
National Park Service
Cultural Landscapes Inventory
2017



Glendale Battlefield
Richmond National Battlefield Park

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Inventory Summary

The Cultural Landscapes Inventory Overview:

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Purpose and Goals of the CLI

The Cultural Landscapes Inventory (CLI), a comprehensive inventory of all cultural landscapes in the national park system, is one of the most ambitious initiatives of the National Park Service (NPS) Park Cultural Landscapes Program. The CLI is an evaluated inventory of all landscapes having historical significance that are listed on or eligible for listing on the National Register of Historic Places, or are otherwise managed as cultural resources through a public planning process and in which the NPS has or plans to acquire any legal interest. The CLI identifies and documents each landscape's location, size, physical development, condition, landscape characteristics, character-defining features, as well as other valuable information useful to park management. Cultural landscapes become approved CLIs when concurrence with the findings is obtained from the park superintendent and all required data fields are entered into a national database. In addition, for landscapes that are not currently listed on the National Register and/or do not have adequate documentation, concurrence is required from the State Historic Preservation Officer or the Keeper of the National Register.

The CLI, like the List of Classified Structures, assists the NPS in its efforts to fulfill the identification and management requirements associated with Section 110(a) of the National Historic Preservation Act, National Park Service Management Policies (2006), and Director's Order #28: Cultural Resource Management. Since launching the CLI nationwide, the NPS, in response to the Government Performance and Results Act (GPRA), is required to report information that respond to NPS strategic plan accomplishments. Two GPRA goals are associated with the CLI: bringing certified cultural landscapes into good condition (Goal 1a7) and increasing the number of CLI records that have complete, accurate, and reliable information (Goal 1b2B).

Scope of the CLI

The information contained within the CLI is gathered from existing secondary sources found in park libraries and archives and at NPS regional offices and centers, as well as through on-site reconnaissance of the existing landscape. The baseline information collected provides a comprehensive look at the historical development and significance of the landscape, placing it in context of the site's overall significance. Documentation and analysis of the existing landscape identifies character-defining characteristics and features, and allows for an evaluation of the landscape's overall integrity and an assessment of the landscape's overall condition. The CLI also provides an illustrative site plan that indicates major features within the inventory unit. Unlike cultural landscape reports, the CLI does not provide management recommendations or treatment guidelines for the cultural landscape.

Inventory Unit Description:

Glendale Battlefield preserves the site of the June 30, 1862 Battle of Glendale, or Frayser's Farm, the penultimate event of the Seven Days' Battles of General George McClellan's 1862 Peninsula Campaign. Glendale Battlefield is located at 8301 Willis Church Road, Virginia, approximately thirteen miles southeast of Richmond. The site is part of Richmond National Battlefield Park, a unit of the National Park System comprised of eleven Civil War battlefields and engagement sites and related resources around Virginia's capital city. These sites are variously associated with the events of the Civil War, including the 1862 Peninsula Campaign, 1864 Overland Campaign, naval operations along the James River, and the 1864-65 Richmond-Petersburg Campaign.

The June 30, 1862 Battle of Glendale, part of Union Gen. George B. McClellan's Peninsula Campaign, was fought as Confederate Gen. Robert E. Lee's Army of Northern Virginia tried to prevent the Army of the Potomac from reaching Harrison's Landing on the James River. As the Union army retreated south toward the river, Lee's forces converged on the Federals in the area of the Glendale crossroads, nine and a half miles north of Harrison's Landing. At Glendale, the Confederate units attacked from the west and north, trying to break the Federal line, but the Federal defenses held, and McClellan's army passed safely on to Malvern Hill, where they made a final defensive stand before reaching Harrison's Landing.

Today, the Glendale Battlefield cultural landscape comprises 513 acres of the core battlefield, including the intersection of Willis Church Road and Darbytown Road (the crossroads) and areas of the most intense fighting. Significant sites within the landscape include the site of the Nelson farm, also known as Glendale, which served as the headquarters for Union Gen. Edwin Sumner during the battle, and the site of the Whitlock farm, which saw some of the fiercest fighting. The landscape retains a rural character through continued agricultural use, but the setting is diminished by the predominance of forested land and the development of suburban neighborhoods in proximity to the park unit. Some of the resources associated with the battle, including Willis Methodist Church and Glendale National Cemetery, lie just outside of the park boundary.

HISTORICAL OVERVIEW

The land around what would become Glendale Battlefield was first settled during the second half of the seventeenth century. Thomas Cocke established a homestead and farm on what had been his father Richard Cocke's land on Malvern Hill, about three miles south of Glendale Battlefield, in c.1663. In addition to cultivating tobacco and grain, Cocke maintained a grist mill and two tanneries on his property. The Malvern Hill plantation was passed through four more generations of the Cocke family, finally passing out of the family around the time of the American Revolution.

The land around Glendale Battlefield was successively divided and transferred, until by the time of the Civil War, typical farm size was on the order of a few hundred acres. Notable developments during this period were the establishment of Willis Methodist Church in 1802 and its parsonage in 1853; the establishment by Robert Pleasants of the Gravelly Hill School, the first school for free blacks in Virginia; and the settlement of free black families in the area that became known as Gravelly Hill along the Long Bridge Road. At the time of the Civil War, properties located near the crossroads of Long Bridge Road and Willis Church Road included Glendale, the plantation owned by R.H. Nelson,

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farms owned by E.C. Fuqua, John Whitlock, and Richard and Isaak Sykes, and the farm and blacksmith shop of S.L. Riddle.

In March of 1862, General George B. McClellan landed the Army of the Potomac at Fort Monroe on the southern tip of the Virginia Peninsula with the intention of driving northward to capture the Confederate capital of Richmond by late May, but he was stopped at the Battle of Seven Pines on May 31. During the battle, Johnston was wounded and Gen. Robert E. Lee assumed command of the Confederate army. Lee launched a series of counter attacks, collectively called the Seven Days' Battles, that drove the Army of the Potomac toward the James River, effectively ending the campaign.

After their defeat at the Battle of Gaines' Mill on June 27, McClellan's troops began to retreat toward Harrison's Landing on the James River. Their route took them through White Oak Swamp and through a critical crossroads at the Glendale plantation, about nine miles from their destination. Converging on the crossroads, Gen. Lee launched a series of assaults against the Union column hoping to cut off the retreat. Despite Confederate attacks breaking the Union line in places, McClellan's defenses ultimately held, and his army passed safely through the crossroads to Malvern Hill. At Malvern Hill, the Union army took advantage of the favorable terrain to weather one last Confederate onslaught before reaching the safety of the James River.

Four years after the Battle of Glendale, the Glendale National Cemetery was established on land purchased from the Nelson family. Initial interments in the cemetery were of Union soldiers from the Battles of Glendale and Malvern Hill and other nearby engagements. The square layout of the cemetery featured concentric circles of grave markers and a second-empire-style lodge added in 1874. Beyond the cemetery establishment, commemoration of the battlefield began in the 1920s with the installation of Battlefield Markers Association commemorative markers, or "Freeman Markers." Several of these stone pedestal markers with iron engraved plaques, were placed in the Glendale Battlefield area. These were followed in 1932 by roadside markers erected by the state of Virginia. In 1927, the Richmond Battlefield Parks Corporation began assembling some of the original battlefield acreage,

In 1932, the Corporation's lands became part of Richmond Battlefield Park, established as Virginia's first state park. Four years later the management of the area's battlefields was transferred to the federal government with the establishment of Richmond National Battlefield Park. Initially, the park contained about 100 acres at Malvern Hill, but this was expanded over the years with acquisitions of land at both Malvern Hill and Glendale. Today, the Glendale Battlefield Unit comprises over 500 acres of the primary areas of fighting.

SIGNIFICANCE SUMMARY

Glendale Battlefield is significant under National Register of Historic Places Criterion A in the area of Military History for its association with the Civil War battle of Glendale on July 1, 1862. The site is also significant under Criterion A in the area of Commemoration for its associations with the Civil War battlefield memorialization and preservation movement. Lastly, the site is significant under Criterion D in the areas of Historic (Non-Aboriginal) Archeology and Prehistoric Archeology for both

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above-ground and subsurface resources that have the potential to yield information about the battle, as well as the antebellum and pre-contact use of the area. The overall period of significance extends from 1862 to 1932, which includes the period of 1862, associated with the Civil War battle, and the period of 1925-1932, associated with Commemoration. The latter period begins with the establishment of the Battlefield Markers Association and ends with the erection of the Conservation and Development Commission Seven Days Battles historical marker in 1932.

ANALYSIS AND EVALUATION SUMMARY AND CONDITION

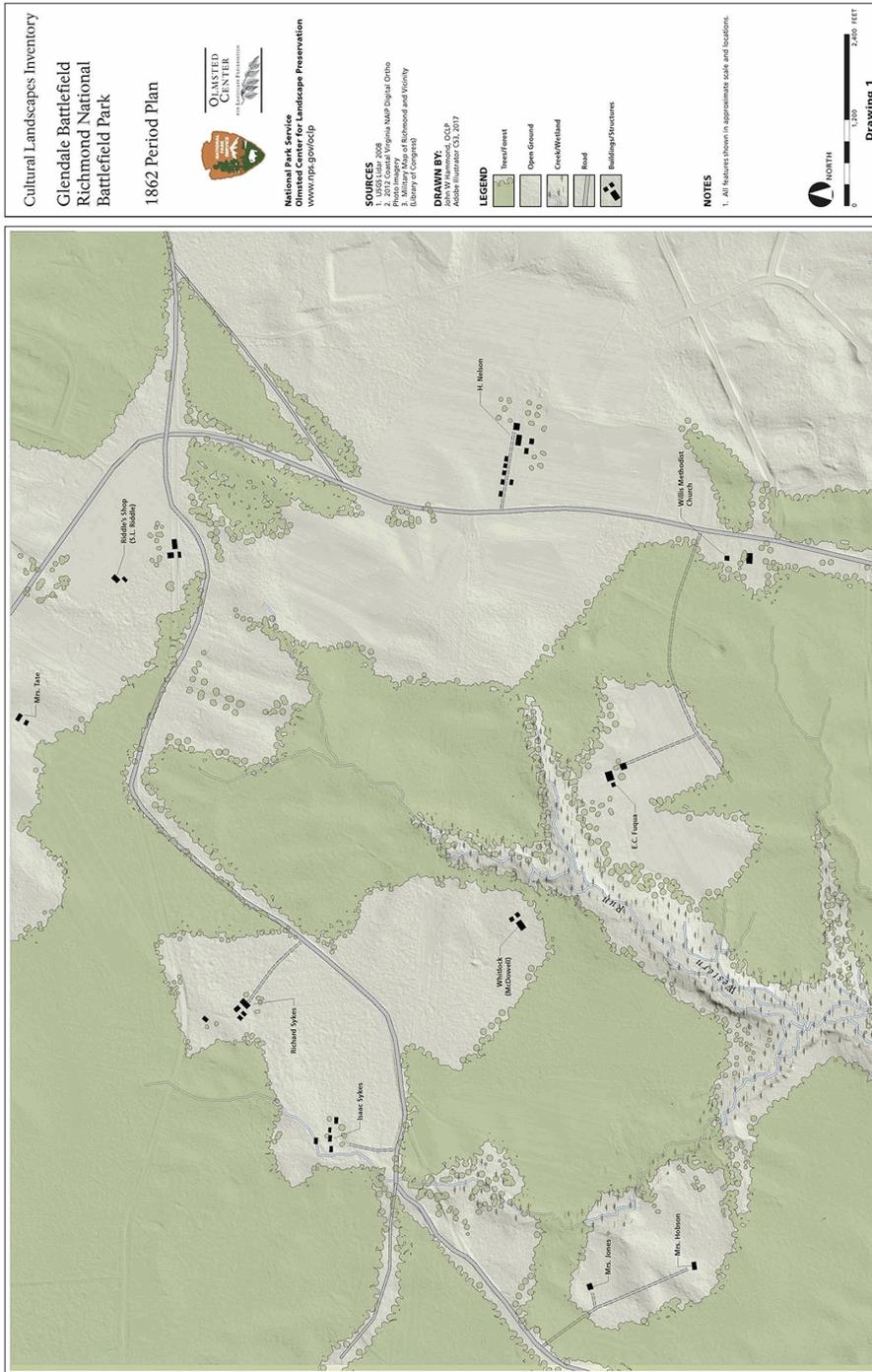
Patterns of natural systems and features that guided settlement and land use and influenced the course of the battle remain evident today, including the natural topography of the level uplands, steep ravines, and swampy drainage bottoms and the dense forest and wetland vegetation present along the Western Run course. Extant circulation features that organize the landscape and that were crucial for troop and equipment movement during the battle include Longbridge Road, Darbytown Road, and Willis Church Road, as well as extant farm lanes and the visible traces of former circulation features. These circulation features, together with the farm-and-field patterns and the visible traces of former farm sites, convey the historic layout of the landscape and foster an understanding of the battle's events. Historical markers, including two Freeman markers and one 1932 Virginia historical marker, illustrate early twentieth century efforts to commemorate and interpret the events of the Civil War in Virginia. Finally, the overall rural character, relative lack of modern development, and the continued agricultural use within the battlefield contribute to the landscape's historic character.

Notable changes since the end of the historic period in 1932 that have altered the character of the landscape include the decline of agriculture, the subsequent reforestation of the farm fields, and the absence of historic farm houses and associated structures. These changes restrict and alter the views through the landscape and diminish the visual record of the 1862 landscape. Despite these changes, the landscape retains enough of its historic qualities to convey its significance for both the Civil War period and the commemoration period.

Overall the condition of the Glendale Battlefield landscape is fair. Despite overall stable patterns of spatial organization, vegetation, and natural systems and features, many of the traces of habitation, circulation, and military activity that remain are undocumented and poorly preserved.

Site Plan

Glendale Battlefield
 Richmond National Battlefield Park



Site plan showing the Glendale Battlefield in 1862.

Glendale Battlefield
 Richmond National Battlefield Park



Site plan showing the existing conditions of the Glendale Battlefield in 2017.

Property Level and CLI Numbers

Inventory Unit Name:	Glendale Battlefield
CLI Identification Number:	976008
Parent Landscape:	300092

Park Information

Park Name and Alpha Code:	Richmond National Battlefield Park -RICH
Park Organization Code:	4800
Park Administrative Unit:	Richmond National Battlefield Park

CLI Hierarchy Description

Glendale Battlefield is a component landscape within the parent landscape of Richmond National Battlefield Landscape, which comprises the entire Richmond National Battlefield Park. In addition to Glendale Battlefield, there are eight park units that function as component landscapes: Beaver Dam Creek, Chickahominy Bluff, Cold Harbor (including the Garthright House), Drewry's Bluff, Fort Harrison and vicinity, Gaines' Mill, Malvern Hill Battlefield, Totopotomoy Creek Battlefield at Rural Plains, and Parker's Battery.

Concurrence Status

Inventory Status: Complete

Completion Status Explanatory Narrative:

Field documentation and historical research of the Glendale Battlefield cultural landscape was conducted during the summer of 2016 by John W. Hammond and Eliot Foulds, Historical Landscape Architects, Olmsted Center for Landscape Preservation with assistance from Robert Krick, Historian, Richmond National Battlefield Park. Analysis and Evaluation of the landscape characteristics and features was completed by John W. Hammond in 2017.

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

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

Concurrence Status:

Park Superintendent Concurrence:	Yes
Park Superintendent Date of Concurrence:	08/23/2017
National Register Concurrence:	Eligible -- SHPO Consensus Determination
Date of Concurrence Determination:	03/07/2017

Concurrence Graphic Information:

RICH Glendale Battlefield CLI_Concurrence 2017

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CULTURAL LANDSCAPES INVENTORY
CONCURRENCE FORM

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

MANAGEMENT CATEGORY: Must Be Preserved and Maintained

CONDITION ASSESSMENT: Fair

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

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

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

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



Superintendent, Richmond National Battlefield Park

8/23/2017

Date

Park concurrence form, August 23, 2017.

Geographic Information & Location Map

Inventory Unit Boundary Description:

The boundary of Glendale Battlefield corresponds to the park boundary of the Glendale Battlefield unit, encompassing the park-owned property most closely associated with the fighting during the Battle of Glendale on June 30, 1862.

State and County:

State: VA

County: Henrico County

Size (Acres): 513.10

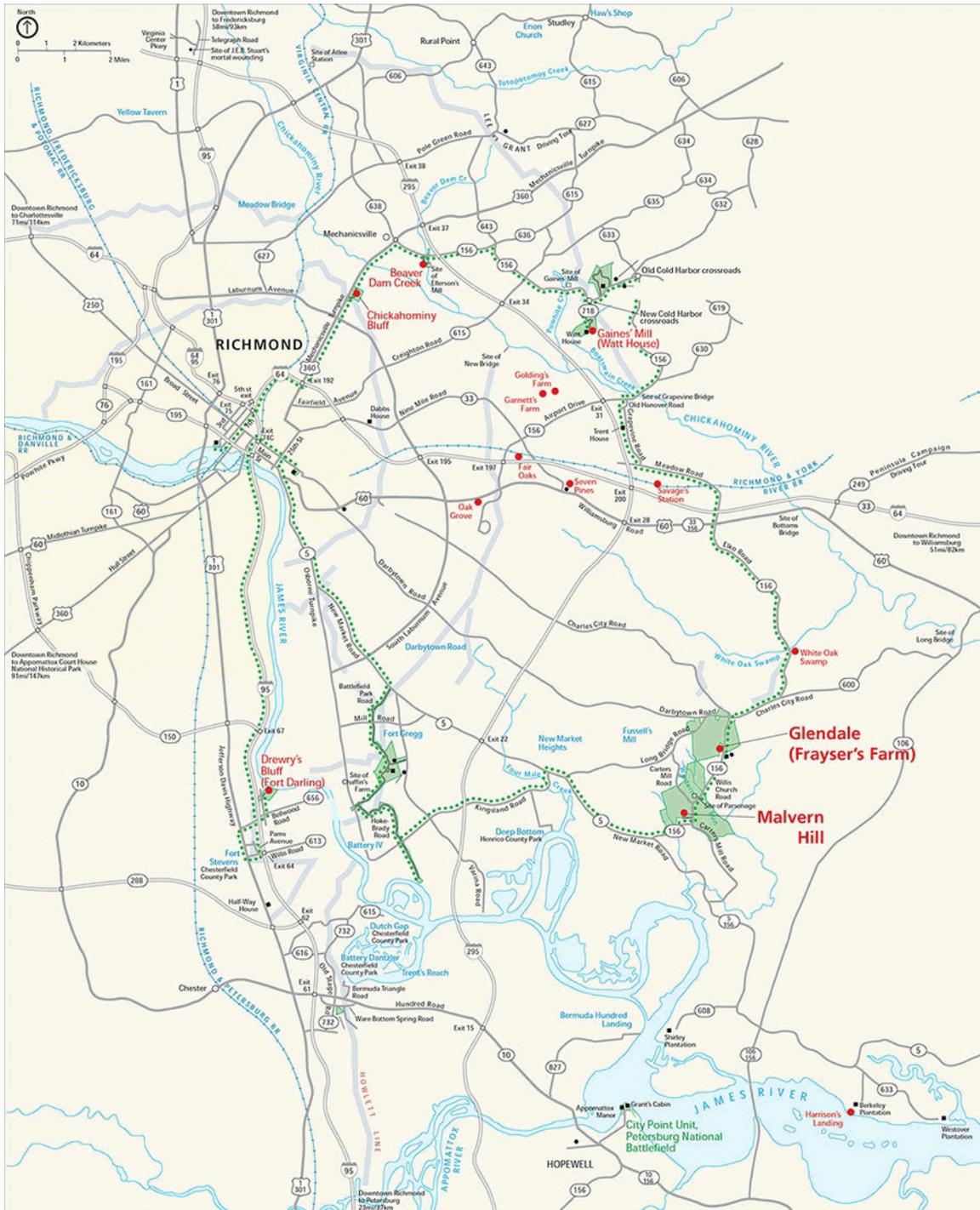
Boundary UTMS:

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Source:	GPS-Uncorrected
Type of Point:	Point
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UTM Zone:	18
Source:	GPS-Uncorrected
Type of Point:	Point
Datum:	NAD 83
UTM Zone:	18
Source:	GPS-Uncorrected
Type of Point:	Point
Datum:	NAD 83
UTM Zone:	18
Source:	GPS-Uncorrected
Type of Point:	Point
Datum:	NAD 83
UTM Zone:	18

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Location Map:

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

Regional Context:

Type of Context: Cultural

Description:

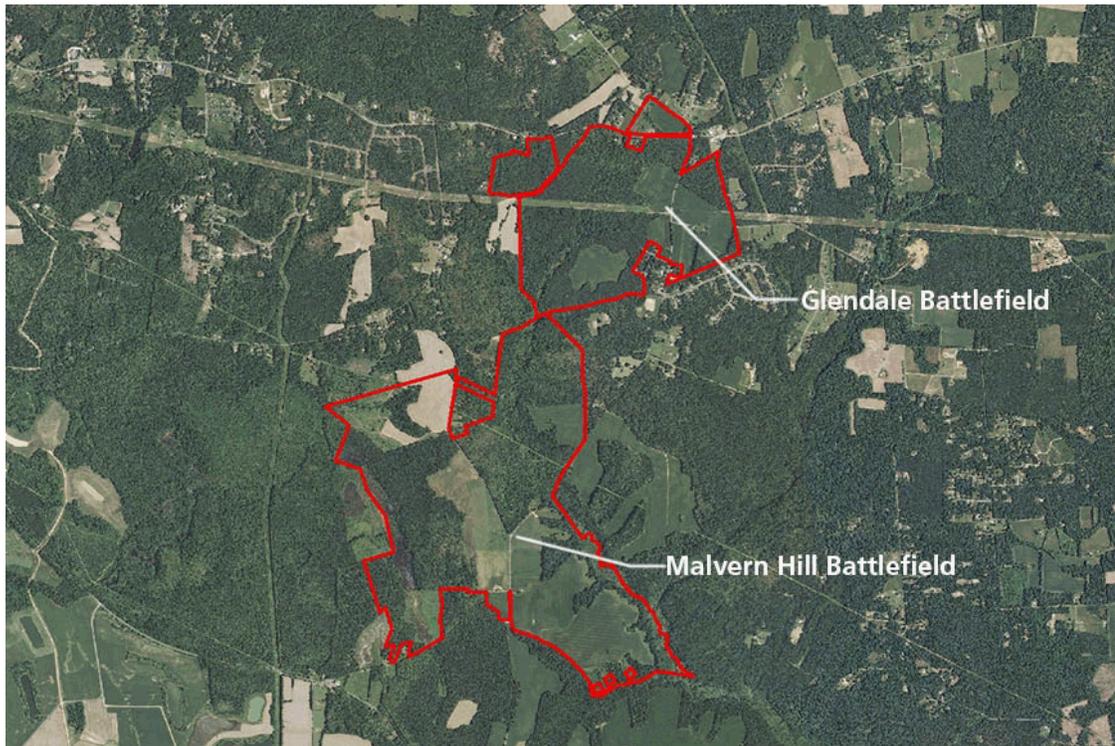
The area around Glendale Battlefield has been predominantly agricultural through most of the twentieth century. Although Henrico County is relatively populous, with a population of 306,935 in 2010, the majority of its development is in the areas immediately around Richmond. The southeast corner of the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

Type of Context: Physiographic

Description:

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

The area around Glendale Battlefield is generally comprised of level upland areas crossed by stream corridors. The stream corridors within the project area are linear ravines with steep, often densely vegetated slopes. Soils are generally deep, well-drained sandy loam. Intermittent drainages drain toward the south into Western Run and Turkey Island Creek, which in turn drain to the James River. The area is drained by Turkey Island Creek, Western Run, and Crewes Channel, which join just before entering the James River. Turkey Island Creek drains over 18 square miles of primarily forested land, although about a quarter of the area is covered in crops or pasture.



Aerial image showing Malvern Hill Battlefield and Glendale Battlefield and their regional landscape context (USDA-FSA image 2012, annotated by OCLP).

Type of Context: Political

Description:

Glendale Battlefield is a unit of Richmond National Battlefield Park, a park unit of the National Park Service. The site is located in an unincorporated area of Henrico County, Virginia.

Management Unit: Glendale Battlefield

Tract Numbers: Glendale Battlefield comprises seven land tracts with a total area of 513.1 acres. Land tract numbers are 04-101 (97.7 acres), 02-106 (1.5 acres), 04-108 (98.2 acres), 04-107 (215.0 acres), 04-109 (37.1 acres), 04A-100 (43.1 acres), and 04-112 (20.5 acres).

Management Information

General Management Information

Management Category: Must be Preserved and Maintained

Management Category Date: 08/23/2017

Management Category Explanatory Narrative:

Glendale Battlefield meets the management category “Must be Preserved and Maintained,” because the inventory unit is related to the park’s legislated significance. The events of the Battle of Glendale on June 30, 1862 were part of Gen. George B. McClellan’s Peninsula Campaign of 1862 and part of the Union Army’s attempt to capture Richmond.

The 1936 enabling legislation for Richmond National Battlefield Park, amended in 1995, states, “In order to preserve the site of the 1862 Peninsula Campaign and the 1864-1865 Battle of Richmond, in the vicinity of Richmond, Virginia, as a national battlefield park for the benefit and inspiration of the people of the United States, there is hereby established, subject to existing rights, the Richmond National Battlefield Park” (Act of March 2, 1936, Chapter 113; 49 Stat. 1155).

Agreements, Legal Interest, and Access

Management Agreement:

Type of Agreement: Special Use Permit

Expiration Date: 9/30/2018

Management Agreement Explanatory Narrative:

Richmond NBP provides Special Use Permits to local farmers for agricultural use of approximately 75 acres of the Glendale Battlefield.

NPS Legal Interest:

Type of Interest: Fee Simple

Explanatory Narrative:

The boundary of the Glendale Battlefield cultural landscape corresponds to the federally owned parcels. Several privately owned parcels are located within the park boundary, but are excluded from the cultural landscape.

Public Access:

Type of Access: Other Restrictions

Explanatory Narrative:

There is no developed access to Glendale Battlefield, however there are no gates or other restrictions to access. Primary public access to the park unit is provided at the Glendale Battlefield visitor center located in the Glendale National Cemetery, outside of the park boundary.

Adjacent Lands Information

Do Adjacent Lands Contribute? Yes

Adjacent Lands Description:

Adjacent lands are lands outside the cultural landscape boundary, including lands inside or outside the park. The approximately 500- acre Glendale Battlefield site contains portions of the core area of fighting during the Battle of Glendale. However, considerable portions of the fighting, as well as maneuvering and staging, occurred on lands currently outside of the park boundary.

National Register Information

Existing National Register Status

National Register Landscape Documentation:

SHPO Documented

National Register Explanatory Narrative:

Glendale Battlefield is part of Richmond National Battlefield Park (NBP), which encompasses a series of non-contiguous sites authorized on March 2, 1936 “for the purpose of protecting, managing, and interpreting the resources associated with the Civil War battles in and around the City of Richmond, Virginia,” and established on July 14, 1944. The park acquired most of the Glendale Battlefield property in 1992-99 and additional land at the north end of the site in 2013.

Richmond NBP was administratively listed without documentation in the National Register of Historic Places on October 15, 1966 with the passage of the National Historic Preservation Act. Initial documentation of resources occurred on January 16, 1973 when the park was listed on the Virginia Landmark Register under the name “Richmond National Battlefield Park.” For this listing, a National Register form was prepared but was not approved by the Keeper of the National Register. The documentation accepted by Virginia indicated that the site was significant under Criterion A in the areas of politics and social/humanitarian, Criterion C in the area of architecture, and Criterion D for archeology (historic-aboriginal). The period of significance was identified as the nineteenth century, but no specific dates were given. The documentation itemized resources under four headings: earthworks (11 areas), monuments (approximately 80), Watt House, and Garthright House. The Glendale Battlefield was not included in the documentation.

On February 18, 2000, the Multiple Property Documentation Form (MPDF) “The Civil War in Virginia, 1861-1865: Historic and Archeological Resources” was accepted by the Keeper. The MPDF identified property types and historic contexts with which to evaluate historic and archeological resources related to the Civil War. The six property types were battlefields, earthworks, campsites, military hospitals, military headquarters, and military prisons. Richmond NHB was identified under the battlefields, earthworks, military hospitals, and military headquarters property types under Criteria A, C, and D. The historic contexts were organized by the Civil War campaigns in Virginia, most of which were conducted along the principal transportation routes. The events at Glendale Battlefield (June 30, 1862) were described as part of the Peninsula and Seven Days’ Campaigns.

On October 5, 2009, the Virginia State Historic Preservation Office (SHPO) concurred with the National Park Service on the eligibility of numerous resources at the park as part of an update to the List of Classified Structures (LCS). Among the features evaluated as contributing were several commemorative roadside markers, named Freeman Markers, erected from 1925-28. However, none of the markers at Glendale Battlefield were identified at this time.

On March 7, 2017, the Virginia SHPO accepted the first comprehensive park-wide National Register documentation for Richmond NBP (the documentation is currently under review by the Keeper of the National Register). According to the documentation, the district is primarily significant as the site of major Civil War battlefields and related properties associated with the Union’s attempts to take the

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Confederate capital city of Richmond during the Peninsula Campaign of 1862, the Overland Campaign of 1864, and the Richmond-Petersburg Campaign of 1864–1865. Significance for the 2879.42-acre federally owned historic district was identified under criteria A, B, C, and D at the national level in the areas of Military, Ethnic Heritage-Black, Conservation, Other (Commemoration), Science, Engineering, Architecture, Archeology-Historic (Non-Aboriginal), and Archeology-Prehistoric. Robert E. Lee, George B. McClellan, and Ulysses S. Grant were identified as significant persons, and the district’s contributing commemorative monuments were evaluated as meeting Criteria Consideration F (Commemorative Properties) because they possess significance engendered from their age, design, and symbolic values. The period of significance for the district was listed as c.1720-1944, beginning with the construction of the Garthright House and ending when the NPS officially accepted management of Richmond NBP. The period of significance was listed as 1680-1865 for historic archeology and 8000 BCE-1600 CE for prehistoric archeology. For the Glendale Battlefield property, significance was identified under Criterion A in the area of Military for the Battle of Glendale on June 30, 1862 (also known as the Battle of White Oak Swamp, Frayser’s Farm, and other names), as part of the Seven Days Battles during the Peninsula Campaign. Significance was also identified under Criterion A in the area of Commemoration for the property’s association with the Civil War battlefield memorialization movement. Significance was identified under Criterion D in the area of Archeology-Historic (Non-Aboriginal) for its identified archeological resources and surviving aboveground elements of the military landscape and for the potential to yield important information about the antebellum development of the preexisting cultural landscape and the enslaved and free people who lived on it. The 540.7 acres of the Battle of Glendale battlefield was listed as a contributing site, while Freeman Markers #17 and #18 were listed as contributing features. In addition, the documentation evaluated a twentieth-century house, barn, garage, and chicken coop at a residential property at 5871 Darbytown Road as noncontributing features.

According to research conducted for this CLI and the categories of National Register documentation outlined in the “CLI Professional Procedures Guide,” Glendale Battlefield at Richmond NBP is adequately documented based on the park-wide National Register documentation approved by the Virginia SHPO in March 2017. The historic resources in the park unit have been determined eligible for listing in the National Register, and the period and areas of significance have been defined. Therefore, for purposes of the CLI, the property is considered “SHPO-Documented.”

Existing NRIS Information:

Name in National Register:	Richmond National Battlefield Park
NRIS Number:	66000836
Primary Certification Date:	10/15/1966

National Register Eligibility

National Register Concurrence:	Eligible -- SHPO Consensus Determination
Contributing/Individual:	Contributing
National Register Classification:	Site
Significance Level:	National

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

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

Criteria Considerations: F -- A commemorative property

Period of Significance:

Time Period: CE 1862

Historic Context Theme: Shaping the Political Landscape

Subtheme: The Civil War

Facet: Battles In The North And South

Time Period: CE 1925 - 1932

Historic Context Theme: Expressing Cultural Values

Subtheme: Other Expressing Cultural Values

Facet: Other Expressing Cultural Values

Other Facet: Commemoration

Area of Significance:

Area of Significance Category: Military

Area of Significance Category: Other

Area of Significance Category Explanatory Narrative: Commemoration

Area of Significance Category: Archeology

Area of Significance Subcategory: Historic-Non-Aboriginal

Area of Significance Category: Archeology

Area of Significance Subcategory: Prehistoric

Statement of Significance:

Glendale Battlefield is a contributing site of the Richmond National Battlefield Park (NBP), which comprises 11 discontinuous administrative units encompassing 15 sites and a total of approximately

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2,912.74 acres in and around the cities of Richmond and Mechanicsville, Virginia, within Henrico, Hanover, and Chesterfield counties. The District contains parts of six sites consisting of Drewry's Bluff, Chickahominy Bluff, Beaver Dam Creek Battlefield, Gaines' Mill Battlefield, Glendale Battlefield, and Malvern Hill Battlefield that are associated with the Peninsula Campaign (April 4-July 2, 1862). The campaign was orchestrated by Major General George McClellan who transported his Union Army of the Potomac by boat to the tip of Virginia's Southeast Peninsula in early April and, after winning a series of battles on the peninsula, reached the outskirts of Richmond in late May and began to make preparations to lay siege to the city. After the Battle of Seven Pines on May 31, Major General Robert E. Lee assumed command of the Confederate Army of Northern Virginia and began to improve the defenses around the city and make plans for taking the offensive. During the week between June 26 and July 2, Lee launched a series of attacks that have since become known as the Seven Days' Battles. Despite being significantly outnumbered, Lee was able to force the cautious McClellan into abandoning his campaign.

Glendale Battlefield is nationally significant under Criterion A in the area of Military History as the site of the June 30, 1862 Battle of Glendale, in which the Union Army successfully defended itself from Confederate assault, allowing the Federal forces to retreat to the safety of the James River. The site is also significant under Criterion A in the area of Commemoration for its association with the Civil War battlefield memorialization and preservation movement, which led to the establishment of Richmond National Battlefield Park in 1936. Glendale Battlefield is significant under Criterion D in the areas of Historic (Non-Aboriginal) and Prehistoric Archeology for both above-ground and subsurface resources that have the potential to yield information about the battle, as well as the antebellum and pre-contact use of the area.

The overall period of significance for Glendale Battlefield extends from 1862 to 1932. The period of significance for site's military associations is 1862, the year of the Battle of Malvern Hill. For commemoration, the period extends from 1925, the establishment of the Battlefield Markers Association, and ends in 1932 when the Virginia Conservation and Development Commission erected marker PA-180.

CRITERION A: MILITARY HISTORY

Glendale Battlefield is significant at the national level in the area of Military History as the site of the June 30, 1862 Battle of Glendale, part of the Seven Days' Battles in Gen. George McClellan's Peninsula Campaign.

Peninsula Campaign:

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

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out of his fortifications and retreated toward Richmond (NR Sec.8: 52).

During the month of May the Union troops moved northward, closing in on Richmond. Although President Abraham Lincoln urged McClellan to attack Confederate capital, the general continued to overestimate the strength of his opponent, and he moved too slowly and deliberately, stalling for reinforcements. The U.S. War Department agreed to release Gen. Irvin McDowell's First Corps, which had been held back to defend Washington, to march overland and join McClellan. McDowell's orders to join McClellan were rescinded, however, when a push by Major General Thomas "Stonewall" Jackson in Virginia's Shenandoah Valley threatened Washington D.C (NR Sec.8: 53).

Sensing a weakness in both the Union position and in McClellan's resolve, Confederate Maj. Gen. Joseph E. Johnston ordered an attack on the Federals at Seven Pines, south of the Chickahominy River on May 31. The hard-fought two-day Battle of Seven Pines ended in the morning of June 1. The attacking Confederates suffered 6,134 casualties, while the Federal total amounted to 5,031. Both sides claimed victory, but the battle did little to change the military situation. The most significant outcome of the Battle of Seven Pines was Jefferson Davis' decision to put Gen. Robert E. Lee in command of the Army of Northern Virginia in place of the wounded Johnston. Lee spent the next few weeks reorganizing the army and improving the lines of earthen fortifications that nearly encircled Richmond (NR Sec.8: 58).

Seven Days Battles:

After the Battle of Seven Pines, fighting paused for several weeks. Lee ordered his troops back to their pre-battle lines and the Federals reoccupied their original positions. While McClellan was making preparations to lay siege to Richmond, using the captured portion of the Richmond and York River Railroad to bring his big guns closer to the city, Lee improved his defensive position and began planning to take the offensive. Lee was convinced that a siege of the Confederate capital would be disastrous as it would only be a question of time if the superior Federal manpower and armament were allowed to entrench around the city. To prevent this, Lee carried out a series of attacks on the Union army that would collectively be known as the Seven Days Battles.

The Battle of Oak Grove, the first of the Seven Days Battles, resulted from an attempt by McClellan to improve his position for an attack on the Old Tavern crossroads. McClellan's plan was to take the wooded area known as Oak Grove, putting his forces in position to attack Old Tavern from the south. At about 8:30 on the morning of June 25, Federal troops began the assault on Oak Grove, moving east along the Williamsburg Road. They were met by three brigades of Confederate defenders under Maj. Gen. Benjamin Huger's command. The battle raged back and forth, but neither side gained any advantage and the fighting ended at nightfall. Casualties amount to about 625 for the Federals and 440 for the Confederates (NR Sec.8: 59).

Meanwhile, Lee proceeded with his plan to defend Richmond through counterattack. Lee moved four divisions against McClellan's right flank outside of Mechanicsville on June 26. Although Jackson's division was late and never engaged, Maj. Gen. A.P. Hill backed by Maj. Gens. Longstreet and D.H. Hill launched a determined attack against Brig. Gen. Fitz John Porter's V Corps, which occupied defensive works behind Beaver Dam Creek on the north side of the Chickahominy River. The

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Confederate attacks were driven back with heavy casualties, but the show of force unnerved McClellan. Fearing that his supply lines would be cut off, he ordered that his supply base be moved from White House Landing on the York River to Harrison's Landing on the James River. McClellan pulled his right flank back that night into a stronger defensive position behind Boatswain's Swamp (NR Sec.8: 60-61).

The following day at Gaines' Mill, Lee pressed McClellan again, launching 57,000 men against the Union forces in the largest Confederate assault of the war to date. The focus of the attack was again the Union right flank, isolated from the rest of the force north of the Chickahominy River. Throughout the day, the Confederates mounted disjointed attacks, first with the division of Maj. Gen. A.P. Hill, then Maj. Gen. Richard S. Ewell. Initially, the strong Union position and lack of coordination of the Confederate attacks allowed the Federal army to withstand the assault, but as afternoon turned to evening, the Confederates began to make some progress. At about 7:00 p.m., when Jackson's divisions finally joined the fight, the Union line collapsed and fell back across the Chickahominy River, burning the bridges behind them (NR Sec.8: 62-64).

The day's casualties surmounted any battle of the Civil War to that point except Shiloh. Porter lost a total of 6,837 men (894 killed, 3,114 wounded, and 2,829 captured). Among the latter number were two entire regiments that had been surrounded as the Union line collapsed. Confederate casualties were worse (1,483 killed, 6,402 wounded, and 108 missing or captured), but they controlled the field as the remainder of Porter's men crossed the Chickahominy and set fire to the bridges behind them. That night, McClellan called a meeting of his general staff and told them directly of his plans for moving the army to the James River (NR Sec.8: 62-64).

Lee pursued McClellan as he moved south toward Harrison's Landing, harassing the rear of the retreating column at Savage's Station and White Oak Swamp. Attempting to reach the high ground of Malvern Hill, McClellan had to pass his entire army through a bottleneck crossroads known as Glendale (NR Sec.8: 64-65).

Battle of Glendale:

With each passing day of the Seven Days' Campaign, Lee became increasingly frustrated with the seeming inability of his generals, particularly Jackson, to carry out his instructions. The Battle of Glendale was yet another example of a complicated plan that went awry due to poor coordination and lackluster performance among Lee's general staff. It also proved to be Lee's last best chance deal a decisive blow to McClellan's army (NR Sec.8: 65-66).

Lee's plans for June 30 were based on reports that the advanced Federal units had reached the James River and were establishing a position on Malvern Hill. In order to reach Malvern Hill, the Federal corps marching south from White Oak Swamp would have to pass through a crossroads village called Glendale. Lee designed a complicated set of maneuvers designed to concentrate seven divisions for an attack at Glendale. Huger's division, which had yet to see action during the campaign and was closest to Glendale, was to move east along the Charles City Road and attack first. The main blow was to be struck by Longstreet's and A.P. Hill's divisions, which were to come in from the northwest along the Darbytown and Long Bridge roads. Jackson, accompanied by D.H. Hill, was to rebuild the

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bridge destroyed in the previous day's fighting at Savage's Station and fall on the Union's rearguard along White Oak Road. 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 (NR Sec.8: 65-66).

By June 30 McClellan was completely demoralized and had largely relinquished responsibility for managing the elements of his army that had not reached the James River. As a result there was no one in overall charge of the Union forces that took up positions on the Glendale Battlefield. The corps commanders present largely placed their troops with little coordination to assure connected lines and fought the battle in their sectors as they saw fit. Brig. Gen. William B. Franklin with his First Division under Brigadier General William Smith and Israel Richardson's division of the Second Corps formed the right flank of the Federal line and was posted on White Oak Road south of the swamp. His other division operated independently under its commander Brigadier General Henry Slocum who was charged with guarding the approach to Glendale along Charles City Road. West of Glendale, Hientzelman's two Third Corps divisions under Hooker and Kearny were separated by a large gap that was filled by McCall's division of the Fifth Corps (NR Sec.8: 65-66).

Due to poor execution of Lee's orders only Longstreet and Hill managed to get their men into action. Huger slowly crept along the Charles City Road until his way was blocked by trees felled by Slocum's men. Rather than send parties to remove the obstruction, he decided to build a side road and never got into the battle that day. Jackson, upon reaching the burned out White Oak Road Bridge in the early afternoon gave orders to rebuild the bridge. After a significant artillery and rifle exchange across the swamp, Jackson decided to abandon the bridge building as too dangerous. His cavalry found several places along the swamp that the infantry could ford, but Jackson refused to move. To the south, Magruder and Holmes were ordered by Lee to attack Malvern Hill where the Federals had just started massing for a defensive stand. Holmes moved forward first, but his troops were quickly panicked by a massive artillery barrage from the hill and Union gunboats on the James River. Before Magruder moved forward, he was ordered northward to support Longstreet and Hill, but failed to make it to the field in time to participate (NR Sec.8: 65-66).

Around 4:00 p.m., after waiting fruitlessly for Huger and Jackson to make their moves, Lee ordered Longstreet to begin his advance on the Union center. McCall's division, which was exhausted from the fighting at Beaver Dam Creek, took the brunt of the initial Confederate assault. Brigadier General James L. Kemper spearheaded the Confederate assault, quickly overrunning McCall's advance positions and driving in the exposed left flank of Seymour's brigade. Elsewhere, the Confederates ran into stiffer opposition and the battle surged back and forth as both sides poured in more troops until darkness ended the fighting. Once again, the Federals lines were intact, but without word from McClellan, the commanding generals in the field made successive decisions to continue the retreat toward the James River. Although the number of casualties on both sides were about the same, a far greater percentage of the Confederate total of 3,673 were killed or wounded. Just under half of the Union's 3,797 casualties were missing or taken prisoner and many of those were in units that were not informed of the Union retreat. While Lee's army had gained possession of the field, its commander realized that his last best chance to destroy McClellan's army had been lost. His anger over the inability of his generals to follow his plans and frustration that McClellan would likely slip away to the protection of his navy gunboats, were factors in the questionable decisions he made the following

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day during the Battle of Malvern Hill (NR Sec.8: 65-66).

CRITERION A: COMMEMORATION

As part of Richmond National Battlefield Park, Glendale Battlefield is significant at the national level in the area of Commemoration for its associations with the Civil War battlefield memorialization and preservation movement. The 1862 and 1864 Civil War battlefield sites surrounding Richmond did not benefit initially from federal battlefield preservation efforts in the 1890s that resulted in the creation of the country's first four national military parks, all at Civil War sites, under the management of the War Department. Over the next few decades, numerous individuals and groups petitioned Congress for additional parks and memorials at other deserving American battlefields. In the 1920s, Richmond journalist and historian Douglas Southall Freeman led a group of interested residents in forming the Battlefield Markers Association to raise money for the identification and erection of over 60 commemorative markers at various battlefield sites in and around the city. The collection of "Freeman Markers"—13 of which are located within Richmond NBP—is the earliest known series of non-governmental historical markers in the country (NR Sec.8: 88).

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

Following the success of the Freeman Markers, the Virginia Conservation and Economic Development Commission began erecting roadside signs in 1927 to commemorate events of the Civil War. These markers consisted of a cast iron sign painted silver with raised black lettering. The signs were mounted vertically on metal signposts. Several such commemorative signs were installed in the area of Malvern Hill Battlefield in 1932 to interpret the events of the Seven Days Battles and the battles of Glendale and Malvern Hill. One of the 1932 signs is currently located within the boundary of the Glendale Battlefield cultural landscape.

The District's contributing commemorative monuments meet Criteria Consideration F because they possess significance engendered from their age, design, and symbolic values (NR Sec.8:44).

CRITERION D: ARCHEOLOGY

Archeological investigations at Glendale Battlefield have yielded, and may be expected to continue to yield, important information about the use and features of the property present during the period of significance. To date, only the Malvern Hill, Glendale, and Gaines' Mill units have undergone systematic, unit-wide archeological review or survey. The identified archeological resources and surviving above-ground elements of the military landscape at Glendale illustrate the organization, operation, and experiences of the Union and Confederate armies that can be extrapolated to archeologically unexplored portions of the district (NR Sec.8: 145).

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The 1862 Peninsula Campaign and 1864 Overland Campaign were fought across a preexisting cultural landscape of farms and fields shaped by the Virginia Piedmont agricultural history. The freed slaves of the Quaker John Pleasants found a community at Gravelly Hill at the intersection of Carter's Mill and Long Bridge roads. The Gravelly Hill community still exists today outside the District boundaries. However, some of the fields and farms of the historical Gravelly Hill settlement are within the western boundaries of the Glendale Battlefield. The small parcel owned by the National Park Service on the north side of Long Bridge Road, for example, is the site of the Richard Sykes Farmstead and the Isaac Sykes Farmstead. No archeological investigations of the Sykes farmstead sites have been conducted, but both have the potential to provide important data to compare with farms where enslaved blacks and free whites lived throughout the district (NR Sec.8: 145, 163-164).

State Register Information

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

National Historic Landmark Information

National Historic Landmark Status: No

World Heritage Site Information

World Heritage Site Status: No

Chronology & Physical History

Cultural Landscape Type and Use

Cultural Landscape Type: Vernacular

Current and Historic Use/Function:

Primary Historic Function:	Farm (Plantation)
Primary Current Use:	Interpretive Landscape
Other Use/Function	Other Type of Use or Function
Single Family House	Historic
Battle Site	Historic
Horticulture Facility	Historic
Outdoor Recreation-Other	Current
Leisure-Passive (Park)	Current
Forest	Both Current And Historic

Current and Historic Names:

Name	Type of Name
Glendale Battlefield	Both Current And Historic
Frayser's Farm	Both Current And Historic

Ethnographic Study Conducted: No Survey Conducted

Chronology:

Year	Event	Annotation
8000 BCE - CE 1000	Inhabited	Paleoindians, early inhabitants of the Henrico County land, live in loosely organized bands typically occupying small, seasonal camps, subsisting by hunting, fishing, and gathering wild plants.
CE 1000 - 1600	Inhabited	Significant changes take place in the lives of local Native Americans. Agriculture appears and gradually becomes increasingly prevalent. Corn, beans, squash, pumpkins, and gourds are cultivated. Semi-permanent villages with populations reaching several hundred develop.
CE 1200 - 1607	Settled	Native American groups, primarily Algonquian-speaking Powhatan, settle in the region.

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CE 1607	Explored	Pocahontas, reportedly one of Chief Powhatan's favorite children, begins visiting Jamestown with other Native American children.
	Inhabited	Native Americans living in the area, the Arrohateck, number about 250. The Powhatan Chiefdom has developed into one of the most complex societies existing in the Middle Atlantic region of North America.
CE 1607 - 1775	Colonized	Jamestown is settled in 1607 and English settlers colonize the region.
CE 1607 - 1609	Explored	Between 1607 and 1609, explorers led by Captain Christopher Newport, including Captain John Smith, leave Jamestown on an exploratory mission. They travel up Powhatan's River, now known as the James River, stopping at what is now Osborne Landing.
CE 1610	Established	John Rolfe settles at Varina Farms.
CE 1611	Established	Sir Thomas Dale establishes Henricus, or Henrico Town, the colony's second settlement.
	Established	Sir Thomas Dale establishes Bermuda Hundred Fort at the confluence of the Appomattox River and James River.
CE 1612	Inhabited	One major village and five smaller settlements are situated on both sides of the James River.
	Farmed/Harvested	John Rolfe cultivates a strain of mild tobacco. Rolfe's tobacco is shipped to England, and Virginia's economy begins to prosper.
CE 1614	Established	Pocahontas (Powhatan's daughter) and John Rolfe marry in April 1614. Powhatan signs a peace treaty with English settlers that lasts until March 22, 1622.
CE 1614 - 1622	Farmed/Harvested	Virginia finds economic prosperity from its tobacco production and export to England, leading to land speculation and the establishment of large, mono-crop plantations. Inadequate subsistence farming in favor of tobacco results in continued dependence on Native American trading.

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CE 1616	Settled	Private land ownership is instituted by Sir Thomas Dale, altering the development of Henrico Town. By 1616 approximately fifty people remain within its walls. The other have established private farms along the James River. The number of colonists continues to climb, further straining the relationship with the local Native Americans.
CE 1618 - 1619	Established	The Virginia Company undergoes a major reorganization leading to the establishment of representative government within the colony, the first of its kind within a British colony. Virginia is divided into settlements or 'plantations,' including the City of Henrico. Each settlement is represented within the General Assembly of 1619.
CE 1618	Settled	The Virginia Company institutes a system of 'headrights,' under which all settlers who pay their way to Virginia are granted 50 acres of land. Patrons who pay for passage of others receive their 50 acres, and passengers enter a period of indentured servitude to repay the costs of passage. This system promotes the accumulation of large land grants to wealthy families while providing the mechanism for immigration and cheap labor.
CE 1620	Farmed/Harvested	The Virginia Company ships 40,000 pounds of tobacco to England annually.
CE 1622	Inhabited	Twenty-five English settlements are inhabited in Virginia.
	Destroyed	Opechancanough, Powhatan's younger brother and successor, leads a raid against the English settlements up and down the James River. Henrico Town, Varina Farm, and Tuckahoe are destroyed. Many settlements are abandoned, including portions of Henrico Town.
CE 1624	Land Transfer	With the dissolution of the Virginia Company, Virginia becomes a colony of the English Crown.
CE 1625	Inhabited	Efforts to reestablish Henrico Town fail. Only 22 inhabitants reside in town dwelling-houses.
CE 1627	Land Transfer	The site of Henrico Town is included in a 2,000-acre grant to William Farrar. The site becomes known as Farrar's Island.

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CE 1633	Built	Virginia Assembly orders that roads be laid out as they might seem convenient.
CE 1634	Established	Henrico County, one of eight shires or counties, is established.
CE 1635	Land Transfer	Thomas Harris receives a patent of land on Curles Neck.
CE 1639	Land Transfer	Richard Cocke receives a grant for 2,000 acres, including land on Curles Neck and Malvern Hill. Cocke receives the grant as part of the headright system in recompense for passage for forty people to Virginia from England. It is not believed that Richard occupies the Malvern Hill plantation, but may cultivate it with the help of a tenant overseer.
CE 1640 - 1660	Land Transfer	At some point after his initial grant, Richard Cocke begins to apportion his land on Malvern Hill. By the late 1660s, Captain James Crewes is established on a plantation on the west side of Malvern Hill called Turkey Island. Cocke retains his seat at Bremono.
CE 1655	Land Transfer	James Crewes acquires 541 acres of Richard Cocke's former land at Turkey Island.
CE 1658	Platted	The first surveyor of roads is appointed.
CE 1663	Land Transfer	In 1663, Richard Cocke's son Thomas marries and is established on his father's land on Malvern Hill.
	Built	Thomas Cocke builds a residence on Malvern Hill. The frame structure stands on the southern bluffs of the hill until it burns in 1710.
CE 1665	Built	Sometime before his death in 1665, Richard Cocke establishes a mill and two tanneries on his Malvern Hill land.
CE 1674	Land Transfer	Nathaniel Bacon acquires Curles Neck land.

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CE 1676	Military Operation	Nathaniel Bacon leads a rebellion against colonial government at Jamestown. Subsequent colonial treaties with Powhatan confine chiefdom to a few, small reservations and require them to pay tribute to the colonial government. James Crewes, who sides with Bacon in the unsuccessful insurrection, is hanged in 1677.
CE 1679	Land Transfer	John Pleasants acquires portions of the Curles Neck land and establishes himself at the plantation seat called Curles.
CE 1690	Land Transfer	John Pleasants, a Quaker, deeds land on Turkey Island plantation to the Friends for a meeting house and burying place.
CE 1698	Land Transfer	William Randolph acquires Turkey Island plantation on Curles Neck.
CE 1699	Established	The capital of Virginia is moved from Jamestown to Williamsburg.
CE 1710	Built	Thomas Cocke's residence at Malvern Hill burns, and a new brick residence is constructed.
CE 1723	Established	Garthright family establishes second Quaker Church at White Oak Swamp.
CE 1737	Established	Richmond is established by William Byrd II.
CE 1750 - 1780	Inhabited	Thomas Jolley occupies land within Malvern Hill/Glendale area near Western Run.
CE 1750 - 1785	Inhabited	Robert Povall occupies land within Malvern Hill/Glendale area near Western Run.
CE 1770	Inhabited	William Hobson occupies land within Malvern Hill/Glendale area near Western Run.
CE 1779	Established	Capital of Virginia is moved from Williamsburg to Richmond.
CE 1780	Military Operation	Benedict Arnold and British forces, the Marquis de Lafayette and Colonial troops, British General Cornwallis and his troops, camp on, occupy, and move through the lands in the vicinity of Malvern Hill.

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	Land Transfer	Descendants of Thomas Cocke sell Malvern Hill house and lands to Robert Nelson.
	Established	Robert Pleasants, a Quaker residing at Curles Neck, establishes Gravelly Hill School, an institution for the education of freed slaves. The earliest reference to the area Gravelly Hill adjacent to the Malvern Hill/Glendale area comes from 1813 Henrico County land tax records.
CE 1785 - 1810	Inhabited	William Bradley occupies land within Malvern Hill/Glendale area near Western Run.
CE 1785 - 1821	Inhabited	Elizabeth Povall, widow of Robert Povall occupies her husband's estate on the west side of Western Run, a branch of Turkey Island Creek adjacent to the lands of Robert Nelson and Malvern Hills.
CE 1788	Land Transfer	Abraham Womack sells 50 acres all the land of Thomas Jolley's...lying on the Western branch to David Royster.
CE 1791	Land Transfer	David Royster sells 50 acre Jolley tract to Fleming Jordan.
CE 1802 - 1803	Built	Willis Methodist Church is established.
CE 1803	Land Transfer	John Williams sells to Moses Woodfin 81 acres a plantation...lying on the west side of Western Run.
CE 1810	Land Transfer	Peter West acquires reversionary rights to Robert Povall estate and deeds them to Elizabeth West.
CE 1814	Land Transfer	William Keesee acquires 100 acre plantation in Malvern Hill/Glendale area, formerly the plantation of William Bradley.
CE 1818	Land Transfer	William Keesee sells 214 acres lying on each side of the road leading from the Long Bridges to Turkey Island to Francis Frayser.
CE 1821	Land Transfer	Thomas I. West acquires the 165-acre Bellfield farm, or West House property, from his mother Elizabeth West. It is likely that shortly after this, Thomas I. West built the original West house.

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CE 1822	Land Transfer	James Binford purchases from county commissioners 101.5 acres of land formerly owned by Moses Woodfin.
CE 1826	Inhabited	First reference to Frayser's Mill in the Malvern Hill/Glendale area.
CE 1835	Land Transfer	James W. Binford acquires 120 acres of the William Keesee estate in Malvern Hill area. Shortly after this he likely builds and occupies the eastern most Binford residence noted on an 1853 map of Henrico County.
CE 1843	Land Transfer	James Binford sells 137 acres to John Mettert.
CE 1848	Land Transfer	James Binford and Frayser heirs sell 256 acres to John Mettert. A one-quarter-acre burial ground is reserved from this sale.
CE 1849	Land Transfer	Thomas I. West deeds the 100-acre West Cottage property to his son Edward West, reserving the right of access to a marl pit and a grave yard.
CE 1851	Land Transfer	Thomas French acquires Francis Frayser 214-acre property including grist mill.
	Land Transfer	Edward West sells the 100-acre West Cottage property to James W. Binford with existing reservations. Binford likely occupies the West Cottage property at this time.
CE 1853 - 1855	Built	Willis Methodist Church parsonage is constructed.
CE 1857	Land Transfer	Thomas French sells 214 acres and abandoned grist mill complex to Christopher C. Garthright who establishes Poplar Grove farm.
	Land Transfer	John Mettert sells 393 acres to Edward Poindexter.
	Land Transfer	Will of Thomas I. West requests the sale of the tract upon which my blacksmiths and wheelwrights shop is situated.
CE 1857 - 1860	Built	Christopher C. Garthright constructs his residence and agricultural outbuildings at his Poplar Grove farm.

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CE 1860	Land Transfer	Sometime before the 1860 census, Cornelius Crew acquires the house and farm formerly owned by John Mettert.
CE 1862	Military Operation	Lee directs Confederate attack on McClellan's troops at Glendale as they retreat to James River. Confederate forces fail to stop Federal retreat to Malvern Hill.
	Military Operation	Federal troops successfully defend the Malvern Hill heights from Confederate assault and retreat at night to Harrison's Landing on the James River.
	Military Operation	Following the Federal retreat, Confederate forces occupy Malvern Hill vicinity establishing headquarters at the Crew House.
	Military Operation	Federal forces retake vicinity of Malvern Hill and abandon it several days later.
CE 1865	Land Transfer	Thomas I. West passes the Bellfield farm on to his son John W. West.
CE 1866	Established	Glendale National Cemetery is established.
CE 1867	Established	Reconstruction Act passed by Congress.
	Built	First evidence for domestic structure on property farmed by Edward Fuqua.
CE 1868	Land Transfer	Federal Government purchases 2.1 acres of land for Glendale National Cemetery from Nathaniel Nelson.
CE 1869	Farmed/Harvested	The Forest...between the hill and Willis Church is noted to be cut down.
CE 1873	Land Transfer	Bellfield farm (West House) sold to Robert T. Smith.
	Built	New kitchen room added to the rear of Willis Methodist Church parsonage.
CE 1874	Built	Glendale Cemetery Lodge is constructed.

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CE 1875	Built	Stone rubble wall surrounding Glendale Cemetery Lodge is constructed.
CE 1877	Built	Crew house burns. A new house in similar style is constructed shortly after.
CE 1878	Built	New stable and feed house built adjacent to Willis Methodist Church parsonage.
CE 1887	Land Transfer	Malvern Hill house and lands purchased by westerner, Henry P. Morenson. A brick kiln is constructed on site and souvenir bricks sold to tourists visiting the battlefield.
CE 1908	Destroyed	Malvern Hill house burns.
CE 1917	Built	Two new residences are identified for the first time on a Charles City quadrangle map, one on the east side of Route 156, opposite the Willis Methodist Church parsonage, and a second in the location of the Christopher Garthright farm.
CE 1925	Memorialized	Freeman markers are erected on Richmond area battlefields.
CE 1928	Land Transfer	Richmond Battlefield Parks Corporation purchases 100 acres of the battlefield at Malvern Hill.
CE 1929 - 1930	Built	State Route 156 is constructed, a 38-mile circuitous tour road connecting the Richmond Battlefield Parks Corporation lands. Congress appropriates money for a survey of the Richmond Battlefield Parks Corporation lands.
CE 1932	Memorialized	The state of Virginia erects a series of historical markers within the Malvern Hill/Glendale area to commemorate the Civil War battles.
	Established	Richmond Battlefield Park is established as Virginia's first state park. However, it does not include the Glendale battlefield area.
CE 1933 - 1936	Land Transfer	Richmond Battlefield Park acquires an additional 30-acre parcel of land at Malvern Hill east of Willis Church Road and adjoining the land already owned by the state.

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CE 1933 - 1940	Maintained	Civilian Conservation Corp (CCC) conducts work to maintain and improve Richmond Battlefield Park lands.
CE 1936	Established	Richmond National Battlefield Park is established. The Master Plan details that interpretive markers are proposed for Malvern Hill off of Route 156 between the Crew house and the West house and opposite the Willis Methodist Church parsonage. A picnic area north of the Crew house was also proposed. At Glendale, a turnout and interpretive markers are proposed.
CE 1938	Paved	State Route 156, or the Battlefield Park Route, is paved by the CCC.
	Built	New turn out is constructed at Malvern Hill.
	Built	Several new residences, possibly tenant houses, are identified for the first time on a Dutch Gap quadrangle map in the Green Quarters vicinity west of the Crew house.
CE 1944	Land Transfer	Lands encompassing the Richmond National Battlefield Park are formally accepted by the Federal Government.
CE 1960	Built	One-quarter-mile dirt road constructed from Route 156 westward onto Malvern Hill. A parking area with adjacent visual and audio interpretive shelter is also constructed.
CE 1963	Built	The Colonial Gas Pipeline Company acquires permission from private property owners for a fifty-foot-wide easement for buried gas pipes.
CE 1988	Destroyed	The Willis Methodist Church parsonage burns.
CE 1994 - 1995	Land Transfer	The Association for the Preservation of Civil War Sites (APCWS) purchases approximately 752 acres of land in the vicinity of Glendale and Malvern Hill battlefields.
CE 1997 - 1998	Built	A pedestrian interpretive trail is constructed which links NPS and APCWS lands. The trail extended from the Willis Methodist Church parsonage across Carter's Mill Road to the NPS parking lot.

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CE 1999	Rehabilitated	In the spring of 1999, the Glendale National Cemetery lodge is converted to an NPS visitor center for the Glendale and Malvern Hill units of Richmond NBP.
	Land Transfer	In April of 1999, a public commemoration is held at Malvern Hill to mark the ceremonial transfer of the deed for 752 acres of Civil War Preservation Trust (formerly APCWS) lands at Malvern Hill and Glendale to Richmond National Battlefield Park.
	Stabilized	The two chimney stacks at the Willis Methodist Church parsonage are stabilized.
	Built	During the summer of 1999, new interpretive signs are erected on NPS property and additional artillery are placed on the Malvern Hill plateau east of Route 156.
CE 1999 - 2000	Land Transfer	Civil War Preservation Trust exercises an option on the 245-acre West house property with the intention of acquiring the land and donating it to the Richmond NBP.
CE 2008	Land Transfer	Richmond National Battlefield Park acquires 43.13 acres north of Long Bridge Rd., including the former sites of the Richard and Isaac Sykes homes.
CE 2013	Land Transfer	Richmond National Historical Park acquires approximately 252 acres of the Glendale Battlefield including former portions of the Nelson and Whitlock farms.
CE 2104 - 2014	Land Transfer	Richmond National Historical Park acquires approximately 20.5 acres of the Glendale Battlefield at the intersection of Darbytown Rd. and Charles City Rd., including a portion of what was the Riddle farm property.
CE 2016	Land Transfer	Richmond National Historical Park acquires approximately 100 acres of the Glendale Battlefield east of Willis Church Rd., including a portion of what was the Nelson Farm.

Physical History:

INTRODUCTION

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

AMERICAN INDIAN OCCUPATION: 11,000 BCE–1607 CE

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

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

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

satellite camps in order to take advantage of seasonally available resources located within upland terraces and resource rich wetland areas (Anderson and Sassaman 1996: 24-25).

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

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

EUROPEAN SETTLEMENT AND EARLY COLONIAL VIRGINIA: 1607–1700

Jamestown and James River Settlement:

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

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

Sir Thomas Dale arrived in Virginia in May 1611 with instruction from the London Company to locate a suitable site for the establishment of a new town and principal seat for the colony.

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

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

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

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

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

ten “dwelling houses.” Tensions between colonists and Native Americans continued to increase as the population of colonists grew and Native Americans were displaced.

Economic Development and Early Transportation:

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

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

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

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

By the turn of the eighteenth century, the depressed tobacco prices required landowners to

produce ever increasing amounts of the crop in order to turn a profit. Intensive cultivation rapidly depleted soils, driving planters to seek yet more land. But as the eighteenth century progressed and settlement in the area increased, land became more constrained. Growers increasingly experimented with crop rotation and soil amendments to rehabilitate depleted soils, allowing field to go fallow until nutrients had been replenished (Kulikoff 1986: 47). Yet, increasing population and continued pressure for fresh land fueled westward expansion of the colonial frontier. Following major waterways such as the James, York, Rappahannock, and Potomac rivers, colonists slowly pushed into the interior of Virginia's Tidewater region (Lemon 1984: 103).

Settlement and Land Ownership:

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

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

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

The Turkey Island land passed from Ann Hallom through William Edward to James Crewes.

Glendale Battlefield

Richmond National Battlefield Park

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

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

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

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

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

The Malvern Hill plantation appears to have been passed from through four more generations

of the Cocke family, finally passing out of the family around the time of the American Revolution.

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

Religion:

John Pleasants was notable not only for his vast land holdings, but also because he was a member of the Religious Society of Friends, or Quakers. Not recognized legally by the Church of England, Quakers came to represent a significant population in the settled areas between Turkey Island and White Oak Swamp. In an attempt to curtail Quaker immigration, the Anglican-dominated civil authorities fined Quaker colonists for a variety of offences, including improper marriages, failure to attend church, and illegal religious gatherings. In 1682, a complaint was entered against “John Pleasants and Jane Tucker als. Larcome als Pleasants (quakers) defend'ts have shewed that the sd. two p'sons doe unlawfully accompany themselves together as man and wife without legall marriage, and also that they have made a breach of three penall lawes of this Country Viz't...absence from the Church...refuseing to have their children Baptized...for haveing and suffering a Conventicle at or near their house...and as being pr'sent and members of the sd. Conventicle.” Judgement for the charge of being improperly married was found in the Pleasantses’ favor, but they were found guilty of the other charges. After appeals that went as far as England, the charges were dismissed (Pleasants 1908: 218-219).

Tolerance of Quakers increased as the seventeenth century closed, and by the time of his will in 1690, John Pleasants was able to bequeath “To the Friends (now called Quakers) a small parcel of land purchased of Benjamin Hatcher, next to Thomas Holmes [on the Turkey Island plantation], for a meeting house and burying place. Another prominent Quaker family that owned considerable land in the area, the Garthrights, helped to organize a second meeting house at White Oak Swamp in 1723. The road that joined the two meeting houses became known as Quaker Road (Pleasants 1908: 219).

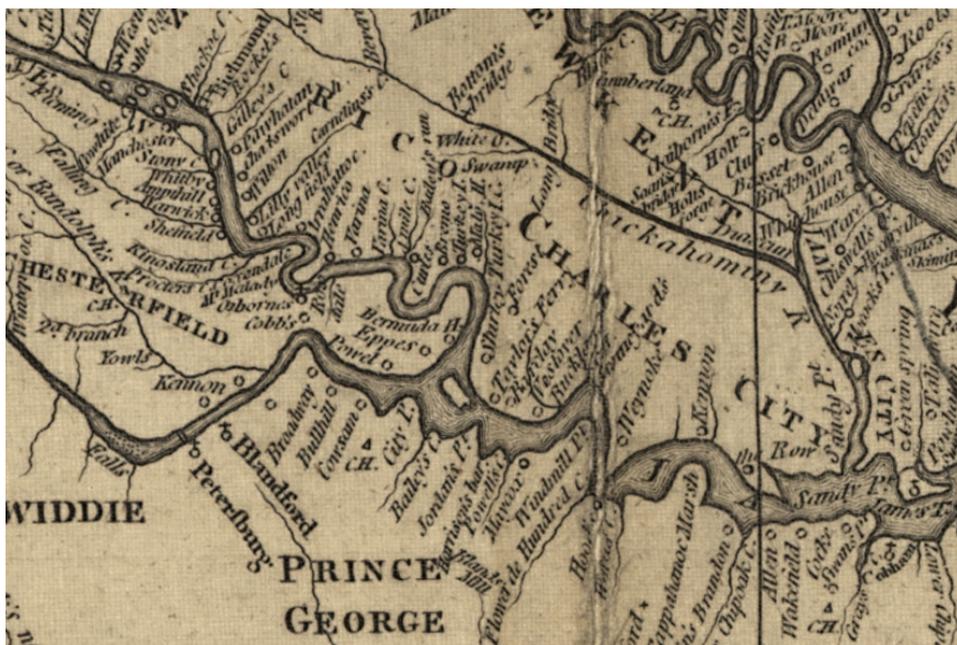


Figure 1. Detail of a map of Virginia, 1787. The names of the estate seats in the vicinity of Glendale include Curles, Brems, Turkey I., and Malv. H. (Library of Congress).



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

LATE COLONIAL AND ANTEBELLUM VIRGINIA, 1700-1861

Development of Transportation:

Tobacco farming built successful and prosperous communities that developed where deep rivers made shipping possible. Large plantations developed along the James River during the early eighteenth century. The marshes in front of the grand homes overlooking the James River were spanned with wharves “that welcomed ships of commerce ready to exchange the luxuries of Europe for a cargo of golden leaf” (WPA 1940:1). Small-scale farmers in the Tidewater area were unable to compete with the land and labor demands of large-scale tobacco production driven by low priced labor and slavery. Many moved westward to untouched land and fresh fields. Settlers used Native American trails to move west to fresh

Glendale Battlefield

Richmond National Battlefield Park

fields, and over time these pathways would become roads. Westward movement expanded the transportation system beyond rivers, and the heads of navigation at the fall line of the principal rivers became cargo transfer points, developing into the cities of Petersburg, Richmond, Fredericksburg, and Alexandria (WPA 1940: 2).

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

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

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

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

George Washington noted the importance of commercial routes connecting the waters of

eastern Virginia with the Ohio River in the eighteenth century, but the Revolutionary War intervened with initial canal construction projects. In 1790 the James River Company opened the first commercial canal in the United States. The canal paralleled the James River for seven miles from Richmond to Westham. The highly used canal proved to be a profitable venture until the economic recession of 1820 (WPA 1940: 3). There was also a rise in manufacturing at the end of the Revolution. After years of trade with England, independence made local manufacturing and processing more important than ever. Throughout the eighteenth century the intensive cultivation of settlers had depleted the soil quality and many farmers were forced to switch from tobacco to grain. It is likely that the land surrounding Malvern Hill was used for grain production at this time.

Depletion of Agricultural Soils and Growth of Industry:

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

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

Traveling from Washington to Richmond in 1852, Frederick Law Olmsted, a noted landscape architect and journalist, made use of both steamboat and rail travel. Olmsted observed “not more than a third of the country, visible on this route ... is cleared; the rest mainly a pine forest. Of the cleared land, not more than one quarter seems to have been lately in cultivation; the rest is grown over with briars and bushes, and a long, coarse grass of no value.” Olmsted observed that maize and wheat were the primary crops. Impressive old plantation mansions, often standing in a grove of white oaks, stood on hilltops throughout landscape. Most of the plantation homes were constructed of wood, painted white, and had a dozen or so slave cabins scattered about. More common habitations of white people consisted of logs or loosely boarded frames (Olmsted 1996: 31-32).

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

Land Ownership:

While the size and composition of farms and plantations outside Richmond varied tremendously from small family farms to large plantations, the majority of farms were modest affairs with a few, small, roughly constructed buildings. On larger estates, clusters of domestic buildings typically included a dwelling, slave quarters, and a kitchen, privy, smokehouse, and dairy. Field slave quarters, barns, tobacco barns, and animal shelters usually stood farther from the main dwelling. After 1700, when grain cultivation began to gain popularity, the region’s rivers and streams became dotted with mills, milldams, and millponds (JMA 2004: 45).

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

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

The Pleasants family also continued to live in the area of Malvern Hill, shaping not only local history, but the history of the nation. Although the Quakers were one of the first groups to

oppose slavery, many Quakers were slave owners, and records suggest that John Pleasants was involved in the slave trade in the late seventeenth century. His grandson, however, also John Pleasants, had come to the belief that slavery was wrong, and in his will in 1771 he left his slaves to his children with the stipulation that they be freed if and when manumission became legal in Virginia (Bruce 1896: 82,100).

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

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

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

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

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

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

James W. Binford was important with respect to the project area, as he bought and sold sections of both what would become known as the Crew farm and Christopher C. Garthright's 'Poplar Grove.' His real estate dealings with Francis Frayser may have included the site that is now the Parsonage. Francis Frayser's holdings were as extensive as those of James Binford; at one time they owned the land which would ultimately become the site of the Glendale National Cemetery, more than likely the parcel sold to individuals establishing Willis Methodist Church, and the property which would eventually be reconstituted by John H. Mettert as his 450-acre farm listed in the 1850 census. Francis' widow Elizabeth sold the farm residence and its adjoining land situated on the eastern side of Willis Church Road to Nathaniel Nelson in October, 1849. Ethland Nelson, who owned the farm with R.H. Nelson prior to and after the Civil War, sold at least two parcels to the federal government, one in October 1868, and another in August 1873. These parcels presumably became Glendale National Cemetery. The Nelson family retained control of the property until 1908 (Figure 4) (JMA 2004: 52).

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

The West farm represents one of the most consistent family holdings in the area. Robert Povall originally owned 800 acres adjacent to Malvern Hill, including most of the 1862 West farm. The property was passed on to the Wests when Povall's widow Elizabeth was remarried to Edward West in 1790, maintaining her dower's rights to the property. They had a son, Thomas I. West, who was subsequently given the 165-acre 'Bells' or 'Bellfield' farm in 1821, known as the West farm in 1862. Thomas I. West passed Bellfield on to his son John W. West after his death in 1865. Thomas I. West also gave another son, Edward West, the 100-acre 'West Cottage' parcel in 1849. Edward West later sold this parcel to James W. Binford in 1851. At least two Binford residences appear in the West/Binford tract: one identified on an 1853 Henrico County map, and another identified on a late nineteenth-century

map showing July 1862 battle positions. Prior to 1851, Binford likely occupied the easternmost property overlooking Western Run, as he did not purchase the ‘West Cottage’ tract until 1851. Land tax records indicate that he improved this early and easternmost property c.1846-1847. After his purchase of the ‘West Cottage’ in 1851, he likely moved there, as it was more conveniently located adjacent to a prominent thoroughfare, Carter’s Mill Road. Subsequent maps of the West/Binford parcel made during the Civil War document that the older structure overlooking Western Run may have been torn down or removed by the mid- to late 1860s (JMA 2004: 52).

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

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

Many of the farms in the area were occupied by tenant farmers and managers who oversaw crop production for the owners who lived elsewhere. This often led to discrepancies between names found on deeds, censuses, maps, and local informants. Some maps label the West house with the name Dr. Turner, although it does not appear that he ever owned the land. In the 1860 census, Edward Fuqua, farmer is found under the Epps household. As Epps was 60 years old at the time of the census, Fuqua likely assisted in the management of the farm. At some point between 1860 and 1867, Edward Fuqua bought the 116.5 acres of Binford land to

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the northwest of Willis Methodist Church, and below the eastern ravine that is now the project area's northern boundary. Fuqua's property constitutes an important part of the Glendale battlefield. The map drawn by Nathaniel Michler after the war documented a farmhouse and Fuqua's ownership of the property. A dwelling, larger outbuilding, small orchard, and small road leading to Willis Church Road appear on the 1867 Michler map. While fields were almost always cultivated, the farmhouses themselves might not have been occupied; census records for 1860 showed at least four farms in the general vicinity of the 1862 battles to be "vacant" (JMA 2004: 54).

Landscape Description, 1860:

Settlement and agricultural patterns instituted by the earliest English tobacco planters dictated vernacular spatial relationships such as roads, fields, and home sites between neighboring farms. Most farms in the project area and beyond showed a consistency in agrarian settlement. Home sites were located in open land, usually on elevated topography, linked directly or indirectly to main thoroughfares by cart paths or farm roads. Farm complexes were usually surrounded by orchards and cultivated fields interspersed with woods, meadows, and pastures. Nineteenth-century slave quarters, with labor focused on the production of mixed grains, tended to be clustered in larger aggregations usually closer to the main domestic complex than during the previous century (Figure 5).

Cultivated fields were generally bordered by farm roads or paths, more than likely alignments dating to the "rolling roads" and cart paths of the seventeenth century. Fields were also frequently divided by woods, wood fences, or hedgerows. Outbuildings such as barns and storage facilities (as seen on the Crew, West, and Dew properties) were frequently built along these lanes, which served on a larger scale to informally connect these structures with the main domestic complexes. Other agricultural features included drainage ditches and channels.

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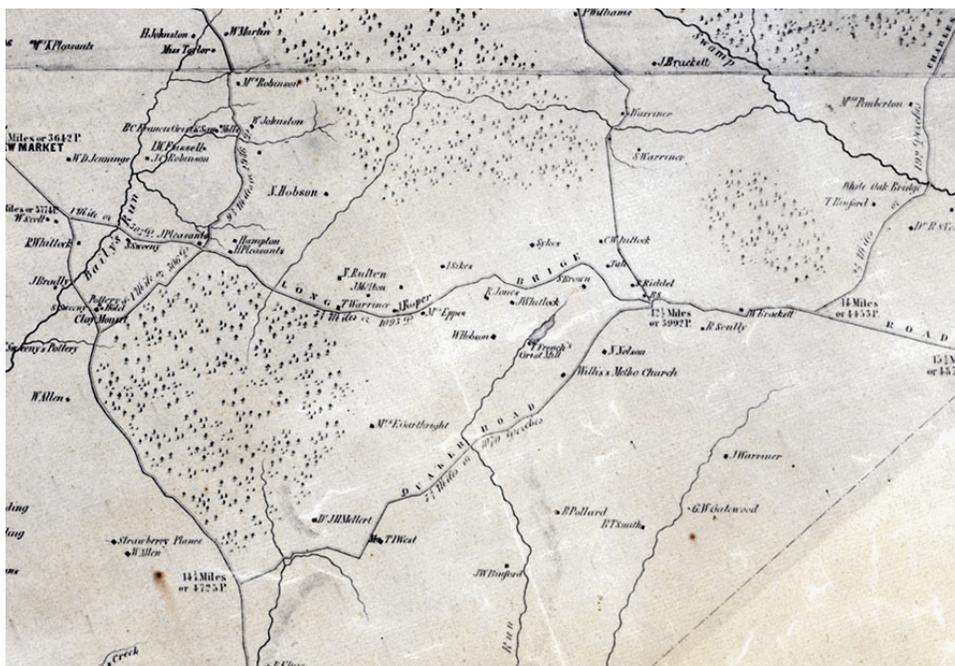


Figure 3. Detail of an atlas from 1853 showing the Glendale area. Farms in the area are labeled with the names S. Riddle, N. Nelson, J. Whitlock, I. Sykes, (R.) Sykes, and Willis Methodist Church (Library of Congress).



Figure 4. Drawing made from an 1885 photograph showing the Nelson House (labeled Frayser's Farm-house). Glendale National Cemetery is visible in the center-right of the drawing (Battles and Leaders of the Civil War).



Figure 5. Detail of a map drawn by Col. Nathaniel Michler from 1867 showing the Glendale area and the layouts of the Nelson, Riddle, Sykes, and McDowell properties (Library of Congress).

CIVIL WAR, 1861-1865

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

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

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

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

Seven Days Battles:

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

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

Jackson's arrival from the Shenandoah Valley campaign, convinced McClellan to retreat. Calling his plans "a change of base," he ordered his naval contingent to relocate from White House on the Pamunkey River to Harrison's Landing on the James River. Supplies were also moved south, including thousands of wagons and a herd of 2,500 cattle. A Confederate account of the Federal retreat described its effect on the landscape:

"The whole country was full of deserted plunder, army wagons, and pontoon-trains partially burned or crippled; mounds of grain and rice and hillocks of mess beef smouldering; tens of thousands of axes, picks, and shovels; camp kettles gashed with hatchets; medicine chests with their drugs stirred into a foul medley, and all the apparatus of a vast and lavish host; while the mire under foot was mixed with blankets lately new, and with overcoats torn from the waist up. For weeks afterward agents of our army were busy in gathering in the spoils. Great stores of fixed ammunition were saved, while more were destroyed" (Rev. Dabney, quoted in JMA 2004, 64).

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

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

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

McClellan's first problem was to extricate his forces from their fieldworks facing Richmond and the threat posed by a presumably more numerous and aggressive enemy. At this juncture,

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

Lee was not satisfied with merely driving Brig. Gen. Fitz John Porter's reinforced Fifth Corps over the Chickahominy River, nor with relieving the investment of Richmond; his new goal was to pocket and destroy the enemy between the Chickahominy and the James Rivers. To accomplish this, Lee would have to mobilize the Confederates under Magruder and Maj. Gen. Benjamin Huger, who had bemused McClellan in front of Richmond for several weeks, and set them after him. After determining whether the Federals were retiring down the Peninsula toward Yorktown or south toward the James, Lee, to strike the Federals, would have to coordinate movements by converging forces across difficult terrain, and transfer much of his own army across the Chickahominy River. This was an exceedingly ambitious plan for a new army that had already experienced difficulty in the last two days getting inexperienced staff and generals, untrained troops, inaccurate and vague maps, and poor roads (JMA 2004: 68).

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

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

Lee was convinced early on June 29 that his adversary was retiring southward, and set his rested troops on the roads to trap his opponent. Magruder was ordered out of the Richmond trenches north and south of Williamsburg Road toward Savage's Station on the Richmond and

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York River Railroad in order to pin McClellan's rearguard. Jackson was to reconstruct Grapevine Bridge over the Chickahominy River, cross, and advance on Magruder's left. Meanwhile, Generals Longstreet and A.P. Hill would cross at New Bridge, loop behind Magruder and join Huger, who was also advancing out of Richmond. If the three divisions of Longstreet, Hill, and Huger could march fast and strike hard, they would catch McClellan south of White Oak Swamp, and might catch a few Federal units and wagon trains in the act of crossing the swamp. Lee's strategy was to deliver the fatal blow to the Army of the Potomac at the crossroads of Glendale (JMA 2004:68).

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

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

Battle of Glendale:

From Savage's Station McClellan's route of retreat took the Federal army south across White Oak Swamp and through a confined crossroads just north of Malvern Hill. Lee recognized that his best opportunity to trap the Federals into surrendering would be to sever the strung-out army before it could consolidate its forces on the formidable high ground of Malvern Hill. His strategy entailed tying up McClellan's rear guard as it crossed White Oak Swamp while focusing the bulk of his force on a vulnerable crossroads two and a half miles south of there. If the Confederates could break through the narrow column they could divide McClellan's army and cut off his escape route.

The critical crossroads comprised the intersection of Long Bridge Road, Charles City Road, Darbytown Road, and most importantly, Willis Church Road (labeled "Quaker Road" on maps dating from 1853, as well as most Civil War Maps). The cluster of farms in the area of the crossroads included the Nelson farm, known as "Glendale," the Whitlock farm, Riddell's blacksmith shop and farm, and Willis Methodist Church property (JMA 2004: 66).

Lee organized his command so as to position Gen. T. J. "Stonewall" Jackson's men (four

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divisions numbering about 25,000 soldiers) to hold McClellan's rear guard at White Oak Swamp, while the remaining six Confederate divisions, some 44,000 men, were to converge at the Crossroads in order to overwhelm the remaining Federals en route to the river via Willis Church Road. Gens. A.P. Hill and James Longstreet (as well as Gen. John Magruder) approached the intersection from the north and west via Darbytown and Long Bridge Roads. Gen. Huger, whose men and batteries were supposed to play an opening role in the engagement, slowly moved his forces toward the site on Charles City Road. At some point, Lee made the decision to attack the Federal forces at Malvern Hill with the artillery and men of Gen. Theophilous H. Holmes, who approached the area along the southerly River Road. The plan was, in essence, a triangular trap (Figure 6) (JMA 2004: 66).

McClellan had nearly two-thirds of his Army of the Potomac at White Oak Swamp and Glendale, totaling 62,500 men. In order to protect Willis Church Road, Federal forces stretched in an arc nearly two miles from both the north and south sides of Charles city Road, across Long Bridge Road to the west of Willis Church Road, extending south into the farm of John Whitlock, continuing through the farm property later known as that of Edward Fuqua, and perhaps straggling as far south as the Garthright farm (Hooker's division). Brig. Gen. William B. Franklin's troops were responsible for defending the Federal rear at White Oak Swamp; the combined forces of Gens. Slocum, Kearny, McCall, and Hooker constituted the defensive buffer between the Confederates approaching from the west, and the Federal line of retreat along Willis Church Road (JMA 2004: 66). Gen. Sumner established his headquarters in the Nelson house near Willis Methodist Church (Figures 7 and 8).

The first engagement began late in the afternoon of June 30, when Lee ordered Longstreet to attack McCall's division of Pennsylvania Reserves positioned on John Whitlock's farm. The ensuing battles raged over control of the land between Long Bridge and Willis Church Roads. After Confederates made an initial break in the Federal line by overrunning McCall's position on the eastern side of the Western Run ravine, capturing McCall in the process, Federal reinforcements under Gens. Sumner, Sedgwick, Kearny, and Hooker, managed to seal the breach and secured their position (Figure 9). Unfortunately for Lee, maintaining the forward momentum of the Confederates under Hill and Longstreet proved impossible, for his reinforcements were lacking. Magruder's troops spent the day marching back and forth under contradictory orders without participating in the battle, while the forces of Holmes were engaged at Malvern Hill, also unable to contribute reserves (JMA 2004: 67).

Characterized at one point by ferocious hand-to-hand combat, the Battle of Glendale closed at darkness when the casualties for both sides were virtually even: 3,673 Confederates and 3,797 Federals killed, missing, and wounded, with the Confederates suffering the larger proportion of deaths. Ultimately, the hotly contested engagements of the day ended with the Federals maintaining control of their retreat route toward Malvern Hill (JMA 2004: 66).

Battle of Malvern Hill:

On July 1, the day after the bloody standoff at Glendale, the Army of the Potomac and the Army of Northern Virginia confronted each other at Malvern Hill. The Federal Army of the Potomac stood in a very strong defensive position, with most of their army present. A general could hardly hope for a better position for defense than the one McClellan had at Malvern

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Hill. Although it was one of the highest spots in eastern Virginia, some 130 feet above sea level, its configuration was far more important than its height. Malvern Hill was an open plateau, with its flanks covered by ravines, streams, swamps, and dense brush. The top of the plateau was less than a mile across. From the perspective of the Federals, the Confederates would have to assault frontally up more than half a mile of gently rising ground covered with crops and fringed with dense woodlands. The center of the slope facing north was ideal for the ricochets of artillery roundshot; it was a wheat field, with the grain bundled into wheat shocks (JMA 2004: 74).

As they had in the past, the Confederates again had major problems getting into position, even though Malvern Hill was less than two miles from the edge of the Glendale battlefield. Lee issued unclear marching orders; Magruder's troops headed in the wrong direction most of the day; and the majority of the army was jammed into the narrow corridor of Willis Church Road, unable to fan out because of the swampy and steep terrain of adjacent Western Run. As with the previous battles fought during the Seven Days, the Battle of Malvern Hill started late in the day, with sunset serving as an impediment to a decisive victory (JMA 2004: 74).

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

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

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

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

Confusion over the discrepancies in Confederate maps and local tradition with respect to the real "Quaker Road" caused Magruder to waste most of the day marching his troops away from the battlefield. Longstreet finally caught up with him and directed him to take position on the west side of Willis Church Road. As a result, Huger's and Magruder's brigades were interspersed when the battle began. The worn divisions of Longstreet and A.P. Hill rested in the rear along with the artillery reserve. Clearly these arrangements implied a frontal attack up the gentle slopes of Malvern Hill. It was already 5:00 p.m.; maneuvering to the northeast around the hill, as Jackson suggested, was out of the question (JMA 2004: 76).

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

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

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

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

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

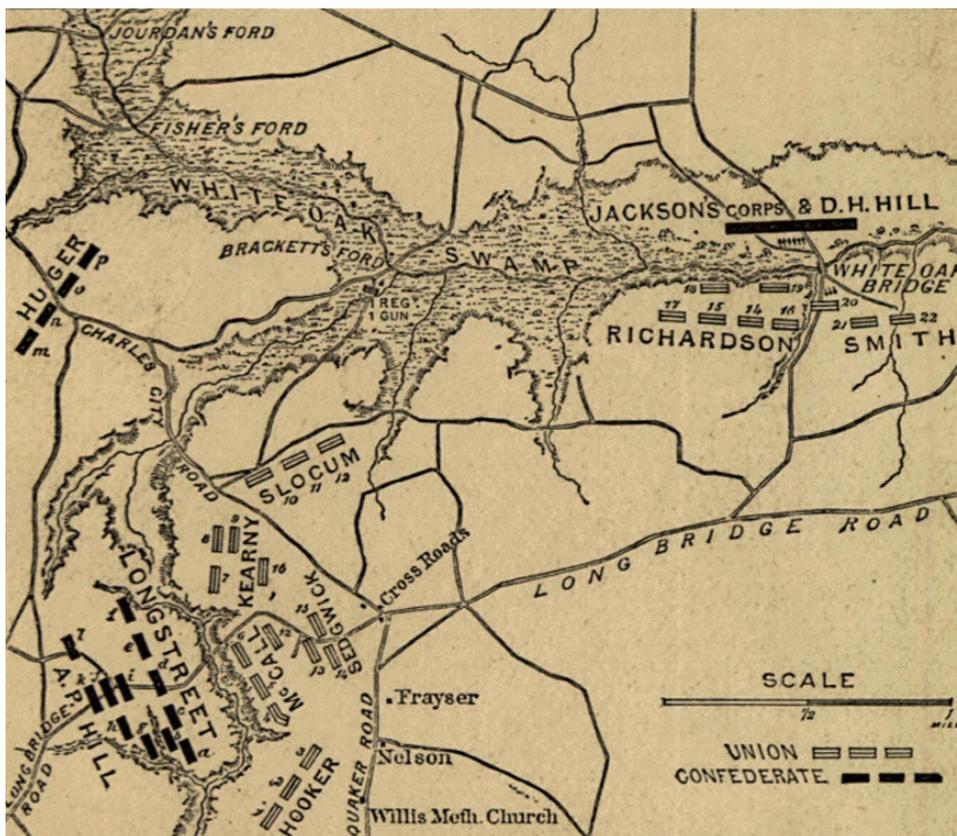


Figure 6. Map of troop positions during the battle of Glendale. Consistent with many of the maps drawn at the time, Frayser and Nelson are labeled as two separate properties (Library of Congress).



Figure 7. Watercolor by Robert Knox Sneden showing the Willis Methodist Church during the Battle of Glendale (Library of Virginia).



Figure 8. Watercolor by Robert Knox Sneden showing Willis Methodist Church (center) and the Nelson house (left). The Nelson house is erroneously depicted as abutting Willis Church Road (Library of Virginia).



Figure 9. Sketch by Alfred Waud, "Fighting in the woods - Kearneys division repulsing the enemy Monday June 30th 1862" (Library of Congress).

RECONSTRUCTION AND CIVIL WAR COMMEMORATION, 1865-1932

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

Agricultural labor after the Civil War included newly freed slaves, as well as tenant farmers. Despite their newly won freedom, however, many former slaves were unsure of how to sell their labor, and former masters were unused to associating with labor on a consensual basis. In many areas of the South, free labor systems evolved that were only marginally different from the slave labor system, with landowners withholding payment until the crops had been harvested and sold to prevent workers from leaving during the growing season. Although this left a large amount of control in the hands of the landowners, laborers found themselves gaining autonomy as they demanded changes in the methods of payment. Beginning soon after the close of the Civil War and becoming widespread by 1870, tenure agreements known as sharecropping signaled the final stage in the decentralization of plantation agriculture.

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Under this system, landowners made arrangements with individual families specifying the family's responsibility for a particular piece of land, in return for which they would typically receive one third of the year's crop. This system allowed property owners to avoid the difficulties presented by the shortage of cash and credit in the postwar South while giving laborers an alternative to gang labor and daily white supervision. Despite the nationwide depression which began with the Panic of 1873, Southern agriculture continued to improve following the lows seen during the years of the Reconstruction period (Foner 1988: 171-174).

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

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

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

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

Three years after Lossing's visit, a Northern newspaper correspondent also toured the Malvern Hill vicinity and had a more positive assessment of the landscape's recovery. "The green acres of wheat were waving before the wind. The buds were appearing on the trees, the apricots, cherries, and peaches were in full bloom and birds of brilliant plumage sang

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delightful songs of spring from every branch....How strange to think that these high bluffs were the scene of such a conflict but seven years ago!... War? There are no indications of war. Everything is peace” (JMA 2004: 121). This correspondent’s account also suggests that some new agricultural clearing had also taken place. “The forest, which was so scarred and battered, between the hill and Willis Church, has been cut down, and rich grain speaks of prosperity and peace.” Although it is not clear, the reference to the removed forest “between the hill and Willis Church,” may be the area immediately north, southwest, or southeast of the Christopher Garthright house. The 1867 Michler map shows heavy forest growth in each of these areas (JMA 2004:122).

Glendale National Cemetery was established in the Spring of 1866. When Benson Lossing visited the Glendale battlefield in May of 1866, he noted the progress of the ‘burial party’ who were camped in the vicinity of Willis Church. “On Frazier’s Farm [sic], where a portion of the battle in the open fields was fought, we observed another National Cemetery, in which were scores of mounds already.” A few years later in 1869, another correspondent noted that “even at Glendale a little circular cemetery is all that is left to convince the visitor that death and destruction vied with each other here seven years ago” (Figure 10) (JMA 2004:120).

The earliest evidence for a structure on the Edward C. Fuqua property dates to 1867. Edward Fuqua does not appear on the 1860 agricultural census, and participants in the Battle of Malvern Hill described the vicinity of the Fuqua property as an open field, strongly suggesting that structures had not been built by 1862. The Michler map places the Fuqua property northwest of Willis Methodist Church, east of Western Run and west of the Quaker or Willis Church Road. It shows a single main residence and one small outbuilding, possibly a kitchen or smokehouse, enclosed by fencing. West of and adjacent to the main residence is a small group of trees, possibly an orchard. A farm lane leading southeast connects the residence to another east-west farm lane connecting to Willis Methodist Church and the Quaker or Willis Church Road on the east, and Western Run on the west. Adjacent to and on the western side of the first farm lane is a second outbuilding, possibly a barn or other agricultural structure. The domestic complex is surrounded by a small clearing, probably Fuqua’s agricultural fields. A Thomas Fuqua, probably a descendant of Edward, is listed in the 1880 agricultural census as farming a 100-acre property, 20 acres of which was improved and maintained as meadow (JMA 2004: 122).

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

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

122).

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

Aerial photographs of the Glendale area in the early twentieth century show a landscape little changed from the descriptions at the time of the battle. Visible are the homes and farms that once belonged to Ethland Nelson, James Whitlock, Richard Sykes, and Isaac Sykes. Field configurations largely reflect what was depicted on maps drawn shortly after the Civil War (Figures 11 and 12).

Commemoration:

The first organization to commemorate Civil War battlefields was the Gettysburg Battlefield Memorial Association in 1864. It was administered by veterans dedicated to preservation of the Gettysburg battlefield and memorialization of key battlefield sites, events, and individuals. The approaches established by the association to marking lines of the battle were later adopted by administrators of National Military Parks. During the 1890s, the nation's first four National Military Parks were established at Chickamauga and Chattanooga, Gettysburg, Shiloh, and Vicksburg, and influenced battlefield commemoration around the nation, including Richmond National Battlefield Park during the early to mid-twentieth century. The military parks protected battlefield land from development, in some cases restored historic landscape features, provided opportunities for military training and historical research, and allowed for reunions of veterans that were hoped could contribute to much needed national reunification. Battlefield preservation and commemoration was very popular, but ultimately proved too expensive for the federal government to fund. Soon, Congress would begin to debate methods for prioritizing land acquisition and sharing the costs associated with acquisition and management with other entities (Dutton and Associates 2010, 2-41).

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

One of the groups that worked to mark historic battlefield sites in the Richmond area and

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

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

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

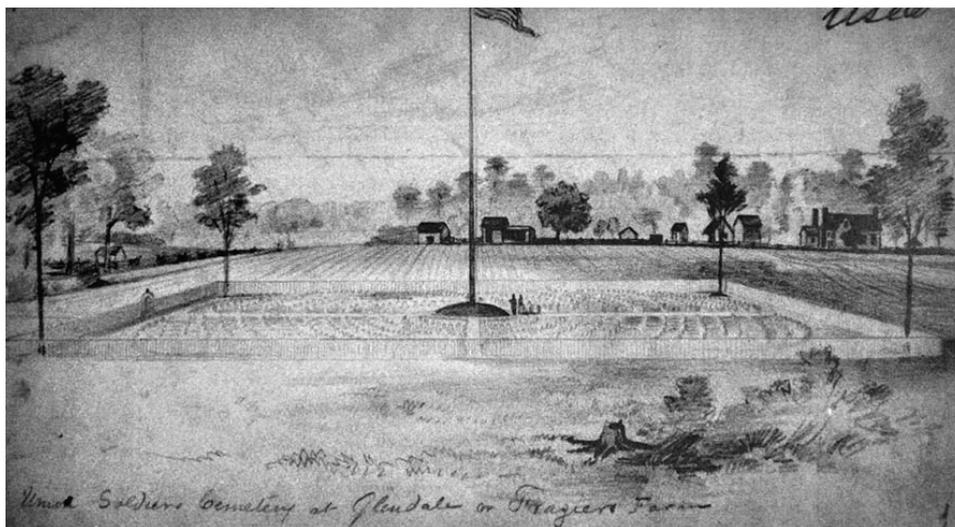


Figure 10. Drawing of Glendale National Cemetery showing the Nelson farm in the background. The drawing depicts the cemetery prior to 1874 when the cemetery lodge was added (Richmond National Battlefield Park--hereafter RICH--archives).

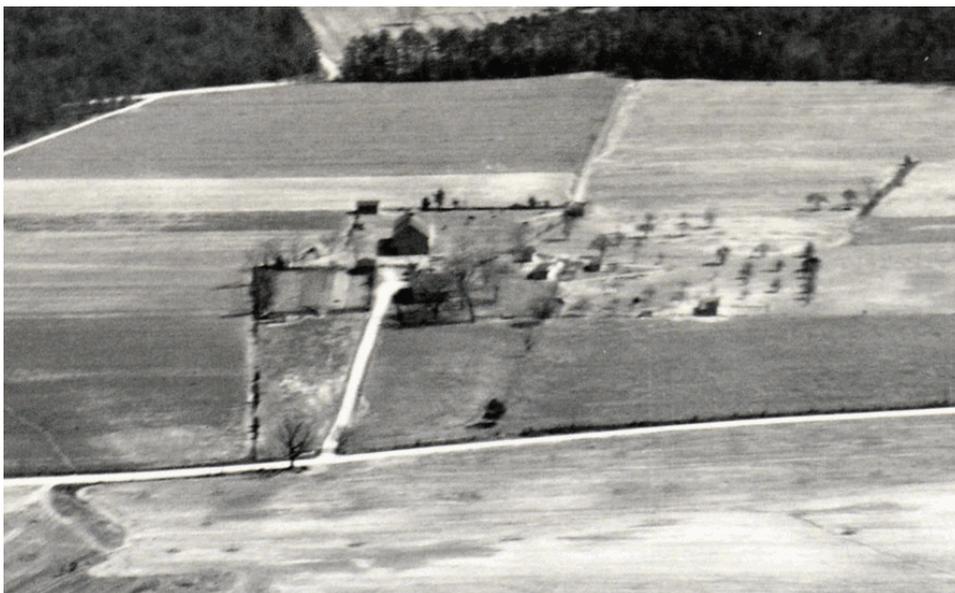


Figure 11. Detail of an aerial photograph showing the Nelson farm in the early twentieth century (RICH archives).

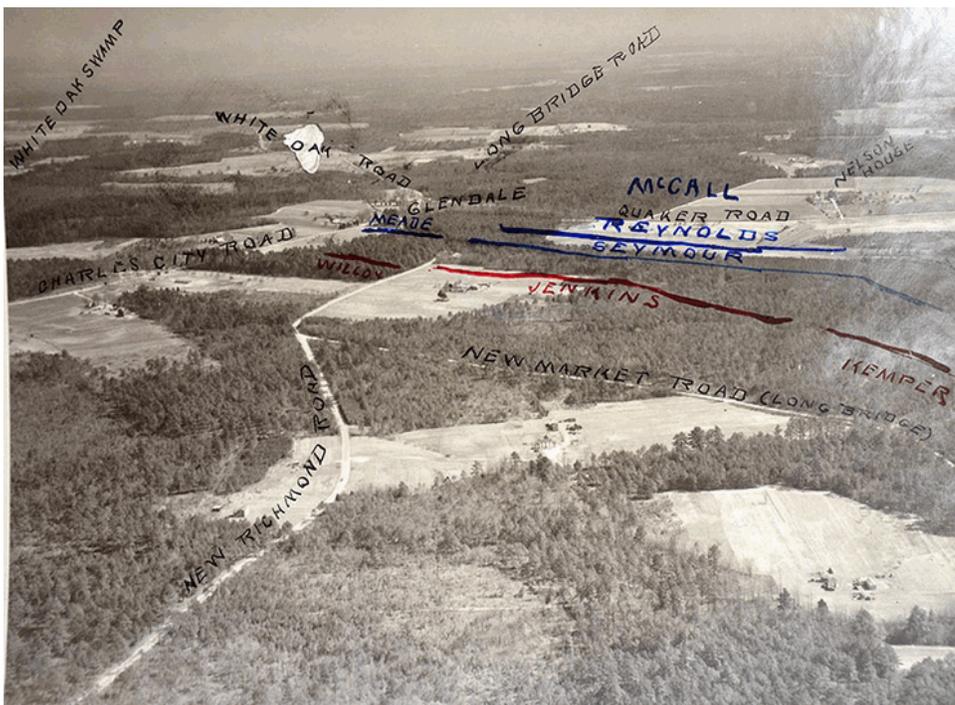


Figure 12. Aerial photograph showing the area of the Glendale Battlefield in the early twentieth century. The photograph is annotated by an unknown party indicating roads and troop positions (RICH archives).

RICHMOND NATIONAL BATTLEFIELD PARK, 1932-PRESENT

Virginia's Richmond Battlefield Park, comprised of the land holdings of the Richmond Battlefield Parks Corporation, became the first Virginia state park on January 12, 1932. Formal dedication of the park occurred in June of 1932 at the 42nd Reunion of United Confederate Veterans. The deeds transferred to the state included parcels totaling 572 acres within the three counties of Hanover, Henrico, and Chesterfield. The battlefield sites included in the park were Beaver Dam Creek, Gaines' Mill, Cold Harbor, Fort Gilmer, Fort Johnson, Fort Gregg, Fort Harrison, Malvern Hill, Drewry's Bluff, and Parker's Battery, but not the Glendale battlefield (JMA 2004: 153).

Upon formal receipt of the Richmond Battlefield Parks Corporation lands, the state conducted several preliminary studies on the future development of the properties. From the beginning, the objectives for Richmond Battlefield Park were prioritized: "The major objectives to be considered are the preservation of remaining fortifications, locating troop movements and positions, marking these, and making the whole group of areas available to the student and tourist." Each park holding was summarized and appraised individually. Despite holding no lands at Glendale, the Commission addressed this property, summarizing that "it is not suggested that any [land] be secured at this time as the existing road system discloses when fully marked, all troop positions and movements." At Malvern Hill, the lack of earthworks and fortifications assigned it a low priority within the future development plans. "The present holdings embrace no remains but contain to a large extent the land occupied by both forces. It is a very large tract and unless kept worked will soon become a wilderness. It is suggested that it be exchanged for a row along the front of the Federal position and then with troop position marks the whole story can be told." By the early 1930s, Malvern Hill's future was mapped out: "Development at Malvern Hill should come in time, but there is no occasion for hurry. The land is probably too high-priced for the acquisition of the whole battlefield and there are no trenches to be preserved" (JMA 2004:153).

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

By 1935, it was noted that "Richmond Battlefield Park [was] developed by a CCC camp for the past two years in conformity with the development of the national military parks at Fredericksburg and Petersburg." At Malvern Hill, labeled as Area #2, basic maintenance was initiated only in 1934. Activities which took place at Malvern Hill included the removal of all dead materials from the ground and the establishment of a fire break, roadside clearing, forest

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development, including the thinning of trees to make the area “attractive,” and the establishment of a nursery, “set aside for transplanting of various specimens of plant life for future use in beautifying landscape” as well as general “landscaping” (JMA 2004: 154).

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

On March 2, 1936, enabling legislation was signed by President Franklin Roosevelt establishing Richmond National Battlefield Park “to set [the lands] apart as a public park for the benefit and inspiration of the people,” and to protect the Civil War battlefield resources associated with the struggle for the capital of the Confederacy and to interpret these resources so as to foster an understanding of their larger significance.” Richmond National Battlefield Park (NBP) became the seventeenth unit of the national park system to commemorate the events of the Civil War. After eight years of legal issues regarding the transfer of land titles, back taxes, right-of-way easements and other problems, the park was officially accepted by the NPS on July 14, 1944 (JMA 2004: 154).

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

Initial federal work in the vicinity of the project area was first carried out in 1937. In 1938, a CCC camp application to continue work for an additional six months documented the work that had already been accomplished in the vicinity of Malvern Hill and Glendale. This work included:

“a hard-surfaced road ‘Battlefield Park Route,’ Virginia Highway 156, supplemented by minor roads on the area proper...rendering the points of interest and the battlefields accessible to the public. A series of markers, orientation and troops movement maps, pictorial displays and a museum afforded a means of visual education and a number of picnic areas [were] established for the convenience of park guests” (JMA 2004: 155).

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

In 1988, the Willis Methodist Church parsonage burned. Only two brick chimney stacks remained standing. In September 1992, a 1.53-acre parcel was donated to Richmond NBP by the National Park Foundation (JMA 2004: 157). This parcel became the part of the Glendale Battlefield Unit that now encompasses 513 acres.

A 1993 study prepared by the Civil War Sites Advisory Commission, Report on the Nation's Civil War Battlefields, includes surveys and evaluations of 384 Civil War battlefields, including those associated with Richmond. This report identifies the degree to which these battlefields are threatened by development, and has raised public awareness regarding the need to preserve the protect battlefields. Both the Glendale and Malvern Hill battlefields are listed in the study and identified as either Class A or Class B battlefields, representing the principal strategic operations of the war, with a direct and decisive influence on their campaign or the course of the war (JMA 2004: 157).

Analysis & Evaluation of Integrity

Analysis and Evaluation of Integrity Narrative Summary:

The Battle of Glendale represents an integral component of Gen. McClellan's Peninsula Campaign and a pivotal moment in his plan to move the Army of the Potomac to the safety of Harrison's Landing on the James River. Had Gen. Lee been able to break the Union line at Glendale and cut off McClellan's retreat, he could have divided the Federal army with devastating results. The Union protection proved sufficient, however, and the Army of the Potomac was able to consolidate its position on Malvern Hill by the next morning. Today, the landscape patterns and their surviving features of Glendale Battlefield continue to convey the significance of the landscape as a battlefield and as an example of early battlefield commemoration. Contributing landscape characteristics present today include natural systems and features, spatial organization, land use, topography, vegetation, circulation, buildings and structures, views and vistas, small-scale features, and archeological sites.

Patterns of natural systems and features that guided settlement and land use and influenced the course of the battle remain evident today, including the natural topography of the level uplands, steep ravines, and swampy drainage bottoms and the dense forest and wetland vegetation present along the Western Run course. Extant circulation features that organize the landscape and that were crucial for troop and equipment movement during the battle include Longbridge Road, Darbytown Road, and Willis Church Road, as well as extant farm lanes and the visible traces of former circulation features. These circulation features, together with the farm-and-field patterns and the visible traces of former farm sites, convey the historic layout of the landscape and foster an understanding of the battle's events. Historical markers, including two Freeman markers and one 1932 Virginia historical marker, illustrate early twentieth century efforts to commemorate and interpret the events of the Civil War in Virginia. Finally, the overall rural character, relative lack of modern development, and the continued agricultural use within the battlefield contribute to the landscape's historic character.

Notable changes since the end of the historic period in 1932 that have altered the character of the landscape include the decline of agriculture, the subsequent reforestation of the farm fields, and the absence of historic farm houses and associated structures. These changes restrict and alter the views through the landscape and diminish the visual record of the 1862 landscape. Despite these changes, the landscape retains enough of its historic qualities to convey its significance for both the Civil War period and the commemoration period.

INTEGRITY

Integrity is the ability of a historic resource to evoke its appearance from the historic period of significance. While evaluation of integrity is often a subjective judgment, particularly for a landscape, it must be grounded in an understanding of a property's physical features and how they relate to its significance. The National Register identifies seven aspects of integrity: location, design, setting, materials, workmanship, feeling, and association. Retention of a majority of these qualities is essential for a property to convey its significance.

Glendale Battlefield retains the integrity aspects of location, design, feeling, and association, clearly

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exhibiting important spatial relationships between the circulation system, the former farm locations, and the topographical and hydrological features necessary to convey the site's significance. Historic feeling within the landscape is conveyed through the rural character and continued agricultural use, but although the setting remains largely rural, it is diminished by the predominance of forested land and the development of suburban neighborhoods in proximity to the park unit. With the exception of information contained in archeological resources, historic materials and workmanship are no longer evident in the landscape.

Landscape Characteristic:

This section presents an analysis of landscape characteristics and their associated features and corresponding List of Classified Structures names and numbers, if applicable. It also includes an evaluation of whether the feature contributes to the property's National Register eligibility for the historic period (1862-1932), contributes to the property's historic character, or if it is noncontributing, undetermined, or managed as a cultural resource. Graphics associated with this section are located after each landscape characteristic, if applicable.

Natural Systems and Features

Historic Condition:

Natural systems and features are the natural aspects that have influenced the development and physical form of a landscape. The landscape within the Malvern Hill/Glendale area is generally comprised of level upland areas crossed by stream corridors. The stream corridors within the project area are linear ravines with steep, often densely vegetated slopes. Soils are generally deep, well-drained sandy loam. Intermittent drainages drain toward the south into Western Run and Turkey Island Creek, which in turn drain to the James River.

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

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

Forest was gradually cleared over the years as more and more of it was converted to agriculture. Timber was used for building material and for fuel, and may have been an early export crop to England or to the rapidly developing plantation economy of the Caribbean. As the land was divided and sold to other farmers, the clearing would have accelerated, although much of the area around the Glendale crossroads was still forested at the time of the battle.

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

The natural topography of Glendale played a vital role in the events of the Battle of Glendale. As the Union column passed through the Glendale crossroads, a long flanking front was established along the west side of Willis Church Road. This front extended through farm fields, upland forest, and swampy bottom land. The forested areas provided important cover for troops, but the denser thickets and wet land of the creek bottoms also created substantial obstacles for troop and equipment movement. While infantry troops could cross these areas on foot, artillery and other heavy wagons would have had to cross at well-established fords or bridges. Much of the Union defenses were on the east side of Western Run, however a portion of McCall's forces were on the west side of Western Run on the Whitlock farm property. As the momentum of the battle shifted back and forth in this area, much of the fighting occurred in the wetland corridor of the drainage.

Post-Historic and Existing Conditions:

Forest cover at Glendale Battlefield has fluctuated over the years since the battle, but has generally been more abundant than it was in 1862. Some of the former farm fields, such as those around the Whitlock farm and the two Sykes properties, were planted with stands of loblolly pine monoculture for timber production. These stands have been left to naturalize, but are still dominated by the pines. Today, around 145 acres of the primary battlefield area remain open, either in agricultural land or open meadow, with forests and wetlands covering the remaining area.

Owing to their unsuitability for agriculture or timber production, the creeks and wetlands in the ravines have remained relatively unchanged since the historic period. A combination of forest and emergent wetland vegetation occupies the wide, level floodplain of Western Run. Much as they were at the time of the Civil War, this wetland corridor is difficult to cross today, with muddy ground and dense, tangled vegetation (Figure 13).

Evaluation and Contributing Resources.

The primary contributing components of the natural systems and features of Glendale Battlefield today are the natural topography, hydrology, and existing forest and wetland vegetation.

Landscape Characteristic Graphics:



Figure 13. View of Western Run showing the character of the wetland and forest vegetation in the channel bottom (OCLP).

Spatial Organization

Historic Condition:

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

Most maps prior to the Civil War did not show specific arrangement of individual farms, but military engineering maps drawn soon after the battle, such as those drawn under the direction of Brig. Gen. Nathaniel Michler, record great detail in the organization of the landscape. The most prominent property was that of R.H. Nelson, also known as Glendale, located on the east side of Willis Church Road near the crossroads of Long Bridge Road. The organization of the farm is typical of the time, with a house, barn, and outbuildings enclosed within a fence; what are likely slave cabins lining the entrance road; and orchards to the south and east of the farm core. Similar arrangements, although smaller in scale, were exhibited by other nearby farms, including those of E.C. Fuqua, John Whitlock (labeled McDowell on the Michler map,

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possibly a tenant), and Isaac and Richard Sykes. The blacksmith shop and farm of S.L. Riddle was located in the northwest corner of the crossroads. Other farm and domestic properties that lined Long Bridge Road are currently outside of the landscape boundary, as is the Willis Methodist Church, located on the west side of Willis Church Road south of the Nelson farm.

Beyond the domestic cores of the farms, the landscape was cut up into open, cultivated fields and forested areas. The fields were generally informally shaped, occupying the most level, arable land with their edges following sloped or wet areas.

Post-Historic and Existing Conditions:

Generally, the Glendale Battlefield landscape is comprised of level upland areas, both farmed and forested, that are edged by forested areas and wooded, steeply-sloped drainage corridors. Stream corridors are typically linear ravines with steep, often densely vegetated side slopes.

The largest open spaces within the area today are the fields around the former Nelson site (Figure 14). These fields comprise nearly 100 acres of cultivated crop land on both the east and west side of Willis Church Road. Within the fields on the east side of the road, a rectangular uncultivated area marks the former homestead site, which until recently contained a non-historic house and barn. The barn and house have been removed, but a portion of the house's foundation, a remnant of a nineteenth century outbuilding, was retained.

Southwest of the Nelson site, on the west side of Willis Church Road is the Fuqua site. Today, about 30 acres of cultivated fields are surrounded by dense forest. The former house site is marked by an island of uncultivated land near the north edge of the farm fields. The site of the Whitlock farm is no longer under cultivation and has reverted to forest.

The locations of the farms of Richard and Isaac Sykes are still discernable north of Longbridge Road through topography, vegetation patterns, and surface debris. Both of these sites are currently within successional forest cover.

Evaluation and Contributing Resources.

The overall organization of the landscape is conveyed through the field-and-forest patterns, the circulation features, the Western Run ravine and the vestiges of former farm locations, some still discernible in the landscape.

Landscape Characteristic Graphics:



Figure 14. Image of the open agricultural fields surrounding the Nelson farm site (OCLP).

Land Use

Historic Condition:

Land use is the principal activities in the landscape that have formed, shaped, or organized the landscape as a result of human interactions. The primary historic land use throughout the Glendale area was agriculture. Fields were plowed for crops, mowed for hay, or used as pasture for livestock. Agricultural use began in the seventeenth century and continued through the Civil War to the end of the historic period. Initially, tobacco was the primary crop, and the use of the land was dedicated to the growth and processing of this valuable product. As the importance of tobacco declined, production diversified into wheat, corn, oats, and other crops. Much of the agricultural processing and storage was done on site, and facilities like tobacco barns, corn cribs, and smokehouses were common. Other uses within the landscape boundary include:

- Military: Battles of Glendale and Malvern Hill, June 30 and July 1, 1862, and use of private residences as military headquarters during the battles and hospitals for several days after the battles.
- Residential: the Nelson, Whitlock, Fuqua, and the two Sykes domestic complexes.
- Agricultural (timbered): woodlots.
- Religious: Willis Methodist Church (outside of the project area).
- Cemetery: Willis Methodist Church cemetery and Glendale National Cemetery (both outside of the project area); dead associated with Battles of Glendale and Malvern Hill possibly buried within the project area; and a burial ground possibly associated with a seventeenth/eighteenth-century domestic complex.
- Open space/undeveloped: Hillsides, ravines, wetlands, and woodlands unsuitable and not used for Agriculture.

--Commemorative/educational: Civil War commemoration and the creation of Richmond NBP.

Post-Historic and Existing Conditions:

Agricultural land use continues today, with approximately 145 acres within the Glendale Battlefield cultural landscape boundary currently under agricultural production. Crops include wheat, corn and soybeans (Figure 15). Developed public access is currently not provided at Glendale, although interpretive information is provided at the Glendale Battlefield visitor center located in the Glendale National Cemetery (outside of the project boundary).

Evaluation and Contributing Resources.

Continued agricultural use is a contributing characteristic of the Glendale Battlefield cultural landscape.

Landscape Characteristic Graphics:



Figure 15. View looking south showing agricultural fields planted in wheat at the Fuqua farm site (OCLP).

Topography

Historic Condition:

Topography is the three dimensional configuration of the landscape surface characterized by features (such as slope and articulation) and orientation (such as elevation and solar aspect). The Battle of Glendale took place on a largely level area that undulated slightly with rolling hills and knolls. Cutting through the middle of this level area were the steep bluffs of Western Run, the most prominent topographic feature at the time. These bluffs provided cover for troops of both sides, but also created impediments to movement. Longstreet, for example, blamed the rough terrain in preventing him from taking advantage of breaches in the Union line. The bluffs and wetlands of Western Run delayed the Confederate advance until Union

reinforcements could be applied.

In addition to the natural topographic features, the Glendale Battlefield landscape contained a limited number of cultural topographic features, primarily utilitarian in function. Road cut embankments, ditches, borrow pits, and other such features were a product of the agricultural, domestic, and circulation functions of the landscape.

The area around Richmond saw intense conflict again in 1864 during Gen. Ulysses S. Grant's Overland Campaign. Unlike the during Peninsula Campaign in 1862, it was common practice in 1864 for the armies to dig entrenchments whenever they were preparing for a battle.

Post-Historic and Existing Conditions:

Much of the project area landscape is representative of the landform patterns characteristic of the Atlantic Coastal Plain physiographic province: large, relatively level alluvial terraces divided by the steeply sloped banks of perennial and intermittent drainages. Road cut embankments remain along Willis Church Road, Darbytown Road, and Longbridge Road. Although many of these embankments are likely remnants of early road profiles, it is unknown to what extent these have been altered during road repairs and realignments since the historic period. Other topographic features within the landscape, including possible road traces, borrow pits, and ponds, are of unknown origin.

Evaluation and Contributing Resources.

The natural topography of the Glendale Battlefield, including the level areas, rolling terrain, and the steep bluffs of Western Run, contribute to the integrity of the cultural landscape. Contributing cultural topographical features include the earthworks remnants north of the Nelson Farm site. Unless known to be otherwise, other extant topographic features should be considered potentially contributing.

Character-defining Features:

Feature:	Earthworks Remnants
Feature Identification Number:	182623
Type of Feature Contribution:	Contributing

Vegetation

Historic Condition:

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

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

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

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

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

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

Post-Historic and Existing Conditions:

Following the historic period, continued agricultural use of many of the fields resulted in largely stable vegetation patterns. Today, vegetation within the Glendale Battlefield cultural landscape includes agricultural crop fields, forests and wetland vegetation, mowed grasses and forbs in uncultivated fields, and ornamental vegetation.

Forest cover represents the largest vegetation category within the Glendale Battlefield cultural landscape. More than half of the area within the landscape boundary is covered in tree stands, second-growth forest, or forested wetlands. Forest composition is dominated by mixed

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hardwoods and pines and monoculture stands of pines. The even-aged pine stands were generally planted within the past few decades as timber stands within cleared areas. In upland areas, hardwood woodlands are typically comprised of oak-hickory forest species such as white oak, red oak, beech, yellow poplar, black walnut, hickory, and American holly. Many of the existing woodland areas have been selectively timbered over the years.

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

Currently, approximately 130 acres of fields within the Glendale Battlefield cultural landscape boundary are cultivated for crops, including wheat, corn, and soybeans. Areas beneath the electrical transmission lines are maintained as grasses and shrubs.

Naturalized ornamental species can be found near former homestead sites, including the Whitlock, Nelson, Sykes, and Fuqua properties.

Evaluation and Contributing Resources.

The vegetation patterns present in the Glendale Battlefield landscape today continue to convey the essential characteristics present during the historic period and that help convey the landscape's significance. The primary contributing characteristic of the vegetation is the overall pattern of field and forest. The presence of agricultural crops within the cultivated fields contributes to the historic character of the battlefield landscape. There are no identified individually contributing vegetation features within Glendale Battlefield.

Circulation

Historic Condition:

Circulation includes the spaces, features, and applied finishes that constitute systems of movement in the landscape. The Battle of Glendale was centered around the Glendale or Charles City Crossroads, the junction of Long Bridge Road, Charles City Road, and Willis Church Road. On June 30, McClellan's Army of the Potomac, moving south toward Harrison's Landing, was strung out along the narrow roads between White Oak Swamp and Malvern Hill. Lee intended to sever the Union line as it passed through the choke-point of the Glendale crossroads. The Union objective was to defend the crossroads and protect the retreating column. The primary fighting of the battle occurred in the fields and forests to the west of the crossroads.

Long Bridge Road extended east-west between New Market and the Long Bridge crossing of the Chickahominy River. Willis Church Road ran north-south from Long Bridge Road to River Road forming the eastern edge of the Glendale Battlefield. Long Bridge and Willis Church Roads joined Charles City Road north of Glendale at an intersection known as the "Crossroads," or "Riddell's Shop." These primary roads were most likely constructed of hard-packed earth, or combinations of hard-packed earth and logs laid across the bed of the

road in low or marshy areas.

In an attempt to reach Malvern Hill from Glendale on June 30th, Federal artillery units had followed Willis Church Road. Historical maps show that the term ‘Quaker Road’ was used to describe the route of the Willis Church Road, but historical records document that there was another route known as the ‘Quaker Road’: “being a road about 2 miles in length, leaving the Long Bridge Road to the right about 300 yards above Mr. Nathan Enroughty’s gate, and entering the Charles City River Road at Tilghman’s Gate, about one half mile below Sweeney’s Tavern.” In 1862, this Quaker Road was described as overgrown with grass and weeds. “The said [Quaker] road, having been of late but little used, has become obscure and is not generally used as a public road.”

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

During the decades after the war, the primary routes of Long Bridge, Charles City, and Willis Church Roads were improved and eventually paved. A new road, Darbytown Road, was constructed from east to west through the Glendale area, overtopping Long Bridge Road beginning about 2,800 feet west of the intersection with Willis Church Road.

Post-Historic and Existing Conditions:

Three paved, public roads provide access to the project area: S.R. 156, also known as Willis Church Road, Long Bridge Road, and Darbytown Road (Figures 16 and 17). Long Bridge Road is now comprised of the narrow, two-lane asphalt road (16 feet wide) and a portion of Darbytown Road, a larger two-lane highway (24 feet wide). Darbytown Road was realigned in the second half of the twentieth century to reduce curves and improve intersections. Traces of the former alignments of the existing roads, such as at the intersection of Long Bridge and Darbytown Roads and the intersection of Darbytown and Willis Church Roads, are still visible.

A small lane that accesses the Nelson site is paved for a short portion of its length, with its remainder surfaced in earth and gravel (Figure 18). Other informal drives access locations within the landscape, including a drive that connects the Fuqua site to Chesley Road and a drive that accesses the Whitlock site from Long Bridge Road (Figure 19). The original drive to the Isaac Sykes house site is still clearly discernible as a sunken roadbed with small embankments along its edge. This road trace follows the alignment depicted on the Michler

map. The road trace that accesses the Richard Sykes house from Darbytown Road was established sometime after the new route for Darbytown Road was established. The Michler map shows this drive approaching from Long Bridge Road south of the home site.

Evaluation and Contributing Features.

The circulation system of Glendale Battlefield as a whole contributes to the integrity of the cultural landscape. Contributing features include Long Bridge Road, Darbytown Road, and Willis Church Road, Nelson farm drive, the Fuqua, Sykes, and Whitlock road traces, and the road traces of the former alignment of Darbytown Road and its intersections.

Character-defining Features:

Feature:	Longbridge Road
Feature Identification Number:	181813
Type of Feature Contribution:	Contributing
Feature:	Darbytown Road
Feature Identification Number:	181815
Type of Feature Contribution:	Contributing
Feature:	Willis Church Road
Feature Identification Number:	181817
Type of Feature Contribution:	Contributing
Feature:	Nelson Farm Drive
Feature Identification Number:	181819
Type of Feature Contribution:	Contributing
Feature:	Fuqua Drive Trace
Feature Identification Number:	181821
Type of Feature Contribution:	Contributing
Feature:	Isaak Sykes Drive Trace
Feature Identification Number:	181823
Type of Feature Contribution:	Contributing
Feature:	Richard Sykes Drive Trace
Feature Identification Number:	181825
Type of Feature Contribution:	Contributing

Feature: Whitlock Drive Trace
Feature Identification Number: 181827
Type of Feature Contribution: Contributing

Feature: Darbytown Road Alignment Traces
Feature Identification Number: 181829
Type of Feature Contribution: Contributing

Landscape Characteristic Graphics:



Figure 16. View looking south showing the character of Longbridge Road (OCLP).



Figure 17. View looking north showing the character of Willis Church Road (OCLP).



Figure 18. View looking west showing the Nelson farm drive (OCLP).



Figure 19. View looking south showing the former drive to the Whitlock farm site (OCLP).

Buildings and Structures

Historic Condition:

Buildings are the elements primarily built for sheltering any form of human activities, while structures include the functional elements constructed for other purposes. Buildings and structures present in the 1862 landscape included farm dwellings, slave quarters, barns, storage buildings and dependencies, and livestock quarters—all of wood-frame construction. Dwelling complexes—precincts which included the residence or house, related dependencies such as kitchen, privy, smokehouse, and kitchen garden—were often bounded by perimeter fencing to maintain an area free of livestock.

Maps at the time of the battle showed several farm properties in the Glendale area, including Nelson, Whitlock, Fuqua, Isaac and Richard Sykes, S.L. Riddle, all of which were within the current cultural landscape boundary. The Nelson farm, also labeled Glendale, was the largest of these and included at least ten buildings. These would have included a dwelling house, slave cabins, a barn, and other agricultural and domestic outbuildings. The Nelson house was used during the Battle of Glendale as headquarters for Gen. Sumner and as a field hospital. The other farms were smaller operations with three to five buildings indicated on the map at each. Maps also indicate two ruined or abandoned buildings within the project area.

Post-Historic and Existing Conditions:

Today the only buildings that remain within the cultural landscape boundary are the Donley house, barn and associated structures. The house was occupied until recently, and is now vacant. The Donley buildings and structures are non-contributing.

Evaluation and Contributing Resources:

The only contributing structure within the landscape is the foundation remains at the Nelson house site. The brick and timber foundation measures approximately 16 feet square and 2-3 feet high (Figure 20). Non-contributing buildings and structures include the house, barn, garage, and coop at 5871 Darbytown Road (Donley house), a metal Quonset hut storage structure on Longbridge Road, and power transmission line towers (Figures 21 and 22).

Character-defining Features:

Feature:	Nelson Foundation
Feature Identification Number:	181831
Type of Feature Contribution:	Contributing
Feature:	5871 Darbytown Road
Feature Identification Number:	181833
Type of Feature Contribution:	Non contributing – incompatible
Feature:	5872 Darbytown Road Barn
Feature Identification Number:	181835
Type of Feature Contribution:	Non contributing – incompatible
Feature:	5873 Darbytown Road Garage
Feature Identification Number:	181837
Type of Feature Contribution:	Non contributing – incompatible
Feature:	5874 Darbytown Road Chicken Coop
Feature Identification Number:	181839
Type of Feature Contribution:	Non contributing – incompatible
Feature:	Quonset Hut
Feature Identification Number:	181841
Type of Feature Contribution:	Non contributing – incompatible

Landscape Characteristic Graphics:



Figure 20. View looking south showing the foundation remnants of one of the Nelson farm structures (OCLP).



Figure 21. View looking south showing the noncontributing Donley house and garage at 5871 Darbytown Road (OCLP).



Figure 22. View looking east showing the power transmission lines and towers (OCLP).

Views and Vistas

Historic Condition:

Views and vistas are the prospects afforded by a range of vision in the landscape, conferred by the composition of other landscape characteristics and associated features. Glendale Battlefield was a patchwork of fields interspersed with extensive forested land. Agricultural fields would have offered open views, but overall the views in the Glendale area would have been more restricted than in more open landscapes like Malvern Hill. In many places, views would have been restricted to road corridors. The character of views throughout the historic period was rural and agricultural.

Post-Historic and Existing Conditions:

As agricultural activity declined in the area after the historic period, the forest cover increased. This had the general effect of diminishing views further. Open views along Longbridge Road between the Sykes and Whitlock fields were eliminated as those fields reverted to forest. The most prominent views today are those from within the Nelson fields on the east side of the project area. The Glendale National Cemetery is clearly visible from the Nelson house site as well as from Willis Church Road near the Nelson site. Views are also available across the Fuqua farm fields, accessible by a short hike from Chesley Road.

Evaluation and Contributing Features.

The open views in and around the Nelson site, and particularly the views of the Glendale National Cemetery from the Nelson house site, contribute to the integrity of the cultural landscape.

Small Scale Features

Historic Condition:

Small-scale features provide detail and diversity for both functional needs and aesthetic concerns in the landscape. Many of the project area's agricultural fields, roads, and domestic complexes were lined with or enclosed by fencing during the 1862 period. Based upon review of period descriptions of the landscape, at Glendale, fences lined the eastern edge of Sykes' field and along Willis Church Road in front of the Nelson house. Fences are also indicated on historic maps around the Nelson, Fuqua, Riddle and Isaac Sykes domestic cores. Fences were generally constructed of wooden posts and rails or split rail. In addition to fences, the landscape would have contained a variety of small-scale features of agricultural function, including wells, farming equipment and tools, troughs, and similar objects. Many of these objects were damaged or destroyed during the battles.

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

Post-Historic and Existing Conditions:

After the historic period, the landscape continued to feature small-scale features related to agricultural use and Civil War commemoration and interpretation. As more of the agricultural land was included within the park boundaries, however, many of the agricultural features were removed. There are still remnant features from residential use of the property in the twentieth century, particularly in the area of the Donley house on Longbridge Road. Other small-scale features include commemorative historical markers, interpretive waysides, metal gates of various designs, utility features, and traffic signs.

Evaluation and Contributing Features:

Overall, the density and character of the small-scale features at Malvern Hill Battlefield have changed significantly since the time of the battle. The wide variety of features that once populated the agricultural landscape are generally absent today. The Two 1925 Freeman markers and the one 1932 Virginia historical markers contribute to the commemorative period of the landscape (Figures 23 and 24).

Character-defining Features:

Feature:	Freeman Marker # 17
Feature Identification Number:	181843
Type of Feature Contribution:	Contributing
Feature:	Freeman Marker # 18
Feature Identification Number:	181845

Type of Feature Contribution: Contributing

Feature: Virginia Historical Marker PA-180

Feature Identification Number: 181847

Type of Feature Contribution: Contributing

Landscape Characteristic Graphics:



Figure 23. Image showing Freeman marker #19 near the entrance to the Whitlock farm site (OCLP).

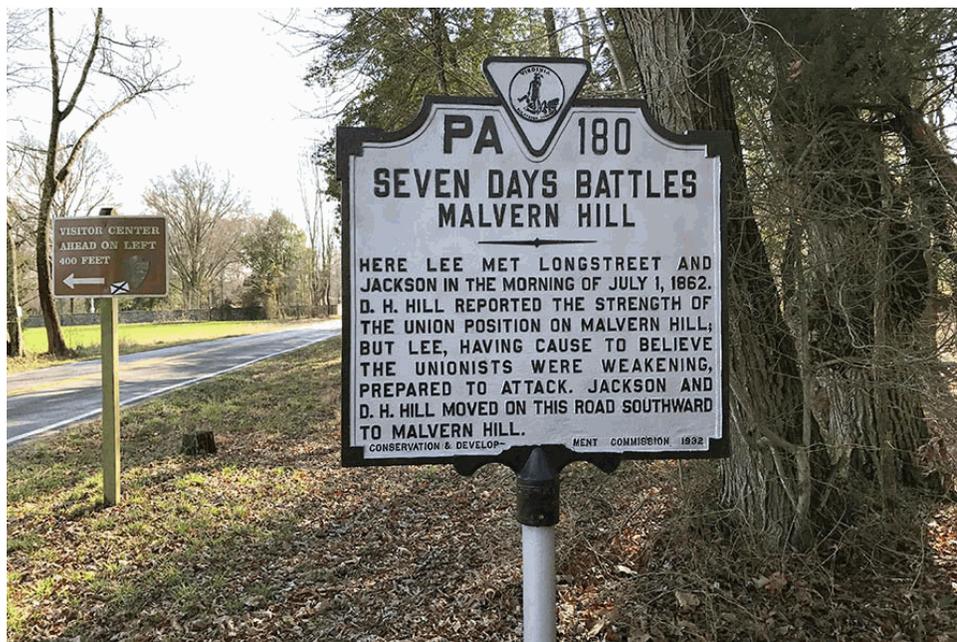


Figure 24. Image showing Virginia historical marker PA-180 on Willis Church Road (OCLP).

Archeological Sites

Historic and Existing Conditions:

Archeological sites include the location of ruins, traces, or deposited artifacts in the landscape, and are evidenced by the presence of either surface or subsurface features. The long period of occupation and utilization of the Glendale area has lefts many layers of archeological information, including records of prehistoric, early settlement and agriculture, the Civil War battles, and post-war use. This information is recorded in above-ground ruins and artifacts, road traces, topographical features, and sub-surface resources. Several discrete sites have been identified, but the entire area has the potential to yield important archeological information about the site's history.

In 2004, John Milner Associates, Inc. lead an archeological inventory of the Malvern Hill and Glendale landscape. At the time of the inventory, the park boundary only encompassed a small portion of the Glendale Battlefield landscape, which included the Fuqua farm site. As a result, only the Fuqua site was evaluated as part of the inventory. Since that time the boundary has expanded to incorporate considerably more of the battlefield landscape, including important farm sites and areas of fighting. In addition to the Fuqua site, the archeological sites identified in this CLI include locations of former farms and dwellings or areas of observable surface artifacts.

-- RICH00025 – Fuqua Farm Complex.

Sometime between 1860 and 1867, Edward Fuqua purchased 166.5 acres northwest of Willis Methodist Church from James W. Binford. There is no evidence that any structures were present at the Fuqua site at the time of the battle, but the 1867 Michler Map depicts a main residence and a small ancillary outbuilding within a fenced enclosure. A larger outbuilding,

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possibly a barn, is shown southeast of the main residence. A small orchard is also shown west of the main residence. A path or minor road connects the domestic complex with Willis Methodist Church and Willis Church Road to the east. The Fuqua domestic complex was likely torn down sometime during the early to mid-twentieth century, as it still appears on a 1919 Dutch Gap USGS map.

The site of the Fuqua farmhouse is in an island of uncultivated ground within an agricultural field. Remnants of a concrete and brick foundation are visible on the surface, as is loose architectural material. Artifacts and features associated with outbuildings or other components of the Fuqua farm may be located within the cultivated portion of the agricultural field (Figure 25).

-- Nelson Farm Complex.

The Nelson farm, labeled "Glendale" on the 1867 Michler map, was a major landmark during the Battle of Glendale. Union artillery took position in the fields around the house in support of the fighting in the woods and ravines in front, and Gen. Edwin V. Sumner made his headquarters in the house. The Michler map shows a substantial complex of buildings, including a house with fence, a barn and outbuildings, and what are likely slave quarters along the entrance road.

The structures present at the time of the battle would all be removed and replaced with new structures in the late nineteenth or early twentieth centuries. A house, barn, and several smaller structures were on the site until 2015, when they were removed by the Civil War Trust. A brick foundation determined to be from the nineteenth century was retained. Today, the site is marked by the entrance drive, brick foundation, a small pond, and trees and other vegetation, all within an island of uncultivated land within a large agricultural field.

-- Whitlock Farm.

The Whitlock farm was the site of some of the most intense fighting of the Battle of Glendale. It was here that the divisions of Longstreet and A.P. Hill met McCall's Pennsylvania Reserves, briefly overrunning the Union line. In 1863, the property was purchased by John McDowell, whose farm is indicated on the 1867 Michler map on the western bank of Western Run. During the twentieth century the property was owned by the Morrow family, who's house was located some distance from the original Whitlock house site. Since the Civil War, this area has reverted to forest, but the area shows evidence of habitation well into the twentieth century. Remnants of the twentieth-century Morrow house, including a concrete chimney and foundation, bricks, metal, pipes and other architectural debris; naturalized ornamental vegetation; a small pond; and a network of circulation features are present today (Figure 26). A cellar hole believed to be either from the Whitlock farm and/or McDowell farm is present southwest of the Morrow ruins.

-- Isaac Sykes and Richard Sykes Farms.

Isaac and Richard Sykes were free black farmers who were part of the Gravelly Hill community, which had its origins with Richard Pleasants' freed slaves. At the time of the Civil War, the two adjacent homesteads were located along the north side of Longbridge Road, with

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entrance drives connecting to that road. A structure at the Isaac Sykes homestead, the southernmost of the two, remains on USGS maps until 1952, while a structure at the Richard Sykes site is indicated on the 1984 map but not the 1994 map.

Today both sites are vacant, but both contain large amounts of architectural and domestic items scattered on the surface, and the vegetation and topographic patterns clearly indicate habitation sites (Figure 27). The Richard Sykes site is accessible by a gate on Darbytown Road and an extant drive, while only a trace of the entrance drive remains at the Isaac Sykes site.

-- Riddle Farm/Shop.

The S.L. Riddle farm was located at the crossroads of Glendale on the north side of Longbridge Road. The Michler map shows a small farm with house and outbuilding surrounded by a fence and three additional outbuildings. By the middle of the twentieth century, this area was vacant, and today it is occupied by an agricultural field. The realignment of Darbytown Road in the 1950s brought the new road through the southern portion of the property. It is not known what archeological resources remain at the Riddle site.

-- Military Resources.

In addition to the domestic/farm complex sites, the battlefield as a whole possesses high potential to yield military resources from the battle. Locating resource concentrations may provide information about the positions of Federal lines, locations of Confederate advances, or areas of concentration of fighting.

Evaluation and Contributing Resources.

The archeological resources present at Glendale Battlefield strongly contribute to the integrity of the cultural landscape. The spatial arrangement of domestic/agricultural resources and the locations of farm cores convey the layout of the landscape at the time of the battle, land use and agricultural practices, and associations with individuals and families. Potential military resources could provide additional information about the arrangement of the armies and events of the battle.

Landscape Characteristic Graphics:



Figure 25. View looking south showing the remains of a structure at the Fuqua farm site (OCLP).



Figure 26. Image of structural remains of the Morrow house, a twentieth century dwelling near the site of the Whitlock Farm.



27. Artifacts at the Isaac Sykes farm site (OCLP).

Condition

Condition Assessment and Impacts

Condition Assessment: Fair

Assessment Date: 08/23/2017

Condition Assessment Explanatory Narrative:

Overall the condition of the Glendale Battlefield landscape is “fair.” Despite overall stable patterns of spatial organization, vegetation, and natural systems and features, many of the traces of habitation, circulation, and military activity that remain are undocumented and poorly preserved.

A “fair” condition assessment means that the site shows clear evidence of minor disturbances and deterioration by natural and/or human forces, and some degree of corrective action is needed within 3-5 years to prevent further harm to its cultural and/or natural values. If left to continue without the appropriate corrective action, the cumulative effect of the deterioration of many of the landscape characteristics will cause the inventory unit to degrade to a poor condition.

Impacts

Type of Impact: Adjacent Lands

External or Internal: External

Impact Description: Federally controlled or otherwise protected land of Glendale comprises the core of the battlefield, including the Nelson farm site, headquarters of Gen. Sumner, and the Whitlock farm site, location of some of the fiercest fighting. Much of the battlefield, however, remains in private ownership.

Type of Impact: Release To Succession

External or Internal: Internal

Impact Description: Portions of the battlefield that were historically open, most notably the Whitlock and the two Sykes farm sites, have reverted to forest, diminishing the capacity of the landscape to convey important aspects of the battle.

Type of Impact: Structural Deterioration

External or Internal: Internal

Impact Description: The Nelson foundation is currently in poor condition and requires stabilization.

Treatment

Treatment

Approved Treatment: Rehabilitation
Approved Treatment Document: Cultural Landscape Report
Document Date: 10/01/2004

Approved Treatment Document Explanatory Narrative:

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

Three projects in PMIS include landscape treatment actions within the Glendale Battlefield cultural landscape. Project 203792 involves the removal of the Donley structures at 5874 Darbytown Road. Project 227010 involves the rehabilitation of trails at Gaines' Mill, Cold Harbor, and Malvern Hill, including areas within the Glendale Battlefield cultural landscape. Project 238183 involves construction of trailhead parking lots at three trailheads, two of which are within the Glendale landscape.

Approved Treatment Completed: No

Approved Treatment Costs

Landscape Treatment Cost: 428,122.00
Cost Date: 10/01/2004
Level of Estimate: C - Similar Facilities
Cost Estimator: Park/FMSS

Landscape Approved Treatment Cost Explanatory Description:

Total treatment costs include work proposed outside of the Glendale Battlefield cultural landscape, as indicated with an asterisk below:

- PMIS #203792, Demolition of Non Historic Newly Acquired Structures on the Glendale Battlefield, \$174,234
- PMIS #227010, Rehabilitate Gaines' Mill, Cold Harbor, and Malvern Hill Trails, \$37,303*
- PMIS #238183, Construct Three Trailhead Parking Lots Along the Malvern Hill Trail, \$216,585*

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Description: Digitized at www.familysearch.org

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