park near the site and to educate the public about the "significant military victory by the United States Colored Troops."[883] The NPS awarded a grant to the Capital Region Land Conservancy (CRLC) that year to study the battle site, and the CRLC, American Battlefield Trust, and Henrico County have since acquired more than 300 acres of the battlefield lands.[884]

[882] Public Law 114 Stat. 2375.

[883] The organization's website, https://battleofnewmarketheights.org/, indicates that it is still in the fundraising and planning stages.

[884] "Purchase Preserves Civil War Fortifications at New Market Heights Battlefield," Capital Region Land Conservancy, January 7, 2023, https://capitalregionland.org/2023/01/purchase-preserves-new-market-line-fortifications/.

CHAPTER SEVEN: CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

Richmond NBP has extensive documentation on the resources within the park, including the 2018 National Register nomination and the CLIs and CLRs prepared by the Olmsted Center for Landscape Preservation in 1999–2022. However, as the NPS continues to add to the park lands within the authorized boundary, additional resources will need to be inventoried and evaluated. NPS personnel should be proactive in identifying and studying these resources to determine what, if any, significance they might have under the contexts established in this HRS report or as-yet-unidentified contexts. Cultural resource identification and documentation should proceed in tandem with GIS mapping of identified and potential historic properties so that preservation and project planning efforts can fully integrate geospatial data. Finally, all planning efforts must consider ongoing threats to the park's cultural resources from climate change impacts and infrastructure and development projects.

NATIONAL REGISTER STATUS

Richmond NBP was administratively listed in the National Register on October 15, 1966. Individual documentation for Rural Plains (NRIS 75002021) was signed by the Keeper of the National Register on June 5, 1975, before its acquisition by the NPS. Documentation for the Oakwood-Chimborazo Historic District (NRIS 04001372), which includes the Richmond Weather Station, was signed by the Keeper on March 18, 2005. The first comprehensive parkwide National Register documentation for Richmond NBP was approved on April 27, 2018. Amended documentation is in progress (2024) to expand the district boundary to encompass property acquired by the NPS since 2018.

The 2018 National Register documentation for the Richmond National Battlefield Park Historic District identifies the park as significant at the national level under Criteria A, B, C, and D and defines the district's period of significance as beginning about 1720 (the earliest year associated with a standing historic resource within the district) to 1944 (the end of the initial national park development period).

Criterion A

The district is primarily significant under Criterion A in the area of Military as the site of major Civil War battlefields and related properties associated with the US Army's attempts to take the Confederate capital city of Richmond during the Peninsula Campaign of 1862, the Overland Campaign of 1864, and the Richmond-Petersburg Campaign of 1864–1865. The district has additional significance under Criterion A in the areas of Military and Ethnic Heritage: Black for the valiant role played by USCTs in the September 29–30, 1864, Battle of Chaffin's Farm/New Market Heights. The primary period of significance for the district corresponds to the years between the construction of the Richmond defensive fortifications in 1861 and the conclusion of the Richmond-Petersburg Campaign in 1865.

The early twentieth-century efforts to commemorate and preserve the Richmond battlefields are related to national trends in the veneration and protection of Civil War battlefields and lend the district significance under Criterion A in the areas of Commemoration and Conservation. The period of significance for commemorative

activities begins in 1866, almost immediately after the Civil War ended, and extends through 1944 to encompass the initial development of the battlefield lands as a national park under the National Park Service.

Finally, the Richmond Weather Station at Chimborazo, a purpose-built observation station constructed in 1909 by the United States Weather Bureau, has significance under Criterion A in the area of Science. It is one of only a few extant examples of the 48 weather stations built by the Weather Bureau in 1897–1915 and represents a substantial investment by the federal government to improve its observation facilities throughout the country.

Criterion B

The district is significant under Criterion B in the area of Military for its associations with Federal Major General George B. McClellan and Lieutenant General Ulysses S. Grant and Confederate General Robert E. Lee, each of whom devised the strategy and tactics that led to and determined the outcome of the battles fought around Richmond in 1862 and 1864–1865.

Criterion C

The well-preserved earthworks in the district are highly important examples of Civil War field fortifications that are significant under Criterion C in the area of Engineering. The Garthright House, Watt House, and Shelton House are significant under Criterion C for their representative eighteenth- and nineteenth-century architecture. The Richmond Weather Station at Chimborazo is also significant under Criterion C in the area of Architecture.

Criterion D

Under Criterion D, the district possesses significance in the area of Archeology: Historic, Non-Aboriginal for the data it has yielded, and has the potential to yield, about the military and medical experiences of the Federal and Confederate armies during the Civil War. The district also possesses significance for its demonstrated and potential ability to provide information about the evolution of the agrarian economy and landscape in antebellum Piedmont Virginia and the enslaved and free Black people who lived there. The period of significance for historic archeology (i.e., the time beginning with English colonial expansion on Indigenous lands) under Criterion D is about 1725–1864.

STUDY GAPS AND OPPORTUNITIES

As described in Chapter One of this report, the scope of this HRS included many topics not previously addressed in park reports to present a more holistic analysis of the park's resources. The information in this report provides a starting point for additional research related to the topics covered in each chapter.

Indigenous History

This HRS report includes important baseline information on Indigenous history provided by subject matter experts from Kenah Consulting, but this information is only an overview of the complex and deep-seated historical experiences Virginia Indians have with the lands in Richmond NBP. The park does not sufficiently present Indigenous histories and experiences in its programming and educational materials. While the Civil War is the park's primary focus, the NPS should recognize that the lands they steward are the original homes of Virginia's Indigenous peoples and hold the archeological records that can illuminate thousands of years of Virginia Indian experiences.

The 2019 (Shepard et al.) *Archaeological Overview and Assessment* notes that several park units have the potential to contain archeological sites with significant evidence of Indigenous histories. For example, Indigenous artifacts have been recovered during almost all the archeological investigations in the Gaines' Mill unit, making this location an ideal candidate for further research on Indigenous presence, site occupation, and use. The NPS should develop a systematic approach to surveying and documenting the Indigenous cultural resources represented in the park.

The 2004 *Cultural Landscapes Report and Archaeological Inventory* for the Glendale and Malvern Hill units completed by John Milner Associates is a good example of a comprehensive documentation of Indigenous archeological resources within a park unit. At a minimum, Indigenous cultural resources should become a mandatory part of the park's historic preservation and cultural resources management planning. Such efforts need to include the involvement of Virginia's tribal nations through meaningful and purposeful engagement and consultation, which will highlight and acknowledge the important relationship Virginia's Indigenous communities have to the lands and waterways in the park.

With the federal recognition of seven tribes in Virginia in 2016 and 2018, tribal leaders and their legal representatives are actively working with the Commonwealth to navigate the new status of these tribes and their government-to-government relationships with the United States.[885] The Virginia tribes have demonstrated their dedication to the preservation, conservation, and protection of cultural resources on their tribal lands and the lands throughout their ancestral territories. Although Virginia tribes own a fraction of the lands they once controlled, they seek to work collaboratively with landed federal agencies such as the NPS to engage in meaningful ways. These relationships allow tribal leaders and members to engage in methods of co-stewardship to ensure the resources are protected or studied in ways that contribute to a meaningful understanding of the Indigenous past. Importantly, the Virginia Indian community recognizes it has a stewardship responsibility for these resources and the histories they represent. Virginia's

[885] The US government recognized the Pamunkey Indian Tribe on January 28, 2016, after decades of work by Tribal members and scholars to complete the petition for federal acknowledgement and meet the seven mandatory criteria established through federal regulations. On January 29, 2018, President Donald J. Trump signed Public Law 115-121, which acknowledged the Chickahominy, Chickahominy Eastern Division, Rappahannock, Nansemond, Upper Mattaponi, and Monacan tribes through the legislative process. State and federal recognition require separate processes. As of 2024, the Commonwealth of Virginia recognizes all seven of the federally recognized tribes in the state along with four others: the Cheroenhaka, Nottoway, Mattaponi, and Patawomeck.

tribal nations should be considered and treated as partners with the NPS in its effort to record, protect, conserve, and interpret the multi-layered stories that are waiting to be told across the Indigenous landscapes in the park.

Related to tribal consultation, the Department of the Interior has committed to building new relationships and making new collaborative agreements with tribal governments, Alaska Natives, and Native Hawaiians. The Secretary of Agriculture, in conjunction with the Secretary of the Interior, issued Joint Secretarial Order No. 3403[886] in November 2022 to ensure that Tribal Nations play a key part in planning and decision-making related to the management of federal lands, waterways, and wildlife. The order tasks federal agencies with managing the lands and waters they steward in ways that afford protections consistent with the government-to-government relationship between the United States and federally recognized Indian Tribes. Treaties and federal policy and law define the relationships that recognize Indigenous rights to religious and sacred sites, as well as significant cultural, natural, and environmental resources under the authority of federal agencies. NPS Policy Memorandum 22-03 establishes how the NPS will implement the 2022 order's directives and notes the importance of co-stewardship that is founded on regular, meaningful, and timely consultation with the nation's Indigenous communities.[887]

In November 2022, the Department of the Interior also established new tribal consultation policies and procedures to meet its responsibility to "hold regular and meaningful" consultations with tribes. These consultations are to occur in the early stages of a project or undertaking to ensure the tribes are part of the decision-making process for department-led projects, programs, planning, and management. These policies and procedures address the need for Richmond NBP staff to establish regular and meaningful consultations with Virginia's tribes, which will facilitate the relationships required to understand tribal interests and preferences about the treatment, recordation, planning, and management of the cultural, natural, and environmental resources in the park units.

Civil War History

The information in Chapter Four presents topics for further study, such as the experiences of conscripted free and enslaved Black people working at Chimborazo and at the Tredegar Iron Works, Black soldiers on the battlefields in and around Richmond, and women and children on the farmsteads impacted by the fighting. Continued efforts by scholars to unearth primary sources related to these topics and make them available to the public will enable more thorough analyses of the history and provide richer narratives for visitors to the park's Civil War sites.

Commemorative History

New interpretations of the Civil War, combined with new awareness of the perspectives of marginalized communities about the past, have influenced the most recent Civil War anniversary celebrations and will continue to affect the ways in which Americans

[886] This order is officially titled "Joint Secretarial Order on Fulfilling the Trust Responsibility to Indian Tribes in the Stewardship of Federal Lands and Waters."

[887] National Park Service Policy Memorandum 22-03, *Fulfilling the National Park Service Trust Responsibility to Indian Tribes, Alaska Natives, and Native Hawaiians in the Stewardship of Federal Lands and Waters* (Sept. 12, 2022).

commemorate the events of the Civil War. Engaging with and reflecting on these movements can inform the park's presentation of NPS development at Richmond NBP and add a new dimension to the visitor's experience of the battlefields. An update to the park's 1956 Administrative History would provide important context for the past 75 years of NPS administration.

INTERPRETATION

Existing NPS interpretation at Richmond NBP rightly focuses on the park's primary significance as the site of military operations that defined the course of the Civil War. Waysides and exhibits throughout the park mostly date to 2010–2012, which means they incorporate modern interpretations of the Civil War and address diverse themes related to it. In recent years, the park has been expanding its interpretive programming and working with partners such as the American Battlefield Trust, the American Civil War Museum, and the City of Richmond to explore stories from different perspectives. The park's 2017 Foundation Document identifies further interpretive themes related to Richmond as the capital of the Confederacy, to civilians at war, and to the contributions of African American soldiers.[888] A five-year Strategic Action Plan completed in 2021 for Richmond NBP and Maggie L. Walker NHS provides guidance on the joint interpretation and contextualization of Richmond's Civil War to Civil Rights history.[889]

To improve public interpretation at Richmond NBP, PAL recommends that the NPS do the following:

- Update the park's long-range interpretive plan to reflect current goals and objectives;
- Continue to coordinate with other nonprofit and municipal agencies in the region such as the American Battlefield Trust, Virginia Capital Trail Foundation, Henrico County, and the City of Richmond to share information, interpretive services, and public outreach resources, particularly as they relate to resource protection and vandalism prevention;
- Incorporate archeology, oral history, and, most importantly, Virginia tribal consultation into the development of interpretive themes related to Indigenous land use;
- Provide more interpretive opportunities about Reconstruction, the Lost Cause, and battlefield preservation as these topics relate to the park's creation and commemorative markers;
- Update existing interpretive materials as necessary to incorporate new knowledge from research;
- Continue to prioritize narratives that provide information about all those who shaped the park's current appearance, in particular those ethnic and minority groups under-represented in development processes;
- Develop more interpretive connections to Maggie Lena Walker and Maggie L. Walker NHS; and

[888] NPS, *Foundation Document*, 9.

[889] National Park Service (NPS), *Strategic Action Plan: Richmond's National Parks 2021–2025* (Richmond: Richmond National Battlefield Park and Maggie L. Walker National Historic Site, January 2021), 13.

- Integrate environmental interpretation in historical/military interpretive programming to educate the public about threats to the park's natural resources.

TREATMENT

A thorough understanding of the significance of the park's resources will allow for tailored, targeted treatment plans that use NPS personnel and funds effectively. When developing resource treatment plans, NPS staff should consult the 2018 National Register nomination for Richmond NBP and this HRS report, in conjunction with the CLIs and CLRs prepared by the Olmsted Center for Landscape Preservation in 1999–2022. In addition, those resources on newly acquired park lands must be inventoried and evaluated with respect to the park's areas of significance.

PAL recommends the following specific issues and treatment be considered for the historic resources at Richmond NBP:

- Climate change is a threat to all park resources that potentially will contribute to erosion and flood events that can expose archeological artifacts; compromise archeological sites, battlefield landscapes, and earthworks; and exacerbate deterioration of stone monuments and other aboveground resources. Therefore, planning and treatment efforts should incorporate adaptation to climate change.
- Comprehensive CLRs are needed to guide park management and preservation treatment decisions for the Fort Harrison, Cold Harbor, Gaines' Mill, and North Anna units, where the NPS has added lands in recent years. A CLI is also needed for the North Anna unit. The use of georeferenced historical maps would facilitate the development of the CLRs and help the park with restoration efforts.
- Park resources are spread across a large geographical area, which means park staff have limited capacity to monitor and address maintenance needs. Partnerships with local communities and volunteer programs are essential to discourage and prevent vandalism of historic buildings and structures.
- The Freeman markers within the park are sited close to roadways and, thus, require increased protection from damage by vehicles and from any repairs and maintenance resulting from such damage.

ARCHIVES

Archived materials at Richmond NBP consist of the Shelton family archives, NPS administrative records, and the records of the Richmond Battlefield Parks Corporation. The park houses materials not on display in a climate-controlled storage facility at Maggie L. Walker NHS. PAL recommends an archival survey to identify records appropriate for storage in a National Archives and Records Administration repository. NPS Director's Order 24: *NPS Museum Collections Management* and the NPS *Museum Handbook* can provide additional guidance. In addition, the park's resource management records would benefit from a complete catalog and finding aids.

RESOURCE TABLE

The resources are listed by park unit in geographical order from north to south.

RESOURCE NAME	DATE(S)	NPS CRIS ID(S)	NR STATUS[890]
North Anna			
North Anna Battlefield	1864	None	RNR-HD-C
Federal Earthworks at North Anna	1864	None	RNR-HD-C
Federal Road Trace	1864	None	RNR-HD-C
Rock Castle Ruins	Ca. 1759	None	RNR-HD-C
Farm Road Traces	Ca. 1760	None	RNR-HD-C
Fontaine Farmhouse	Ca. 1834	None	RNR-HD-C
Laurel Branch Farm Barn	Late 20th c.	None	RNR-HD-NC
Laurel Branch Feeding Trough	Late 20th c.	None	RNR-HD-NC
Laurel Branch Office/Garage	Ca. 1970	None	RNR-HD-NC
Totopotomoy Creek			
Totopotomoy Creek Battlefield	1864	975920	NRHD-C
Rural Plains Cemetery Stones	1855–1856	None	NRHD-feature
Federal Earthworks at Totopotomoy Creek	1864	651465	NRHD-C
Shelton House (Rural Plains)	Ca. 1725; altered ca. 1785 and ca. 1835	651113	NRHD-C, NR
Rural Plains Entrance Drive	Ca. 1930	None	NRHD-C
Rural Plains Agricultural Lanes		None	NRHD-C

[890] **NR STATUS Key**
NR: Individually listed in National Register
NRHD-C: Contributing resource in district listed in National Register
NRHD-feature: Identified as historic associated feature in listed district but not counted as resource
NRHD-NC: Non-contributing resource in district listed in National Register
RNR-HD-C: Recommended as contributing resource in listed district
RNR-HD-feature: Recommended as historic associated feature in listed district
RNR-HD-NC: Recommended as non-contributing resource in listed district

RESOURCE NAME	DATE(S)	NPS CRIS ID(S)	NR STATUS[890]
Studley Road Historic Road Trace	Early 19th c.; abandoned 1962	None	NRHD-C
APVA Marker	1932	None	NRHD-C
Rural Plains Complex Site	Ca. 1725–1864	RICH00083	NRHD-C
Freeman Marker #51	1925	651404	NRHD-C
Rural Plains Corn Crib	Late 19th c.	None	NRHD-C
Pear Lane	Ca. 1930	None	NRHD-NC
Cold Harbor			
Cold Harbor Battlefield	1864; rehabilitated 1933–1935	300093, RICH00006.0, RICH00019	NRHD-C
Wartime Road Trace	Ca. 1864	None	NRHD-C
Federal Earthworks at Cold Harbor	1864	006740, RICH00006.002	NRHD-C
Confederate Earthworks at Cold Harbor	1864	006739, RICH00006.001	NRHD-C
Confederate Battery Position at Cold Harbor	1864	651809	NRHD-C
Fort Fletcher	1864	None	RNR-HD-C
Fort Fletcher Infantry Trenches	1864	None	RNR-HD-C
Civil War Road Trace	1864	None	RNR-HD-C
Confederate Earthworks at Turkey Hill	1864	651497	NRHD-C
Garthright House	Ca. 1720; altered ca. 1800	001231	NRHD-C
Garthright House Driveway	1720–1860	653374	NRHD-C
Cold Harbor Battlefield Tour Road	1933	081633	NRHD-C
Freeman Marker #25	1925	None	NRHD-C
Freeman Marker #26	1925	081631	NRHD-C
Freeman Marker #27	1925	081632	NRHD-C
Beulah Church Wartime Road Trace	1864	None	RNR-HD-C

RESOURCE NAME	DATE(S)	NPS CRIS ID(S)	NR STATUS[890]
Cold Harbor Visitor Center	1963; altered 1994–1995	RICH00088	NRHD-NC
2nd Connecticut Volunteer Heavy Artillery Monument	2003	651861	NRHD-NC
7095 Parrish Place Lane	1973	None	NRHD-NC
7095 Parrish Place Lane Shed	Late 20th c.	None	NRHD-NC
7095 Parrish Place Lane Equipment Shelter	Late 20th c.	None	NRHD-NC
5379 Sandy Valley Road	1950	None	NRHD-NC
5379 Sandy Valley Road Well	1950	None	NRHD-NC
Beaver Dam Creek			
Beaver Dam Creek Battlefield	1862	300097	NRHD-C
Ellerson's Mill	1800–1862	None	NRHD-C
Ellerson's Millrace	1800–1862	006761, RICH00003	NRHD-C
Old Cold Harbor Road Trace	1800; altered 1935–1937	081629	NRHD-C
Freeman Marker #3	1925	081630	NRHD-C
Chickahominy Bluff			
Chickahominy Bluff	1862–1863	300099	NRHD-C
Chickahominy Bluff Earthworks	1862	006744, RICH00002	NRHD-C
Chickahominy Bluff–Battery No. I	1862–1863	081620, RICH00071	NRHD-C
Chickahominy Bluff–Battery No. II	1862–1863	081621, RICH00072	NRHD-C
Gaines' Mill			
Gaines' Mill Battlefield	1862–1864; rehabilitated 1935	300095, RICH00007	NRHD-C
Civil War Rifle Pits	1862–1864	006745, RICH00007.003	NRHD-C
Confederate Earthworks at Gaines' Mill	1864	None	NRHD-C
Watt House (Springfield Plantation)	1830–1832; restored 1956; rehabilitated 1987	001232	NRHD-C

RESOURCE NAME	DATE(S)	NPS CRIS ID(S)	NR STATUS[890]
Watt Farm Entrance Road Trace	1840–1850	661720	NRHD-C
Watt Farm Lane	1800–1860	081624, RICH00075	NRHD-C
Watt House Road	Ca. 1864	006760, RICH00076	NRHD-C
Watt Farm Complex Site	Ca. 1800–1862	RICH00073	NRHD-C
Richmond and Rappahannock River Railway Bed	1915	None	NRHD-C
Freeman Marker #7	1925	081623	NRHD-C
Freeman Marker #8	1925	081622	NRHD-C
Wilcox's Brigade Monument	1999	654689	NRHD-NC
Watt House Garage	Ca. 1963	None	NRHD-NC
6296 Watt House Road	Ca. 1980	None	NRHD-NC
6296 Watt House Road One-Car Garage	Ca. 1990–2010	None	NRHD-NC
6296 Watt House Road Two-Car Garage	Ca. 1990–2010	None	NRHD-NC
Chimborazo			
Chimborazo Hospital Site	1861–1865	RICH00005	NRHD-C
Richmond Weather Station (Civil War Medical Museum, Chimborazo Visitor Center)	1909	006758, RICH00005.001	NRHD-C[891]
Fort Harrison			
Fort Harrison Landscape	1862–1864; rehabilitated 1933–1936	300096	NRHD-C
Richmond Defensive Line	1862–1864	None	NRHD-C
Battery Alexander (Alexander's Line; Confederate Earthworks New Market to Fort Gilmer)	1864	006750, RICH00052	NRHD-feature

[891] The Richmond Weather Station is listed as a contributing resource in two National Register Historic Districts: Richmond National Battlefield Park (NRIS 66000836) and Oakwood-Chimborazo (NRIS 04001372).

RESOURCE NAME	DATE(S)	NPS CRIS ID(S)	NR STATUS[890]
Fort Gilmer	1862; rehabilitated 1933	006746, RICH00011	NRHD-feature
Confederate Earthworks Fort Gilmer to Fort Gregg	1863–1864	006751, RICH00054	NRHD-feature
Fort Gregg	1862–1864	006747, RICH00012	NRHD-feature
Confederate Earthworks Fort Gregg to Fort Johnson	1862–1864	006752, RICH00055	NRHD-feature
Fort Johnson (Cole's Run Battery/ Battery Field)	1862–1864	006741, RICH00013	NRHD-feature
Confederate Earthworks Fort Johnson to Fort Harrison	1862–1864	006753, RICH00013.002	NRHD-feature
Confederate Lunette	1864	081646, RICH00082	NRHD-feature
Confederate Earthworks Northeast of Fort Harrison (Federal Earthworks Northeast of Fort Harrison)	1862–1864	006756, RICH00058	NRHD-feature
Confederate Battery No. 10 (Federal Battery No. XIX)	1862–1864	081638, RICH00059	NRHD-feature
Fort Harrison (Confederate Battery Nos. 7, 8 & 9; Federal Fort Burnham)	1862–1864; rehabilitated 1933	001229, RICH00014	NRHD-feature
Wartime Well at Fort Harrison	1862–1864	None	NRHD-feature
Confederate Earthworks Fort Harrison to White Battery	1862–1864	006754, RICH00057	NRHD-feature
White Battery	1862–1864	006749, RICH00015	NRHD-feature
Fort Hoke	1862–1864; reconstructed 1935	001230, RICH00017	NRHD-feature
Fort Maury	1862–1864	006748, RICH00016	NRHD-feature

RESOURCE NAME		DATE(S)	NPS CRIS ID(S)	NR STATUS[890]
	Confederate Battery No. 4	1862–1863	081648, RICH00066	NRHD-feature
	Confederate Earthworks Fort Harrison to Fort Maury	1862	006755, RICH00057	NRHD-feature
System of Federal Works		1862–1865	None	NRHD-C
	Federal Listening Wells	1864	081647, RICH00069	NRHD-feature
	Federal Lunette	1864	651192, RICH00068	NRHD-feature
	Federal Earthworks Fort Harrison to Fort Brady	1862–1864	006757, 654679, RICH00014.004	NRHD-feature
	Federal Battery No. III	1864	081617, RICH00061	NRHD-feature
	Federal Battery No. IV	1864	081618, RICH00063	NRHD-feature
	Federal Battery No. V	1864	081619, RICH00065	NRHD-feature
	Fort Brady	1864–1865	006742, RICH00018	NRHD-feature
	Wartime Well at Fort Brady	1864–1865	None	NRHD-feature
Fort Harrison Visitor Center (Log Cabin)		1930; addition 2005	006759, RICH00014.001	NRHD-C
Battlefield Park Road (Route 304/ 156)		1930	081635, RICH00010	NRHD-C
Picnic Road		1934	None	NRHD-C
Fort Burnham Supply Road (Route 405, Ft. Harrison Service Road)		1864	081650, RICH00078	NRHD-C
Hoke-Brady Road (Route 308)		Ca. 1935–1938	081636, RICH00017.001	NRHD-C
Freeman Marker #44		1925	081634	NRHD-C
Freeman Marker #49		1925	081616	NRHD-C
Pump House at Fort Harrison		Ca. 1960	None	NRHD-NC

RESOURCE NAME	DATE(S)	NPS CRIS ID(S)	NR STATUS[890]
Maintenance Way	Ca. 1963	None	NRHD-NC
Maintenance Garage	Ca. 1950	None	NRHD-NC
Equipment Shelter	Early 21st c.	None	NRHD-NC
Equipment Shelter	Ca. 2014	None	NRHD-NC
Wood Frame Equipment Shelter	Late 20th c.	None	NRHD-NC
Vehicle Maintenance Shop	2010	None	NRHD-NC
Resource Management Office	1972	None	NRHD-NC
Utility Shed	Ca. 2014	None	NRHD-NC
Seasonal Quarters	1974	None	NRHD-NC
Pump House at Resource Management Area	Late 20th c.	None	NRHD-NC
Pump House and Water Tanks	Mid-to-late 20th c.	None	NRHD-NC
Glendale			
Glendale Battlefield	1862	976008, RICH00008	NRHD-C
Freeman Marker #17	1925	None	NRHD-C
Freeman Marker #18	1925	None	NRHD-C
5871 Darbytown Road	Ca. 1932	None	NRHD-NC
5871 Darbytown Road Barn	20th c.	None	NRHD-NC
5871 Darbytown Road Garage	20th c.	None	NRHD-NC
5871 Darbytown Road Chicken Coop	20th c.	None	NRHD-NC
Malvern Hill			
Malvern Hill Battlefield	1862	300094, RICH00009	NRHD-C
Willis Church Road (Quaker Road, Battlefield Park Road, Route 156)	1725–1862; altered 1930	531512, 521704, RICH00023	NRHD-C
Crew Farm Lane	1800–1860	081625	NRHD-C
Crew Farm Road (Route 307/Malvern Hill Road; Route 402/Malvern Hill Residence Road)	1800–1860; altered 1956	081626	NRHD-C
Mettert Farm Outbuildings – Slave Quarters Site	Ca. 1843–1857	RICH00024.001	NRHD-C

RESOURCE NAME	DATE(S)	NPS CRIS ID(S)	NR STATUS[890]
Mettert Farm Outbuilding – Ice House Site	Ca. 1843–1857	None	NRHD-C
West House Federal Battle Line Site	Ca. 1831–1862	RICH00044/00050	NRHD-C
West House	Ca. 1840–1850; ca. 1930	661717	NRHD-C
West House Driveway	1835–1863	528587	NRHD-C
West Farm Road Trace	1830–1863	524890	NRHD-C
West/Binford Cottage Site	Ca. 1810–1862	RICH00036/00037	NRHD-C
Carter's Mill Road – North Section	1860	538384	NRHD-C
T. French Grist Mill Dam	1800–1810	654920, RICH00020.002	NRHD-C
Parsonage Ruins	1853; altered 1988	514420, RICH00033000	NRHD-C
Freeman Marker #20	1925	512412	NRHD-C
Freeman Marker #21	1925	081627	NRHD-C
Freeman Marker #22	1925	081628	NRHD-C
Garthright Farm Southern Entrance Road Trace	1857–1860	661824	NRHD-C
Malvern Hill Interpretive Shelter	1961	None	NRHD-NC
Drewry's Bluff			
Drewry's Bluff	1862–1864; rehabilitated 1935	300098, RICH00001	NRHD-C
Fort Drewry	1862–1864	006743	NRHD-C
Freeman Marker #59	1925	081637	NRHD-C
Parker's Battery			
Parker's Battery	1864; rehabilitated 1935	300100, RICH00004	NRHD-C
Parker's Battery Earthworks (Howlett Line)	1864	006738	NRHD-C
Veterans' Monument (Parker's Battery Monument)	1886	006762	NRHD-C

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