

**APPOMATTOX COURT HOUSE
NATIONAL HISTORICAL PARK
HISTORIC RESOURCES STUDY**



Prepared for:
The National Park Service

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Errata

page 1, line 21 – Appomattox Court House National Historical Park was initially placed on the Register by congressional action, following the 1966 National Historic Preservation Act that provided for the placement on the register of NPS cultural parks. It was individually listed in 1989.

page 4, line 9 – Grant headquartered in a tent, rather than a building, but the site had been forgotten by 1892. (Horace Porter, *Campaigning with Grant*, New York: Century Company, 1897, 486.)

page 10, line 2 – Throughout the text, “Southside Railroad” should be “South Side Railroad.”

page 12, line 9 – Lee was urged to disperse the army by E.P. Alexander, not a member of his staff. (E.P. Alexander, *Military Memoirs of a Confederate*, New York: Charles Scribner’s Sons, 1907, 604-605.)

page 13, line 28 – This was the last meeting between Lee and Grant during the war. They met for the last time in their lives on May 1, 1869 at the White House. (Douglas Southall Freeman, *Robert E. Lee: A Biography*, vol. 4, New York: Charles Scribner’s Sons, 1935, 520-521.)

page 13, line 30 – Printing operations to accomplish this were set up at Clover Hill Tavern. (William G. Nine and Ronald G. Wilson, *The Appomattox Paroles, April 9-15, 1865*, Lynchburg, Va.: H.E. Howard, Inc., 1989, 5.)

page 16, line 11 – Members of the Ladies Memorial Association helped form the Appomattox Chapter of the United Daughters of the Confederacy in 1895. (*Appomattox Chapter 11 United Daughters of the Confederacy: History, One Hundred Years of Caring*, privately published, 1995, foreword.)

page 18, line 22 – Grant headquartered in a tent, rather than a building, but the site had been forgotten by 1892. (Horace Porter, *Campaigning with Grant*, New York: Century Company, 1897, 486.)

page 21, line 8 – The North Carolina monument marks the forwardmost push of the Army of Northern Virginia at Appomattox Court House. The last volley is marked by a stone along the stage road between the cemetery and the village.

page 23, n. 50 – The Appomattox Wayside is partially within park boundaries.

page 34, line 5 – The village “Appamatuck” stood at the confluence of the rivers subsequently named the Appomattox and the James. (Thomas R. Terry, *Appomattox County: A Pictorial History*, Norfolk, Va.: Donning Company, 1984, 11.)

page 50, line 2 – Dr. Jack Matthews’ house, near the Moon house, is not owned by the park.

page 50, line 14 – The highway is outside the park boundary.

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PURPOSE AND METHODOLOGY

Introduction

General Robert E. Lee surrendered the Confederate Army of Northern Virginia to Lieutenant General Ulysses S. Grant, General-in-Chief of the Armies of the United States, on April 9, 1865, in the village of Appomattox Court House, Appomattox County, Virginia. The surrender signaled the defeat of the Confederate States of America in the Civil War and the end to four years of fighting. Appomattox Court House National Historical Park commemorates the fighting that brought about the end of the Civil War and the beginning of the reunification of the United States of America. In addition, the park constitutes a rehabilitated nineteenth-century vernacular landscape that exemplifies the scale, materials, organization, buildings, structures, and natural features of a rural, Piedmont Virginia courthouse town of its time.

National efforts to commemorate the events that took place at Appomattox began in the 1890s, but were not realized until 1935 when the area was designated as the Appomattox Court House National Historical Monument. Over the course of 30 years the National Park Service restored and reconstructed approximately half of the buildings and structures that stood in the village at the time of the Civil War. Appomattox Court House National Historical Park therefore also illustrates concepts of preservation and commemoration current in the middle of the twentieth century. Today, 16 restored buildings stand in the park along with 13 reconstructed ones and the stabilized Sweeney Prizery. Several other structures await conservation efforts, and numerous sites of no longer extant structures have been identified. In addition, roadways, fence lines, vegetation, and farm lands have been reconstructed in order to convey an understanding of the spatial organization of the antebellum village. The railroads bypassed Appomattox Court House, with the result that modern development has had only minor affects on its historical resources.

Appomattox Court House National Historical Park was listed in the National Register of Historic Places in 1989 for its association with important events in the history of the United States and for its place in the lives of significant Americans such as Grant and Lee. In addition, its range of public and domestic buildings and farm structures made the village significant as the embodiment of distinctive characteristics of building types and methods of construction found in a rural courthouse town in mid nineteenth-century Virginia.

Purpose and Methodology

The 1989 National Register documentation addressed in a general way the village's significance as a vernacular landscape and the importance of the commemoration of the village, including the work of the Civilian Conservation Corps. It concentrated, however, on establishing the historical context of the military significance of the village. Obviously, the 1989 documentation could not address cultural resources that became part of the park when the Burruss Timber tract and the Conservation Fund tract were added to park holdings in 1992 and 1993, respectively. The National Park Service contracted with Robinson & Associates, Inc., to analyze aspects of the park – the newly acquired lands, the historical context of the village itself, commemoration of the events that have taken place there, and the work of the

Civilian Conservation Corps – not previously elaborated on. The study has been organized to allow parts of it to be incorporated into an updated National Register document.

The resulting study is therefore made up of five distinct parts, three appendices, photographs, and maps. In order to provide text that can be inserted in updated National Register documentation, analysis of the military importance of the newly acquired lands, the commemoration of the village, the importance of the vernacular landscape, and the work of the CCC has been merged with text taken from Section 8 of the 1989 documentation. This merged text constitutes parts II and III, “Summary of Significance” and “Historic Context Statement.” The context statement contains four subsections:

- The Battle of Appomattox Court House and Lee’s Surrender
- The Commemoration of the Civil War’s End
- The Vernacular Landscape of Appomattox Court House and Its Vicinity
- The Civilian Conservation Corps at Appomattox Court House

The order of the sections was chosen to match the significance summary contained in the current National Register documentation. The first three sections amplify the three areas of significance identified in that document (military, conservation, and architecture) and address them in the same order. The fourth section, on the Civilian Conservation Corps, addresses a fourth primary area of significance (politics/government) not covered in the current National Register documentation.

Since the study focused on particular aspects of park history that had not been previously addressed, the National Park Service requested a section recommending avenues for further research that fell outside the scope of the study. “Research Recommendations” constitutes Part IV of this document. An annotated bibliography was also requested and constitutes Part V.

Some aspects of the study did not fit comfortably into the narrative context statement and therefore have been added as appendices. Three appendices have been included in this study:

- Appendix A: Description of the Burruss Timber and Conservation Fund Tracts and Their Resources
- Appendix B: Description of Resources not Included in the 1989 National Register Documentation
- Appendix C: List of Contributing and Noncontributing Resources

Appendices B and C have been written so that they might be incorporated into the Section 7 description in updated National Register documentation.

Research for the report was conducted during the fall and winter of 2001-2002 and took five primary forms: 1) on-site analysis of resources; 2) review of internal park documents provided by NPS; 3) National Archives research on Civilian Conservation Corps work in the park; 4) review of documents held at Appomattox Court House National Historical Park headquarters; 5) research into secondary sources on Virginia history and government, vernacular architecture, and the history of tobacco farming in the United States to create historic context on the vernacular landscape of the Court House. The

research focused on the tasks defined in the scope of work. As defined in the scope, research on the military importance of Appomattox was conducted only as it related to the newly acquired lands, and the relevant information was merged with the historic context provided in the existing National Register documentation. Some changes to this section of the study were provided by Appomattox Court House National Historical Park curator Joe Williams and historian Patrick Schroeder. In addition, the National Park Service requested that twentieth-century buildings be included in the "Description of Resources not Included in the 1989 National Register Documentation" and in the "List of Contributing and Noncontributing Resources." Information on these resources was provided by the Park Service.

SUMMARY OF SIGNIFICANCE

On April 9, 1865, in the village of Appomattox Court House, Appomattox County, Virginia, General Robert E. Lee surrendered the Confederate Army of Northern Virginia to Lieutenant General Ulysses S. Grant, General-in-Chief of the Armies of the United States. The surrender signaled the defeat of the Confederate States of America. Across the unoccupied areas of the South, Confederate commanders realized the futility of further resistance, and, like Lee, surrendered their troops. Four years of civil war were over.

In 1892, Brigadier General George B. Davis, chairman of the Commission for Publication of the *Official Records of the War of the Rebellion*, received a report from an aide on the condition of the historic features at Appomattox Court House. By that time, the courthouse had burned, and Grant's headquarters had disappeared. In 1893, the McLean House, site of the surrender meeting between Lee and Grant, had been dismantled prior to its planned re-erection in Washington, D.C., to house a Civil War museum. Davis transmitted this disturbing news to Secretary of War Daniel S. Lamont, and recommended that these and other important sites at Appomattox be permanently marked by tablets. After Lamont's approval, Davis had these and other sites marked with cast iron tablets in 1893. Upon visiting Appomattox in 1902, Davis found the markers to be in excellent condition except for need of painting. He testified before the House Military Affairs Committee that if Congress concluded that land acquisition was desirable, 150 acres would be sufficient to encompass all the main points of interest, rather than the 2,500 acres proposed in pending legislation.¹ As it developed, no action was taken on Appomattox Court House at this time.

The legislative history of the property clearly establishes the original and primary **Area of Significance** as **Military** (the system of defending the territory and sovereignty of a people). In 1926 Congress authorized a commission "to inspect the battle fields and surrender grounds in and around old Appomattox Court House, Virginia, in order to ascertain the feasibility of preserving and marking for historical and professional military study such fields."² On the basis of the commission's recommendation, Congress passed in 1930 an Act which authorized and directed the Secretary of War to acquire approximately one acre of land at Appomattox Court House to erect a monument "for the purpose of commemorating the termination of the War between the States which was brought about by the surrender ... on April 9, 1865, and for the further purpose of honoring those who engaged in this tremendous conflict."³

¹Ronald F. Lee, "The Origin and Evolution of the National Military Park Idea" (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Department of the Interior, National Park Service, Office of Historic Preservation, 1973), 41.

²Act of February 25, 1926 (44 Stat. 9).

³Act of June 18, 1930 (46 Stat. 777).

Initially, the property was administered by the Department of War. On August 10, 1933, it was among those properties transferred to the Department of the Interior's renamed Office of National Parks, Buildings, and Reservations, under the terms of Executive Order 6166 (June 10, 1933).⁴ In 1935 Congress changed the name of the property to "Appomattox Court House National Historical Monument," authorized the rebuilding of the McLean House, and provided for enlarging the park.⁵ On April 10, 1940, Secretary of the Interior Harold L. Ickes, acting under the provisions of the 1935 legislation, formally established the Park with a land base of approximately 970 acres, including land which had been acquired by the Resettlement Administration.⁶ In 1954 Congress changed the park's designation to "National Historical Park."⁷

The placement of commemorative tablets in 1893 and the actions of Congress in 1930 and 1935 marked executive and legislative recognition of the **Area of Significance** now called **Conservation** (the preservation, maintenance, and management of natural or manmade resources).⁸ From mid-1937 through 1939, preliminary National Park Service planning took place on the assumption that the Secretary of the Interior might seek to develop the park. The most ambitious view was that the tiny hamlet of Appomattox Court House could be restored to interpret rural Virginia society. The conservative approach opposed reconstruction efforts, but since Congress had already authorized and appropriated money for rebuilding the McLean House, and local public opinion was strongly in favor of rebuilding both the McLean House and the Courthouse, the Park Service had little choice but to move ahead. Accordingly, after the park's official establishment in 1940, a full-scale multidisciplinary study involving archeology, architecture, and history commenced. The collaborative effort, a model historic research program, resulted in plans to reconstruct the McLean House. The final report, "Collaborative Justification for Reconstruction of the McLean House at Appomattox," was, in the words of historian of the preservation movement Charles B. Hosmer, Jr., "the first joint document of this kind ever prepared," and in the view of Park Service professionals, it represented "a peak of professional competence never before equaled."⁹

⁴Executive Order #6166 (June 10, 1933).

⁵Act of August 13, 1935, amending the Act of June 18, 1930 (49 Stat. 613).

⁶Department Order, April 10, 1940 (5 FR 1520). See also Executive Order #8057 (February 23, 1939) (4 FR 1025).

⁷Act of April 15, 1954 (68 Stat. 54).

⁸Other attempts to commemorate the events at Appomattox include the construction of the North Carolina monument in 1905 and in the work of the United Daughters of the Confederacy at the courthouse site and at the Confederate cemetery in 1926. Please see Historic Context Statement.

⁹Charles B. Hosmer, Jr. *Preservation Comes of Age: From Williamsburg to the National Trust*, 2 vols. (Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia for the Preservation Press, National Trust for Historic Preservation in the United States, 1981), 1:620-626, 2:733-735, 948-950 (quotations, 949).

Although the implementation of the project was delayed by World War II, the Park Service had embarked on one of the major American conservation efforts of the mid-twentieth century – the restoration of the village of Appomattox Court House. The program put in place by Park Service historians, architects, and archeologists in the early 1940s was not fully implemented until 1968, when some of the village outbuildings were reconstructed.

The initial work at Appomattox Court House was carried out by Company 1351, an African American unit of the Civilian Conservation Corps under the guidance of professional historians, architects, landscape architects, and archeologists on the staff of the National Park Service. The CCC was active in the park from the summer of 1940 until early in 1942. The participation of these two agencies of the federal government in implementing statutes approved by the legislative and executive branches of the government establishes **Politics/Government** (the enactment and administration of laws by which a nation, State, or other political jurisdiction is governed) as an **Area of Significance**. As has been noted, administration of Appomattox Court House was transferred to the jurisdiction of the Department of the Interior from the War Department in 1933. Other federal battlefield parks also became the province of the National Park Service at that time. In addition, the CCC was one of a number of programs proposed by the administration of Franklin Delano Roosevelt and approved by Congress to relieve the overwhelming unemployment that accompanied the Depression of the 1930s.

That the NPS envisioned the restoration and reconstruction of kitchens, slave quarters, privies, and smokehouses – rather than simply concentrating on the larger structures like the McLean House and the Courthouse – indicates that it had in mind the interpretation of Appomattox Court House as not only the symbolic scene of the end of the Civil War, but also as representative of rural Virginia of the mid-nineteenth century. This fact, in turn, establishes another **Area of Significance, Architecture** (the practical art of designing and constructing buildings and structures to serve human needs). As stated in Section 7 of the 1989 National Register documentation,

If the modest village of Appomattox Court House is considered a museum, its architectural significance lies in the breadth and depth of its collections of late eighteenth- and nineteenth-century buildings, structures, and sites. The collection has breadth because it includes a wide range of public and private structures, depth because these buildings are supplemented by a large number of ancillary structures that typically punctuated the rural Virginia landscape of that era. And there is a framework to this assemblage; historic roads, fences, hedgerows, and fields demonstrate a pattern of ownership, occupation, and use, thereby creating a framework cultural landscape in which the historical events of 1865 may be interpreted.

Individually, the buildings at Appomattox Court House are fine examples of their types; collectively, the landscape of which they are a part provides a strong statement of economic and political power with a small, rural, southern community.

The recreation of the village, in turn, establishes a complex of interwoven **Areas of Significance** at the state and local levels: **Agriculture** (the process and technology of cultivating soil, producing crops, and raising livestock and plants), **Commerce** (the business of trading, goods, services, and commodities),

Ethnic Heritage/African American (the history of persons having origins in any of the black racial groups of Africa), **Politics/Government, Social History** (the history of society and the lifeways of its social groups), and **Transportation** (process and technology of conveying passengers and materials). As it did elsewhere in the state throughout the period from 1750 to 1850, the Virginia legislature established Appomattox Court House as a county seat in 1845 to accommodate the western movement of Virginia's population as settlers sought out new lands for tobacco cultivation, and aspects of the restored village continue to illustrate its nineteenth-century beginnings. The topography of the village, which, with its rolling hills and proximity to water, made it attractive to new settlers, remains mostly unchanged. Traces of the roads that crossed at the site of the village (the Richmond-Lynchburg Stage Road and the Prince Edward Court House Road) – used both to transport settlers and manufactured commodities west and farm products east – can also still be seen, and, as has been noted, the variety of the park's buildings and structures give breadth and depth to the historic setting. The fields, fences, and remnants of farm structures surrounding the village establish the agricultural context within which the seat of government functioned.

Although yeoman farmers and slaveless artisans and laborers (both black and white) existed in Appomattox, the county's agriculture and commerce relied on enslaved African Americans, and the reconstruction of slave quarters at Clover Hill Tavern and at the McLean House, as well as the kitchens, smokehouses, agricultural fields in which they worked, are reminders of this aspect of American economic and social history.¹⁰ This Area of Significance becomes especially important in the context of Appomattox Court House, the site of the end of the war that effectively freed all African Americans.

Thus, Appomattox Court House manifests three of the National Register Criteria:

A (significant events) – By virtue of being the site of the surrender of the Confederacy's supreme military commander and its principal field army, the property represents the effectual end of the Civil War; by virtue of its creation by federal law and implementation by the National Park Service and the Civilian Conservation Corps, it represents the participation of the federal government into the preservation and commemoration of historically significant sites.

B (significant individuals) – By virtue of being associated with General Robert E. Lee, C.S.A., and Lieutenant General Ulysses S. Grant, U.S.A., future President of the United States, and their major subordinate commanders.

C (architecture) – By embodying the distinctive characteristics of a type, period, and method of construction, and by representing a significant and distinguishable entity whose components may lack individual distinction. The resources of Appomattox Court House Historical Park, which include roads, fencelines, fields, and vegetation as well as buildings and structures, constitute a holistic landscape typical of both a seat of county government in Piedmont Virginia in the mid-nineteenth century and of a farming community in the state at that time.

¹⁰The site of the blacksmith shop of Charles Diuguid, a free African American, is currently being investigated. Results of this work may increase the scope of this area of significance.

It should be noted that the resources at Appomattox Court House Historical Park may also satisfy Criterion D (sites that have yielded, or may be likely to yield, information important in prehistory or history). This criterion will be addressed following the completion of an ongoing archeological study.

The park also manifests at least three Criteria Considerations (Exceptions):

B (moved buildings) – At least one structure (the Plunkett-Meeks Store Storage Building) was relocated a short distance within the property;

D (cemeteries) – There are nine historic cemetery sites, including two individual graves, the Confederate Cemetery, and several family and church burial grounds, which derive their primary significance from their association with the historic events represented by the park;

E (reconstructed buildings) – Thirteen buildings, including the McLean House and the Courthouse, together with, in several instances, their fences, have been reconstructed in a suitable environment and presented in a dignified manner as part of the park's restoration master plan.

Due to the overlap chronologically between the Areas of Significance, the **Period of Significance** for the park has been determined to be 1809 to 1968, from the establishment of the stage line on the Richmond-Lynchburg Stage Road to the completion of the village reconstruction program that began with the historical studies of the National Park Service in the late 1930s.

The resources of Appomattox Court House National Historical Park have been determined to retain their integrity. The lands within the park are remarkably free from modern intrusions, and, with one exception, the buildings of the park have been restored or reconstructed on their original sites. The topography and natural systems of the area have changed little since the middle of the nineteenth century, and landscape features such as fences, roads, and farmland have been retained or restored. Two aspects of National Register standards for integrity, location and setting, are therefore satisfied by park resources. The ability of these resources to satisfy three other aspects of integrity – design, materials, and workmanship – is complicated by their reconstruction and restoration for purposes other than their original use. Because the restorations and reconstructions were accurately executed after sound research and because the work has followed an overall plan for the park, however, the contributing buildings, structures, and objects do satisfy these National Register standards. The park's resources therefore also convey a historic sense of the village at the close of the Civil War, satisfying National Register standards for feeling and association.

HISTORIC CONTEXT STATEMENT

THE BATTLE OF APPOMATTOX COURT HOUSE AND LEE'S SURRENDER

Area of Significance: Military

For most of the four years of the Civil War, the area around Appomattox Court House remained untouched by the fighting, although the county contributed its share of soldiers to the army of the Confederate States of America. Wilmer McLean, whose house in northern Virginia became a military headquarters in the first Battle of Manassas in 1861, had become a resident of the area before June 1863, seemingly escaping the war.¹¹ A Confederate defeat at Five Forks, Virginia, on April 1, 1865, however, marked the beginning of the end of the Union siege of Richmond and Petersburg. Confederate General Robert E. Lee's troops withdrew from the capital of the Confederacy on April 2 and 3, ultimately being stopped at Appomattox Court House, population of about one hundred. On April 9, 1865, in Wilmer McLean's house, Lee surrendered the Confederate Army of Northern Virginia to Ulysses S. Grant, General-in-Chief of the Armies of the United States. The surrender signaled the defeat of the Confederate States of America. Across the South, Confederate commanders realized the futility of further resistance, and, like Lee, surrendered their troops. Four years of civil war were over. Appomattox Court House became forever associated with the conclusion of the nation's bloodiest conflict and the end of the South's attempt to establish its own nation.¹²

The Road to Appomattox¹³

Beginning in mid-June 1864, Lieutenant General Ulysses S. Grant, exercising personal command over the Armies of the Potomac and the James, besieged Confederate General Robert E. Lee and the Army of Northern Virginia at Richmond and Petersburg, Virginia. The Union forces applied constant pressure on

¹¹William Marvel, *A Place Called Appomattox* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2000), 87-90, 114. Marvel reports that McLean visited Appomattox between fall 1862 and early 1863. His property assessment was recorded in June 1863.

¹²*Ibid.*, 198-220; Jon B. Montgomery, Reed Engle, and Clifford Tobias, National Register of Historic Places National Register of Historic Places - Registration Form, "Appomattox Court House," United States Department of the Interior, National Park Service, Washington, D.C., May 18, 1989, 8:1..

¹³The account of Robert E. Lee's surrender to Ulysses S. Grant contained in this section is based primarily on *Appomattox Court House: Appomattox Court House National Historical Park. Virginia. National Park Service Handbook 109* (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Department of the Interior, National Park Service, Division of Publications, 1980). The account itself is taken from Section 8 of the current National Register documentation for Appomattox Court House National Historical Park, as amended in June 2002 by park staff. Combined with this amended text is an analysis of the military significance of the Burruss Timber and Conservation Fund tracts, which were added to the park in 1992 and 1993. Information on the specific resources of these two tracts of land will be found in Appendix A of the Historic Resource Study.

the Confederate lines, and by the fall of 1864 three of the four railroad lines into Petersburg had been cut. The Southside Railroad remained as the only means of rail transportation into Petersburg. Its inevitable loss would force Lee to evacuate his positions. During the fall and winter of 1864-65 Grant gradually cut off Lee's supply lines from the south. By February 1865, Union armies under Major Generals William T. Sherman and John N. Schofield were advancing in the Carolinas, threatening to link with Grant's troops arrayed against Lee. The Confederate commander was forced to remain in the trenches throughout March due to muddy roads and the poor condition of his horses. On March 29, Major General Philip H. Sheridan's cavalry and the Fifth Corps began moving toward the Confederate right flank and the Southside Railroad. On April 1 the siege was broken when the Confederate right flank was shattered at Five Forks. The next day Grant went on an all-out offensive against the Confederate lines. With his supply lines cut, Lee evacuated most of his troops from Richmond and Petersburg on the night of April 2-3.

Moving over predetermined routes, the Army of Northern Virginia headed west, to concentrate forces from Richmond and Petersburg at Amelia Court House.¹⁴ Lee hoped to link up with General Joseph E. Johnston's Army of Tennessee, which was retreating north through the Carolinas. The immediate objective was to reach Amelia Court House, where rations which had been sent from Richmond were to be distributed. But when Lee reached Amelia Court House on April 4, he found only ordnance supplies, not rations. Lee determined to have his men forage for subsistence for themselves and their horses while awaiting the arrival of Ewell's column out of Richmond, which had been delayed by flood waters. Local farmers, however, had little to spare. This lost day gave the pursuing Union troops time to maneuver troops into position both east and south of Lee.¹⁵ Leaving Amelia Court House the following day, Lee found his route of march blocked by Union forces at Jetersville. Forced to turn west again, Lee moved toward Lynchburg, hoping to find supplies at Farmville on the Southside Railroad. Northern cavalry attacked the Confederate wagon train at Paineville, destroying a large number of wagons. The exhausted, hungry Southern troops, who had been marching day and night, began falling out of rank. Gaps developed in the line of march.

At Sailor's Creek, a few miles east of Farmville, the Union forces cut off a portion of the retreating Confederate column, capturing thousands, including eight generals, one of them Lee's son Custis. The next day, April 7, the remnants of the Army of Northern Virginia reached Farmville, where rations awaited them. But the Union troops continued to press forward, and Lee had to keep moving west, hoping that he could be supplied at Appomattox Station. While in Farmville, Lee received a letter from Grant asking him to surrender. One of Lee's corps commanders, Lieutenant General James Longstreet, advised him not to do so. In his reply Lee declined to surrender, but asked Grant for his surrender terms. Grant, in turn, replied that peace was his great desire, and that his only condition was that the officers and men of the Army of Northern Virginia would be disqualified from taking up arms again unless

¹⁴Chris M. Calkins, *The Appomattox Campaign: March 29-April 9, 1965* (Conshohocken, Pa., : Combined Books, 1997), 58, 63.

¹⁵*Ibid.*, 75-76.

exchanged for Union prisoners. Grant offered to meet with Lee to discuss peace, or have designated officers accomplish the task.

The Battle for the Court House

The Confederate columns halted a mile east of Appomattox Court House on the evening of April 8. General James Longstreet built breastworks near New Hope Church, three miles northeast of the courthouse, to protect the rear of Lee's army. Remnants of those breastworks can still be seen just off State Route 24.¹⁶ On the night of April 8, the red glow of the Union campfires could be seen from Appomattox Station to the southwest, meaning that Lee's last possible link with the Southside Railroad had been lost. Meeting that night with his generals, Lee decided that one last attempt should be made to escape the Union forces at Appomattox and move through Pittsylvania County into North Carolina to unite with General Joseph E. Johnston. Lee wrote back to Grant, saying that he would be pleased to meet at 10 o'clock the next morning, but only to discuss the restoration of peace, not the surrender of the Army of Northern Virginia. Grant replied to Lee's overture for a meeting by stating that he had no authority to discuss the subject of peace, although, of course, he and the entire North were anxious for it. Peace could be achieved if the South laid down its arms.

On the morning of April 9, the Confederate Second Corps, commanded by Major General John B. Gordon, formed in a northwest-to-southeast line a few hundred yards west of the courthouse. The north side of this line fell across farmland owned by Jacob Tibbs. A brigade of North Carolina cavalry, led by General William P. Roberts, and two ranks of infantry – Brigadier General William R. Cox's North Carolina brigade and Bushrod Johnson's division – formed in the yard of the Tibbs house and in the fields to the northwest. Shortly after dawn, Gordon's forces attacked the Union positions to the west. Gordon's goal was to open the Richmond-Lynchburg Stage Road in order to create an escape route for the Army of Northern Virginia.

The Confederates beat the Union troops back, capturing a battery section and advancing westward beyond the Oakville Road onto property owned by Samuel and Armanda Coleman. The advance lasted roughly from seven to nine o'clock. Confederate forces assaulted elements of Union cavalry that were trying to slow the advance until infantry from the Army of the James under the direction of Major General Edward O.C. Ord arrived. Major General William Henry Fitzhugh Lee's division and Cox's North Carolina brigade encountered Union cavalry directed by General Ranald Mackenzie near the Coleman house. During the fighting, the 11th Maine Infantry advanced into a crossfire northwest of the Coleman house, and Union soldiers sought protection in the buildings on the property. Northern troops reorganized on the Coleman property, received the expected reinforcements from Ord, and repelled the Confederate assault, ultimately pushing it back across the Coleman and Tibbs properties eastward toward

¹⁶Chris Calkins, *The Battles of Appomattox Station and Appomattox Court House, April 8-9, 1865* (Lynchburg: H.E. Howard, Inc., 1987), 126; "Lee's Retreat, a Driving Tour following General Robert E. Lee's Route from Petersburg to Appomattox," brochure, no date, no publication information, Cultural Resources Management Files, Philadelphia Support Office [PHSO], PA.

the courthouse. The Tibbs house was used as a signal station by Union forces.¹⁷ The Tibbs and Coleman properties saw some of the fiercest fighting during the battle. When the Confederate army withdrew from this area and the lands across the stage road to the south, the fighting at Appomattox came to a close, symbolically ending the bloodiest war in United States history.¹⁸

After Gordon's failure to break through the Union lines west of the courthouse, there would be no more quibbling about arranging a meeting to surrender the Army of Northern Virginia. Although urged by some of his staff to disperse the army and fight a guerrilla war, Lee believed that surrender was now inevitable. He wrote again to Grant, requesting a meeting to discuss surrender terms. The message reached Grant and his staff shortly before noon, as they were riding around the Confederate forces to meet with Sheridan and Ord. Grant agreed to a meeting, allowing Lee to decide on the location.

Colonel Orville Babcock of Grant's staff took the reply and rode off to find Lee and his staff resting under an apple tree near the Appomattox River. Lee mounted "Traveller" and set off for the village. Riding ahead, Lee's aide, Lieutenant Colonel Charles Marshall, looked for a suitable meeting place. He saw Wilmer McLean near the courthouse, which was locked on Sunday. McLean took Marshall to a dilapidated house which lacked furniture. Marshall rejected that site, and McLean then offered his own home. Ironically, McLean had moved to quiet, remote Appomattox Court House from Manassas, Virginia, where his house stood on the battlefield. Now the Civil War, which had driven him from Manassas, was to end in his parlor.

The Surrender

Lee and Babcock soon arrived, entered the McLean House, and chatted as they waited for Grant. Meeting Sheridan and Ord, Grant was cautioned that the meeting might be a ruse; he was advised to allow the two sides to keep fighting. Grant was confident Lee would surrender, and rode to the McLean House for the fateful meeting. Accompanied by most of his staff, Grant, wearing a mud-spattered field uniform, arrived to meet Lee, who had worn a new dress uniform for the occasion. After talking of their

¹⁷William Marvel, "Historical Assessment of the 'Conservation Fund' and 'Burruss Timber' Tracts within Appomattox Court House National Historical Park," Appomattox Court House National Historical Park [APCO], VA, prepared for the National Park Service, January 2001, revised April 2001, photocopy, 7-8, 12-14, Cultural Resources Management Files, Philadelphia Support Office [PHSO], PA; Calkins, *Battles*, 58-62, 79-82, 101.

¹⁸John F. Pousson, "Contributions to an Overview of Archeological Resources, Appomattox Court House National Historical Park," March 2001, Appomattox National Historical Park [APCO], 74, photocopy, National Park Service, Cultural Resources Management Files, Philadelphia Support Office [PHSO], PA.; Marvel, "Historical Assessment," 15. Because the fighting on these two tracts of land was considerable, they may hold archeological remains of significance.

experiences in the Mexican War, Lee finally raised the issue at hand, the terms of surrender. Grant repeated what he had written to Lee on the previous day. The Confederate leader asked Grant to put his terms in writing. The Union commander wrote that rolls of all the officers and men of the Army of Northern Virginia were to be made. Officers were to give their individual paroles (pledges) not to take up arms against the United States unless exchanged, and company and regimental commanders were to sign general paroles for their troops. Arms, artillery, and public property were to be stacked and turned over. Officers could retain their sidearms and personal horses and baggage. Each officer and soldier could then return home and would not be disturbed by United States authorities as long as they observed their paroles and local laws.

Lee was very pleased with the generous terms of the surrender: His soldiers could have become prisoners of war and the officers tried for treason. The Confederate general requested, however, that the enlisted cavalymen and artillerists, who, in his army, owned their own mounts, be allowed to retain them. Grant did not agree to change the written terms of surrender, but instead to instruct his officers to allow Confederates who claimed to own a horse or mule to take the mounts home to work on the family farm. Again, Lee was very gratified by Grant's decision. In a short note, he then formally accepted the terms of surrender. The conversation turned to the Confederates' lack of provisions. Lee was unable to even guess at the total number of troops still under his command. Grant then offered to provide 25,000 rations, which Lee gratefully accepted. Lee shook hands again with Grant, bowed to the other officers, and left to ride off to his army, which greeted him with cheers.

Grant departed and rode to his new headquarters, just west of the village, stopping to write to Secretary of War Edwin M. Stanton, to inform him of the surrender. At the headquarters of the Army of the Potomac, everyone from Major General George G. Meade himself to the common soldiers went wild with joy. Bands played, and cannon were fired. But Grant ordered the firing stopped; he wanted no demonstrations. Union soldiers shared their rations with their former enemies.

Back at the McLean House, a few Union soldiers scrambled for mementoes of the historic event, either by buying artifacts from Wilmer McLean, or simply by taking or vandalizing whatever they could get their hands on.

On the morning of April 10, Grant and Lee met for the last time. Between the two armies, they talked alone for over thirty minutes while still mounted. Lee suggested the need for parole passes to be issued, and Grant agreed.¹⁹ Grant hoped that Lee would use his influence with the Southern people and soldiers to urge the other field armies to surrender. But Lee declined, saying that he would have to consult with President Jefferson Davis first. After the meeting Grant broke camp and left for Washington. After a discussion with Meade, Lee returned to his headquarters and assigned Lieutenant Colonel Charles

¹⁹Calkins, *Appomattox Campaign*, 186.

Marshall to prepare a farewell message to the troops, praising their courage and devotion to duty, which Lee edited and approved.²⁰

Meanwhile, the six senior officers appointed by Grant and Lee to arrange the details of the surrender met at Clover Hill Tavern. Major General John Gibbon, commander of the Twenty-Fourth Corps, suggested that they adjourn to the parlor of the McLean House. There the final surrender agreement was prepared and signed. It specifically allowed enlisted men of the artillery and cavalry, and couriers, to retain their own horses.²¹

The formal Confederate Infantry surrender ceremony was held on the damp, chilly morning of April 12. Union soldiers lined the Richmond-Lynchburg Stage Road from the western edge of the village to a point near the river. Led by General Gordon (neither commander took part in the ceremony), the Confederates marched between the Union lines to stack their arms and their remaining flags. Brigadier General Joshua L. Chamberlain, former commander of the 20th Maine Infantry, was given the honor of commanding the Union forces at the surrender ceremony. Chamberlain ordered his men to "shoulder arms," a salute of respect.²² Gordon had the marching Southerners return the salute. After surrendering their arms and equipment, the Confederates marched back to their camps, and then started for home, carrying their parole passes. That afternoon Lee left for Richmond. By April 15, all Confederate soldiers had been paroled, and by April 17, all Union forces had departed.²³ Appomattox Court House had taken its place in American history.

On April 26 near Durham, North Carolina, Johnston surrendered to Sherman, and by May 26 Confederate forces in the trans-Mississippi west had given up the fight. The example Robert E. Lee set at Appomattox by surrendering and refusing to fight a guerilla war was thus repeated wherever Confederate troops remained in the field.

²⁰Frederick Maurice, *Lee's Aide-De-Camp* (Lincoln, Neb.: University of Nebraska Press, 2000), 278; Calkins, *Appomattox Campaign*, 185.

²¹John Gibbon, *Personal Recollections of the Civil War* (New York: G.P. Putnam's Sons, 1928), 332.

²²Joshua L. Chamberlain, *Honor Answering Honor* (Brunswick, Maine: Bowdoin College, 1965), letter dated April 13, 1865; Patrick A. Schroeder, *More Myths About Lee's Surrender*, 4th edition (Farmville, Va.: Schroeder Publications, 2001), 20-21.

²³Chris Calkins, *The Final Bivouac: The Surrender Parade at Appomattox and the Disbanding of the Armies, April 10-May 20, 1865* (Lynchburg, Va.: H.E. Howard, Inc., 1988), 46-55; Gibbon, 345.

COMMEMORATION OF THE CIVIL WAR'S END

Areas of Significance: Conservation, Politics/Government, Social History

The events that took place at Appomattox Court House were considered worthy of commemoration almost immediately upon their conclusion. And yet, unlike Gettysburg, Shiloh, Fredericksburg, and other battlefields, Appomattox Court House did not become a national historic site until June 18, 1930 – 65 years after Grant and Lee signed the surrender papers that ended the nation's bloodiest war. Another 10 years passed before agreement was reached on how the events at Appomattox should be memorialized, and implementation of commemoration plans continued beyond the 100th anniversary of Lee's surrender. The story of how the national importance of Appomattox Court House came to be officially recognized in some ways fits neatly into the history of Civil War commemoration. The site, however, is unique among American commemorative landscapes. This is partly due to the fact that historians and government officials from the beginning judged that the significance of Appomattox Court House lay in the surrender of the Army of Northern Virginia rather than in the fighting that took place there. This emphasis on the surrender lent importance to buildings involved in the events of April 9, 1865, rather than the battle lines and troop positions of the same day. The delay in commemorating the site and the form of commemoration were also products of the intense emotional response of inhabitants of both the North and the South to the place that came to symbolize the end of the Civil War.

Public and Private Commemoration, 1865-1870

Participants in the events of April 8-12, 1865, at Appomattox Court House recognized the small town's importance to United States history as those events unfolded. That is apparent from a report by John Dennett, a journalist schooled at Harvard who visited Appomattox in August of that year. He recorded Wilmer McLean's story of having his house cleared of potential souvenirs by the generals that occupied the house during the surrender proceedings. The apple tree in the Sweeney orchard near the north branch of the Appomattox River, under which Lee was said to have waited for Grant's response to his request for a meeting to discuss the surrender, was also attractive to souvenir hunters. By the time Dennett visited, locals could only show him the hole that remained after the tree had been dug up, roots and all, to be chopped into mementoes.²⁴

Among the earliest acts of commemoration of Civil War soldiers throughout the country centered on burial of the dead. Federal government policy laid responsibility for recording and burying Union dead with their commanding officers, and Union soldiers who died at Appomattox were buried at Poplar Grove Cemetery in Petersburg, Virginia. The demands for rapid movement during sustained military campaigns usually made anything more than hastily dug, shallow graves impossible. Often soldiers did

²⁴From John Richard Dennett, *The South as It Is*, cited in Marvel, *A Place Called Appomattox*, 280-281; John Hammond Moore, "Appomattox Court House: Community, Village, and Families, 1845-1870," Appomattox Court House National Historical Park [APCO], VA, 1976, 116-119, photocopy, National Park Service, Cultural Resources Management Files, Philadelphia Support Office [PHSO], PA.

not receive any burial at all by their comrades. Localities then became responsible for the soldiers' proper interment.²⁵

Such was the case at Appomattox. The Ladies Memorial Association of Appomattox, a group of women in the village, was formed on May 18, 1866, to remove Confederate dead from their temporary graves in the battlefield and place them in a single cemetery. The women organized the association and obtained land and materials. Their husbands and brothers and cousins cleared the site of brush, built the coffins, and performed the work of disinterring and reinterring the dead. Eighteen Confederate soldiers and, later, a single Union soldier, were buried in the cemetery near the Richmond-Lynchburg Stage Road west of town on the farm of John Sears, who donated the land. Once a fence was constructed to keep cattle and sheep from wandering into the cemetery, the Ladies Memorial Association's mission was completed; the group disbanded in 1870.²⁶

Other early attempts to commemorate the site include accounts of the village and its inhabitants, like that of Dennett, artistic renderings and photographs of the village and its principal buildings, and maps of the area locating historic sites. A map published by Henderson and Company in 1866 noted the location of historic events and included around its borders graphic representations of the principal sites. Another, by Brigadier General Nathaniel Michler and published in 1867, marked the locations and sizes of buildings, terrain, vegetation, streams, and roadways. All these resources would be used to establish accurate locations of events and the design and arrangement of structures when official commemoration of Appomattox Court House took place.²⁷

The War Department Tablets

The first public fraternization of former soldiers of the Union and Confederate armies took place at the centennial celebration of the Battle of Bunker Hill in 1875. By the next decade, units from both the North and the South held reunions, separately and jointly, on a regular basis: Two dozen formal

²⁵Patrick A. Schroeder, *The Confederate Cemetery at Appomattox* (Farmville, Va.: Schroeder Publications, 1999), 6. The national cemetery system did not begin until after the war's conclusion. See architrave p.c. architects and Robinson & Associates, Inc., "Antietam National Cemetery Lodge: Physical History and Condition Assessment," prepared for the National Park Service, July 31, 2000, 15-16, and Therese T. Sammartino, National Register of Historic Places Inventory - Nomination Form, "Civil War Era National Cemeteries," United States Department of the Interior, National Park Service, Washington, D.C., October 14, 1994.

²⁶Marvel, *A Place Called Appomattox*, 293-295.

²⁷ Ibid., 278-280; Henderson and Company, *Map of Appomattox Court House and Vicinity* (Baltimore: A. Hoen & Company, 1866), microfiche copy at Geography and Maps Division, Library of Congress, Washington, D.C.; Nathaniel Michler, *Appomattox Court House* (New York: New York Lithographing, Engraving & Printing Company, 1867), microfiche copy at Geography and Maps Division, Library of Congress, Washington, D.C.

gatherings of this kind took place between 1881 and 1887. Eventually, the impulse to remember the sites of important battles and lost comrades that resulted in the reunions itself influenced the creation of the first national military parks. Four were established between 1890 and 1899: Chickamauga and Chattanooga (1890), Shiloh (1894), Gettysburg (1895), and Vicksburg (1899). Such national parks were often started privately, either by the participants in the battles themselves or local citizens. Federal recognition, funding, and supervision followed. Administered by the War Department at their inception, the national military parks had two purposes: 1) to be lasting memorials to the sites of battles and the specific armies that participated in them (such as the Army of the Potomac and the Army of Northern Virginia at Gettysburg) and 2) for professional study by current members of the armed forces.²⁸ Military parks had a commercial aspect as well. Railroads promoted tourism to battlefields and lobbied Congress to establish the first five national military parks.²⁹

The memorialization process at Appomattox Court House followed the national momentum exhibited by the founding of the national military parks, abetted by entrepreneurial tourism promoters. Joseph Burn, a watchmaker from New York, also produced a map, measurements, drawings, and a diorama of the site around 1890 in collaboration with Appomattox County Clerk George T. Peers.³⁰ Burn's efforts took place at the same time that local legislators began to seek formal commemoration of the events that had taken place at the courthouse. During the first session of the 51st Congress (1889-1890), Representative Henry St. George Tucker of Virginia introduced legislation to create a monument at Appomattox Court House. This was the first of many subsequent attempts to seek federal involvement in commemorating the events at Appomattox.³¹

Tucker's efforts coincided with and were perhaps influenced by a private attempt to develop Appomattox Court House as a tourist and residential area by Samuel S. Burdette, former commander-in-chief of the Grand Army of the Republic. Burdette formed the Appomattox Improvement Company in 1890, the goal of which, according to the company's prospectus, was to create a "National Camp-Ground for reunion

²⁸Ronald F. Lee, "The Origin and Evolution of the National Military Park Idea," National Park Service, 1973, www.cr.nps.gov, 7-11.

²⁹Patrick W. Andrus, *National Register Bulletin 40: Guidelines for Identifying, Evaluating, and Registering America's Historic Battlefields* (National Park Service, 1992), 3.

³⁰Joseph Burn-George T. Peers correspondence, ca., 1890, Appomattox Court House National Historical Park archives, accession #531. The diorama was acquired by the park around 1941 – early in the park's creation – and the correspondence of park superintendent Hubert Gurney indicates that he valued it for the historical data it provided.

³¹The legislative history of early efforts to create a memorial landscape at Appomattox Court House was not covered in depth in the documents that were reviewed for this draft. Gurney, for instance, indicates that Tucker's bill was introduced in 1895 and mentions no other legislation. A preliminary search of the index to the *Congressional Record*, however, revealed no legislation introduced in 1895 but numerous bills and resolutions considered between 1889 and at least 1902.

and other military exercises and purposes.” A second phase of the project was to have been the sale of 9,000 building lots into which the company had divided the 1,400 acres of land it had acquired. The prospectus also informed potential investors that 2,500 shares of stock were for sale at \$100 each.³²

Burdette and the members of his group owned numerous historic structures in what is now Appomattox Court House National Historical Park, but it did not own the property that had belonged to Wilmer McLean, nor the house on that property in which Grant and Lee signed the surrender papers. In 1891, the McLean House, on the Richmond-Lynchburg Stage Road just a few hundred yards from the courthouse, was purchased for \$10,000 (including a \$3,300 down payment) by Myron Dunlap of Niagara Falls, New York, from its owner, Mrs. N.H. Ragland. The title to the property was to be transferred to Dunlap’s group, the Appomattox Land and Improvement Company, after three years. Dunlap’s initial plans were to dismantle the house so that it could be re-erected at the World’s Columbian Exhibition in Chicago. He later planned to move it to Washington as a Civil War museum. The house was dismantled for that purpose in 1893. Neither the schemes of Burdette’s group nor of Dunlap’s succeeded, hurt no doubt when the courthouse burned in 1892 and the county seat was moved to Appomattox Station, about three miles away. The McLean House remained, dismantled, on its site, after Dunlap’s group went bankrupt.³³

If the federal government did not legislate a national monument of some kind at Appomattox Court House during the 1890s, it did erect cast-iron tablets in 1893 to commemorate historical events. George B. Davis, the War Department’s Judge Advocate General, recalled in a Senate report that the commemoration of significant sites at Appomattox had been suggested to him that year. (Davis doesn’t say by whom.) At that time involved in the publication of the official records of the Union and Confederate armies, Davis visited the site, noted its deterioration (the McLean House dismantled, the courthouse destroyed, the house used by Grant as his headquarters demolished), and proposed marking the sites to Secretary of War Daniel S. Lamont. Lamont authorized Davis to have cast-iron tablets erected at 11 locations:

1. the site of the McLean House
2. the site of the old Appomattox courthouse
3. the site of Grant’s headquarters
4. the site of Lee’s reading of his farewell order to the Army of Northern Virginia on April 10, 1865³⁴
5. the site of the meeting between Grant and Lee on April 10, 1865

³²Appomattox Land Company, *Prospectus* (Washington, 1890), 7-8.

³³Hubert A. Gurney, “A Brief History of Appomattox Court House National Historical Park,” Appomattox Court House National Historical Park [APCO], VA, 1955, 3-4, photocopy, National Park Service, Cultural Resources Management Files, Philadelphia Support Office [PHSO], PA.; “The McLean House, 1867-1869, Historian’s Files, Appomattox Court House National Historical Park.

³⁴Lee did not, in fact, read his farewell order to his troops. He had it issued. Please see, Maurice, *Lee’s Aide-De-Camp*, 275-280; Schroeder, *More Myths*, 20-21.

6. the site of the apple tree where Lee waited for Grant's response to his request for a meeting
7. the site where Lee's army stacked their weapons
8. the sites of Union outposts on April 9, 1865
9. the sites of Confederate outposts on April 9, 1865
10. the site of the last Confederate volley on April 9, 1865
11. Appomattox Station (directing visitors to the historic sites)³⁵

Temporary wooden markers, erected by local citizens to mark the historic scenes, preceded the iron tablets. The 10 iron tablets erected on the battlefield itself by the War Department were still standing when Gurney wrote his park history in 1955.³⁶

Davis wrote his letter on April 24, 1902, to Secretary of War Elihu Root in response to a request for an opinion from the War Department on the creation of a 2,500-acre national park at Appomattox Court House. The Senate Committee on Military Affairs, which was then considering park legislation introduced by Senator Matthew S. Quay of Pennsylvania in the Senate and Congressman Henry D. Flood of Virginia in the House, had requested an opinion from the War Department. The reasons why this legislation failed give some idea of attitudes toward battlefield commemoration at this time.

As has been mentioned, one of the two purposes listed in legislation creating national military parks was their use in training current army officers. Root and Davis focused on this aspect of military parks in their responses to the Senate's request for information. Both noted that there was no general engagement at Appomattox Court House, the tactics of which might be studied by students of war, and therefore no reason to create a military park. Both Root and Davis did, however, consider the site of Lee's surrender to be significant, and both approved of the reconstruction of the McLean House. From this evidence, and

³⁵George B. Davis, Judge Advocate General, to Elihu Root, Secretary of War, April 24, 1902, included in Senate Committee on Military Affairs, *National Park and Peace Monument at Appomattox, Va.*, 57th Cong., 1st sess., 1902, S. Rept. 1344, 2-3.

³⁶Gurney, 5; Marvel, *A Place Called Appomattox*, 310-311. Gurney reports that Burdette influenced the passage of legislation authorizing the erection of the tablets. The preliminary search of the *Congressional Record* index, however, mentioned no such legislation. Cultural Landscapes Inventory: Appomattox Court House Village (Appomattox Court House National Historical Park [APCO], VA, 2000, photocopy, National Park Service, Cultural Resources Management Files, Philadelphia Support Office [PHSO], PA.), states that the iron tablets were originally painted gray and blue (3:29). A Park Service survey of the existing tablets dated August 1941 ("Sign and Marker Program," Records of the National Park Service, Record Group 79, Central Classified File, 1933-49, box 2027, file 447, National Archives) includes a photograph of one tablet with a caption noting "silver lettering on black background." Perhaps it is clear from documents or photographs not reviewed for this study that the tablets were painted blue and gray by the War Department. If not, the question of original color might be kept in mind should further research be conducted on the War Department's involvement at Appomattox.

from Dunlap's attempt to use the building as a museum, it is clear that the McLean House figured prominently in the earliest efforts to commemorate the events that occurred at Appomattox Court House. The Senate had also requested an opinion on the desirability of creating a "peace monument" at the scene of the war's end. Root approved of the proposal, while Davis "hesitate[d] to express an opinion." In response to the opinions gathered from Root and Davis, the Committee on Military Affairs returned an adverse report on the proposal to create both a peace monument and a national park at Appomattox Court House and recommended that it be indefinitely postponed.³⁷

The North Carolina Monument

Another reason that the attempt to create a national park and monument at Appomattox Court House failed at the end of the nineteenth century and the beginning of the twentieth may have been opposition in the South itself. The early period of commemoration of the Civil War nationally coincided with a time of memorialization of the Confederacy. The memorialization of the C.S.A., however, did not celebrate peace or the return of the Southern states to the Union. Rather, the Confederacy came to be considered an embodiment of certain virtues, like honor and gallantry, that Southerners felt were peculiar to the region.³⁸

The Southern impulse to commemorate its role in the Civil War expressed itself in a number of ways. One, as has been mentioned, was the participation in separate and joint reunions of Union and Confederate forces. Another was the creation of national military parks. Most of the early attempts to memorialize Civil War landscapes, however, began in the North, and it was not until the late 1880s that Confederate positions began to be marked and that land acquired. Southern states, for instance, were not represented in the Gettysburg Battlefield Memorial Association, formed in 1864, and it was not until 1887 that the property on which their battle lines were formed was acquired.³⁹

The South did not ignore its lost soldiers, as attested to by the efforts of the Ladies Memorial Association of Appomattox to properly bury the Confederate dead at Appomattox Court House. Similar ladies memorial associations across the South were the forerunners of chapters of the United Daughters of the Confederacy, which was organized in 1895. The United Confederate Veterans were formed in 1892, when it numbered 188 chapters within its ranks. In 1896 the number of member groups had grown to 850; in 1904, it was 1595. These groups spurred the construction of memorials to Confederate soldiers,

³⁷S. Rept. 1344, 1-3. The index to the *Congressional Record* indicates that Representative Henry D. Flood, a resident of Appomattox County, introduced legislation to acquire "the McLean property and other property at Appomattox" on May 13, 1902. The bill was not passed, but further research may help determine why.

³⁸See J.P. Radford, "Identity and Tradition in the Post-Civil War South," *Journal of Historical Geography* 18:1 (January 1992), 91-103, and John J. Winbury, "'Lest We Forget': The Confederate Monument and the Southern Townscape," *Southeastern Geographer* 23:2 (November 1983), 107-121.

³⁹Lee, 14-22.

both individuals and idealizations, that were placed on battlefields, in cemeteries, on the grounds of state capitols, and in front of courthouses. The symbolism of these monuments, both in their forms and in their inscriptions, illustrated pride in valor exhibited during the war, but also marked the Confederacy, not as a region peacefully reunited with its parent country, but as a separate nation with a just cause, what came to be known as the "Lost Cause" in Southern literature.⁴⁰

The North Carolina Monument at Appomattox Court House represents these efforts to commemorate Confederate valor. The only state marker at Appomattox, the monument was unveiled on April 9, 1905, the 40th anniversary of Lee's surrender. Three thousand people gathered at Trent's Lane near the old stage road west of town for its unveiling, the spot from which a North Carolina infantry unit in the Army of Northern Virginia delivered its last volley. The inscription alludes to North Carolina's claim for military pre-eminence during the Civil War: "First at Big Bethel; Farthest to the Front at Gettysburg and Chickamauga, and Last at Appomattox." Another marker placed by North Carolinians identified the site of the last capture of a Union battery by Confederate soldiers, also claimed by North Carolina units. Yet another marked the spot from which Confederate Brigadier General William Cox withdrew in the face of a Union advance, surrendering the village to Northern troops, ending the fighting at the Court House.⁴¹

The North Carolina monument and markers celebrate the high tide of Confederate military advances at Appomattox Court House, as well as the symbolic point at which the Southern cause ended. These memorials illustrate the meaning of Appomattox for at least some inhabitants of the South at the end of the nineteenth century. Walter A. Montgomery wrote that "To the Southerners of that day Appomattox was the tomb of their social aspirations, the sepulchre of their political hopes."⁴² Appomattox Court House superintendent Gurney makes the case in his history of the park that attempts to commemorate the events at Appomattox Court House at the turn of the century failed due to lack of support from the South because of the very different meaning the events of April 1865 had for Southerners.⁴³

It should be noted, however, that representatives from Virginia, Tucker and Flood, were among those in Congress who introduced legislation calling for national, rather than Southern, commemoration of Appomattox. It should also be remembered that attempts to create battlefield parks at Manassas, Fredericksburg, and Petersburg between 1890 and World War I also failed. Among the reasons for the failure of these proposals were the costs and the administrative challenges involved in turning privately

⁴⁰Radford, 95-99.

⁴¹Gurney, 8; Marvel, *A Place Called Appomattox*, 311-312.

⁴²Walter A. Montgomery, *History ... of North Carolina in the Great War* (Goldsboro, N.C., 1901), quoted in Gurney, 2.

⁴³Gurney, 2, 8.

held land into publicly administered commemorative landscapes and the costs of maintaining the existing national military parks.⁴⁴

Creation of a National Monument

Southern concerns, along with new attitudes toward commemoration, influenced the way in which the Civil War's end at the McLean House was ultimately commemorated. More than 20 years after the Senate Committee on Military Affairs recommended postponing the creation of a park at Appomattox Court House, the goal of commemorating the site remained very much alive. In 1925, the Appomattox Chamber of Commerce appointed a committee to look into the possibility of building a monument at the site of the old courthouse.⁴⁵ A year later, the United Daughters of the Confederacy erected a tablet at the courthouse site.⁴⁶ Perhaps at this same time, southern magnolia trees were also planted along the east and west sides of the Confederate Cemetery, and an iron fence was erected around it.⁴⁷ In 1926, the Act for the Study and Investigation of Battlefields was passed by Congress, charging the Army War College with the task of identifying all the sites of battles on American soil throughout the nation's history. The study not only identified the sites, but ranked them in order of importance with recommendations for a plan for national commemoration.⁴⁸

Due to its lack of importance as a battlefield, Appomattox Court House was to be recognized as a national monument, rather than a national military park, according to the study's findings. In 1929, Congressman Tucker introduced a joint resolution calling for a commission to report on this recommendation. The three members of the committee – a member of the Army Corps of Engineers and representatives of Union and Confederate veterans – recommended that a monument in the form of an obelisk be placed on the site. In the spring of 1930, Tucker introduced a bill acting on that recommendation and calling for the War Department to acquire one acre of land at the site of the old courthouse, fence the area in, and erect a monument, the cost of the whole not to exceed \$100,000. The bill was passed by Congress and signed by President Herbert Hoover on June 18, 1930.⁴⁹

⁴⁴Harold L. Reem, "Memorializing America's Flanders: National Park Service Preservation and Development of Virginia Civil War Battlefield Parks, 1933-1942," master's thesis, George Washington University, Washington, D.C., 2000, 30.

⁴⁵Marvel, *A Place Called Appomattox*, 317.

⁴⁶APCO, CLI: Landscape, 2:2.

⁴⁷Ibid., 3:11. A 1907 photograph reproduced in Vara Smith Stanley's *A History of Appomattox County* (Appomattox: Times-Virginian, 1965, 20) shows neither trees nor the present iron fence around the cemetery.

⁴⁸Lee, 35.

⁴⁹Gurney, 9-11.

In preparation for the construction of the monument, the War Department conducted surveys of the area in 1930 and 1931, and the Virginia State Highway Department regraded and resurfaced Virginia Highway 24, which roughly followed the course of the old Richmond-Lynchburg Stage Road. The renovation of the highway included the creation of a memorial bridge on the approach to the site from the east. Obelisks mark the concrete bridge, and stars decorate its railings. The stars impressed on crossed diagonal supports on the bridge are reminiscent of the Confederate flag, while horizontal rows of stars above vertical supports may be meant to recall the Union. The picnic area, which consists of four concrete tables on asphalt slabs, and the check dam in the Appomattox River may have been built at this time. Photographs from this period indicate that stone edging, ornamental plantings, cannons, and pyramids of cannonballs decorated the site. These efforts perhaps mark the first time that the state of Virginia had been involved in the drive to commemorate Appomattox.⁵⁰

Once the federal legislation had been signed by Hoover, the War Department appointed a five-man commission of architects and sculptors to administer a national competition for the monument's design. The competition drew two hundred entries. The winning design by architects Harry Sternfield and J. Roy Carroll and sculptor Gastano Cecere featured a granite shaft rising from a base symbolizing the nation's founding. Two pylons, representing North and South in the temporary division caused by the Civil War, flanked the shaft. The pylons were to be linked at the top with laurel and the United States seal to illustrate peace and unity. Inscriptions, portraits, state seals and flags, and blue and gray paving completed the iconography of the selected design.⁵¹

At least some Southerners opposed the design. Confederate veteran Robert A. O'Brien, the southern member of the three-man commission that recommended the memorial, dissented from the majority opinion and presented a plan calling for a six-square-mile park with markers, a peace monument, and the McLean House reconstructed as a museum.⁵² Opponents also criticized the form of the monument and what they saw as the object of commemoration. C.A. DeSaussure, the Commander-in-Chief of the United Confederate Veterans, protested that the proposed monument memorialized the South's defeat, highlighting "the realization of blasted hope," the "humiliation of failure," and "carpet bag rule and

⁵⁰APCO, CLI: Landscape, 3:5-6. This document notes the potential influence of the War Department on the creation of the memorial bridge. More research into this area might be productively performed in War Department records transferred to the National Park Service at the National Archives and in the records of the Virginia Department of Highways and the Virginia Commission on Conservation and Development, both at the Library of Virginia. Reed Engle, Cultural Resource Specialist at Shenandoah National Park who helped write the 1989 National Register documentation for Appomattox Court House, also recommends researching the correspondence between William E. Carson, the chairman of the Commission on Conservation and Development, and Senator Harry F. Byrd, Jr., at the University of Virginia. Neither the memorial bridge nor the Appomattox Wayside nor Route 24 are owned by the park, and neither lies within park boundaries.

⁵¹Gurney, 11-12.

⁵²Reem, 50.

bayonnet oppression.”⁵³ The Appomattox Chapter of the United Daughters of the Confederacy opposed the design, and according to an article in the Appomattox *Times-Virginian*, some factions of the national UDC considered any memorial at Appomattox an attempt “to celebrate on our soil the victory of General Grant and his Army.”⁵⁴ This reaction indicates that even three generations after the Civil War had been concluded, the significance of Appomattox was not shared by all Americans.

Southerners, however, were not the only citizens who did not favor the design of Sternfield, Carroll, and Cecere. In 1932, the Commission of Fine Arts, charged in the federal legislation with overseeing the selection of a monument design for Appomattox, preferred “the idea of recreating the historic scene of the surrender” to a memorial sculpture.⁵⁵ The commission objected on both aesthetic and practical grounds. It considered sculptural monuments such as the one that stood on the battlefield at Yorktown, derived from Victorian principles of memorialization, obsolete. The commission also sought the reconstruction of the McLean House in order to head off similar, and perhaps more vulgarly commercial, attempts by private speculators.⁵⁶ The winning design for the memorial had been announced without the approval of the commission, locking the War Department and the Commission of Fine Arts in a struggle for control of the design. In Congressional hearings on another project early in 1933, National Park Service Director Horace B. Albright said he also preferred the reconstruction of the McLean House to a sculptural monument at Appomattox.⁵⁷

It is impossible to say what fate might have befallen this attempt to commemorate Appomattox Court House had not a change in the political landscape taken place. Franklin Delano Roosevelt’s election to the Presidency ultimately provided the solution to the potential impasse at Appomattox. Oversight of the memorial became the province of the Department of the Interior as a result of a larger reorganization of the government in the summer of 1933, and B. Floyd Flickinger, superintendent of Colonial National Monument at Yorktown, was given responsibility for the project. Flickinger visited the site, and his first report shows his agreement with Albright and the Commission of Fine Arts. “Instead of erecting a monument,” Flickinger wrote, “I feel that any money that might be allotted to this project should be

⁵³C.A. DeSaussure to General Louis Bash, Assistant Quartermaster General, U.S. Army, May 26, 1932, quoted in Reem, 52.

⁵⁴Gurney, 13.

⁵⁵Charles Moore, Chairman, Commission of Fine Arts, to Bash, October 13, 1932, Records of the National Park Service, Record Group 79, Central Classified File, 1933-49, box 2025, General Correspondence, National Archives.

⁵⁶Reem, 53.

⁵⁷Charles B. Hosmer, Jr., *Preservation Comes of Age: From Williamsburg to the National Trust, 1926-1949*, 2 vols. (Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia, 1981), 1:522, 620-622.

devoted to the restoration of the most important buildings which stood there at the time of the surrender.”⁵⁸

The Commission of Fine Arts, Albright, and Flickinger were perhaps influenced by the restoration of Colonial Williamsburg and Henry Ford’s Greenfield Village, which had recently been undertaken, and a consensus grew among National Park Service historians that the most appropriate memorialization for battlefields centered on the idea of preservation of the landscape. Arno B. Cammerer, who succeeded Albright as Park Service director, and Branch Spalding, who became the coordinating superintendent of Civil War battlefield parks in Virginia, developed a national policy for battlefield commemoration by March 1937 that favored restoration over sculptural monumentation. Cammerer, Spalding, and other NPS historians considered the monuments that marked other battlefield landscapes out of date. They also obscured the view of the landscape in which the historic events took place.⁵⁹

The idea of a restored village also won approval from local groups such as the Lynchburg Chamber of Commerce, individual members of the Appomattox chapter of the United Daughters of the Confederacy, and other concerned Southerners. The reason for the support seems to have been the lack of overt symbolism attached to the restored village and thus the village’s openness to a variety of interpretations. An editorial in the Newport News *Daily Press* of March 5, 1934, expressed this sentiment: “The simple restoration of Appomattox will be an adequate silent tribute. In eliminating the cold hard marble which would set for all time a stamp of finality upon the meaning of Appomattox, there remains to the Southern people themselves the opportunity of establishing its symbolic significance.”⁶⁰

Another attempt to create a historical park at Appomattox was made in 1934, when legislation was introduced in Congress by Representative Patrick Drewery on March 27. On October 18, citizens of Appomattox and Lynchburg formed the Appomattox Historic Park Association. Amended legislation was passed by Congress and signed by President Roosevelt on August 13, 1935. The amendment changed the designation of the site from park to monument, but, whatever the official designation, the idea of village restoration prevailed. The law authorized the acquisition of land, structures, and property within one and a half miles of the courthouse site as designated by the Secretary of the Interior. The Resettlement Act, New Deal legislation designed to take submarginal farm land out of production (thereby raising prices), enabled the Park Service to acquire the land, most of it still intended for agricultural use. Historians at Colonial National Park guided land acquisition, and all the land earmarked for purchase was acquired by 1939 except for a two-acre plot west of the Confederate Cemetery. Administration of the area was transferred to Fredericksburg and Spotsylvania National Military Park in 1936, and Virginia Senator Carter Glass placed a \$100,000 item (to cover costs) on the Interior Department’s appropriations bill for fiscal year 1937. Once land acquisition and financing had been

⁵⁸Gurney, 13-15.

⁵⁹Reem, 95-96, 157.

⁶⁰Gurney, 15-17.

arranged, Interior Secretary Harold Ickes could proclaim the establishment of Appomattox Court House National Historical Monument, which he did on April 10, 1940.⁶¹

Most of the nearly 1,000 acres of land acquired for the monument lay south of Virginia State Route 24, and the Park Service attempted to forestall the construction of private souvenir shops and concession stands on property north of the highway, which the NPS felt would compromise the historic landscape it hoped to preserve. Easements secured from landowners helped prevent such commercial construction, and the Park Service also developed a plan to purchase the property north of the highway from its owners at an appropriate time.⁶²

The idea of restoring the village of Appomattox Court House was not, however, without its opponents within the National Park Service. Chief Historian Ronald F. Lee and Chief Landscape Architect Thomas C. Vint, for instance, proposed protection of the McLean House foundations and the use of drawings, photographs, and a model rather than reconstruction. Lee and Vint may have foreseen the difficulties with historical accuracy in any reconstruction, or they may have been concerned with costs and the need to preserve still extant structures within the village. A visit by Lee to the site in February 1940 and a meeting there with local citizens convinced him, however, that support for the reconstruction of the McLean house was overwhelming. At the end of the month, he proposed the purchase of the McLean house property and concentrated research to reconstruct the house as accurately as possible, clearing the way for Ickes' establishment of the monument in April.⁶³

Reconstruction of the McLean House

This long, complex legislative and administrative history illustrates the difficulty in simply creating the conditions needed to establish a commemorative landscape at Appomattox Court House. The actual research, collaboration, reflection, and restoration and reconstruction still remained, and both World War II and the Korean War interrupted the fulfillment of the Park Service's charge to restore Appomattox Court House as a nineteenth-century rural county seat.

On the day after Secretary Ickes officially established Appomattox Court House National Historical Monument, Hubert A. Gurney was transferred from his historian's position at Fredericksburg and Spotsylvania National Military Park to the post of acting superintendent at Appomattox Court House. He oversaw a shifting team of historians, landscape architects, rangers, architects, engineers, administrators, and laborers, and was himself drafted into the U.S. Army in 1943, but remained a fixture in the creation of the park from his appointment in 1940 to his transfer to the regional office in 1961. It may well be that Gurney's continued presence at Appomattox Court House, through three distinct building campaigns, accounts for how well the park adhered to its original development plan. He is buried in the

⁶¹Ibid., 17-22.

⁶²Reem, 134-135, 150-151.

⁶³Hosmer, 1:624-625.

cemetery of the no-longer-extant Herman Methodist Church, which lies outside of, and adjacent to, park boundaries east of the site of Grant's headquarters along Route 24.⁶⁴

Gurney was one member of a team of professionals and amateurs involved in research efforts to reconstruct the village. By October 1940, a development plan for the monument had been created by Gurney, coordinating superintendent Spalding, and others. The comprehensive plan covered buildings to be restored or reconstructed, structures to be razed, utilities to be installed, new buildings, and landscaping. It addressed matters of interpretation of the site and the uses to which the reconstructed and restored buildings would be put.⁶⁵

The McLean House topped the priority list, indicating that it had retained its place in the American imagination throughout the half century that had passed since initial efforts to commemorate Lee's surrender had been made in the 1890s. The report justifying the reconstruction of the McLean House, prepared by historian Ralph Happel, archeologist Preston Holder, and architect Ray Julian, contained "units" for each aspect of reconstruction – walls, windows, foundations, wood work, etc. – that listed the historical, archeological, and architectural data uncovered during research. Architectural information was gleaned from the plans and specifications created in 1893 by C.W. Hancock and Sons, the construction firm that had dismantled the house. Photographs and drawings were included in the report, and the results were summarized in a concluding section. The report also justified certain liberties that it recommended be taken in the reconstruction in order to weatherproof and fireproof the house, install modern utilities, and create an easily maintained building that would withstand constant use from visitors.⁶⁶ It should be pointed out that Happel and Holder resided at Appomattox, while Julian remained at the Park Service regional office in Richmond, and that Park Service professionals in Richmond and Washington advised the three authors while the study was being carried out. The report was therefore both interdisciplinary and a collaboration on the local, regional, and national levels, resulting in a document called "the most complete and scholarly work yet undertaken" by the Park Service.⁶⁷

⁶⁴Gurney, 22-26; Montgomery, Engle, and Tobias, 7:34-35.

⁶⁵"Outline of Proposed Developmental Plan, Appomattox Court House National Historical Monument," October 14, 1940, included in memorandum from Fred T. Johnston to Arno B. Cammerer, October 23, 1940, National Park Service, Planning and Resource Preservation Library, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, photocopy.

⁶⁶Ralph Happel, Preston Holder, and Ray Julian, "Collaborative Justification for Reconstruction of the McLean House at Appomattox," March 18, 1942, National Park Service, Planning and Resource Preservation Library, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, photocopy.

⁶⁷Herbert Kahler to Thomas C. Vint, June 22, 1942, quoted in Hosmer, 2:949-950.

The developmental plan recommended rerouting Route 24 around the courthouse.⁶⁸ Some parts of this project – as well as clearing of the monument grounds, archeological excavations, and stabilization of historic structures – were undertaken by Civilian Conservation Corps Company 1351, a group of approximately 190 African American veterans that bivouacked at CCC Camp 28 in the town of Appomattox.⁶⁹ Gurney gave Company 1351 credit for his ability to begin implementing the development plan immediately, and the company would have participated far more in the project of commemorating events at Appomattox Court House had not World War II ended the Civilian Conservation Corps altogether. By this time, plans for reconstructing the McLean House had been prepared and the monument's infrastructure was virtually complete, but five years elapsed before work began again.⁷⁰

Two significant actions took place during World War II. First, the North Carolina Monument, its access road, and the two markers associated with it became the property of the National Park Service in 1943. Second, the idea of reconstruction was challenged once again, this time by Park Service Director Newton B. Drury. On April 13, 1943, Drury met with Vint, now Chief of Planning, Senior Architect Albert Good, and Acting Chief Historian Herbert Kahler, and the group determined “not to reconstruct the McLean House.”⁷¹ Their concerns centered on the liberties taken in the plans for reconstruction in order to accommodate visitors and to limit maintenance. Congress had appropriated money, however, specifically for the reconstruction, and any change in plans for the monument would undoubtedly have faced opposition from Virginia's congressional contingent. Drury subsequently withdrew his opposition to the reconstruction. However, he did not initially approve the plans that had been created before the war because he had reservations to changes made in the dimensions of the house in order to strengthen the frame and to accommodate a central heating system. Drury's final decision to approve revised plans resulted at least in part from the recommendation of architect and historian Fiske Kimball, a member of the Park Service Advisory Board, who thought the practical advantages gained in the changes outweighed losses in historical accuracy.⁷²

As it turned out, further changes to the plans during reconstruction actually increased historical accuracy in some cases. For instance, in the initial plans for reconstruction, interior walls were thicker than those Wilmer McLean knew in order to provide for “furring” within the walls to prevent the build-up of moisture. In the actual reconstruction, however, eight-inch steel support beams were substituted for the 11-inch beams originally called for because the larger beams were no longer available after World War II. This change returned the rooms in the McLean House to their original dimensions. The unavailability of cement-asbestos shingles after the war resulted in the use of cypress shingles which were much closer

⁶⁸“Outline of Proposed Developmental Plan,” Part VII.

⁶⁹See “The Civilian Conservation Corps at Appomattox Court House,” below, for further details.

⁷⁰Gurney, 22-23.

⁷¹Herbert Kahler, memorandum, April 13, 1943, quoted in Hosmer, 2:734.

⁷²Hosmer, 2:734-735.

to the pine shingles covering the roof in 1865.⁷³ Documents indicate that, for the most part, the National Park Service sought to maintain historical accuracy in all parts of the house that would be seen by visitors while hiding its compromises within the walls, below the floors, and above the ceilings.

The Park Service began accepting bids for the reconstruction of the McLean House early in 1947, and on December 23 of that year the contract was awarded to C.W. Hancock and Sons, the successor firm to the company that had dismantled the house, for \$49,553. Construction began on January 12, 1948, and the reconstructed McLean House was accepted by Gurney on April 7, 1949. It opened to the public for the first time on April 9 in an informal ceremony held under the auspices of the Appomattox Chapter of the United Daughters of the Confederacy commemorating the 84th anniversary of the surrender.⁷⁴

Formal dedication of the monument did not take place until a year later, on April 16, 1950. Participants in the ceremony included National Park Service Director Newton B. Drury, Virginia Governor John S. Battle, United States Senator Virgil Chapman of Kentucky, Congressman W.M. Abbitt of Virginia, State Senator C.T. Moses, Sr., and Judge Joel W. Flood. Mrs. William Haggard, President General of the United Daughters of the Confederacy, looked on while Major General Ulysses S. Grant III, and Robert E. Lee IV, crossed scissors to cut the ribbon on the porch and officially open the McLean House.⁷⁵

Restoration and Reconstruction of the Village of Appomattox Court House

The opposition of Drury and others to the reconstruction of the McLean House during the war also spread to the rest of the development plan. In addition to concerns about the historical accuracy of planned reconstruction of the village, some Park Service officials felt that Appomattox Court House, except for the McLean House, was not historically important enough to warrant restoration. In fact, the re-creation of the village, by perhaps evoking nostalgic memories of nineteenth-century rural life, was seen to detract from the importance of the McLean House, which, the opponents argued, should be the sole focus of commemorative efforts.⁷⁶

Although it is unclear exactly why, opposition to restoration of the village eventually faded, and restoration and reconstruction of village buildings continued.⁷⁷ The first restored building in the village

⁷³“Reconstruction of McLean House – Village Area – PCP-B-1, Contract #I-53np-6,” National Park Service, Planning and Resource Preservation Library, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, photocopy, 5-7.

⁷⁴“Reconstruction of McLean House,” 4-7.

⁷⁵Gurney, 24.

⁷⁶Hosmer, 2:734-735.

⁷⁷As has been mentioned, opposition to the restoration of the McLean House dissipated in the face of local support for the project. Documents reviewed for this study, however, did not reveal whether or not the same forces successfully overcame objections to restoring and reconstructing the village.

to be completed was not the McLean House but the Bocock-Isbell House, renovated to serve as the park superintendent's residence and finished in 1948.⁷⁸ The well at the McLean House and the Meeks Stable across the Richmond-Lynchburg Stage Road were also reconstructed in 1949. Once the McLean House opened, the Appomattox Court House staff began the long process of returning some parts of the village to its appearance in 1865. The Commonwealth of Virginia appropriated \$5,000 for the dedication ceremonies and for the acquisition of original or replacement furniture for the McLean House. Mrs. E.A. Watson, of Lynchburg, undertook this assignment and completed it by 1953.

Except for Mrs. Watson's efforts, work at the park came to a standstill during the Korean War. Shortly after the war, an inspection by regional officials in Richmond resulted in the decision to provide structures considered essential for park operation. The second building campaign at Appomattox Court House was thus begun. Restoration of Clover Hill Tavern, as well as its guest house and kitchen, and the Peers House were finished by the fall of 1954. The tavern slave quarters were reconstructed the same year. The restored and reconstructed buildings provided practical as well as historical benefit. The renovation placed the park office and museum in the tavern and a comfort station in the former slave quarters behind it. The Peers House was used as an employee residence. The bypass road, Virginia Highway 24, opened in October of 1954, and automobile traffic was prohibited in the village in 1956. A garage, a workshop, parking, and a utility center were built near the Peers House so that structures not dating from the time of the Civil War – such as the Ferguson House near the courthouse, which had served as park headquarters and as a residence, and the garages and sheds built by the CCC – could be removed.

President Dwight D. Eisenhower signed a bill that changed the monument's name to Appomattox Court House National Historical Park on April 6, 1954.

The third building campaign at Appomattox Court House followed the outline originally set down in the park's development plan of 1942, but was ushered in by the sweeping wave of national park modernization known as Mission 66. This initiative, begun in 1956, called for a 10-year program to upgrade neglected park facilities all over the country.⁷⁹ A Mission 66 prospectus for development at Appomattox Court House was in place by April 23, 1956, and all the major physical improvements to the park over the next 10 years were funded by this program. This included interpretive devices, such as

Further research in Record Group 79, Records of the National Park Service, may shed light on this issue.

⁷⁸Gurney, 24.

⁷⁹Sarah Allaback, *Mission 66 Visitor Centers: The History of a Building Type* (Washington, D.C.: National Park Service, 2000), 1-5; "Mission 66 1955-1966," <http://www.nps.gov/hfc/library/mission66.htm>.

signs, markers, maps, and exhibits, as well as operational features, including access roads and parking, comfort stations, and water fountains.⁸⁰

The Mission 66 prospectus outlined not only the restoration and operational program at Appomattox Court House, but its interpretation as well. As had been the case since the 1890s, interpretation focused on the McLean House. "The goal of our interpretive program at Appomattox," according to the prospectus, "will be to help every visitor to realize that a divided country was reborn as a nation in the peace-with-honor, which was effected at that famous meeting between Lee and Grant."⁸¹ The focus on the McLean House therefore affected the purpose to which the other buildings in the village were put. None would be used entirely for display to the public. Rather, they would house administrative and operational functions in addition to their interpretive purpose. In answer to questions from the regional director regarding the prospectus, Superintendent Gurney reported that restored and reconstructed buildings would "provide only the outline and setting for the drama of Appomattox"; the emphasis was therefore mainly on exterior restoration. Perhaps recalling the World War II-era challenge to the idea of reconstructing the entire village, he also wrote that the other buildings would "help rather than detract" from the principal theme of Lee's surrender.⁸²

Archeology and research came first, as in the park's other restorations and reconstructions. The Plunkett-Meeks Store and Store House and the Woodson Law Office were among the earliest Mission 66 projects to be finished, in 1959. The Jones Law Office was restored as the Kelly House by March 1960, and furnishings for the Woodson Law Office were acquired by spring of 1961.⁸³

Among the most important projects was the reconstruction of the courthouse. Gurney had planned to use this reconstruction as the park's visitor center and headquarters since the initial development plan in 1940. According to one source, however, Mission 66 goals clashed with Gurney's plans. According to Raymond Godsey, the park's maintenance foreman at the time, Park Service officials in Washington favored the creation of a modern visitor center, as had been done at Gettysburg. Local residents, however, favored reconstruction of the courthouse. As had been the case when Chief Historian Ronald Lee met with area residents in 1940 to test their resolve in the reconstruction of the McLean House, Park

⁸⁰"Mission 66 Prospectus, Park Development Schedule, Park Restoration and Reconstruction Program," April 23, 1956, revised May 1961, file A-98, Appomattox Court House National Historical Park Archives.

⁸¹*Ibid.*, 4.

⁸²"Report on Restoration and Reconstruction Program, Appomattox Court House National Historical Park," March 1957, file A-98, Appomattox Court House National Historical Park Archives, 1-3.

⁸³"Completion Reports, 1955-1965," Appomattox Court House National Historical Park Archives.

Service officials met with local citizens in 1961 and gave them the choice between a modern visitor center or a reconstructed court house. The locals chose the reconstruction.⁸⁴

Park research historian Frank P. Cauble's study of the village green in 1959 and archeological investigations of the courthouse site in 1960 preceded the reconstruction of the courthouse. The vast majority of research and plans for the restorations and reconstructions were carried out by architect Orville W. Carroll. In preparation for the reconstruction, the United Daughters of the Confederacy marker, erected at the site of the courthouse in 1926, was moved to a site near the Confederate Cemetery in 1963. Funding for the reconstruction was received in 1964, and the courthouse was completed in time for the centennial celebration of Lee's surrender on April 9, 1965, at which historian Bruce Catton was the keynote speaker. In addition, a well on the village green, roadside pull-offs at historic spots, the parking lot between Route 24 and the village, and improvements to the village's roads were completed by the time of the centennial.

The Jones well house was reconstructed in 1963 and outbuildings at the McLean House the following year. The New Jail and the Mariah Wright House were restored by 1965. Privies at the McLean House, the tavern, and the Plunkett-Meeks Store were reconstructed by 1968. In all, 14 buildings or structures in the village were restored between 1948 and 1968, and 13 were reconstructed. As in its reconstruction of the McLean House, the Park Service's approach to the restoration and reconstruction of other structures in the village sought a balance between the ideal of historical accuracy and practical concerns such as accommodating visitors and providing functional convenience for employees.

Although the basic core of the commemorative landscape was finished by 1968, Appomattox Court House National Historical Park has seen continued restoration efforts. The Plunkett-Meeks Store and Store House received further restoration work in 1983, and the Woodson Law Office in 1985.⁸⁵ Two other buildings, the Sweeney Connor Cabin and the Charles Sweeney Cabin, were restored between 1986 and 1988.⁸⁶ Two tracts of land, the Burruss Timber Tract and the Conservation Fund Tract, both north of Route 24, were acquired in 1992 and 1993, respectively.⁸⁷ The purchase of these properties, which are not currently part of park's interpretation program, can ultimately expand the possibilities for interpretation in a number of ways. On both are remains of historic farm structures dating to the time of the Civil War, thereby deepening the park's interpretation of the vernacular landscape of Appomattox

⁸⁴Raymond Godsey, untitled [Recollections of forty-six years of the developmental and administrative history of Appomattox Court House National Historic Park, 1941-1986], 1986, 9.

⁸⁵Gurney, 25-26; Cultural Landscapes Inventory: Appomattox Court House Village, Appomattox Court House National Historical Park [APCO], VA, 2000, 1:8, photocopy, National Park Service, Cultural Resources Management Files, Philadelphia Support Office [PHSO], PA.; "Completion Reports, 1955-1965"; Godsey, 10.

⁸⁶Montgomery, Engle, and Tobias, 7:19-21.

⁸⁷William Marvel, "Historical Assessment," 3.

Court House. In addition, the most important fighting that took place prior to Lee's surrender at the McLean House occurred on these lands, and therefore the ability of the park to promote public understanding of the Battle of Appomattox Court House is considerably strengthened by the acquisition of these lands.⁸⁸

THE VERNACULAR LANDSCAPE OF APPOMATTOX COURT HOUSE AND ITS VICINITY
**Areas of Significance: Agriculture, Architecture, Commerce, Ethnic Heritage (Black),
Politics/Government, Social History, Transportation**

The habitation and development of the area around Appomattox Court House followed a pattern familiar throughout the Piedmont region of Virginia. Native American activity before contact with European colonists and frontier settlement in the eighteenth century; the creation of Appomattox County as an administrative unit in the nineteenth century, with the courthouse as its center; the dependence of the area's economy on the tobacco market, the slave labor system, and transportation; the attempts to deal with a free African American labor force during Reconstruction; an agricultural area's efforts to adjust to industrialization and worldwide competition – all these aspects of the history of Appomattox Court House parallel those of other areas of Virginia. Unlike other areas of the state, however, the village of Appomattox Court House and its surroundings retain many remnants of this history both because railroads bypassed the village in the 1850s, thereby limiting its growth and the demolition of historic resources that often attends growth, and because the area was designated a national monument in 1930, which inspired conservation and restoration of historic resources.⁸⁹

Appomattox Court House is located in the Piedmont foothills of the Appalachian Mountains. The village is built on the crest of a ridge (elevation 770') formed by the Appomattox River and Plain Run Branch. Six seasonal creeks, three of which appear to originate within the park, also feed this hydrologic system. Park land consists of gently rolling hills of pasture and woodland. East and north of the river, the terrain rises from approximately 600' above sea level to 820'. West of the river, the rise is gentler, but the maximum elevation is 830'. A ridge south of the village marks the park boundary. Geologically, the soils of the Piedmont are closer to those of the mountainous areas of the state than to the sedimentary soils of the Tidewater. The Appomattox Court House area's red clay (Cullen clay loam and Mecklenburg and Iredell loams) covers igneous and metamorphic rock.⁹⁰

Pre-County Development in the Appomattox Court House Area

Little is known of the prehistory of Appomattox Court House and the surrounding area. Evidence from elsewhere in Virginia suggests that Native Americans living in or visiting the region were either Siouan

⁸⁸Marvel, "Historical Assessment," 10, 16.

⁸⁹Archeological analysis, already underway, will supplement this section of the Historic Resource Study.

⁹⁰CLI: Village, 3:1.

(affiliated with the Monacan tribes who lived in the Piedmont on the James River) or Iroquoian (connected to tribes living to the south and southeast). The native peoples may have resided in the area seasonally in lodges framed with posts and poles and covered with hides or bark. Horticulture would likely have been practiced at these seasonal residences.⁹¹ The name "Appomattox" derives from a Native American village called "Appamatuck," on what is now the James River, that appeared on Captain John Smith's 1612 map of Virginia.⁹²

Development of the Appomattox Court House area by European colonists followed the same pattern seen elsewhere in Piedmont Virginia in the eighteenth century. Land patents and grants were secured from the king, often by owners of large plantations in the Tidewater, and these larger holdings were subdivided and resold to farmers moving west from the coastal plain or from the easternmost margins of the Piedmont. The cultivation of tobacco pushed these settlers west. In seventeenth- and eighteenth-century farm practice, a field planted with this crop was productive for only three or four years, causing planters to stake claims to and cultivate more and more acres of land. By the end of the seventeenth century virtually no unclaimed farm land remained in the Virginia Tidewater. Establishing plantations in the adjacent Piedmont therefore became the goal of both large plantation owners and of small farmers.

Westward migration was spurred by Governor Alexander Spotswood's explorations in 1716 and expedited by a 1722 treaty by which the Iroquois agreed to remain west of the Blue Ridge Mountains, leaving the Piedmont for English settlers.⁹³ Virginia's population expanded into the Piedmont along the river valleys, which had the advantages of fertile land and access to transportation.⁹⁴ By 1770, the population of the region had grown by nearly three thousand percent over its 1700 level, and the number of taxed acres of land had multiplied 16 times.⁹⁵ The area around Appomattox Court House, at the headwaters of the Appomattox River, was considered the frontier in the 1750s, and the four counties from which Appomattox County was created in 1845 (Charlotte, Campbell, Buckingham, and Prince Edward) were all created during the eighteenth-century westward expansion, between 1753 and 1781.⁹⁶

⁹¹Pousson, 3-5.

⁹²Thomas R. Terry, *Appomattox County: A Pictorial History* (Norfolk: Donning Co., 1984), 11.

⁹³Joseph C. Robert, *The Story of Tobacco in America* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1949), 18; Jean Gottmann, *Virginia in Our Century* (Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia, 1969), 78-87.

⁹⁴Michael L. Nicholls, "Piedmont Plantations and Farms: Transplanting Tidewater Traditions?" *Magazine of Albemarle County History* 49 (1991), 5.

⁹⁵Allan Kulikoff, *Tobacco and Slaves: The Development of Southern Cultures in the Chesapeake, 1680-1800* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1986), 52-64, 141-149; Terry, 13.

⁹⁶Terry, 11.

Tobacco cultivation throughout most of seventeenth-century Virginia was accomplished by the combined labor of planters, their families, indentured servants, and slaves. The necessity of constantly clearing new fields for cultivation and the labor-intensive process of growing tobacco, however, fueled a growing dependence on slave labor in the eighteenth century. The labor of enslaved Africans and African Americans helped planters consume Tidewater lands more quickly than the labor system that had prevailed in the seventeenth century, encouraging slaveless planters to migrate west. These frontiersmen often squatted on new lands and survived through subsistence farming until they could establish their tobacco fields. The mobility of slave labor, however, encouraged its incorporation into the new settlements. Once roads had been established in the newly settled areas, the owners of large plantations in the Tidewater moved in, bringing their slaves with them. By the 1780s, half of the state's slave population lived west of the fall line, and it is unlikely that Virginia planters could have reaped the rewards promised by the abundant lands available to them in the Piedmont without the slaves who carried out much of its cultivation.⁹⁷

As has been mentioned, the soils of the Piedmont are closer to those of the mountainous areas of the state than to the sedimentary soils of the Tidewater, but the Piedmont's rolling terrain presented no obstruction to the cultivation of tobacco, or of corn and wheat, which were also grown for sale. The Appomattox Court House area's red clay proved to be well suited to the production of dark leaf tobacco, which was preferred in the eighteenth and much of the nineteenth century.⁹⁸

Creation of Appomattox County and the Village of Appomattox Court House

As the colonists of Virginia brought their agricultural practices and the slave labor system westward from the coastal plain in the eighteenth century, the political geography of the colony changed. To satisfy the legal requirements of citizenship and business, such as voting and licensing, and to attend court, citizens were obliged to travel to county seats. For western settlers these administrative centers were often distant from their homes, and travel was slow. As the population grew, new counties were formed in the western margins of existing ones, and new county seats conveniently located for inhabitants of those areas. During the eighteenth century, the number of counties in Virginia doubled. After the United States gained its independence, the westward trend continued, as did the division of newly settled lands into new administrative units. Appomattox County resulted from such expansion. The Virginia General Assembly created it from portions of four counties on February 8, 1845, after 20 years of requests from area residents to establish a new county to ease the burdens of travel.⁹⁹

⁹⁷Gottmann, 66-67; Nicholls, 6; Kulikoff, 64.

⁹⁸Gottmann, 176; APCO, CLI: Landscape, 3:2.

⁹⁹Albert Ogden Porter, *County Government in Virginia: A Legislative History, 1607-1904* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1947), 44; Marvel, *A Place Called Appomattox*, 1-3; Moore, 2. Marvel traces the first request for a new county to 1824, Moore to 1831.

Several factors, such as convenience, access to transportation, and political and financial motivations, influenced the locations of county seats.¹⁰⁰ All these influences can be seen in the location of Appomattox County Court House. The Virginia General Assembly ordered the justices of the peace in the lands that made up the new county to meet at the stage stop called Clover Hill on March 6, 1845, to organize the new government. Clover Hill lay at the crossing of the Richmond-Lynchburg Stage Road and the Prince Edward Court House Road, both important east-west roadways. The stage road stretched 120 miles between the Virginia capital and the western industrial center. Brothers Alexander and Lilbourn Patteson established a stage line on this route in 1809. After 1833, four-horse stages ran six days per week to deliver the mail and to carry passengers, leaving Richmond and Lynchburg every day except Saturday. At intervals along the road taverns were built where the stages stopped to change horses, and passengers were afforded an opportunity to eat and rest. The two-story brick tavern built by Alexander Patteson at Clover Hill in 1819, the one still standing in the park, became a regular stop on the route between the Piedmont and the Tidewater. It was also the Patteson residence and headquarters of the stage line. Farmers used the stage road to transport their products to markets, and manufactured goods reached the west from Richmond on the route.¹⁰¹ The variety of uses of the stage road show its importance for both the local economy and government and for the western expansion of Virginia.

The topography of Appomattox County can also be considered to have exerted a major influence on the site of its courthouse. The hilly terrain was and still is drained by the north branch of the Appomattox River and by the Plain Run Branch, as well as by six creeks. Roads in the area ran along the ridges between the bodies of water, and therefore the crossing of the Richmond-Lynchburg Stage Road and the Prince Edward Court House Road, and subsequently the location of the tavern and courthouse, was at least in part determined by the geography of the area. Mostly free of the topographical changes that accompany growing communities, such as grading for roads and buildings, dams for reservoir creation, and filling of low spots, Appomattox Court House and the lands within park boundaries generally retain the topographical features common to them at the time of the Civil War.¹⁰²

The justices met at Clover Hill in the tavern, then run by John Raine, whose brother Hugh owned 206 acres of land in the immediate vicinity. Their task was to lay out 30 acres of Hugh Raine's property on both sides of the stage road into building lots. Two of the lots were appropriated for the construction of

¹⁰⁰E. Lee Shepard, comp., "'This Being Court Day': Courthouses and Community Life in Rural Life," *Virginia Magazine of History and Biography* 103:4 (1995), 460-462.

¹⁰¹Marvel, *A Place Called Appomattox*, 4; Moore, 3, 29; APCO, CLI: Landscape, 1:9; Frank P. Cauble, "Historical Data on the Richmond-Lynchburg Stage Road in the Vicinity of the Village of Appomattox Court House, 1860-1865," Appomattox National Historical Park [APCO], 2, 50-52, photocopy, National Park Service, Cultural Resources Management Files, Philadelphia Support Office [PHSO], PA. Cauble identifies a 1799 map that shows a road running from Manchester (near Richmond) to New London (near Lynchburg), which may be the stage road or a precursor to it. Marvel and APCO, CLI: Landscape date the stage road's establishment to 1809, Moore to 1811.

¹⁰²APCO, CLI: Landscape, 2:4, 3:1-2.

county buildings. The jail was built first, in 1845, on the north side of the stage road just a few yards east of the tavern. Its site is marked in the park today. A year later, the stage road was diverted in a circle due south of the tavern, and the courthouse built in the middle of the area created by the road's diversion.

Twice that spring, Hugh Raine advertised his remaining lots in the village for sale. The second sale was to occur on May 9, 1845, the second day of the first court session in the new county. On the first day of the session, the justices of the peace elected county officers: a sheriff, a coroner, a commonwealth's attorney, and a county clerk. Samuel McDearmon had already been elected as the area's delegate to the General Assembly on April 24, and before the year was out he purchased much of the land that had been owned by Hugh Raine.¹⁰³

Development of the Village

The regular judicial sessions brought county residents to the village for court cases, elections, and other obligations of citizenship. In addition, slaves were sold and traded, and free African American citizens were obliged to register their status on "court days." During election years, speeches took place on the village green. The court sessions also provided the opportunity for agricultural and manufactured products to be sold and traded, and for itinerant musicians to entertain. As in other county seats in Virginia, the regular influx of county residents to Appomattox Court House for court days and as passengers on the stage line helped create and then continued to give life to the village's mercantile establishments.¹⁰⁴

The Richmond-Lynchburg Stage Road became the axis, and the courthouse the hub, that organized the village's development. In addition to the jail and courthouse, county officials built two log houses on public lands in 1845, possibly for official business. The Raines built a second tavern on the south side of the stage road in 1846, having sold Patteson's tavern to McDearmon. Two years later, just behind this frame building and slightly farther west, they constructed a three-story brick tavern that later became more famously known as the McLean House. As was typical of Virginia's county seats, one or two law practices were also built near the courthouse to serve the legal needs of county residents. One of these was the Crawford Jones Law Office east of the courthouse near the intersection of the stage road with the Prince Edward County Court House Road. After the Civil War, this building, 21 feet 6 inches by 17 feet 6 inches, was the home and perhaps workshop of John Robertson, an African American shoemaker, and

¹⁰³Marvel, *A Place Called Appomattox*, 1-6; Moore, 3-6.

¹⁰⁴Shepard, 462; Porter, *County Government in Virginia*, 162-163, 171-172; Frank P. Cauble, "The Village Green in Appomattox Court House," Appomattox National Historical Park [APCO], 33-34, photocopy, National Park Service, Cultural Resources Management Files, Philadelphia Support Office [PHSO], PA..

his family. This change in use of buildings, also seen in the transformation of the brick Raine tavern into the McLean House, is consistent with the flexible use of structures in Virginia at this time.¹⁰⁵

Besides taverns to shelter visitors and feed travelers and law offices to accommodate their legal obligations, a county seat also usually boasted commercial establishments whose clientele included both visitors and local residents, such as stores and crafts shops. Two stores appeared along the stage road near the taverns at Appomattox Court House in the early 1850s, and by the Civil War there were four. One was the two-story frame structure now called the Plunkett-Meeks Store, which still stands near the tavern and the courthouse. A storage building and stable, also extant, accompanied the store, which measured 36 by 20 feet with a full cellar and attic. Among the items the stores sold were sewing materials (pins, ribbons, lace, hooks and eyes), coffee, sugar, and spices, cheese, whiskey, ink and soap, manufactured products (tooth brushes, spectacles, gloves, pencils, combs, kitchen utensils, nail, screws, hammers), lamps, and occasionally fruit.¹⁰⁶

As this list indicates, a large number of items used every day both in the home and on the farm – furniture, barrels, wheels and axles, saddles and harnesses, plows – were not available in stores in mid-nineteenth century Appomattox. Many of these items were instead made by local artisans in their shops. No such buildings survive in the restored village of Appomattox Court House.¹⁰⁷ From archeological investigation, however, it is clear that several artisans constructed their workshops along the village's main street, the stage road. William Rosser built a wheelwright and cooper's shop for himself near his log house north of the stage road and east of the court house, as well as a blacksmith shop in which Gus Watson plied his trade. Two other blacksmith shops lay on either side of the stage road west of the courthouse. One was partially owned after 1854 by Charles Diuguid, a free black. He seems to have been the sole owner of the shop, as well as a house to its north, after the Civil War. David Robertson built a brick blacksmith shop south of the stage road around 1850. It was bought by Benjamin Nowlin and John Sears in 1853 and rented out. As has been mentioned, John Robertson, a shoemaker, may have operated his shop out of his home east of the courthouse after gaining his freedom with the end of the

¹⁰⁵Moore, 84-86; Pousson, 53-58, 63-64; Montgomery, Engle, and Tobias, 7:16-18; Marvel, *A Place Called Appomattox*, 13-18; APCO, CLI: Village, 3:18-19. The 1989 National Register documentation for Appomattox Court House National Historical Park identifies the Jones Law Office as the Lorenzo D. Kelly House, following longstanding tradition. APCO, CLI: Village identifies the building as the Jones Law Office, and Pousson untangles the documentary confusion that caused the misidentification. In both the National Register documentation and APCO, CLI: Village, a building north of the Plunkett-Meeks Store is identified as the John W. Woodson Law Office. Pousson, however, states that no evidence exists to support this site as the location of the office; a more likely site is south of the stage road west of the courthouse. Pousson suggests that the building currently interpreted as the Woodson Law Office might have been a saddler's shop.

¹⁰⁶Montgomery, Engle, and Tobias, 7:13-14; Moore, 28-29.

¹⁰⁷An exception may be the building now interpreted as the Jones Law Office, which Pousson suggests might have been the site of a saddler's shop. Please see footnote 79.

Civil War. In addition to these artisans, the 1860 census records as active throughout the county 15 other blacksmiths, 7 cabinet makers, 3 coach makers, 2 other coopers, 3 harness makers, 4 millwrights, a saddler, 14 other shoemakers, a silversmith, a tailor, 11 seamstresses, 3 tanners, a wagonmaker, 6 weavers, and 10 wheelwrights. Several free African Americans were numbered among these craftsmen. In 1860, there were 29 free black households in the county (of 821 total), and the occupations listed by the heads of these family units included shoemaker, carpenter, cooper, blacksmith, wheelwright, and ditcher. There were also numerous enslaved craftsmen working on the tobacco plantations, such as blacksmith Albert Jackson.¹⁰⁸

Commonwealth's Attorney Thomas S. Bocock (later Speaker of the Confederate House of Representatives) and his brother, county clerk Henry F. Bocock, built a two-story frame house, now called the Bocock-Isbell House, south of the stage road near the courthouse on a lot purchased from Samuel McDearmon in 1849-50. It probably went up the same year the lot was purchased. Nineteen by 50 feet with brick chimneys at either end, the house was owned by Commonwealth's Attorney Lewis Isbell at the time of the Civil War. The exterior of the restored house incorporates Greek Revival allusions in the templeform porches, but as in most vernacular structures, adds elements of Roman Classicism (the raised podium), and the Southern Colonial type (the exterior closet addition). The interiors, although simple, convey quiet prosperity in the use of an extensive range of millwork profiles and combinations.¹⁰⁹

Another public employee, David Plunkett, who was first the village's postmaster and later its sheriff, also lived near the courthouse. Plunkett bought the two-story frame residence – much like the Bocock-Isbell House – now known as the Peers House in 1856. It measured 34 by 18 feet and was purchased by longtime county clerk George Peers in 1870. It had been built on the south side of the stage road east of the courthouse by 1855. By the time of Lee's surrender, of course, the brick tavern built by the Raines had become the home of Wilmer McLean. Even while it functioned as a tavern, the McLean house was the residence of tavern-keeper George Raine and his family. The McLean House was 50 by 22 feet over three stories, and it had a full attic. The Mariah Wright House, built in 1823 and standing south of the Bocock-Isbell House, is another dwelling that reflects the modest prosperity of the village in the middle of the nineteenth century. The Wright house is 40 feet 6 inches by 18 feet, a frame structure covered with weatherboards, and has stone and brick chimneys.

In 1865, these four houses were among the largest and most comfortable in the village. As was typical in Virginia at the time, they also included a number of outbuildings, some of which have been restored or reconstructed. The McLean House cluster, for instance, consisted of the residence, a well house, an ice house, slave quarters, a kitchen, a privy, a smokehouse, and a stable – eight buildings in all. The names for these buildings indicate the activities that took place there and suggest the people, enslaved and free,

¹⁰⁸Pousson, 62-63; Marvel, *A Place Called Appomattox*, 74; Stuart McDearmon Farrar, comp., *1860 U.S. Census of Appomattox County, Virginia* (Pamplin City, Virginia: Stuart McDearmon Farrar, 1984), 116; Moore, 10-12, 242-243.

¹⁰⁹Much of this information was taken directly from Montgomery, Engle, and Tobias, 7:3-4.

who lived and worked in them. Six of these buildings have been reconstructed.¹¹⁰ A kitchen garden may well have existed on the property, and perhaps more than one – one for use by the white owners of the house, one for use by their slaves.¹¹¹

Similar clusters of buildings now exist at the Bocock-Isbell House and the Clover Hill Tavern. Fourteen buildings, in fact, were associated with the tavern, where four stand today. At the time of the Civil War, Mariah Wright's homestead also consisted of a collection of structures, and in the now vacant spaces across the stage road from the McLean House and on either side were other residence groupings. All told, twice as many buildings stood on the lands now occupied by the park at the time of the Civil War than exist today.¹¹²

Photographs, paintings, and sketches of the village also show a variety of wooden fences along the stage road in front of the McLean House and the Raines' second tavern and across the road in front of Clover Hill Tavern.¹¹³ Several fences have been restored or reconstructed in the village along historic fence lines and show the variety of fence types reflected in period depictions of the area. Horizontal rails are used at the courthouse, vertical palings at the McLean House and Clover Hill Tavern. Picket fences surround the Bocock-Isbell, Plunkett-Meeks Store, and the Jones Law Office. Worm fencing can also be seen along the Richmond-Lynchburg Stage Road, dividing farmland from the road and the village.

Historic roadways are also visible within the park. The most significant were the Richmond-Lynchburg Stage Road and the Prince Edward Court House Road, which, as has been mentioned, were important links between the Tidewater and the Piedmont. Two lanes connecting residences to these major transportation corridors also remain visible in the village today. Back Lane runs northwest to southeast from the stage road to the Prince Edward County Road. Bocock Lane runs from the stage road east of the courthouse past the Bocock-Isbell House to Back Lane.

Agricultural Landscape

The village of Appomattox Court House was carved out of farmland, and farming remained the most important economic activity of the area through the Civil War period and later. In the 1860 census for the county, 380 heads of households listed their occupation as farmer or tenant farmer, and 99 as plantation overseer. Taken together these farming occupations outnumbered the next largest group

¹¹⁰APCO, CLI: Village, 3:19; Pousson, 15.

¹¹¹John Michael Vlach, *Back of the Big House: The Architecture of Plantation Slavery* (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 1993), 14-15; John T. Schlotterbeck, "The Internal Economy of Slavery in Rural Piedmont Virginia," *Slavery and Abolition* 12:1 (May 1991), 173.

¹¹²APCO, CLI: Village, 3:5; Michler; Pousson, 46.

¹¹³APCO, CLI: Landscape, 3:11, 3:31; Marvel, *A Place Called Appomattox*, 145-147.

(carpenter, 41) by more than 10 to one and constituted more than half the households in the county.¹¹⁴ In the decade before the Civil War, farmers in Piedmont Virginia prospered. As a result of increased demand, Appomattox County farmers nearly doubled their production of tobacco between 1850 and 1860, and the value of their farms almost doubled as well. To produce more tobacco, farmers cut back on the production of corn and wheat. Farmers also produced their own necessities – peas, potatoes, ham, beef, and milk for their tables, wool and flax for their clothes, oats for their animals.

As was true throughout Virginia, these farms ranged greatly in size. No Appomattox County farmer owned nearly as much land as might have been possible in Virginia during the colonial period when patents from the king created holdings of tens of thousands of acres. Dr. Joel Walker Flood was the wealthiest man in the county in 1860, when his plantation centered at Pleasant Retreat, two miles northeast of the courthouse, consisted of 2,500 acres of land worked by more than a hundred slaves. Three-quarters of the 494 slave owners in the county, however, were masters of fewer than 20 slaves at that time, and nearly half held fewer than five in bondage. Men like Jacob Tibbs and Samuel H. Coleman represent these small farmers. Tibbs' 309 ½ acres of land northwest of the courthouse was farmed by his family (his wife Nancy and nine children), and 11 slaves in 1860. Coleman and his wife Armada owned a single slave, Hannah Reynolds, to help him with his 221 ½-acre farm. In both the 1850 and 1860 censuses, slaves made up just over half of the county's roughly 9,500 inhabitants. The free black population was 185 in 1850, 171 in 1860. Of the 29 free African American households in the county in 1860, five were headed by tenant farmers: William Sparrow, Susan Humbles, Stephen Furguson, Peter Furguson, and Thomas J. McCoy.¹¹⁵

Tibbs's house, now a ruin, stood within sight of the courthouse. At two stories, with a mansard roof and a variety of milled ornamentation, it rivaled the Bockock-Isbell and McLean houses in size and sophistication. The level of ornamentation was appropriate since it was probably built around 1850 by Samuel McDearmon, Appomattox's delegate to the Virginia General Assembly and one of the area's early speculators.¹¹⁶ According to the Michler map of the area, nine outbuildings also stood on the property. Five – the well house and outbuildings that may have included a smokehouse, kitchen, slave quarters, and dairy – were grouped together on a knoll with the residence. Three others stood in woods 600 to 800 feet west of the residence group, another about 400 feet behind this group. Situated near open

¹¹⁴Farrar, 116.

¹¹⁵Marvel, *A Place Called Appomattox*, 65; Moore, 11-20, 242-243; Vlach, 8-9.

¹¹⁶Based on Land Book documentation, Marvel states that Tibbs's house was the one built by Samuel McDearmon between 1849 and 1851. ("Historical Assessment," 6; Pousson, 74.) The valuation of improvements to McDearmon's property jumped from \$1,056 in 1849 to \$2,800 in 1851. APCO, CLI: Landcape (3:20) says only that the residence existed by 1865. Woodwork and bricks from the Tibbs house were used by Roy Moon to construct his own house south of the antebellum building in the 1970s. Other original building materials from the Tibbs house, including a mantle and structural members, are stored in a shed on the Moon property. Among these materials, according to Moon, is a stair riser with the date 1850 carved into it.

land, the four buildings placed at some remove from the house may well have been related to the work of the farm – a tobacco barn, a stable, slave quarters, a corn crib, or the like. The well used by the Tibbs family still exists. The former Tibbs property also contains a shallow, broad ice pond in a natural depression northwest of the house. Although now somewhat overgrown with trees, the depression and an earthen wall that probably formed a dam can still be seen.¹¹⁷ The presence of the ice pond on the Tibbs property is an indication of the increased use of ice in the middle decades of the nineteenth century on farms and in rural areas. Mid-century nutritional reformers endorsed the consumption of fresh meats, fruits, and vegetables, rather than the diet of smoked and cured meats and corn products relied on previously, which helped increase demand for ice. The invention of a horse-drawn ice cutter in the 1850s made it easier for increased demand to be met.¹¹⁸

Six farmsteads similar to Tibbs's were situated within a mile of the courthouse. Only two agricultural outbuildings of the type that were much more numerous at the time of the Civil War remain standing in the park today, however. The Sweeney Prizery was used as both a residence and a prizery, or tobacco-packing house. Dated to the 1790s, it is the oldest extant building in the park. West of the Tibbs property, on land owned in the 1860s by Samuel and Armanda Coleman, is a small log structure that was likely a corn crib for the Coleman farm.¹¹⁹

The residences discussed so far represent the largest, most sophisticated, and most expensive dwellings in the middle of the nineteenth century in the area that now constitutes the park. More typical residences of both the village and the surrounding agricultural lands can, however, still be seen within the park. The R.J.N. Williams and Sweeney-Connor cabins, for instance, are typical of the "hall" plan (one room and loft above), log cabins that were indigenous to the rural Virginia landscape in the nineteenth century. Built around 1860, both are approximately 16 by 18 feet – roughly half the size of the houses belonging to Jacob Tibbs, the Bocoeks, and Wilmer McLean. A step up the economic ladder within settlement-era structures is typified by the "hall" house of Charles Sweeney. Only slightly larger than the nearby log cabins (20 feet 3 inches by 18 feet 2 inches), Sweeney built his residence of more "finished" materials, a post and beam frame sheathed in beaded weatherboards. Although still one room and a loft, the simple structure made attempts at elegance by including a sophisticated cornice molding, carefully detailed door panels, and the evident intent that the interior would one day be plastered.¹²⁰

¹¹⁷Pousson, 74-77; Marvel, *A Place Called Appomattox*, 18. The four buildings directly behind the Tibbs house have not been identified. Groupings of buildings on tobacco plantations in the South, however, often situated domestic utilities near the main residence. See Vlach, 18-106. The same was true in village residences, as at the McLean House.

¹¹⁸Helen Tangires, "Icehouses in American: The History of a Vernacular Building Type," *New Jersey Folklife* (16), 39-41.

¹¹⁹See Appendix A for a discussion of various interpretations of this outbuilding.

¹²⁰Montgomery, Engle, and Tobias, 7:3. Montgomery, Engle, and Tobias date the Charles Sweeney cabin to around 1840 (7:19), APCO, CLI: Landscape to around 1860 (3:20).

It has been suggested that Joel Walker Sweeney, who grew up in Appomattox County before becoming famous as the popularizer of the five-string banjo and the minstrel show, visited Charles Sweeney, his uncle, when he returned from his minstrel show tours. A claim for the significance of the Charles Sweeney cabin based on its association with Joel Sweeney cannot, however, be substantiated. In 1860, according to that year's census, Joel and Sampson Sweeney and their sister Missouri lived with Allen Conner and his family a mile or so northeast of the courthouse on the stage road, and it may have been in Conner's house that Joel Sweeney died in the year of the census. This house no longer exists. Sweeney's brothers and sisters were also accomplished musicians, Sampson Sweeney having been chosen by J.E.B. Stuart as his minstrel and accompanying the colonel on his military campaigns. The cabin where the family of musicians grew up, near the Appomattox River where the stage road crossed it northeast of the courthouse, no longer exists. The Sweeney-Conner cabin was built for Missouri Sweeney and her husband Jennings Conner, probably in 1865.¹²¹

Stands of unharvested forest appear on Brigadier General Nicholas Michler's map of the area, published in 1867, especially east of the courthouse.¹²² The forest along the Oakville Road west of the village between the Tibbs and Coleman properties was thick with "scrub oak and brambles" at the time of the fighting for this ground on April 9, 1865.¹²³ A white oak tree currently standing next to the Tibbs home site probably stood during the fighting there.¹²⁴ Throughout the last half of the nineteenth century, however, most of the land now within the park boundaries was given over to farming, and tobacco, corn, and wheat fields reached right to the edges of the village. Farm properties and the crops on them might be divided up in a number of ways. Rail or board fences and hedgerows served to indicate boundaries and keep livestock out of the crops. Confederate soldiers also reported numerous ditches in the cropland beyond their position just west of the intersection of the stage road and the Oakville Road.¹²⁵ In farming communities, ditches were used to facilitate "the drainage or irrigation of land and often used with fences

¹²¹Marvel, *A Place Called Appomattox*, 9-10, 18, 296; Burke Davis, "The Swinging Sweeneys," *Iron Worker* 33:4 (Autumn 1969), 2-12; Moore, 161-162, 218; Pousson, 85-86. National Register documentation and the park's CLI's identify the cabin as the Sweeney-Conner cabin, while Pousson and Marvel identify the family as "Conner."

¹²²APCO, CLI: Landscape., 3:11-3:12.

¹²³Marvel, *A Place Called Appomattox*, 235.

¹²⁴On a site visit to the Tibbs property on November 20, 2001, Joe Williams estimated that the oak tree could be closer to 300 years old. The CLI indicates that the oak is more than 100 years old (APCO, CLI: Landscape, 3:11).

¹²⁵Calkins, 62.

or alone to define or enclose property boundaries, areas of cultivation, and environs of public buildings.”¹²⁶ One county citizen with the occupation of “ditcher” is listed in the 1860 census records.¹²⁷

Sears, Trent, Tibbs, and Wright lanes are extant examples of the simple, unpaved roads that connected the area’s farms to the stage road. In addition to its route through the village, the stage road’s original course outside the village can also be seen in a trace parallel to Route 24 in the woods near the Coleman outbuilding. Fords existed for both the stage road and the Prince Edward Court House Road outside the village – where the former crossed the Appomattox River and where the latter crossed Plain Run Branch.¹²⁸ Also visible within the park is the Oakville Road trace. The Oakville Road, a plank roadway established by 1856, ran between the Tibbs and Coleman properties northwest of the courthouse and linked the farms of Appomattox County with the James River Canal at Bent Creek. As the James River was the major transportation corridor for the area, especially after Appomattox Court House was bypassed by the South Side Railroad in the early 1850s, the Oakville Road held great importance for farmers who relied on access to markets for their economic well-being.¹²⁹

Farming communities required a few industrial establishments to process their raw goods – mills to turn wheat into flour and corn into meal, for instance, and tanneries to make leather out of cowhide that could subsequently be used for shoes, harnesses, saddles, and other products. Appomattox County was no exception, although only remnants of these establishments remain within the park. In 1860, Eldridge B. Land owned a tannery east of the courthouse, one of two in the county. Two flour and meal mills and three lumber mills also operated that year. One of the flour and meal mills was, perhaps, Sweeney’s Mill, the site of which has been identified near the Appomattox River within the boundaries of the park. A kiln produced bricks behind Clover Hill Tavern. Scattered burnt and broken bricks mark the location of this facility.¹³⁰

Virginia provided no public education until 1870, although some public money was spent for the education of children of the poor in the years before the Civil War. Education was conducted in the home, in one-room schools, or in academies. Nineteen one-room schools and two or three academies, including one for girls, existed in Appomattox County before 1865 to accommodate 400 students. An attempt was made to build an academy near the village, but was not successful. Samuel McDearmon constructed a building for that purpose around 1850 along the Prince Edward Court House Road, but plans apparently fell through. The building was owned by the keeper of the county poorhouse in 1854,

¹²⁶Carl Lounsbury, *An Illustrated Glossary of Early Southern Architecture and Landscape* (Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia, 1999), 114.

¹²⁷Farrar, 116.

¹²⁸APCO, CLI: Landscape, 3:15-16.

¹²⁹Marvel, “Historical Assessment,” 15-16; Marvel, *A Place Called Appomattox*, 49.

¹³⁰Marvel, *A Place Called Appomattox*, 23-24, 93; Pousson, 87; APCO, CLI: Landscape, 3:5-6.

and may have been used as a schoolhouse for the county's poor children. A Freedmen's Bureau schoolhouse may also have been established on the site in 1866-67. The site has been identified for future archeological investigation.¹³¹

Churches marked the landscape of Appomattox County, but their forms are unclear. The 1860 census listed 24 congregations in the county, half of them Baptist, and religious structures were valued at \$8,900. These buildings could seat more than the county's population. It is unclear whether or not any buildings within the village were used as churches before the Civil War, but just after the war, Reverend George W. Leyburn used the courthouse for Presbyterian services on the second and fourth Sundays of each month.¹³²

The Presbyterian Church occupied a 30-by-40-foot building on the site of the Prince Edward Court House Road academy in 1868. A single grave, probably that of a child, is associated with this site. Cemeteries, however, were usually associated with families rather than churches in rural America throughout much of the nineteenth century, and such was the case in the lands that now make up Appomattox Courthouse National Historical Park. The difficulties of travel and the distance between settlements contributed to this development. These graveyards were usually placed on high ground and enclosed with a fence. The Patteson-Hix cemetery behind the tavern, for instance, contains graves of members of two families very important to the history of Appomattox Court House: that of Alexander Patteson, who established the stage line between Richmond and Lynchburg and the tavern at Clover Hill, and of Wilson Hix, who owned the tavern and was county sheriff during the early years of the Civil War.¹³³ The Robertson cemetery occupies a portion of the Jones Law Office property, which became the home of John Robertson, the African American shoemaker, after the Civil War. The cemetery is surrounded by a rough board fence.¹³⁴ The grave of Lafayette Meeks, who died of disease in the first year of the Civil War, lies behind the Plunkett-Meeks Store and is shaded by a red cedar tree. The Raine family cemetery south of Route 24 contains a large obelisk erected around 1910 to commemorate the family. The National Park Service Historical Base Map of 1962 shows a slave cemetery just east of the Raine cemetery, one of the few slave cemeteries for which the location is known. The O'Brien cemetery, near the eastern boundary of the park, contains the graves of two former Confederate soldiers. Joel

¹³¹Pousson, 64, 71-72; Marvel, *A Place Called Appomattox*, 24; Moore, 33-38.

¹³²Moore, 38-40; David Charles Sloane, *The Last Great Necessity: Cemeteries in American History* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1991), 14-21.

¹³³Pousson, 72; Montgomery, Engle, and Tobias, 7:35; Marvel, *A Place Called Appomattox*, 71-76. Both the Confederate Cemetery and the Patteson Hix Cemetery are inholdings within park boundaries.

¹³⁴Pousson, 57-58; Montgomery, Engle, and Tobias, 7:34; APCO, CLI: Village, 3:37. The National Register documentation and APCO, CLI: Village identify this family as "Robinson," Pousson as "Robertson."

Sweeney, popularizer of the five-string banjo, is reputedly buried in the Bohannon-Trent cemetery northeast of the courthouse.¹³⁵

Railroads became an increasingly important method of transportation in the middle of the nineteenth century, and nearby Lynchburg's importance as an industrial center on the James River drew interest from railroad companies. When the Southside Railroad built its tracks from Richmond to Lynchburg in the early 1850s, however, it bypassed Appomattox Court House. The lack of railroad service prevented the courthouse from supplementing its farming and political advantages with an industrial one and limited its growth both before and after the Civil War.

At least partly due to the lack of rail transport, speculators in the area, like Samuel McDearmon, did not prosper as they expected to in the early days of the county. Appomattox Court House also lacked certain advantages that helped other parts of the country. The greatest economic growth in the United States at this time occurred in industrial areas of the country, and industrial endeavors did not succeed in Appomattox County. An iron works was established there by July 1849, but was moved to Richmond before 1852. Agricultural areas like Appomattox County also competed with plantations in the Deep South, which had greater access to markets due to their proximity to the Mississippi River or other routes to the sea. Hundreds of thousands of Virginians left the state in the antebellum period for better opportunities in both industrial and agricultural centers in the south and west.¹³⁶

Reconstruction

After the Civil War, the residents of Appomattox County attempted to adjust to a labor system without slaves, but agriculture remained the basis for the local economy. It is likely that many African American farm laborers remained at the farms where they had been enslaved and were now paid for their work or became tenant farmers, leasing land from the white owners of the property. It took some time, however, before agreements were worked out to return the former slaves to the fields they had worked before the Civil War. Some of the freedmen apparently believed they would receive land of their own to farm and therefore did not wish to agree to contracts that would have required them to work for others. The ratio of African American to white residents remained roughly the same in the 1870 census that it had been in 1860, although the population had declined by about 900 from its 1860 level. Joel Walker Flood remained the county's largest landowner, and many residents who held positions of power before the war continued to do so after it. A state constitution ratified in 1869 divided the county into three townships, based on administrative divisions common in New England, but this policy lasted only until 1874. One marked change during the period after the war was the higher value and production of properties closer to

¹³⁵Montgomery, Engle, and Tobias, 7:32-35; APCO, CLI: Landscape, 3:5. The Raine monument is an inholding within park boundaries.

¹³⁶Marvel, *A Place Called Appomattox*, 31-32; Moore, 9-24; Virginius Dabney, *Virginia, the New Dominion* (Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia, 1983), 275-276.

Appomattox Station and its rail line. This shift would become more marked when fire destroyed the courthouse and the county seat was moved to Appomattox Station in 1892.¹³⁷

A new county jail was begun in 1860 due south of and across the stage road from the original jail. Because of the Civil War, this jail, which was restored between 1963 and 1965, was not completed until 1870. The jail served its original function until the removal of the courthouse to Appomattox Station in 1892. From that date until 1940, the new jail was used as a polling station for its magisterial district.¹³⁸

Appomattox County did not suffer a great deal from the violence and disorder that other parts of the South experienced during the Reconstruction's five years of military rule. In general, too few of the former Union troops remained in the county to raise tensions significantly, and many of those who did had moved elsewhere by the end of the period. Some local conflicts did take place, however. Shortly after the war was concluded, for instance, Sheriff William Hix, son of Wilson Hix, deputized former Confederate soldiers and rounded up stray farm animals. He also rounded up animals appropriated by small farmers from the departing armies. Hix redistributed the animals to wealthy friends, and one man was reportedly shot for resisting. Hix and his deputies were arrested when federal troops came to Appomattox to keep the peace. Some of the occupying troops also caused problems, apparently, because their commanding officer, Colonel Samuel M.B. Young, saw fit to issue a general order at the end of May 1865 threatening execution for plundering or for encouraging recently freed slaves to do so.¹³⁹

The African American blacksmith Charles Diuguid may have built a new shop for himself at the end of the Reconstruction period. Although, as has been mentioned, Diuguid was part owner of a blacksmith shop from 1854-1856 in the village, tax rolls for the years between 1857 and 1869 do not tax the tract for structures. In the 1870 census, however, Diuguid owned three acres of land including the shop site, lived in a house on the property with his wife and nine children, and owned real estate worth \$500. A shop seen in an 1890 sketch map and thought to be Diuguid's may refer to the previous shop as rebuilt or a new building. The site awaits further archeological investigation.¹⁴⁰ Also during this time William Rosser expanded his carriage shop near the stage road, John Rosser built his own blacksmith shop along the Prince Edward Court House Road, and William Layne began a saddlery.¹⁴¹

¹³⁷Moore, 116-128; Gottmann, 123; Marvel, *A Place Called Appomattox*, 274-278.

¹³⁸Montgomery, Engle, and Tobias, 7:15-16.

¹³⁹Marvel, *A Place Called Appomattox*, 270-274; Moore, 61-73.

¹⁴⁰Moore, 166; Pousson, 62.

¹⁴¹Marvel, *A Place Called Appomattox*, 303.

The Late Nineteenth and Early Twentieth Centuries

Tobacco prices recovered by the middle of the 1870s, but the last quarter of the nineteenth century does not appear to have been prosperous for Appomattox Court House in general. Industry and agriculture both gravitated toward the railroad at Appomattox Station. The production of clay smoking pipes, for instance, was practiced before the war on a small scale in the county and consolidated into larger manufacturing concerns after the war. The principal pipe-making companies, however, were located near Pamplin Station for ease of transportation.¹⁴² Once the sharecropping system was established, agricultural fields returned to production, but forest also began to encroach on some farmland. Appomattox tobacco farmers faced competition from tobacco-growing regions, not just in the south, but from elsewhere in the country, especially the American West, and from foreign competitors such as the British dominions and Russia. The trend away from plug tobacco and cigars toward cigarette manufacture during this period also led to a reliance by the Southern tobacco industry on bright leaf tobacco, which was more suited to cigarette production. Bright leaf tobacco grew better in the thin gray soils of the southern Piedmont and North Carolina than in the red clay of the central and northern Piedmont, and tobacco production shifted to these areas accordingly. In an account of the tobacco industry in Virginia at the end of the nineteenth century, Appomattox County is not mentioned at all.¹⁴³

A visitor to Appomattox Court House in 1875 observed that the village was sustained by legal and political activity. When the courthouse burned in 1892, however, county residents voted to establish the county seat at Appomattox Station. As was the case in the creation of the county 45 years before, the convenience of the citizenry was a chief reason for the change of location. With the removal of its judicial purpose, the former county seat lost its primary sources of activity.¹⁴⁴ It was during this time that Samuel S. Burdette and Myron Dunlap began purchasing property with the idea of creating a tourist attraction at the site of Lee's surrender. That the two former Union officers thought land in the vicinity was cheap enough for such speculation and that Dunlap subsequently planned to dismantle and remove the McLean House to another location suggest, perhaps, the decline in the village's fortunes.

With the county seat located at Appomattox Station, the old courthouse village was unable to share in any of the gains made by county itself. In 1904, for instance, the U.S. Department of Agriculture established the Appomattox County Experiment Station in the new county seat, and before the year was out the state-funded Appomattox Agricultural High School opened there. In 1920, 5,369 acres of land in the county were planted with tobacco, an all-time high.¹⁴⁵ Due to the presence of the railroad in the county seat, however, this agricultural expansion did not benefit the old court house village. Without further primary research, it is difficult to be more specific about the decline of Appomattox Court House

¹⁴²Terry, 89-90; Marvel, *A Place Called Appomattox*, 283.

¹⁴³Robert, 183-189; Gottmann, 123-129.

¹⁴⁴Marvel, *A Place Called Appomattox*, 307-309.

¹⁴⁵Stanley, 62-63.

in the first decades of the twentieth century, but snapshot accounts provided by visitors and photographs suggest declining conditions.¹⁴⁶ By the fiftieth anniversary of Lee's surrender, for instance, when visitors gathered for the dedication of the North Carolina Monument, Clover Hill Tavern was missing several shingles and windows, and the clapboards on George Peers's house had sprung loose. Fences sagged, and briars and locust trees had begun to invade pastures.¹⁴⁷ Hubert Gurney wrote in his history of the park that in the period between the construction of the North Carolina Monument in 1905 and the establishment of the park in 1940, several houses in the vicinity were abandoned and buildings were pulled down for firewood. An indication that many felt that the village future lay in its past can be seen in the late 1920s drive by influential residents to have a national park established in the area based on the events that took place there at the end of the Civil War.¹⁴⁸

The Village of Appomattox Court House Today

Before the Civil War, the roads and lanes, structures, and agricultural fields and woods that organized the landscape of Appomattox Court House and its vicinity witnessed a variety of communal activities, both routine and uncommon. In addition to the craft shops, law offices, and taverns, monthly court sessions drew people to the village, as did the stage line that passed through twice a day. Militia musters took place on Jacob Tibbs's property and on that of other farmers, and the courthouse green hosted political rallies during election years and at times of crisis such as the Civil War. Farm laborers, both free and enslaved, worked in the nearby fields in sight of village residents. Slaves were sold in the village while free black citizens crafted farm implements in their workshops. In the fall, hogsheads of tobacco were rolled along the farm lanes to the stage road and thence to the Oakville Road to be taken to the James River canal for transportation to Richmond and beyond. Independence Day and Christmas were the two most important holidays of the year.¹⁴⁹

These activities and observances no longer take place in the village, and the ability of the visitor to imagine some of them, such as militia musters and the manufacture and sale of housewares and farm implements, is compromised by the absence of related buildings and structures. The lands within park boundaries are also more heavily forested than they were at the time of the Civil War, when they were cleared for cultivation, and this reforestation obscures to some extent the spatial relationship between the

¹⁴⁶Two residences likely to have been constructed in the early twentieth century remain standing within park boundaries. One is the Ferguson House northeast of the courthouse. APCO, CLI: Landscape dates this house to the 1920s. Another is the Claudine O'Brien House almost due north of the Ferguson House. Photographs provided by the National Park Service suggest that this house may also date from the early years of the twentieth century. Because this period fell outside the scope of work for this study, research conducted thus far has not shed light on the potential significance of these buildings.

¹⁴⁷Marvel, *A Place Called Appomattox*, 315.

¹⁴⁸Gurney, 9-10.

¹⁴⁹Moore, 41-48; Marvel, "Historical Assessment," 6.

village and nearby farms. Several late twentieth-century buildings also stand within park boundaries. One, the Roy Moon House, is located on wooded property within the park and therefore does not, at this point, greatly diminish a visitor's understanding of the area's vernacular landscape. Two other buildings, however, the Lelia Sweeney and Richard Sweeney houses, are within sight of vehicles traveling toward the village on State Route 24. Two more, the houses belonging to Ernestine and Mary Beale, stand along State Road 656 where it crosses the northeastern part of the park. All four intrude on a visitor's understanding of the nineteenth-century landscape the park endeavors to create.¹⁵⁰

The most significant modern impact on the park is State Highway 24, a high-speed, two-lane conduit that conducts traffic through the park along portions of the path of the Richmond-Lynchburg Stage Road. The diversion of Route 24 around the center of the village of Appomattox Court House was begun in 1940 and completed in 1954.¹⁵¹ Although successful in the effort to remove automobile traffic from the village core, Route 24 negatively affects the visitor's understanding of Appomattox Court House as a nineteenth-century county seat due to the sight and the sound of automobiles and trucks passing along it. The highway bisects the park but is on land owned by the Virginia Department of Transportation.

More than half of the buildings that in 1865 were located within what are now the boundaries of the park have been lost. Most that remain lay in close proximity to the courthouse. The margins of the village that stood during the Civil War, which were the sites of many of the village's craft shops, are therefore missing, as are some physical features such as kitchen gardens. Clusters of principal buildings that have been restored or reconstructed remain standing near the courthouse, and the spatial relationships within and between these groups endures from the mid-nineteenth century. Except for Virginia Route 24 and the late-twentieth-century houses along it, there are few modern intrusions into the park's efforts to recreate the atmosphere of the village in 1865. Due to ongoing archeological research, the park retains the potential to reestablish relationships not currently visible – between nearby properties like the Tibbs farm, for instance, and the village, or between the craft shops and the residences. Reestablishing such spatial relationships, and the public interpretation that would accompany it, would further enhance the visitor's understanding of the vernacular landscape of Appomattox Court House as it was in 1865.

¹⁵⁰Determination of Significance assessments by the National Park Service concluded that these four houses have no architectural or historical significance. The buildings were purchased by the government with life tenancy restrictions to allow for their removal from the historic scene. The assessments determined that the houses do not contribute to the historical context of Appomattox Court House National Historical Park, nor do they have any architectural characteristics or historical associations that render them worthy of consideration for inclusion in the historic district as contributing properties. Robinson & Associates agrees with this determination. Please see Appendix B.

¹⁵¹APCO, CLI: Landscape, 3:15-16.

THE CIVILIAN CONSERVATION CORPS AT APPOMATTOX COURT HOUSE

Areas of Significance: Ethnic Heritage (Black), Politics/Government, Social History

The Emergency Conservation Work program and its successor, the Civilian Conservation Corps, were two of the most successful and popular programs of Franklin Delano Roosevelt's New Deal.¹⁵² In addition to employing and training American youth, thereby alleviating unemployment and generating financial support for the enrollees' families, the programs helped to create the infrastructure for many national parks, both natural and historical – a benefit Americans still enjoy. CCC Company 1351, stationed in Camp 28 approximately two miles from Appomattox Court House, participated in this significant national trend by clearing vegetation that had overgrown the historic site, stabilizing historic structures, undertaking archeological investigations of the McLean House site, and helping to build the park's sewage disposal system and bypass road. When Camp 28 was abandoned, virtually all work at the park ceased and did not begin again until after World War II. It would be fair to say that Company 1351 built the foundations of the park as it stands today. That the company was composed of African American veterans living and working in a segregated camp highlights the situation of minorities in the New Deal and in the United States at that time and adds a special poignancy to their participation in the creation of a monument commemorating the end of the Civil War and the institution of slavery. And although the work performed by the ECW and the CCC throughout the country was substantial, relatively few of the buildings associated with that work remain,¹⁵³ making the CCC-constructed dynamite cabin at Appomattox Court House National Historical Park particularly valuable.

The Concept of the CCC

Franklin Delano Roosevelt proposed "a civilian conservation corps" to Congress on March 21, 1933. Its purpose was to provide employment and training for young men between the ages of 18 and 23 in the midst of the Great Depression, when young people without specialized skills suffered from severe unemployment. Also included in this program were a small number of veterans whose pensions could no longer be paid by the government and "Local Experienced Men" – local workers valued for their experience and knowledge of the area. Passed by Congress and signed into law by Roosevelt on March 31, 1933, the Emergency Conservation Work program was designed to put these people to work on public projects, thereby reducing unemployment without affecting employment in the private sector. The program was renamed the Civilian Conservation Corps in 1937.¹⁵⁴

¹⁵²Olen Cole, Jr., *The African-American Experience in the Civilian Conservation Corps* (Gainesville, Fla.: University of Florida Press, 1999), 1.

¹⁵³Elsa W.L. Schemmer, "The Civilian Conservation Corps in Virginia: A Brief History and Survey of Extant Properties," prepared for the Virginia Department of Historic Resources, 1991, photocopy, 8-9.

¹⁵⁴Cole, 2-4; Schemmer, 2-3.

The conservation and restoration of natural areas was considered the primary field of operations for the program, and many parks and forests, such as the George Washington National Forest and Shenandoah National Park, both in Virginia, benefitted from the work of ECW enrollees. However, when the Department of the Interior took over responsibility for military parks and monuments from the War Department in a reorganization of federal government functions that took place in the summer of 1933, the ECW expanded to meet its new obligations. Despite some concern that unskilled youth, veterans, and local laborers would be unqualified to perform the tasks required in commemorative landscapes – archeology, historical research, reconstruction, and restoration – the Interior Department eventually trained and deployed ECW and CCC enrollees throughout the country at historic sites. National Park Service professionals in Washington or in the regional offices researched and planned these more specialized projects, which were then accomplished with CCC labor. At Fredericksburg and Spotsylvania National Military Park, for instance, ECW enrollees restored rifle pits, rebuilt earthworks, excavated for relics, and readied them for display. Participants in the program undertook much of the early archeological excavation at Jamestown.¹⁵⁵

As in other camps throughout Virginia and the nation, the CCC at Appomattox Court House carried out a variety of tasks designed to create the infrastructure of the park to which it was assigned, such as clearing vegetation, dismantling dilapidated buildings, and crushing rock for the bypass road bed. CCC enrollees also participated in the more skilled labor of the stabilization of historic structures, preserving them for the education of visitors to the park and continuing the work of commemorating Civil War landscapes that had begun on a national level in the 1890s.

Establishing the Camp

Authorized by legislation signed by Roosevelt on August 13, 1935, Appomattox Court House National Historical Monument was established by Interior Secretary Harold Ickes on April 10, 1940, after the park's land was acquired. By that summer, CCC Company 1351, a group of African American veterans, was transferred from Yorktown, where it had worked on the reconstruction of fortifications, to Camp NP-28 at the county seat of Appomattox, two miles distant from the historic courthouse, to participate in the creation of a monument commemorating the end of the Civil War.¹⁵⁶ That an African American company helped memorialize Appomattox might be considered appropriate, but some of the participants may well have perceived the irony of their involvement, given that the CCC was for all intents and purposes a segregated institution. The ECW enabling legislation stated that the agency would not discriminate according to "race, color, or creed" in the execution of its programs, but Director Robert Fechner made it clear within the organization that no more than 10 percent of ECW enrollees would be African

¹⁵⁵John C. Paige, *The Civilian Conservation Corps and the National Park Service, 1933-1942: An Administrative History* (Washington, D.C.[?]: National Park Service, U.S. Department of the Interior, 1985), 110-113. See also Reed L. Engle, *Everything Was Wonderful: A Pictorial History of the Civilian Conservation Corps in Shenandoah National Park* (Luray, Virginia: Shenandoah Natural History Association, 1999).

¹⁵⁶Gurney, 22.

Americans. That number represented the percentage of African Americans in the general population, but these workers faced greater unemployment than their white counterparts during the Depression. Early in the program, African-Americans made up 6.6 percent of ECW enrollees. In 1936 the percentage was 9.9, and in 1938 it was almost 11 percent. African American participation in the program remained at that level until the CCC was abolished in 1942. Only a tenth of the African American enrollees were quartered in integrated camps. The remaining 90 percent lived in segregated camps supervised, except in two instances, by white officers and foremen.¹⁵⁷

Most ECW and CCC enrollees lived in camps constructed on the park lands where they worked. The location of these camps was a controversial issue, especially when it involved African American workers. Some localities, and not just those in the South, did not want African American camps built nearby. To avoid confrontation, African American camps were usually built on land owned by the federal, rather than state or local, government, and were frequently isolated from neighboring populations.¹⁵⁸ Company 1351, however, occupied buildings on private land near the town of Appomattox, about two miles west of the historic monument they worked to create. These buildings had been occupied by a CCC camp performing work for the Soil Conservation Service. The camp consisted of 24 permanent and portable structures that included barracks, mess and recreation halls, sheds, shops, garages, and even a grandstand.¹⁵⁹ Superintendent Gurney later reported that the African American camp was established at Appomattox despite "considerable opposition and resentment" from the local white population.¹⁶⁰

Two two-room cabins and a chicken house on the Conservation Fund tract within park boundaries have been considered to be potentially associated with CCC work at Appomattox Court House, but this seems unlikely.¹⁶¹ The two-room cabins appear to be a combination of nineteenth-century building elements, such as sills and beams, and twentieth-century ones, such as wire nails. There are other instances at Appomattox Court House of the CCC re-using building material for its own structures. A garage at park

¹⁵⁷Cole, 4; Hosmer, 1:625; Paige, 93-97; Harvard Sitkoff, *A New Deal for Blacks: The Emergence of Civil Rights as a National Issue*, Volume I: *The Depression Decade* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1978), 74-75.

¹⁵⁸Cole, 4; Paige, 93-94.

¹⁵⁹"Transfer of property, equipment," May 25, 1943, included with letter from Charles H. Gerner, Acting Departmental Representative, CCC Advisory Council, to M.A. Stephens, Acting Director, CCC, June 1, 1943; J.J. McEntee, Director, CCC, to Gerner, September 16, 1942, Records of the Civilian Conservation Corps, Record Group 35, Records of the Liquidation Unit, 1933-53, box 33, National Archives; Superintendent's Annual Report, Appomattox Court House National Historical Monument, fiscal year 1943, Records of the National Park Service, Record Group 79, Central Classified File, 1933-49, box 2026, Superintendent's Annual Reports, National Archives.

¹⁶⁰Quoted in Reem, 116.

¹⁶¹APCO, CLI: Landscape, 3:19; Marvel, "Historical Assessment," 9.

headquarters, for instance, was constructed from buildings the CCC razed to clear the park lands, and enrollees moved a watchman's shelter from its quarry to use as a well house at park headquarters.¹⁶² The two-room cabins and chicken house, however, stand on land that did not become part of the park until 1993, and records in the National Archives reviewed for this study mention no CCC structures other than those in Camp 28. In a telephone interview, Roy Moon (a lifelong Appomattox County resident who was familiar with the former Tibbs property in his youth, bought it in 1967, and lived there until 1998) said he did not recall any association of the site with the CCC.¹⁶³ It is therefore unlikely that the two two-room cabins and the chicken coop were rebuilt and used by CCC workers. It is more likely that the buildings were constructed from modern and re-used materials after the purchase of the property by Henrietta Scott in 1911, perhaps for the use of tenant farmers. The cabins, now partially collapsed, may well contain materials dating from the Civil War era.¹⁶⁴

The approximately 190 men of Company 1351 were transferred to Appomattox on July 22, 1940, and began working on July 31. Their supervisors were white National Park Service staff members. Early in the camp's tenure at Appomattox, however, there were not enough supervisors or equipment for the number of enrollees because of delays in their transfer from the CCC camp at Fredericksburg and Spotsylvania National Military Park. In the early part of the program, only 90 of the 190 enrollees were involved in work at the park on any given day due to this lack of supervisory personnel and equipment. The situation wasn't remedied completely until March 1941. In addition to their immediate supervisors, the enrollees had their work inspected by Park Service historians, engineers, landscape architects, archeologists, and geologists.¹⁶⁵

The Work of the CCC at Appomattox Court House

The first work undertaken by the enrollees was fire hazard reduction in the park, and on April 20, 1941, a detail from the company was sent to help fight a fire elsewhere in Appomattox County. For the most part, however, CCC enrollees participated directly in the creation of the monument. National Park Service professionals at the local, regional, and national levels developed a master plan for the park, and, in the early years of its implementation, the men of Company 1351 helped execute it.¹⁶⁶ An early aspect of the work of Company 1351 was the removal of brush and trees from the land that at the time made up

¹⁶²Superintendent's Annual Report, fiscal year 1943.

¹⁶³Roy Moon, telephone conversation with author, January 17, 2002.

¹⁶⁴For further information on these cabins, please see Appendix A, "Analysis of the Significance of the Burruss Timber and Conservation Fund Tracts."

¹⁶⁵Gurney, 22; Superintendent's Monthly Narrative Reports, Appomattox Court House National Historical Monument, August-September 1940, Records of the National Park Service, Record Group 79, Central Classified File, 1933-49, box 2026, National Archives.

¹⁶⁶Paige, 110-111.

the commemorative landscape. The clearing was part of the master plan, which aimed to return the area to an approximation of its appearance in 1865, when open farmland reached right up to the village itself. Years of neglect – resulting from the village’s declining economic fortunes, which began when the county seat was moved to Appomattox Station in 1892 – had allowed trees and undergrowth to cover buildings and fields. By the end of August 1940, CCC enrollees had partially revealed the McLean House site, removed brush and small trees south of the courthouse site, and cleared the grove of trees from the old county jail site.¹⁶⁷ Once areas were cleared, the soil was prepared, then seeded or sodded. Records show that plantings were rotated in at least two areas (corn, small grain, and grasses), and that the created meadows contained mixed grasses, clover, and lespedeza.¹⁶⁸

Throughout its tenure at Camp 28, Company 1351 worked on buildings in the park, both historic and nonhistoric. CCC enrollees renovated the early twentieth-century Ferguson House near the courthouse site for use as the superintendent’s residence and temporary park headquarters in the spring of 1941 and also renovated a storehouse for park use. As has been noted, the CCC built the shed for Park Service trucks and moved the watchman’s shelter to the residence for use as a well house. To construct the shed, the CCC used materials recovered from the buildings it dismantled. A 1940 plan for razing buildings in the park targets tobacco barns, chicken houses, stables, a corn crib, a sharecroppers house, and buildings associated with a dance hall near the North Carolina monument for demolition. The structures were considered nonhistoric.¹⁶⁹

More importantly, perhaps, Company 1351 was involved in restoration efforts at Appomattox Court House. It helped to stabilize many of the neglected Civil War-era buildings still standing in the early 1940s, including the Peers House, the Woodson Law Office, the Jones Law Office, the tavern, its kitchen

¹⁶⁷Superintendent’s Monthly Narrative Report, Appomattox Court House National Historical Monument, July 1940-March 1942, Records of the National Park Service, Record Group 79, Central Classified File, 1933-49, box 2026, Superintendent’s Annual Reports, National Archives; Neill McL. Coney, Jr., Special Investigator, to Charles H. Kenlan, Assistant to the Director, CCC, October 15, 1940, Records of the Civilian Conservation Corps, Record Group 35, Division of Investigations, Camp Inspection Reports, 1933-42, box 233, National Archives.

¹⁶⁸O.B. Taylor, Regional Soil Conservationist, “Memorandum for the Regional Engineer,” May 22, 1943, Records of the National Park Service, Record Group 79, Central Classified File, 1933-49, box 2026, file 207-01, National Archives.

¹⁶⁹Superintendent’s Monthly Narrative Report, April 1941; “Outline of Proposed Development Plan, Appomattox Court House National Historic Monument,” Part VI. Buildings to be Razed, contained in “Memorandum for the Acting Regional Director, Region I,” October 14, 1940, Records of the National Park Service, Record Group 79, Central Classified File, 1933-49, box 2026, General Correspondence, National Archives; “Job Plan for Razing Undesirable Non-Historic Structures, Appomattox Court House National Historical Monument,” July 1940, Appomattox Court House National Historical Park [APCO]. It is unclear exactly how many structures were razed, since the monthly reports do not provide this information.

and guest house, and the county jail. Stabilization included such tasks as shoring up chimneys and basements, repairing brick work, temporarily closing window and door openings, and re-roofing buildings. CCC enrollees also removed post-Civil War accretions to the tavern and the Bocock-Isbell House. In addition, the African-American veterans helped excavate the McLean House site as part of the effort to reconstruct the house. The site was expanded in the summer of 1941, and the number of CCC enrollees involved in the effort was increased to 30.¹⁷⁰

CCC workers restored the gravestone of Lafayette Meeks, northwest of the Plunkett-Meeks Store, in 1941.¹⁷¹

As the 1940s began, construction of a bypass road around the historical village occupied park employees. Removal of automobile traffic was considered important in the recreation of the nineteenth-century village atmosphere the Park Service sought.¹⁷² Virginia Highway 24, which had followed the route of the old Richmond-Lynchburg Stage Road through the village, was to be diverted south of the historic village, and in April of 1941 grading of the bypass and the building of structures for the road began. CCC workers began their involvement that same month by crushing stone quarried on park property. Their goal was to produce 800 yards of finely crushed stone for the blanket course beneath the bypass's pavement. Two stone crushers were in operation by January 1942 for this purpose.¹⁷³ A quarry and associated dynamite storage structure in the park are extant reminders of the work of the Civilian Conservation Corps at Appomattox.¹⁷⁴

¹⁷⁰Superintendent's Monthly Narrative Reports, July 1940-March 1942; Superintendent's Annual Reports, fiscal years 1941-1943.

¹⁷¹APCO, CLI: Village, 2:3, 3:8.

¹⁷²"Outline of Proposed Developmental Plan," Part VII. Major Work Projects.

¹⁷³Superintendent's Monthly Narrative Reports, July 1940-March 1942. Citing James N. Haskett's "Historic Structures Report, Part I, Administrative and Historical Data, Field Fences, Appomattox Court House National Historical Park" (1962), APCO, CLI: Landscape states that the CCC participated in the grading of the bypass and in the building of road structures and that the work began in 1940 (3:16). Raymond Godsey, in an untitled memoir, classified as "Recollections of forty-six years of the developmental and administrative history of Appomattox Court House National Historic Park, 1941-1986" in the park archives, also mentions the CCC's work on grading the bypass. Godsey did not begin work at the park until 1947, however, and Haskett's work does not state with absolute finality that the CCC enrollees participated in the grading of the bypass road. Gurney's monthly reports do not begin mentioning work that is clearly related to the bypass until April 1941. This work, listed as "preparation of materials (rock)," does not include grading. It would appear, then, that the CCC's work on the bypass road was limited to crushing stone for the roadbed.

¹⁷⁴APCO, CLI: Landscape, 3:19. The CLI's information on the dynamite storage structure comes from an interview with Bill Talbot of the Appomattox Court House Maintenance Division. No

In August 1941, Company 1351 began work on the construction of a central sewage disposal system for the park. The enrollees dug sewer lines and installed pipes and manholes.¹⁷⁵

Neither the sewage system, nor the bypass road, nor the archeological investigations were finished by Company 1351 due to the United States' entry into World War II, which brought the work of the Civilian Conservation Corps to an end. Superintendent Gurney was informed in February 1942 that Camp 28 would be abandoned by March 15. In fact, the supervisory personnel were transferred to A.P. Hill Military Reservation in Virginia and the enrollees to Fort Meade in Maryland by March 11. The camp buildings were to remain in the custody of the Park Service in expectation of re-establishing the camp after the war, but that optimism quickly faded, and the Civilian Conservation Corps was abolished on July 2, 1942. The buildings of Camp 28 became the custody of the U.S. Army Corps of Engineers. Portable buildings were moved, while the permanent structures were transferred to the owner of the land on which the camp was built, in lieu of restoration of the site.¹⁷⁶

documentation for the building was found in the National Archives records reviewed for this study. The extant structure, however, is double-walled, made of wood, and covered with metal. Its door, now lying on the ground nearby, consists of a steel plate covered with wood. For further information on the quarry and the dynamite storage structure, please see Appendix B, "Description of Resources Not Included in 1989 National Register Documentation."

¹⁷⁵Superintendent's Monthly Narrative Reports, August 1941.

¹⁷⁶Superintendent's Monthly Narrative Reports, February and March 1942; Superintendent's Annual Report, fiscal year 1943; Lieutenant Osmyn A. Vining to Director, CCC, June 1, 1943, Records of the Civilian Conservation Corps, Record Group 35, Records of the Liquidation Unit, 1933-53, box 33.

RESEARCH RECOMMENDATIONS

Research undertaken to satisfy the tasks specified for this historic resources study uncovered several subjects that did not fall within the study's scope. These avenues for further research are:

- State and Local Commemoration of Appomattox
- Military Action at Appomattox Station
- Twentieth-Century Buildings and Structures within the Park
- Legislative History of Commemorative Efforts at Appomattox Court House
- The Disappearance of Opposition to the Reconstruction of the Village

Below are brief explanations of these potential subjects for research with notations on the sources that could be addressed should such research be undertaken. The first two categories were not addressed in the current study, the third minimally included. The last two subjects have been addressed in the study, although certain remaining sources could be reviewed.

State and Local Commemoration of Appomattox

Shortly before Appomattox Court House was commemorated by the federal government, local institutions and a state agency became involved in memorial efforts. In 1925, the Appomattox Chamber of Commerce appointed a committee to look into the possibility of building a monument at the site of the old courthouse, according to William Marvel in *A Place Called Appomattox*. A year later, the United Daughters of the Confederacy erected a tablet at the courthouse site. Perhaps at this same time, southern magnolia trees were also planted along the east and west sides of the Confederate Cemetery, and an iron fence was erected around it. In preparation for the construction of the national monument, the War Department conducted surveys of the area in 1930 and 1931, and the Virginia State Highway Department regraded and resurfaced Virginia Highway 24. The renovation of the highway included the creation of a memorial bridge on the approach to the site from the east. The Appomattox Wayside may have been built at this time.

Accurate information regarding dates of, individuals involved in, and influences on these commemorative efforts, however, are lacking. The "Cultural Landscape Inventory: Landscape" notes the potential influence of the United States War Department on the creation of the memorial bridge. More research into this area might be productively performed in War Department records transferred to the National Park Service, which are currently held at the National Archives. In addition, the records of the Virginia Department of Highways and the Virginia Commission on Conservation and Development, both at the Library of Virginia, may shed light on the memorial bridge. To gain a more thorough understanding of the bridge's creation, Reed Engle, who was a co-author of the 1989 National Register documentation for Appomattox Court House, has suggested researching the correspondence between William E. Carson, the chairman of the Commission on Conservation and Development, and Senator Harry F. Byrd, Jr., in the Byrd papers that are housed in the Special Collections Department at the University of Virginia Library. Finally, the Library of Virginia also houses the records of the Virginia

Division and the Appomattox Chapter of the United Daughters of the Confederacy. These records may determine the dates that the cemetery fence was erected and the magnolia trees planted.

Military Action at Appomattox Station

The fighting around Appomattox Court House was, of course, related to other fighting in the area, especially that which took place at Appomattox Station. The context of the fighting might be profitably expanded to include its relation to the action at Appomattox Station, thereby adding to an understanding of how the courthouse became the scene of Lee's surrender to Grant. Numerous analyses of the fighting and memoirs of the combatants exist that could be explored to expand this topic.

Twentieth-Century Buildings and Structures within the Park

The scope of work's focus on the development of Appomattox County through Reconstruction meant that twentieth-century structures and the twentieth-century history of the park lands before the designation of the area as a National Historic Monument were addressed in the study in a minimal manner. The potential significance of early twentieth-century buildings and structures have therefore not been determined. An accurate assessment of properties such as the Ferguson House and the Claudine O'Brien House could be made if research is done into their owners, construction, alteration, and use. Research for this task would have to be done in the Appomattox County Circuit Court Records, including county supervisors' records, deeds, and land books. Other relevant sources might include local newspapers and libraries and private family papers.

Some structures and ruins on the Burruss Timber tract appear to contain a combination of nineteenth- and twentieth-century materials. Most intriguing, perhaps, are the two-room cabins previously thought to have been associated with the Civilian Conservation Corps. These buildings and structures, which include a double-walled storage building, may have been associated with early twentieth-century agricultural use of the property. To make this determination, research into local land and historical records might be done.

Legislative History of Commemorative Efforts at Appomattox Court House

The legislative history of early efforts to create a memorial landscape at Appomattox Court House was not covered in depth in the documents that were reviewed for this study, and therefore the "pre-history" of the park remains incompletely documented. Park Superintendent Hubert Gurney, for instance, indicates that Henry St. George Tucker's bill to create a national monument was introduced in 1895 and mentions no other legislation. A preliminary search of the index to the *Congressional Record*, however, revealed no legislation introduced in 1895 but numerous bills and resolutions considered between 1889 and at least 1902. A thorough search of the *Congressional Record* would result in a compilation of all the bills relevant to federal commemoration of the significance of Appomattox Court House and lead to Congressional debates, reports, and documents associated with those bills. Such research would foster an understanding of the forces that kept Appomattox Court House from being commemorated at the national level until the 1930s.

This research might also lead to documents that would clear up some questions regarding the tablets erected by the War Department on the sites of important events. George B. Davis, the War Department's Judge Advocate General, recalled in a Senate report that the commemoration of significant sites at Appomattox had been suggested to him. He proposed marking the sites to Secretary of War Daniel S. Lamont, who authorized him to erect cast-iron tablets. By what authority the Secretary of War erected tablets on private land is not clear. Further, Gurney reported that Samuel S. Burdette influenced the passage of legislation authorizing the erection of the tablets. The preliminary search of the *Congressional Record* index, however, mentioned no such legislation. There is also some question as to the original colors of the tablets. A Park Service survey of the existing tablets dated August 1941 includes a photograph of one tablet with a caption noting "silver lettering on black background." Perhaps it is clear from documents or photographs not reviewed for this study that the tablets were painted blue and gray by the War Department. If not, the question of original color might be kept in mind should further research be conducted on the War Department's involvement at Appomattox.

Congressional publications are available for study at the Library of Congress, as well as other libraries that act as designated repositories for federal government publications. Research into the legislative history of the park might also require review of the personal papers of those involved in the legislation, such as Tucker, Davis, Lamont, Burdette, and others.

The Disappearance of Opposition to the Reconstruction of the Village

The idea of restoring the McLean House met with opposition within the National Park Service and the Department of the Interior when it was first advanced in the 1930s. That opposition dissipated in the face of local support for the project. Documents reviewed for this study, however, did not reveal whether or not the same forces successfully overcame objections to restoring and reconstructing other buildings and structures in the village. Research in this area would extend the understanding of preservation issues relating to Appomattox Court House. Further research might be conducted in Record Group 79, Records of the National Park Service, and in local history sources and newspapers.

ANNOTATED BIBLIOGRAPHY

The following sources consulted in creating the Historic Resources Survey for Appomattox Court House National Historical Park have been annotated with reference to their value to an interpretation of Appomattox Court House. (Several sources are listed without annotation. Most of these were cited by park staff in changes made by them to the military significance section of the report. These sources were not reviewed by Robinson & Associates, Inc.)

Published Sources

Articles

"Confederate Monument at Appomattox." *Confederate Veteran* 14:10 (October 1906), 464.

This article describes the monument to Confederate soldiers unveiled at Appomattox Station in June 1906 and the dedication ceremonies.

Davis, Burke. "The Swinging Sweeneys." *Iron Worker* 33:4 (Autumn 1969), 2-12

Davis brings together information on Joel and Sam Sweeney and other family members. The article highlights Sam Sweeney's association with Confederate General J.E.B. Stuart. A popular rather than a scholarly article.

Nicholls, Michael L. "Piedmont Plantations and Farms: Transplanting Tidewater Traditions?" *Magazine of Albemarle County History* 49 (1991), 5.

Nicholls discusses the changes that occurred in social and political traditions of Tidewater Virginia as they were carried westward into the Piedmont by settlers seeking out new farmland. The article focuses mostly on the migrations that occurred in the middle of the eighteenth century and contains some historical background on the move west. It is generally rather than specifically related to the creation of Appomattox County.

Radford, J. P. "Identity and Tradition in the post-Civil War South." *Journal of Historical Geography* 18:1 (1992), 91-103.

Radford's thesis is that Southern regionalism, amounting nearly to nationalism, resulted from the defeat of the Confederacy in the Civil War. He supports this idea with a survey of memorials to the C.S.A., the dates of which coincide with the rise of Southern nationalism. The article therefore gives background to the struggle over the manner in which Appomattox might be commemorated.

Schlotterbeck, John T. "The Internal Economy of Slavery in Rural Piedmont Virginia." *Slavery and Abolition* 12:1 (May 1991), 170-181.

Although slaves could not control their labor system, says the author, they did earn some privileges, such as the keeping of kitchen gardens, hunting and fishing, and the selling of crafts, that perhaps gave them some sense of control of their environment. This article provides insight into certain aspects of the life of slaves in counties such as Appomattox.

E. Lee Shepard, comp. "'This Being Court Day': Courthouses and Community Life in Rural Life." *Virginia Magazine of History and Biography* 103:4 (1995), 460-462.

This article prints illustrations and captions from an exhibit displayed by the Virginia Historical Society depicting county courthouses as centers for social, political, and economic life in rural communities from the eighteenth to the twentieth centuries. It contains general information on Virginia courthouse villages.

Tangires, Helen. "Icehouses in America: The History of a Vernacular Building Type." *New Jersey Folklife* (16), 39-41.

Tangires investigates the history and development of icehouses throughout the American colonies and the United States. Although she develops some tentative conclusions, the wide range of her study makes specific conclusions difficult. This article is relevant to icehouses at the McLean House and the Tibbs homestead site.

Winbury, John J. "'Lest We Forget': The Confederate Monument and the Southern Townscape." *Southeastern Geographer* 23:2 (November 1983), 107-121.

Winbury traces the history of monuments to the Confederacy throughout the south and categorizes them by type, location, and date. He then offers some interpretation of the monuments based on these categories. The article is relevant to the commemoration of the events that took place Appomattox Court House at the end of the Civil War.

Books and Pamphlets

Alanen, Arnold R. "Considering the Ordinary: Vernacular Landscapes in Small Towns and Rural Areas." In *Preserving Cultural Landscapes in America*, edited by Arnold R. Alanen and Robert Z. Melnick, 112-142. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2000.

Alanen investigates history of term "vernacular" and what is understood by "vernacular landscape." His article provides context in which to consider the buildings, structures, objects, and vegetation that constitute the park.

Appomattox Land Company. *Prospectus*. Washington, D.C., 1890.

The *Prospectus* names the principals in the Appomattox Land Company, such as Samuel S. Burdette, and their plans for the development of the courthouse area. The company planned both recreational (a national campground) and residential uses of the village.

Barn Plans and Outbuildings, New and Revised Edition. New York: Orange Judd Company, 1914.

The book slightly updates Byron D. Halsted's *Barns, Sheds and Outbuildings: Placement, Design and Construction*, published in 1881. See Halsted, below.

Calkins, Chris. *From Petersburg to Appomattox: A Tour Guide to the Routes of Lee's Withdrawal and Grant's Pursuit.* Farmville, Virginia: Farmville Herald, 1983.

Calkins documents Lee's retreat from Petersburg to Appomattox with maps and photographs. The guide also includes capsule descriptions of historic structures and sites along the route.

— *The Battles of Appomattox Station and Appomattox Court House, April 8-9, 1865.* Lynchburg: H.E. Howard, Inc., 1987.

— *The Appomattox Campaign: March 29-April 9, 1965.* Conshohocken, Pa.: Combined Books, 1997.

Using primary sources (letters, diaries, and memoirs) and official publications, Calkins attempts to recreate the fighting in the last days of Civil War.

— *The Final Bivouac: The Surrender Parade at Appomattox and the Disbanding of the Armies, April 10-May 20, 1865.* Lynchburg, Va.: H.E. Howard, Inc., 1988.

Chamberlain, Joshua L. *Honor Answering Honor.* Brunswick, Maine: Bowdoin College, 1965.

Cole, Olen, Jr. *The African-American Experience in the Civilian Conservation Corps.* Gainesville: University of Florida Press, 1999.

Although Cole's book focuses on African-American CCC workers in California, his first chapter gives a general history of African-American participation in the program.

Dabney, Virginius. *Virginia, the New Dominion.* Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia, 1983.

Dabney covers nearly 400 years of Virginia history, and therefore his chapters are fairly brief and general.

Farrar, Stuart McDearmon, comp. *1860 U.S. Census of Appomattox County, Virginia.* Pamplin, Virginia, 1984.

Farrar copied the microfilm of the 1860 federal census for Appomattox County, and his wife typed it up, thus making this information easily available to other researchers.

— *Historical Notes of Appomattox County, Virginia.* Pamplin, Virginia, 1989.

The *Notes* consist of petitions, votes, debates, and legislation concerning the county's creation; newspaper articles, advertisements, and notices through 1861; descriptions of buildings; and military, post office, land, and census records compiled by Farrar.

Featherston, Nathaniel Ragland. *The History of Appomattox, Va.* Appomattox, Va.: American Legion Post 104, 1948.

Featherson bases his history on documents and on oral traditions of the village. It is especially useful for his account of the buildings on the Coleman property at the time of the Civil War.

Gottmann, Jean. *Virginia in Our Century.* Charlottesville, Va.: University Press of Virginia, 1969.

A general history of Virginia in the twentieth century, this book charts the demographic and political changes in the state. It is useful for general economic trends influencing business and agriculture.

John Gibbon. *Personal Recollections of the Civil War.* New York: G.P. Putnam's Sons, 1928.

Halsted, Byron D., ed. *Barns, Sheds and Outbuildings: Placement, Design and Construction* Chambersburg, Pennsylvania: Alan C. Hood & Company, 1994, reprint of 1881 edition.

Halsted describes the construction of and gives some background on a variety of farm buildings. Simple plans and drawings are included. The book has some relevance to structures within the park such as icehouses and dairies in the latter part of nineteenth century.

Hosmer, Charles B., Jr. *Preservation Comes of Age: From Williamsburg to the National Trust, 1926-1949*, 2 vols. Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia, 1981.

Hosmer devotes three small sections to Appomattox Court House, starting with the move to commemorate the site that began in the late 1920s and ending with the opening of the McLean House. Research is based on documents in the National Archives.

Kulikoff, Allan. *Tobacco and Slaves: The Development of Southern Cultures in the Chesapeake, 1680-1800.* Chapel Hill, N.C.: University of North Carolina Press, 1986.

Kulikoff traces the parallel growth of the tobacco industry and the reliance on slave labor in the Chesapeake. Although he does not focus on Appomattox County, he provides good general information on the reasons behind migration to the Piedmont that began in the second half of the eighteenth century.

Lounsbury, Carl. *An Illustrated Glossary of Early Southern Architecture and Landscape.* Charlottesville, Va.: University Press of Virginia, 1999.

Lounsbury's glossary focuses on the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, but his entries on traditional building practices remain relevant for some construction in the early years of the area that became Appomattox County.

Marvel, William. *A Place Called Appomattox*. Chapel Hill, N.C.: University of North Carolina Press, 2000.

Marvel intends his book as a history of the place, rather than of the events that occurred there. The range of Marvel's sources is the book's strength. The book's anecdotal quality sometimes gives it the flavor of historical fiction.

Maurice, Frederick Maurice. *Lee's Aide-De-Camp*. Lincoln, Neb.: University of Nebraska Press, 2000.

Porter, Albert Ogden. *County Government in Virginia: A Legislative History, 1607-1904*. New York: Columbia University Press, 1947.

By synthesizing information on the development of county government in Virginia, Porter provides a context for Appomattox Court House history. The book also offers information on court day practices.

Robert, Joseph C. *The Story of Tobacco in America*. New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1949.

In addition to tracing the beginnings of tobacco production in the American colonies and its influence on westward expansion, Robert's history reaches into the twentieth century and therefore explains the decline of some of the tobacco-producing areas of Piedmont Virginia, such as Appomattox.

Schroeder, Patrick A. *More Myths About Lee's Surrender*, 4th edition. Farmville, Va.: Schroeder Publications, 2001.

Schroeder documents the facts surrounding longstanding traditions associated with the surrender at Appomattox.

— *The Confederate Cemetery at Appomattox*. Farmville, Va.: Schroeder Publications, 1999.

Sitkoff, Harvard. *A New Deal for Blacks: The Emergence of Civil Rights as a National Issue*. Volume I: *The Depression Decade*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1978.

A New Deal presents an excellent background for the gains made in civil rights in the 1950s and 1960s. Useful to this study was the information on African American participation in the Civilian Conservation Corps.

Sloane, David Charles. *The Last Great Necessity: Cemeteries in American History*. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1991.

The value of this book in relation to Appomattox Court House is the early section on the development of family graveyards from the isolated circumstances of the American frontier.

Stanley, Vara Smith. *A History of Appomattox County*. Appomattox, Va.: Times-Virginian, 1965.

Smith's book contains some useful information on the twentieth-century development of Appomattox Station. It also reproduces a photograph from 1907 that shows neither magnolia trees nor the present iron fence around the Confederate Cemetery.

Terry, Thomas R. *Appomattox County: A Pictorial History*. Norfolk, Va.: Donning Co., 1984.

Terry covers the history of the county from Native American occupation into the late twentieth century. The book is especially valuable for images and information on Appomattox County in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries.

Visser, Thomas Durrant. *Field Guide to New England Barns and Farm Buildings*. Hanover, N.H.: University Press of New England, 1997.

Visser's descriptions, histories, and photographs of New England farm buildings help establish a context for those of Piedmont Virginia.

Vlach, John Michael. *Back of the Big House: The Architecture of Plantation Slavery*. Chapel Hill, N.C.: University of North Carolina Press, 1993.

Vlach describes the range of structures related to farming under the slave labor system. The discussion is divided by types of buildings and is based on information compiled by the Historic American Buildings Survey.

Government Documents

Andrus, Patrick W. *National Register Bulletin 40: Guidelines for Identifying, Evaluating, and Registering America's Historic Battlefields*. Washington, D.C.: National Park Service, 1992.

Bulletin 40 sketches the history of battlefield commemoration in the United States in addition to describing how to apply National Register criteria to battlefields.

Congressional Record Index to the Proceedings and Debates of the ... Congress. Washington, D.C.: United States Historical Documents Institute, 1970. 1889-1902. Law Library, Library of Congress, Washington, D.C.

This index provides bill numbers and titles, dates bill were introduced, the name of the legislator who introduced them, whether they were referred to committee, and whether reports accompanied them. Entries include names of legislators, committees, and subjects, and provide page numbers to appropriate volume of the *Congressional Record*. The index covers all

Congressional sessions since 1873. Only those volumes relating to early efforts to commemorate Appomattox Court House were reviewed for this report.

Lee, Ronald F. "The Origin and Evolution of the National Military Park Idea." Washington, D.C.: National Park Service, U.S. Department of the Interior, 1973. Available from <http://www.cr.nps.gov>.

This article is an on-line version of the piece Lee wrote for the Park Service in 1973. As such it includes photographs and links to other sources of information that were not part of the original publication. The online version of the article is, however, abbreviated from the original. It provides a wide-ranging and concise background for the commemoration of battlefields in the United States.

Martin, Anna. National Register of Historic Places Nomination-Inventory Form. "Appomattox Historic District." United States Department of the Interior, National Park Service, Washington D.C., May 2001.

Appomattox Depot was established to serve railroad transportation between Richmond and Lynchburg. The depot's development into the county seat is the subject of this nomination and as such provides background to the decline of Appomattox Court House.

Montgomery, John B., Reed Engle, and Clifford Tobias. National Register of Historic Places Nomination-Inventory Form. "Appomattox Court House." United States Department of the Interior, National Park Service, Washington D.C., May 18, 1989.

This nomination includes lands, buildings, and structures within park boundaries at the time of the documentation. It establishes areas of significance for the park and describes contributing resources. Its historical context covers the military significance of Appomattox Court House at the conclusion of the Civil War.

Paige, John C. "Civilian Conservation Corps and the National Park Service, 1933-1942: An Administrative History." [Washington, D.C.?]: National Park Service, U.S. Department of the Interior, 1985.

Paige wrote a general history of CCC work in the national parks. It is helpful in providing a context for more specific information found in primary sources.

Unpublished Sources

Unpublished Documents

architrave p.c. architects and Robinson & Associates, Inc. "Antietam National Cemetery Lodge: Physical History and Condition Assessment." Prepared for the National Park Service, July 31, 2000.

In developing a history of the cemetery at Antietam, this report documents the history of national cemeteries for Civil War casualties. This information is valuable as a comparison for the creation of the Confederate Cemetery at Appomattox.

Borresen, Thor. "Report on the Inspection of the McLean House Site, Appomattox Court House National Historical Monument," October, 7, 1941. National Park Service, Cultural Resources Management Files, Philadelphia Support Office [PHSO], PA.

Borresen makes recommendations on the reconstruction of the McLean house as a result of a visit to the archeological excavations. The report minimally describes some of the features uncovered during the excavations and includes some photographs.

Cauble, Frank P. "Documentation of the 1867 Michler Map of Appomattox Court House, Virginia," 1962. National Park Service, Cultural Resources Management Files, Philadelphia Support Office [PHSO], PA.

— "Historical Data on the Richmond-Lynchburg Stage Road in the Vicinity of the Village of Appomattox Court House, 1860-1865," 1962. National Park Service, Cultural Resources Management Files, Philadelphia Support Office [PHSO], PA.

—"The Village Green in Appomattox Court House," 1959. National Park Service, Cultural Resources Management Files, Philadelphia Support Office [PHSO], PA.

Cauble was hired by Appomattox Court House National Historical Park to write these histories to support reconstruction and interpretation in the late 1950s and early 1960s. Both as sources of accurate historical information and as documents of the reconstruction of the village, these reports retain their importance.

Godsey, Raymond. Untitled [Recollections of forty-six years of the developmental and administrative history of Appomattox Court House National Historic Park, 1941-1986], 1986. National Park Service, Cultural Resources Management Files, Philadelphia Support Office [PHSO], PA.

Godsey worked at Appomattox Court House for 45 years. Although undocumented, his recollections convey first-hand knowledge of the park's creation and maintenance, as well as the oral traditions of park construction.

Gurney, Hubert A. "A Brief History of Appomattox Court House National Historical Park," 1955. National Park Service, Cultural Resources Management Files, Philadelphia Support Office [PHSO], PA.

Gurney, the park's first superintendent, apparently wrote this history from documents retained in his office. As such it is very valuable for describing the process by which the park itself was created: the background of the personnel involved, the work of the CCC, the order in which

buildings were restored or reconstructed, and so forth. Gurney's reconstruction of the drive to create the park in Appomattox seems to be based on accounts in local newspapers.

Happel, Ralph. "The McLean (or Surrender) House at the Village of Old Appomattox Court House, Virginia: A Study for the Reconstruction Thereof," 1940. National Park Service, Cultural Resources Management Files, Philadelphia Support Office [PHSO], PA.

Happel, Ralph, Preston Holder, and Ray Julian. "Collaborative Justification for Reconstruction of the McLean House at Appomattox," 1942. National Park Service, Cultural Resources Management Files, Philadelphia Support Office [PHSO], PA.

As with Cauble's studies, these reports were created preliminary to reconstruction at the park and therefore present historical information on the McLean House and an understanding of the preservation philosophy at the time. Happel's study for the reconstruction of the McLean House has the most detailed information on the physical structure of the house and reproduces drawings made in 1893 when the house was dismantled.

Luellen, Mark. Determination of Significance, "Ernestine Beale House, Lelia Sweeney House, Richard Sweeney House, Mary Beale House," March 7, 1994. National Park Service, Cultural Resources Management Files, Philadelphia Support Office [PHSO], PA.

Luellen surveyed these twentieth-century buildings and determined that they had no historical importance in relation to the park. The state historic preservation officer concurred with these findings.

Marvel, William. "Historical Assessment of the 'Conservation Fund' and 'Burruss Timber' Tracts within Appomattox Court House National Historical Park," January 2001, revised April 2001. Prepared for the National Park Service. National Park Service, Cultural Resources Management Files, Philadelphia Support Office [PHSO], PA.

Marvel was hired to make a preliminary assessment of the historical significance of tracts of land added to the park in 1992 and 1993. His report points out the importance of these two parcels to the fighting that took place at Appomattox Court House, but misinterprets the extant outbuilding on the Burruss Timber tract as a slave cabin.

Moore, John Hammond. "Appomattox Court House: Community, Village, and Families, 1845-1870," 1976. National Park Service, Cultural Resources Management Files, Philadelphia Support Office [PHSO], PA.

Moore's study is an accurately documented history of the village, although its scope is not as broad as Marvel's *A Place Called Appomattox*. As such, it should be the first secondary source to be consulted on the history of the village.

National Park Service. "Cultural Landscapes Inventory: Appomattox Court House Landscape, Appomattox Court House National Historical Park," 2000. National Park Service, Cultural Resources Management Files, Philadelphia Support Office [PHSO], PA.

National Park Service. "Cultural Landscapes Inventory: Appomattox Court House Village, Appomattox Court House National Historical Park," 2000. National Park Service, Cultural Resources Management Files, Philadelphia Support Office [PHSO], PA.

These two inventories document the resources in the park, provide a history and chronology of the area, and references. Some information, however, has been superseded by later research.

Porter, Charles W. "Preliminary Report on the Old Appomattox Court House Area, Appomattox County, Virginia," July 3, 1937. National Park Service, Cultural Resources Management Files, Philadelphia Support Office [PHSO], PA.

— "Supplementary Report on Appomattox Court House," July 21, 1937. National Park Service, Cultural Resources Management Files, Philadelphia Support Office [PHSO], PA.

Porter compiles maps, images, and photographs of the village and the courthouse for use in determining how the park might be created. These are very preliminary findings, but have value for their attention to the documentary record of the village.

Pousson, John F. "A Contribution to an Overview of Archaeological Resources, Appomattox Court House National Historical Park," March 2001. National Park Service, Cultural Resources Management Files, Philadelphia Support Office [PHSO], PA.

Pousson provides a history of archeological research at Appomattox and a brief analysis of most of the sites within the park and nearby, investigated and uninvestigated. Sites are located on contemporary and modern maps, and some images illustrate the text. This document is the best source on the physical history of the resources of the park and related areas.

Reem, Harold L. "Memorializing America's Flanders: National Park Service Preservation and Development of Virginia Civil War Battlefield Parks, 1933-1942." Master's thesis, George Washington University, 2000.

A general history of Civil War parks established in Virginia by the National Park Service, this thesis provides historic context for the creation of Appomattox Court House National Historical Park, including changing concepts of preservation and commemoration. The thesis also provides some information on CCC work in the Civil War parks.

Schemmer, Elsa W.L. "The Civilian Conservation Corps in Virginia: A Brief History and Survey of Extant Properties," 1991. Prepared for the Virginia Department of Historic Resources. Virginia Department of Historic Resources, Richmond, VA.

Schemmer surveys CCC work in Virginia with an eye to documenting extant buildings. She generally describes CCC camps on Virginia, so that the camp at Appomattox has some larger context. It is one of the few documents to address the CCC in Virginia.

"Significance of Appomattox," March 1941. National Park Service, Cultural Resources Management Files, Philadelphia Support Office [PHSO], PA.

This document seems to be text for a brochure or pamphlet on the new national park. In addition to placing the Civil War in the context of American history, documenting the paths the Union and Confederate armies took to reach Appomattox, and giving an account of Lee's surrender, it gives a brief history of the village of Appomattox Court House and the park and tells visitors what services are available while the park is being constructed.

Virginia Department of Public Welfare. *A Handbook for Local Selection Agents on CCC Camp Life, Virginia*. Richmond: State Department of Public Welfare, Bureau of CCC Selection, 1940.

This handbook was designed to be used in the selection of workers for the Civilian Conservation Corps. It generally describes life in CCC camps and what is expected of workers.

Wood, Swofford Associates, Architects. "Clover Hill Tavern Group, Appomattox Court House National Historical Park, Appomattox, Virginia: Historic Structures Report," April 15, 1997. National Park Service, Cultural Resources Management Files, Philadelphia Support Office [PHSO], PA.

In addition to describing, drawing, and establishing a history of the tavern, bar-room, guest house, kitchen and guest house, slave quarters, ice house, and other outbuildings, this document contains some historical context on the area, as well as the place of crossroads taverns in nineteenth-century Virginia history.

National Archives and Records Administration Record Groups

Record Group 35, entry 4. Records of the Civilian Conservation Corps. Monthly Progress Reports, 1933-1942. College Park, Maryland. Microfilm.

These valuable records are arranged by cooperating Federal agency and then chronologically. The reports of work done were submitted monthly by the park superintendent. They contain more detail than the annual reports and help refine the timeline of CCC work at the park.

Record Group 35, entry 115. Records of the Civilian Conservation Corps. Division of Investigations. Camp Inspection Reports, 1933-1942. Box 233. College Park, Maryland.

These documents are arranged alphabetically by state and then by camp number. Although intended to record the conditions under which CCC enrollees worked (including daily menus), they also give some details on the deployment of men. At Appomattox, for instance, these records indicated the inefficient use of enrollees due to lack of supervisory personnel.

Record Group 35, entry 126. Records of the Civilian Conservation Corps. Records of the Liquidation Unit, Correspondence Relating to the Disposal of Buildings, 1935-42. Box 33. College Park, Maryland.

These records document the number and type of buildings in all of the CCC camps and their disposal. They also give some information about location. They are arranged alphabetically by state and then by Federal agency and camp number.

Record Group 79, entry 7. Records of the National Park Service. Central Classified Files, 1933-49. Boxes 2025-2029. College Park, Maryland.

Contained among this large collection of documents is correspondence relating to each of the parks for which the National Park Service was responsible, arranged alphabetically by park name. Within the Appomattox Court House records are folders for a variety of subject headings. The correspondence collected here documents contact between the park superintendent and his superiors at the regional and national level, as well as contact between the park service and the Interior Department.

Maps and Plans

Henderson and Company. *Map of Appomattox Court House and Vicinity*. Baltimore: A. Hoen & Company, 1866. Geography and Maps Division, Library of Congress, Washington, D.C. Microfiche.

Henderson's map was an early attempt to memorialize the events at Appomattox Court House, showing the relative positions of the armies on April 9, 1865, as well as the sites of important events. On the borders of the map are engravings depicting the scene of various events, which are keyed to the map itself.

Michler, Nathaniel. *Appomattox Court House*. New York: New York Lithographing, Engraving & Printing Company, 1867. Geography and Maps Division, Library of Congress, Washington, D.C. Microfiche.

Michler's map shows topography, structures, vegetation, roads, and streams in the village and in the surrounding farmland. It includes names of the land owners. This map is valuable for giving a sense of the density of structures in the village at the time of the Civil War, the clusters of structures that made up the farmsteads, and the density of vegetation.

Record Group 79. Records of the National Park Service. Master Plans – Appomattox Court House National Historical Monument. Cartographic Records Division, College Park, Maryland.

Included among the master plans were maps of existing conditions and of surmised conditions at the time of the Civil War. Accompanying text was keyed to the maps to explain the structures or sites. This information suggests the assumptions in place as the park was being created.

APPENDIX A

Description of the Burruss Timber and Conservation Fund Tracts and Their Resources

Purpose

Lands on which the significant events directly related to General Robert E. Lee's surrender to Lieutenant General Ulysses S. Grant on April 9, 1865, have been part of Appomattox Court House National Historical Park since its formative period. Land on which some of the most important fighting took place leading to the surrender, however, has only recently been acquired by the National Park Service and added to the park. The area known as the Burruss Timber tract was purchased in 1992, and the Conservation Fund parcel was acquired in 1993.¹ Both pieces of land lie north of the old Richmond-Lynchburg Stage Road outside the village of Appomattox Court House, and both contain significant standing and archeological resources that can further understanding of the Battle of Appomattox Court House and of the community's agricultural landscape both during and after the Civil War period. The 1989 National Register documentation for the park does not cover these two tracts of land, and therefore the lands and their resources will be discussed in this appendix.

Burruss Timber Tract, Site of the Samuel H. Coleman Residence

The Burruss Timber tract, consisting of 192 acres, lies north of what is now Virginia State Highway 24 (the old Richmond-Lynchburg Stage Road) between State Road 656 on the west and the Conservation Fund parcel on the east. Samuel McDearmon, the early developer of Appomattox Court House, purchased much of the property from Williams Beadles in 1846, a year after the county was created. McDearmon added to his holdings over the next 10 years, despite his financial troubles, and his trustees sold 221½ acres to Virginia Attorney General Willis P. Bocock in 1856. Bocock, in turn, sold it to George W. Abbitt in 1859. Abbitt gave the land to his daughter, referred to both as "Armanda" and "Amanda," when she married Samuel H. Coleman in 1862. Coleman had already purchased 33 3/8 acres of the original Clover Hill tract in 1860.²

¹A discussion of the ownership of these parcels can be found in William Marvel, "Historical Assessment of the 'Conservation Fund' and 'Burruss Timber' Tracts within Appomattox Court House National Historical Park," Appomattox Court House National Historical Park [APCO], VA, prepared for the National Park Service, January 2001, revised April 2001, Cultural Resources Management Files, Philadelphia Support Office [PHSO], PA.

²William Marvel, *A Place Called Appomattox* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2000), 11, 102-103; John Hammond Moore, "Appomattox Court House: Community, Village, and Families, 1845-1870," Appomattox Court House National Historical Park [APCO], VA, 1976, 159, photocopy, National Park Service, Cultural Resources Management Files, Philadelphia Support Office [PHSO], PA. Marvel refers to Coleman's wife as "Amanda," Moore as "Armanda."

The Colemans lived in the existing house on the larger parcel of land (the Burruss Timber tract) on a knoll north of the stage road. Also on the property were two buildings southwest of the house. The buildings flanked an access drive leading to the stage road and were said by a Union soldier to be a tobacco house and a corn crib. A small cabin stood northeast of the residence.³ Currently standing on the property is a low, unchinked log structure with a tin roof covering remnants of the original wooden roof. It has a wooden floor consisting of planks laid directly on the ground, and its doorway is approximately four feet tall. It is in fair condition. Also visible on the site is a mound of stones that once made up the fireplace of the main house and numerous handmade bricks. Park employees indicated that the well that served the house is also extant.

In "Historical Assessment of the 'Conservation Fund' and 'Burruss Timber' tracts within Appomattox Court House National Historical Park," William Marvel refers to the structure currently standing on the Coleman site as "obviously the building that Nathaniel Featherston referred to as the spot where Hannah Reynolds [a Coleman slave] was killed" and therefore perhaps "the last surviving structure that stood amid the fighting of April 9, 1865."⁴ Although accurate on the latter count, Marvel misreads Featherston's account in the first instance. Featherston wrote *The History of Appomattox, Va.*, which was published in 1948, and a map and key in the book refer to two buildings on the Coleman property. One is the main house; the other stands northeast of the house. The key to the map describes the building to the northeast as the "log house" where Reynolds was mortally wounded.⁵ The existing structure, however, is southwest of the remains of the Coleman house. It is therefore more likely to be one of the two outbuildings that appear southwest of the house on the 1867 Michler map, probably the corn crib described by the Union soldier. That the structure was intended for utilitarian purposes rather than human habitation is confirmed by its four-foot door and the absence of a fireplace. A question remains as to why Featherston did not include the outbuilding on his map if it stood at the time his history was written. It may be that he did not consider it worthy of recording.

A road trace runs through the woods between the Burruss Timber tract and the Conservation Fund tract. When Samuel and Armanda Coleman owned the property, the Oakville Road, a plank roadway bordered by woods, ran between their land and that of Jacob Tibbs (the Conservation Fund tract; see below). It was built in the early 1850s to facilitate transportation between Appomattox Court House and the James

River Canal at Bent Creek. Also apparent on this property is the trace of the old Richmond-Lynchburg Stage Road. It runs almost parallel to the current course of Virginia State Highway 24.

³Moore, 159; Chris Calkins, *The Battles of Appomattox Station and Appomattox Court House, April 8-9, 1865* (Lynchburg: H.E. Howard, Inc., 1987), 86; Nathaniel Michler, *Appomattox Court House* (New York: New York Lithographing, Engraving & Printing Company, 1867), microfiche copy at Geography and Maps Division, Library of Congress, Washington, D.C.

⁴Marvel, "Historical Assessment," 13, 15.

⁵Nathaniel Ragland Featherston, *The History of Appomattox, Va.* (Appomattox: American Legion Post 104, 1948), 26-27.

Coleman became a doctor after the Civil War, possibly receiving training during his military service. He left the Confederate army when he did not receive a commission. As the presence of the tobacco and corn houses indicate, his main occupation during the War was that of farmer. His occupation is listed as farmer in the 1860 census of Appomattox County, which also notes that he was master of a single slave. In 1863, the Colemans paid taxes on 250 acres of land and buildings worth \$800.⁶

Cleared and used as farmland both before and after the Civil War, the Burruss Timber tract is much more wooded today than it was in the nineteenth century.

The Conservation Fund Tract, Site of the Jacob Tibbs Homestead

The Conservation Fund tract shared the Oakville Road trace as its border with the Burruss Timber tract. The Conservation Fund tract lies between the Virginia State Route 24 on the south and the north branch of the Appomattox River on the north. It was owned by Jacob Tibbs at the time of Lee's surrender. Tax rolls from 1863 show that he owned 309 ½ acres of land. The two largest parcels were acquired in two purchases from Samuel McDearmon's trustees in 1855 and 1856. The Conservation Fund tract totaled 179.82 acres at the time of National Park Service acquisition in 1993.⁷

Jacob Tibbs threatened to sell his land, then totaling 404 acres, and move west in the 1840s when tobacco prices were low, but did not, possibly because he did not receive an offer he considered satisfactory. By remaining in Appomattox County he eventually became prosperous, owning buildings worth \$2,400 in 1863. The 1860 census shows that he held 11 slaves. Jacob and his wife, Nancy, had nine children. Ten buildings appear on Tibbs' property in the 1867 Michler map of Appomattox. Six formed a residential cluster including the farmhouse built on a knoll a half mile northwest of the courthouse. Three more buildings lay 600 to 800 feet due west of this grouping, and another single structure stood 400 feet north of these two groups.⁸

Based on Land Book documentation, William Marvel, in *A Place Called Appomattox*, states that Tibbs's house was the one built by Samuel McDearmon between 1849 and 1851. The valuation of improvements to McDearmon's property jumped from \$1,056 in 1849 to \$2,800 in 1851.⁹ In a conversation with Robinson & Associates, Inc., Roy Moon, who built his own house on the property in the 1970s, indicated that among the remnants of the original house that he saved (now in a storage shed near the Moon house),

⁶Marvel, "Historical Assessment," 11-12; Marvel, *A Place Called Appomattox*, 102-103; Moore, 159; Calkins, 86. The Coleman home and the two outbuildings near the stage road stood on land owned by the park before the Burruss Timber tract was acquired.

⁷Marvel, "Historical Assessment," 4-6.

⁸Moore, 74, 159, 219; Michler.

⁹Marvel, "Historical Assessment," 6; Pousson, 74.

was a stair riser carved with the date 1850.¹⁰ It is therefore likely that Tibbs moved into McDearmon's house.

The ruins of the building remain on the ground, clearly visible. Concrete piers among the ruins suggest twentieth-century renovation. The Tibbs residence, a two-story frame construction, apparently displayed a fair degree of architectural ornamentation for its time and place. Some of the elements of the house, such as the wainscoting, moldings, and bricks, were incorporated into the Roy Moon house built nearby. Many more building elements, such as stair rails, balusters, door surrounds, a mantel piece, and framing members, are stored in a shed behind the Moon house.¹¹ Near the ruins of the house is a white oak tree estimated to be at least 300 years old by park curator Joe Williams on a site visit on November 20, 2001. Brian Eick, natural resources specialist at the park, estimated that a black oak tree near the house site likely stood during the Civil War. Two other trees on the property, a hickory tree and another white oak, are thought to be more than 100 years old.¹²

Several extant buildings and ruins on the property have been thought of as potential remnants of the Tibbs farmstead. One of these is a well house still standing near the ruins of the Tibbs house. It is a small, square, frame building covered with weatherboards. The well has been used by subsequent residents of the property, including Moon, who sold the property to the National Park Service. In a telephone conversation with Robinson & Associates, Inc., Moon said it was his understanding that this well was drilled in 1936 and the well house constructed at that time.¹³ An older, uncovered well, its walls lined with handmade bricks, stands to the east of the extant well house. It is assumed to be the property's original well.¹⁴

A rectangular, double-walled structure north of the Tibbs home site sits on a concrete foundation and contains some building materials that may date to the nineteenth century. It has been thought to have been used as an ice house.¹⁵ Two basic types of ice houses were used in the United States before the mass production of electrical refrigerators in the early twentieth century, below-ground ice houses that

¹⁰Moon, March 28, 2002.

¹¹Joe Williams described the parts of the Tibbs house that had been incorporated into the Moon residence on a site visit on November 20, 2001. He also pointed out the architectural elements in storage there.

¹²Photo captions accompanying electronic images sent to Robinson & Associates, Inc., by Carol Cook.

¹³Roy Moon, telephone conversation with Robinson & Associates, Inc., March 28, 2002.

¹⁴APCO, CLI: Landscape, 3:19-20; Marvel, "Historical Assessment," 9; Roy Moon, telephone conversation with Robinson & Associates, January 17, 2002.

¹⁵APCO, CLI: Landscape, 3:19-20; Marvel, "Historical Assessment," 9.

used the earth for insulation and those built above ground that frequently consisted of two walls filled with sawdust or straw for insulation. The mid-century ice storage structure at the McLean House is an example of the former: a superstructure of wood containing a door and protecting a pit where the ice was stored. These below-ground ice houses were the most common type in the southern portion of the country in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. By the early nineteenth century, however, above-ground ice houses were being advocated. The two types would have their adherents throughout the century, but there is some evidence to suggest that below-ground ice houses remained more popular through at least the first half of the nineteenth century while the trend in the latter part of the century was toward the above-ground type.¹⁶ Whether these larger trends held in Piedmont Virginia is not clear, and a construction manual for farm outbuildings published in 1881 and again in 1914 provides plans for both below-ground and above-ground ice houses. Unrefrigerated ice houses were used in some localities in Virginia into the 1920s.¹⁷ The form of the structure on the Conservation Fund tract and the presence of a concrete foundation argue for a late nineteenth- or early twentieth-century use for the building, although re-use of an existing structure is also possible.

Due west of the double-walled structure is a marshy area thought to have been an ice pond. It consists of a broad, shallow depression with what is likely to have been an earthen dam at its southern end. Discoloration on the trunks of trees growing in the depression indicate that in wet weather, water could reach depths of approximately two feet.

Two collapsing structures, both two-room cabins with central chimneys, rest north of the home site. Some elements in these buildings, such the thick, notched sills, almost certainly date from the nineteenth century, while others likely date from the twentieth. They have been thought to be related to Civilian Conservation Corps work in the park, but this seems improbable since research has revealed that CCC Camp 28 bivouacked near the town of Appomattox Station.¹⁸ A completely collapsed structure, probably a stable or barn, lies west of the residence. It appears to have no nineteenth-century building material.

¹⁶John Michael Vlach, *Back of the Big House: The Architecture of Plantation Slavery* (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 1993), 80-81; Helen Tangires, "Icehouses in American: The History of a Vernacular Building Type," *New Jersey Folklife* (16), 33-43; Lounsbury, 187.

¹⁷Byron D. Halsted, editor, *Barns, Sheds and Outbuildings: Placement, Design and Construction* (Charmersburg, Pennsylvania: Alan C. Hood & Company, 1994, reprint of 1881 edition), 140-153; *Barn Plans and Outbuildings, New and Revised Edition* (New York: Orange Judd Company, 1914), 240-250; Thomas Durrant Visser, *Field Guide to New England Barns and Farm Buildings* (Hanover, New Hampshire: University Press of New England, 1997), 113-115.

¹⁸APCO, CLI: Landscape, 3:19; Marvel, "Historical Assessment," 9. Only the two collapsing two-room cabins and the nearby chicken coop stand on the new tract of land that was acquired by the Park Service in 1993. For another discussion of the cabins, please see the section of the Historic Context Statement called "The Civilian Conservation Corps at Appomattox Court House."

Two periods of time are likely for the construction of the farm outbuildings at the Tibbs property as they are now configured. Benjamin Tinsley acquired Tibbs's property in 1878 and farmed the land for most of the rest of the century. Henrietta Scott purchased the land from Charles W. Ely, along with other property, in 1911, and "evidently restored it as a farm."¹⁹ If the buildings were constructed during this time, the two-room cabins on the Conservation Fund tract may have been used by tenant farmers.

Vernacular Landscape

The grouping of farm buildings on the Coleman and Tibbs properties gives some indication of the agricultural landscape of Appomattox Court House in the mid-nineteenth century. The nearness of both farms to the village, the Oakville Road trace, the relationship of the Coleman outbuildings to the stage road, the lane from the Tibbs household to the Richmond-Lynchburg Stage Road, and the structures that stood on the properties all contribute to an understanding of a mid-nineteenth century tobacco farming community in Piedmont Virginia. Since only the Coleman outbuilding remains standing, the significance of the Burruss Timber tract and the Conservation Fund tract as examples of vernacular nineteenth-century landscapes is largely archeological. The late nineteenth- or early twentieth-century farm structures may also offer information on the agricultural community near the courthouse in those eras, although once again their significance is, in the main, archeological. A more detailed analysis of the agricultural significance of these properties is undertaken in the section of the Historic Context Statement subtitled "The Vernacular Landscape of Appomattox Court House and Its Vicinity."

Military Use

On the morning of April 9, 1865, the Confederate Second Corps, commanded by Major General John B. Gordon, formed in a northwest-to-southeast line a few hundred yards west of the courthouse. The north side of this line fell across farmland owned by Jacob Tibbs. A brigade of North Carolina cavalry, led by General William P. Roberts, and two ranks of infantry – Brigadier General William R. Cox's North Carolina brigade and Bushrod Johnson's division – formed in the yard of the Tibbs house and in the fields to the northwest. Shortly after dawn, Gordon's forces attacked the Union positions to the west. Gordon's goal was to open the Richmond-Lynchburg Stage Road in order to create an escape route for the Army of Northern Virginia.

The Confederates beat the Union troops back, capturing a gun battery and advancing westward beyond the Oakville Road onto property owned by Samuel and Armanda Coleman. The advance lasted roughly from seven to nine o'clock. Confederate forces assaulted elements of Union cavalry that were trying to slow the advance until infantry from the Army of the James under the direction of Major General Edward O.C. Ord arrived. Fitzhugh Lee's division and General William Cox's North Carolina brigade encountered Union cavalry directed by Major General Ranald Mackenzie near the Coleman house. During the fighting, the 11th Maine Infantry advanced into a crossfire northwest of the Coleman house, and Union soldiers sought protection in the buildings on the property. Northern troops reorganized on the Coleman property, received the expected reinforcements from Ord, and repelled the Confederate

¹⁹Marvel, "Historical Assessment," 8-9.

assault, ultimately pushing it back across the Coleman and Tibbs properties eastward toward the courthouse. The Tibbs house was used as an observation post by the United States Signal Corps.²⁰

The opposing armies used the high ground on the Tibbs and Coleman properties as their bases of operations. The Burruss Timber and Conservation Fund tracts were thus the site of some of the heaviest fighting in the Battle of Appomattox Court House. A description of the resources relating to the tracts' military use awaits archeological investigation.

²⁰William Marvel, "Historical Assessment of the 'Conservation Fund' and 'Burruss Timber' Tracts within Appomattox Court House National Historical Park," Appomattox Court House National Historical Park [APCO], VA, prepared for the National Park Service, January 2001, revised April 2001, photocopy, 7-8, 12-14, Cultural Resources Management Files, Philadelphia Support Office [PHSO], PA; Calkins, 58-62, 79-82, 101.

APPENDIX B

Description of Resources Not Included in 1989 National Register Documentation

Following are descriptions of resources not covered in the 1989 National Register documentation. The descriptions follow the general format of those in Section 7 of the NR and may be incorporated in an updated nomination. The resources have been grouped by areas of significance. Resource type and level of significance (N = national, S = state, L = local, n.d. = not determined) follow the resource name. Lack of a condition assessment for a resource indicates that the resource was not evaluated, per scope of work. It should be noted that some of these resources are not owned by the park and/or lie outside the park boundary. That information is listed after the resource name.

I. Military

A. New Hope Church Earthworks - site, N/S/L, not owned by park

Remnants of breastworks built by soldiers under the command of Confederate Lieutenant General James Longstreet on April 8, 1865, can still be seen near New Hope Church three miles northeast of the courthouse, just off Virginia State Route 24. The breastworks stand on a non-contiguous parcel of land within the park's boundaries but not currently owned by the park. The remnants consist of two mounds of earth, each 10 to 12 feet long and rising approximately three feet above the surrounding ground level. First hand accounts of the breastworks describe them as waist high.²¹ The mounds sit in woods approximately 20 yards off Route 24. The site is marked on tour maps of Robert E. Lee's route from Petersburg to Appomattox and therefore receives visitors. The earthworks appear to be in fair condition, but it is difficult to estimate the effect that visitors, maintenance of the highway, and development of the area may have had.

II. Politics/Government (CCC)

A. CCC-NPS Quarry - site, N

A quarry used by Civilian Conservation Corps Company 1351 from 1941 to 1942 is located in woods near Virginia State Route 24 and the Appomattox River approximately a mile northeast of the courthouse. The original geological feature exploited by the CCC was a small hill, perhaps 15 to 20 feet high, very near the river. That hill was dynamited by CCC workers and the resulting stone crushed for use on the construction of Route 24 when it was rerouted around the village of Appomattox Court House. About half of the hill remains, and loose stone litters the river banks and the area surrounding the quarry. A road trace that probably existed at the time the quarry was in use can still be seen between the quarry and the river. The quarry is in good condition, although it is now overgrown with trees.

²¹Calkins, *Battles of Appomattox*, 126.

B. CCC-NPS Dynamite Storage Shed - structure, N

East of the quarry and higher up the ridge that slopes down to the Appomattox River is a small wooden shed believed to have been used by the Civilian Conservation Corps as storage for dynamite. The structure is approximately eight feet square, double-walled, and covered with metal. It has a shed roof of wood covered with metal. Small rectangular openings (six by five inches) exist on three walls of the structure, two each on the north and south sides, one on the east (back) side. The wooden floor is raised approximately 12 to 15 inches off the ground. The doorway on the west side is less than six feet high and about two-and-a-half feet wide. Its door, unattached and lying on the ground nearby, consists of a metal plate backed with wood. The interior wall boards are laid diagonally. The structure is in good condition.

III. Conservation

A. Magnolia Trees at Confederate Cemetery - landscape feature, N/S/L, outside of park boundary

Two mature southern magnolia trees stand on the east side of the Confederate Cemetery and two on the west side. They are believed to date from the era of commemoration. A 1907 photograph reproduced in Vara Smith Stanley's *A History of Appomattox County* (Appomattox, Va.: Times-Virginian, 1965, 20) shows no trees around the cemetery.

B. Confederate Cemetery Fence - structure, N/S/L, outside of park boundary

An iron fence surrounds the Confederate Cemetery. It consists of ornamented octagonal posts at the corners linked with rows of spike-topped pickets. The fence, which is in good condition, is approximately three feet high and contains a gate midway along the west side. The gate is flanked by octagonal posts like those at the corners of the fence. The fence does not appear in a 1907 photograph of the cemetery reproduced in Stanley's *A History of Appomattox County*.

C. Memorial Bridge - structure, S/L, outside of park boundary

Around 1930, the Virginia State Highway Department regraded and resurfaced Virginia State Route 24, which roughly paralleled and in some sections overlaid the course of the old Richmond-Lynchburg Stage Road. The renovation of the highway included the creation of a memorial bridge over the Appomattox River east of the courthouse. Obelisks rise from the four piers anchoring the concrete bridge, and stars decorate its railings. The stars impressed on crossed diagonal supports on the bridge are reminiscent of the Confederate flag, while horizontal rows of stars above vertical supports may be meant to recall the Union. The bridge is in good condition. Like the highway and its right of way, the bridge is owned by the Virginia Department of Transportation and is not part of the park.

D. Appomattox Wayside - structure, S/L, outside of park boundary

This picnic area consists of a concrete table on an asphalt slab in each quadrant formed by the intersection of Route 24 and the Appomattox River. Photographs indicate that they were built at approximately the same time as the memorial bridge. Accompanying each picnic table is a green metal

trash can, probably not original. The pyramids of cannonballs that once decorated the site are no longer extant, but a seige cannon (not used during the Battle of Appomattox) does stand in the southeastern quadrant of the wayside. Trees, perhaps dating from the construction of the wayside, shade the picnic tables. They include Virginia pine, American sycamore, red maple, and flowering dogwood. A concrete check dam, probably also built at the time the bridge was constructed, forms a pool on the east side of the bridge. Through wear or by design, a gap exists near the center of the dam. The wayside is owned by the Virginia Department of Transportation and is not part of the park. However, the park maintains the wayside, and park visitors use the area as if it were a park amenity.

IV. Agriculture, Architecture, etc.

A. Tibbs House Ruins - site, N/S/L

The house of Jacob Tibbs stood about a mile northwest of the courthouse. It was built around 1850 and consisted of two stories. It was a wood-frame building protected by weatherboards. A porch was attached to the south side, and a brick chimney was present on the east elevation. Currently visible, although completely overgrown with vegetation, are concrete piers (probably built to support the porch in the twentieth century), metal roofing, and deteriorating boards. Bricks, wainscoting, moldings, and other materials were used in the 1970s construction of the Roy Moon House south of the Tibbs site. Additional pieces of the Tibbs House (balusters, a mantel piece, and structural members) are stored in a shed near the Moon house.

B. Tibbs Well²² - structure, N/S/L

Northeast of the Tibbs house site is the well that is likely to have been used by the original inhabitants of the residence. It is circular, about three feet across, 10 feet deep, and lined with handmade bricks. A square frame of concrete, undoubtedly built by late-nineteenth or early twentieth-century inhabitants, rests on the circular brick shaft. The shaft is not sheltered by a well house, but remains in good condition.

C. Tibbs House White Oak Tree - landscape feature, N/S/L

A white oak tree estimated to be 300 years old by Park Curator Joe Williams grows immediately west of the Tibbs residence site.

D. Tibbs House Black Oak Tree - landscape feature, N/S/L

A black oak tree considered by Appomattox Court House National Historic Park natural resources specialist Brian Eick to have existed in 1865 grows near the white oak tree.

²²A second well on the Conservation Fund Tract, likely of a more recent date than the Tibbs Well, is discussed below.

E. Tibbs House Hickory Tree - landscape feature, N/S/L

A hickory tree that may have existed, according to Eick, in 1865, stands near the two oak trees.

F. Tibbs House Ice Pond - structure, L

The ice pond is a shallow, broad (30 feet) depression approximately 600 feet west of the house. Although now somewhat overgrown with trees and silted in, the depression and an earthen wall that probably formed a dam can still be seen. Discoloration on the trunks of trees growing in the depression indicate that water can reach a depth of 18 to 24 inches. The ice pond is in fair condition.

G. Conservation Fund Tract Double-Walled Storage building - building, n.d.

A rectangular, double-walled structure north of the Tibbs home site sits on a concrete foundation and contains some building materials that may date to the nineteenth century. It is approximately 12 feet long and 10 feet wide and now has metal sheets protecting its gable roof. A narrow doorway provides access on the south side. The structure has been thought to have been used as an ice house. Its condition is poor: Vegetation grows through the weatherboards, which have begun to pull away from the vertical supports on the south side. It is uncertain when this structure was built, although its concrete foundation and metal roof suggests twentieth-century renovations if not construction.

H. Conservation Fund Tract Well and Well House - building, noncontributing

The well house, east of the ruins of the Tibbs residence, is a small (eight feet square), frame structure faced with weatherboards. It has a gable roof covered with metal sheets. A door on the south elevation allows entry. The date of construction is uncertain. The well has been used by several residents, including Roy Moon, who sold the property to the National Park Service. Moon indicated that the well was drilled in 1936 and the well house constructed at that time. It is in good condition.

I. Conservation Fund Tract Two-Room Cabin Ruins - site, n.d.

The ruins of two two-room cabins with a central chimney rest about 600 feet north of the Tibbs house site. Each is approximately 20 feet wide and 12 feet deep. They are of frame construction covered with weatherboards and have fieldstone foundations. Their gable roofs, now collapsed, were protected with metal sheets. Some elements in these buildings, such the thick, notched sills, almost certainly date from the mid-nineteenth century, while others likely date from the twentieth. They have been thought to be related to Civilian Conservation Corps work in the park, but this seems improbable since CCC Company 1351 bivouacked near the town of Appomattox Station.

J. Conservation Fund Tract Chicken House - building, n.d.

East of the cabins is a small, wood-frame structure probably used as a chicken house. It is approximately six by eight feet, protected with weatherboards and a shed roof covered with metal sheets. Some

clapboards are missing, but it is in fair condition. It is uncertain when the chicken house was built, but its location suggests an association with the two-room cabins.

K. Conservation Fund Tract Outbuilding Ruins - site, n.d.

A completely collapsed structure, probably a stable or barn, lies west of the residence. It appears to have no mid-nineteenth century building material and therefore may be associated with use of the Conservation Fund tract as farmland in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. The structure's sheet metal roof can still be seen, as well as farm implements and wooden structural members.

L. Conservation Fund Tract White Oak Tree - landscape feature, L

A white oak tree on the Conservation Fund Tract, near the double-walled storage structure, is thought to be at least 100 years old.

M. Coleman House Site - site, N/S/L

Samuel H. Coleman moved into the house existing on this site when he and his wife Armanda (or Amanda) were given the property by Armanda's father in 1862. The site is approximately a mile and a half southeast of the courthouse. Currently visible on the site is a mound of stones that once made up the fireplace of the main house. Stones laid in relatively straight lines may be remnants of the foundation of the house. Numerous handmade bricks are also visible. The trace of the Richmond-Lynchburg Stage Road lies between the Coleman House Site and Virginia State Route 24.

N. Coleman Outbuilding - structure, N/S/L

A low, unchinked, notched log structure with a metal roof covering remnants of the original wooden roof stands approximately 200 feet southwest of house site. It is approximately 10 by 12 feet and has a wooden floor consisting of planks laid directly on the ground. Its doorway, approximately four feet tall, faces east. It is in fair condition and shows evidence of twentieth-century stabilization.

O. Coleman Well - structure, N/S/L

Park employees indicate that the well that served the Coleman house is also extant. No structure exists to shelter the well, and its location is uncertain.

P. Brick Kiln Site - site, n.d.

A brick kiln existed across the creek north of Clover Hill Tavern. The site is now overgrown with vegetation, and only scattered burnt bricks remain in evidence.

Q. Sweeney Mill Dam and Mill Pond Site - site, N/S/L

The site lies just inside the park's eastern boundary on the North Branch of the Appomattox River.

According to John F. Pousson ("Contributions to an Overview of Archaeological Resources, Appomattox Court House National Historical Park," March 2001, Appomattox National Historical Park [APCO], 87, photocopy, National Park Service, Cultural Resources Management Files, Philadelphia Support Office [PHSO], PA.), a mill may have existed on this site as early as 1826 and operated throughout the 1850s.

R. Herman Methodist Church Foundation - site, n.d., not within park boundary

The Herman Methodist Church foundation lies along Virginia State Route 24 less than a mile west of the courthouse. The church's cemetery is 500 feet further to the west. The church building was moved at the beginning of the twentieth century to another location in Appomattox County.

S. Jones Law Office Fieldstone and Clay Pipe Culvert - structure, n.d.

This culvert is visible from the Prince Edward Court House Road east of Jones Law Office. The pipe is six to eight inches in diameter. No evidence was discovered during research for this study that suggested a date of construction. The culvert is in good condition.

T. Ernestine Beale House¹ - building, noncontributing

The Ernestine Beale House, located on Virginia State Road 656, was constructed circa 1962. It is a ranch style house typical of local suburban development. Constructed on a wooden frame, the one-story residence measures 15 by 20 feet and has an approximately 10-by-10-foot open porch attached to its east side. Asphalt shingles cover the gable roof, aluminum siding its exterior walls. It has a concrete block foundation. A small metal storage shed and a brick barbeque stand behind the house. It is in fair condition.

A 1994 Determination of Significance assessment by the National Park Service concluded that neither the house nor the accompanying structures have architectural or historical significance. The three buildings were purchased by the government with a life tenancy restriction to allow for their removal from the historic scene. The assessment determined that neither the house nor the other structures, either individually or collectively, contribute to the historical context of Appomattox Court House National Historical Park, nor do they have any architectural characteristics or historical associations that render them worthy of consideration for inclusion in the historic district as contributing properties. The authors of this study strongly concur with the 1994 assessment.

¹This description is based on Mark Luellen, Determination of Significance, "Ernestine Beale House," March 7, 1994, National Park Service, MARO, photocopy, National Park Service, Cultural Resources Management Files, Philadelphia Support Office [PHSO], PA.

U. Richard Sweeney House² - building, noncontributing

The Richard Sweeney House, also constructed circa 1962, is located on Virginia State Route 24. It, too, is a ranch-style residential building. It rises one story and has a full basement. Measuring 20 by 30 feet it is constructed of brick and has a small porch (5 by 7 feet) attached to its southeast side. This residence has a concrete foundation, and asphalt shingles cover its roof. It is in fair condition. Two outbuildings stand on the property behind the residence. One is a wood-frame storage shed with an asphalt shingle roof. Eight feet wide and 10 feet long, it is in poor condition. The other outbuilding is a cinder block garage, 10 by 15 feet, with an asphalt shingle roof. It, too, is in poor condition.

A 1994 Determination of Significance assessment by the National Park Service concluded that neither the house nor the accompanying structures have architectural or historical significance. The three buildings were purchased by the government with a life tenancy restriction to allow for their removal from the historic scene. The assessment determined that neither the house nor the other structures, either individually or collectively, contribute to the historical context of Appomattox Court House National Historical Park, nor do they have any architectural characteristics or historical associations that render them worthy of consideration for inclusion in the historic district as contributing properties. The authors of this study strongly concur with the 1994 assessment.

V. Lelia Sweeney House³ - building, noncontributing

The one-story Lelia Sweeney residence was constructed circa 1962 and is located on Virginia State Road 710. It is wood framed and measures 15 by 20 feet. Asphalt shingles cover the gabled roof. A 4-by-4-foot entrance porch is attached to the east side of the house. The residence, which has a concrete foundation, is in fair condition.

A 1994 Determination of Significance assessment by the National Park Service concluded that the house has no architectural or historical significance. The building was purchased by the government with a life tenancy restriction to allow for their removal from the historic scene. The assessment determined that the house does not contribute to the historical context of Appomattox Court House National Historical Park, nor does it have any architectural characteristics or historical associations that render it worthy of consideration for inclusion in the historic district as a contributing property. The authors of this study strongly concur with the 1994 assessment.

²This description is based on Mark Luellen, Determination of Significance, "Richard Sweeney House," March 7, 1994, National Park Service, MARO, photocopy, National Park Service, Cultural Resources Management Files, Philadelphia Support Office [PHSO], PA.

³This description is based on Mark Luellen, Determination of Significance, "Lelia Sweeney House," March 7, 1994, National Park Service, MARO, photocopy, National Park Service, Cultural Resources Management Files, Philadelphia Support Office [PHSO], PA.

W. Mary Beale House⁴ - building, noncontributing

The ranch-style Mary Beale residence is located on Virginia State Road 656. Measuring 20 by 30 feet, it is a one-story, wood frame house with a gabled, asphalt shingle roof and aluminum siding. There is a shed addition at the rear of the house, also protected with aluminum siding and an asphalt shingle roof. The house sits on a concrete-block foundation and is in fair condition. Two metal storage sheds, each approximately 8 by 10 feet, stand behind the house on concrete slab foundations.

A 1994 Determination of Significance assessment by the National Park Service concluded that the house has no architectural or historical significance. The building was purchased by the government with a life tenancy restriction to allow for their removal from the historic scene. The assessment determined that the house does not contribute to the historical context of Appomattox Court House National Historical Park, nor does it have any architectural characteristics or historical associations that render it worthy of consideration for inclusion in the historic district as a contributing property. The authors of this study strongly concur with the 1994 assessment.

X. Ferguson House - building, n.d.

The Ferguson House was constructed around 1920, according to the park's National Register documentation. It consists of two stories with a front porch sheltering the entrance, a shed addition in the rear, and a second addition to the left of the house. Both additions are of a single story. Vertical wooden siding covers both the house and the additions, and a single, narrow chimney is attached to the main house. Without more information, it is impossible to determine whether or not this house might have significance in the twentieth-century vernacular landscape of Appomattox County.

Y. Roy Moon House - building, noncontributing

This house (two stories with an attic) was constructed around 1970 by Roy Moon. It is covered with unpainted wooden siding. A garage of similar materials is attached to the east side of the house by a covered colonnade. Materials from the Jacob Tibbs house, such as wainscoting, bricks, and moldings, were used in its construction. A shed to the west of the house contains other materials salvaged from the Tibbs house, including a mantelpiece, balusters, and structural members. The Moons used the extant well behind the house. The house is in good condition.

Z. John A. Matthews House - building, noncontributing, not owned by park

Built around 1970, this brick house (one story plus attic) sits on an inholding within the boundaries of the Conservation Fund tract. A single story wing with vertical board siding is attached to the west side of the

⁴This description is based on Mark Luellen, Determination of Significance, "Mary Beale House," March 7, 1994, National Park Service, MARO, photocopy, National Park Service, Cultural Resources Management Files, Philadelphia Support Office [PHSO], PA.

main block of the house. The property also includes a burial plot containing a single grave. The burial plot lies across the gravel access road.

AA. Claudine O'Brien House - building, n.d., not owned by park

A two-story frame house with siding and covered with a metal roof, the Claudine O'Brien House stands on an inholding northeast of the courthouse. An enclosed porch – of brick, metal, and glass, later than the house itself – fronts two sides of the building. A wooden outbuilding stands across the gravel access road to the house. Without more information, it is impossible to either date these resources or determine their potential significance.

BB. Peers House Tree-of-Heaven - landscape feature, L

This tree-of-heaven (*Ailanthus altissima*) appears to date from the 1880s, according to the Historic Core Village Vegetation Inventory.

CC. Plunkett-Meeks Store Ash - landscape feature, N/S/L

Next to the Plunkett-Meeks store is a large ash (*Fraxinus* sp.) estimated by the Historic Core Village Vegetation Inventory to be 170 years old.

DD. Meeks Grave Red Cedar - landscape feature, n.d.

Shading Lafayette Meeks's grave in the field west of the Plunkett-Meeks Store is an old red cedar (*Juniperus virginiana*). It is not known whether the tree was planted when Meeks was buried in 1861.

EE. McLean House Black Locust Row - landscape feature, N/S/L

Historic photographs of the McLean House show a row of four black locust trees (*Robinia pseudoacacia*) running from the northeast corner of the house toward the Richmond-Lynchburg Stage Road. All four of the locust trees growing in that location today appear to have been planted to restore the appearance of the house in 1865. Two of the trees are mature, and two have been more recently planted.

FF. Mariah Wright House Apple Tree - landscape feature, n.d.

The apple tree (*Malus* sp.) near the Mariah Wright House may be the only survivor of an historic orchard on the property.

GG. Rosser House Site Flowering Quince - landscape feature, n.d.

A mature flowering quince (*Chaenomeles japonica*) growing at the Rosser House site may be historic, according to APCO, CLI: Village.

HH. Bocock-Isbell and Peers House Boxwoods - landscape feature, noncontributing

Around 1959, the National Park Service planted boxwoods (*Buxus sempervirens*) on either side of the front steps of the Bocock-Isbell and Peers houses. A 1941 photograph of the houses does not show boxwoods in these locations.

II. Prince Edward Court House Road Red Cedar Row - landscape feature, N/S/L

A line of five mature red cedar trees (*Juniperus virginiana*) angles away from the intersection of the Prince Edward Court House Road and Back Lane.

APPENDIX C

List of Contributing and Noncontributing Resources

Following is a comprehensive list of 187 resources at Appomattox Court House National Historical Park. It has been compiled from site visits conducted by Robinson & Associates, Inc., and from the following sources:

- Jon B. Montgomery, Reed Engle, and Clifford Tobias, National Register of Historic Places National Register of Historic Places - Registration Form, "Appomattox Court House," United States Department of the Interior, National Park Service, Washington, D.C., May 18, 1989.
- Cultural Landscapes Inventory: Appomattox Court House Village, Appomattox Court House National Historical Park [APCO], VA, 2000, photocopy, National Park Service, Cultural Resources Management Files, Philadelphia Support Office [PHSO], PA.
- Cultural Landscapes Inventory: Appomattox Court House Landscape, Appomattox Court House National Historical Park [APCO], VA, 2000, photocopy, National Park Service, Cultural Resources Management Files, Philadelphia Support Office [PHSO], PA.

As per agreement with Carol Cook, the list has been organized according to the divisions created in Section 7 of the 1989 National Register documentation. There are four general categories: contributing, noncontributing, not owned by the park, and not within park boundaries. Contributing resources number 130, noncontributing 42, and to be determined 16. Following the category headings, the relevant National Register areas of significance are enclosed in parentheses. Within each category the resources are listed chronologically. Dates are given for resources when they could be accurately determined from documents provided by the National Park Service, research conducted for this project, and on-site evaluation. If a date could not be assigned with relative certainty, the resource date is listed as "n.d."

Appomattox Court House is a National Register historic district, and resources were evaluated within that overall context. The period of significance has not been finalized due to a lack of information on some late nineteenth- and early twentieth-century buildings, but the dates of contributing resources range from the late eighteenth-century Sweeney Prizery to the completion of restoration and reconstruction of the village by the National Park Service in 1968. Level of significance and contributing or noncontributing status were assigned when that designation could be made with confidence. A small number of resources, however, could not be accurately categorized due to a lack of information on dating or use. This was especially true of the vernacular structures and sites on the Conservation Fund tract, where the presence of materials from different eras, the poor state of extant remains, and a lack of documentary evidence make dating difficult. When level of significance and contributing/noncontributing status could not be determined with confidence, "to be determined" is listed in the status field. Resources so designated should be considered potentially contributing.

Aspects of this list will change when results of the current archeological study are incorporated into the revised National Register documentation. In the current report, archeological sites within the park have been evaluated only under National Register Criteria A and B, as specified in the scope of work for this study. In general, archeological sites named in the three sources listed above are included in the list and are given the contributing/noncontributing designation in those sources. That information was supplemented by John F. Pousson's "A Contribution to an Overview of Archeological Resources, Appomattox Court House National Historical Park, Appomattox, Virginia" (Appomattox National Historical Park [APCO], photocopy, National Park Service, Cultural Resources Management Files, Philadelphia Support Office [PHSO], PA., March 2001). It should be noted that Pousson lists a greater number of archeological sites than are covered in either the National Register documentation, the Cultural Landscape Inventories, or this study. Certain resources, like some of those present on the Conservation Fund tract, have not been evaluated due to a lack of accurate information.

Key to Level of Significance notation:

N = national
S = state
L = local

CONTRIBUTING

I. BUILDINGS (Agriculture, Architecture, Commerce, Conservation, Ethnic Heritage (Black), Military, Politics/Government, Social History)

<u>Name</u>	<u>Date</u>	<u>Level</u>	<u>Status</u>
Sweeney Prizery	ca. 1790	N/S/L	contributing
Clover Hill Tavern	1819	N/S/L	contributing
Clover Hill Tavern Guest House	1819	N/S/L	contributing
Mariah Wright House	1823	N/S/L	contributing
Clover Hill Tavern Kitchen and Guest House	1848	N/S/L	contributing
Bocock-Isbell House	1849-50	N/S/L	contributing
Bocock-Isbell Smokehouse	ca. 1849-50	N/S/L	contributing
Bocock-Isbell Outside Kitchen	ca. 1849-50	N/S/L	contributing
Jones Law Office (Kelly House)	1850	N/S/L	contributing
Plunkett-Meeks Storage Building	ca. 1850	N/S/L	contributing
Plunkett-Meeks Store Stable	ca. 1850	N/S/L	contributing
Charles Sweeney Cabin	ca. 1850	N/S/L	contributing
Woodson Law Office	ca. 1851	N/S/L	contributing
Plunkett-Meeks Store	1852	N/S/L	contributing
Peers House	ca. 1855	N/S/L	contributing
Coleman outbuilding	ca. 1859	N/S/L	contributing
Sweeney Conner Cabin	ca. 1860	N/S/L	contributing
New County Jail	1860-70	N/S/L	contributing
R.J.N. Williams Cabin (J.N. Williams Cabin)	ca. 1865	N/S/L	contributing
Conservation Fund tract chicken house	20 th c.		to be determined

Ferguson House	ca. 1920		to be determined
McLean House	1948-50	N/S/L	contributing
McLean Well House	1950	N/S/L	contributing
Clover Hill Tavern Slave Quarters	1953-54	N/S/L	contributing
Jones Law Office (Kelly) Well House	1963	N/S/L	contributing
Appomattox Court House	1963-64	N/S/L	contributing
Appomattox Court House Well House	1964	N/S/L	contributing
Bocock-Isbell Stable	1964	N/S/L	contributing
McLean Ice House	1965	N/S/L	contributing
McLean Outside Kitchen	1965	N/S/L	contributing
McLean Slave Quarters	1965	N/S/L	contributing
Clover Hill Tavern Privy	1968	N/S/L	contributing
McLean Privy	1968	N/S/L	contributing
Plunkett-Meeks Store Privy	1968	N/S/L	contributing

II. A. STRUCTURES – Commemoration (Conservation, Politics/Government, Social History)

<u>Name</u>	<u>Date</u>	<u>Level</u>	<u>Status</u>
Civilian Conservation Corps dynamite storage structure	1941	N	contributing

II. B. STRUCTURES – Fences (Agriculture, Commerce, Conservation, Ethnic Heritage (Black), Military, Politics/Government, Social History)

<u>Name</u>	<u>Date</u>	<u>Level</u>	<u>Status</u>
McLean House fence	1948	N/S/L	contributing
Bocock-Isbell House fence	1949	N/S/L	contributing
Plunkett-Meeks Store fence	1949	N/S/L	contributing
Clover Hill Tavern fence	1954	N/S/L	contributing
Jones Law Office (Kelly House) fence	1963	N/S/L	contributing
Peers fence	ca. 1963	N/S/L	contributing
Prince Edward Court House Road fence	ca. 1963	N/S/L	contributing
Richmond-Lynchburg Stage Road fence	ca. 1963	N/S/L	contributing
Back Lane fence	ca. 1963	N/S/L	contributing
Bocock Lane fence	ca. 1963	N/S/L	contributing
Market Lane fence	ca. 1963	N/S/L	contributing
Appomattox Court House fence	1964	N/S/L	contributing

II. C. STRUCTURES – Roadways (Agriculture, Commerce, Conservation, Ethnic Heritage (Black), Military, Politics/Government, Social History, Transportation)

<u>Name</u>	<u>Date</u>	<u>Level</u>	<u>Status</u>
Prince Edward Court House Road	ca. 1790	N/S/L	contributing
Richmond-Lynchburg Stage Road	1809	N/S/L	contributing
Back Lane	ca. 1850	N/S/L	contributing

Bocock Lane	ca. 1850	N/S/L	contributing
Market Lane/Pryor Wright Lane (Market Lane)	ca. 1850	N/S/L	contributing
Sears Lane	ca. 1850	N/S/L	contributing
Tibbs Lane	ca. 1850	N/S/L	contributing
Trent Lane	ca. 1850	N/S/L	contributing
Williams Lane	ca. 1850	N/S/L	contributing
Wright Lane trace	ca. 1850	N/S/L	contributing
Oakville Road trace	by 1856	N/S/L	contributing
Tibbs House road trace	n.d.		to be determined

II. D. STRUCTURES – Agricultural (Agriculture, Ethnic Heritage (Black), Military, Social History)

<u>Name</u>	<u>Date</u>	<u>Level</u>	<u>Status</u>
Tibbs House well	ca. 1850	N/S/L	contributing
Tibbs House ice pond site	n.d.	L	contributing

III. A. SITES – Building Ruins and Archeological Sites (Agriculture, Architecture, Commerce, Conservation, Ethnic Heritage (Black), Military, Politics/Government, Social History, Transportation)

<u>Name</u>	<u>Date</u>	<u>Level</u>	<u>Status</u>
Sweeney Mill Dam and Mill Pond site	ca. 1826	N/S/L	contributing
Clover Hill Tavern Bar site	1836-65	N/S/L	contributing
Old Raine Tavern site	1846	N/S/L	contributing
Old County Jail site	1846-47	N/S/L	contributing
Union Academy site	1849-50	N/S/L	contributing
Willis Inge Cabin site	1849-50	N/S/L	contributing
Pryor-Wright House site	ca. 1850	N/S/L	contributing
Tibbs House site	ca. 1850	N/S/L	contributing
Nowlin Sears Blacksmith Shop site	1850-51	N/S/L	contributing
Wright-Diuguid Blacksmith Shop site	1854	N/S/L	contributing
Moffitt-Layne House site	1855-56	N/S/L	contributing
William Rosser House site	ca. 1856-57	N/S/L	contributing
Union Academy Dwelling site	ca. 1857	N/S/L	contributing
Coleman House site	ca. 1859	N/S/L	contributing
Coleman House well	ca. 1859	N/S/L	contributing
William Rosser Shop site	ca. 1859	N/S/L	contributing
Clover Hill Tavern Dining Room site	by 1865	N/S/L	contributing
Clover Hill Tavern Icehouse site	by 1865	N/S/L	contributing
Clover Hill Tavern Smokehouse site	by 1865	N/S/L	contributing
McLean House Smokehouse site	by 1865	N/S/L	contributing
McLean House Stable site	by 1865	N/S/L	contributing
Peers House outbuilding site	by 1865	N/S/L	contributing

Robertson-Glover Store site (Robinson-Glover)	by 1865	N/S/L	contributing
William Rosser Blacksmith Shop site	by 1865	N/S/L	contributing
Plunkett-Meeks Store outbuilding site	n.d.	N/S/L	contributing
Robertson-Hix Shop site	n.d.	N/S/L	contributing
Prince Edward Court House Road ford	n.d.	N/S/L	contributing
Richmond-Lynchburg Stage Road ford	n.d.	N/S/L	contributing
Brick Kiln site	n.d.		to be determined
Conservation Fund tract two-room cabin site	n.d.		to be determined
Conservation Fund tract outbuildings site	n.d.		to be determined
Conservation Fund tract double-walled structure	n.d.		to be determined

III. B. SITES – Cemeteries (Conservation, Ethnic Heritage (Black), Military, Social History)

<u>Name</u>	<u>Date</u>	<u>Level</u>	<u>Status</u>
Joel Sweeney Grave/Bohannon-Trent Cemetery	by 1860	N/S/L	contributing
Lafayette Meeks Grave	1861	N/S/L	contributing
Raine Cemetery	by 1865	N/S/L	contributing
Raine Slave Cemetery site	by 1865	N/S/L	contributing
Wright Cemetery site	by 1865	N/S/L	contributing
Robinson (Robertson) Cemetery	after 1865	S/L	contributing
Forest Cemetery*	n.d.		contributing
O'Brien Cemetery*	n.d.		contributing
Presbyterian Church Cemetery*	n.d.		contributing
Sweeney Cemetery*	n.d.		contributing

III. C. SITES – Civil War Events (Military, Conservation, Politics/Government, Social History)

<u>Name</u>	<u>Date</u>	<u>Level</u>	<u>Status</u>
Apple Tree site	1865	N	contributing
Grant's Headquarters site	1865	N	contributing
Last Battle site	1865	N	contributing
Lee's Headquarters site	1865	N	contributing
New Hope Church earthworks	1865	N	contributing
Poplar Tree site	1865	N	contributing
Surrender Triangle site	1865	N	contributing
Confederate Artillery Park	n.d.	N	contributing

III. D. SITES – Commemoration Era (Conservation, Politics/Government, Social History)

<u>Name</u>	<u>Date</u>	<u>Level</u>	<u>Status</u>
Civilian Conservation Corps stone quarry	1941	N	contributing

IV. OBJECTS (Conservation, Military, Politics/Government, Social History)

<u>Name</u>	<u>Date</u>	<u>Level</u>	<u>Status</u>
War Department Apple Tree tablet	1893	N	contributing
War Department Lee's Headquarters tablet	1893	N	contributing
War Department Grant/Lee Meeting tablet	1893	N	contributing
War Department Last Shot Fired tablet	1893	N	contributing
North Carolina monument, markers	1905	N	contributing
United Daughters of the Confederacy plaque	1926/1963	N	contributing
Clover Hill Tavern lamp	n.d.	N	contributing
Jones Law Office fieldstone culvert	n.d.		to be determined

V. LANDSCAPE FEATURES (Agriculture, Conservation, Ethnic Heritage (Black), Military, Politics/Government, Social History)

<u>Name</u>	<u>Date</u>	<u>Level</u>	<u>Status</u>
Plunkett-Meeks Store ash	ca. 1830	N/S/L	contributing
Tibbs House white oak tree	by 1865	N/S/L	contributing
Tibbs House black oak tree	by 1865	N/S/L	contributing
Tibbs House hickory tree	by 1865	N/S/L	contributing
Peers House tree of heaven	ca. 1880	L	contributing
Tibbs storage structure white oak tree	ca. 1900	L	contributing
Agricultural fields	n.d.	N/S/L	contributing
Hardwood forests	n.d.	N/S/L	contributing
Hedgerows	n.d.	N/S/L	contributing
McLean House black locust row	n.d.	N/S/L	contributing
Prince Edward Court House Road red cedar row	n.d.	N/S/L	contributing
Lafayette Meeks Grave red cedar	n.d.		to be determined
Mariah Wright House apple tree	n.d.		to be determined
Rosser House flowering quince	n.d.		to be determined

NONCONTRIBUTING

I. BUILDINGS

<u>Name</u>	<u>Date</u>	<u>Level</u>	<u>Status</u>
Conservation Fund tract well and well house	1936		noncontributing
Ernestine Beale House	ca. 1962		noncontributing
Mary Beale House	ca. 1962		noncontributing
Lelia Sweeney House	ca. 1962		noncontributing
Richard Sweeney House	ca. 1962		noncontributing
John A. Matthews house	ca. 1970		noncontributing
Roy Moon house	ca. 1970		noncontributing
Fee Collection Booth	n.d.		noncontributing
Maintenance Service Repair Shop, Storage Cover Shed	n.d.		noncontributing

II. STRUCTURES

<u>Name</u>	<u>Date</u>	<u>Level</u>	<u>Status</u>
Apple Orchard Parking Lot			noncontributing
Bocock-Isbell Parking Lot			noncontributing
Bookstore Access Road and Parking Lot			noncontributing
Brick culverts			noncontributing
Bridge at Sweeney Mill Dam and Mill Pond site			noncontributing
Confederate Cemetery Parking Lot			noncontributing
Fire Road			noncontributing
Grant's Headquarters Parking Lot			noncontributing
History/Nature Trail			noncontributing
Lee's Headquarters Parking Lot			noncontributing
North Carolina Monument Parking Lot			noncontributing
Park Entrance Road and Parking Lot			noncontributing
Park Maintenance Yard			noncontributing
Park Service Road			noncontributing
Sewage Lagoon			noncontributing
Swales with grass or riprap			noncontributing
Utility Corridors			noncontributing
Visitor parking lot entry area with flagpole, sign, and wayside			noncontributing
Waysides			noncontributing
Wire fences			noncontributing

III. OBJECTS

<u>Name</u>	<u>Date</u>	<u>Level</u>	<u>Status</u>
Barrels			noncontributing
Benches			noncontributing
Signage			noncontributing
Bluebird Houses			noncontributing
Peers House contemporary additions to yard, including satellite dish			noncontributing
Trash receptacles			noncontributing

IV. LANDSCAPE FEATURES

<u>Name</u>	<u>Date</u>	<u>Level</u>	<u>Status</u>
Flower and herb beds			noncontributing
Fruit trees and orchards			noncontributing
McLean House red maple row			noncontributing
Pine screening			noncontributing
Bocock-Isbell House boxwoods			noncontributing
Peers House boxwoods			noncontributing

RESOURCES NOT OWNED BY PARK – INHOLDINGS

I. BUILDINGS

<u>Name</u>	<u>Date</u>	<u>Level</u>	<u>Status</u>
Claudine O'Brien House and outbuildings	n.d.		to be determined

II. CEMETERIES

<u>Name</u>	<u>Date</u>	<u>Level</u>	<u>Status</u>
Patteson-Hix Cemetery	by 1865	N/S/L	contributing
Confederate Cemetery	1866	N/S/L	contributing
Raine Cemetery Obelisk	ca. 1910	L	contributing
Claudine O'Brien cemetery*	n.d.		to be determined
John A. Matthews burial plot	n.d.		noncontributing

III. STRUCTURES

<u>Name</u>	<u>Date</u>	<u>Level</u>	<u>Status</u>
New Hope Church earthworks	1865	N/S/L	contributing
Confederate Cemetery iron fence	ca. 1926	N/S/L	contributing

IV. LANDSCAPE FEATURES

<u>Name</u>	<u>Date</u>	<u>Level</u>	<u>Status</u>
Confederate Cemetery magnolia trees	ca. 1926	N/S/L	contributing

RESOURCES NOT WITHIN PARK BOUNDARIES

I. SITES

<u>Name</u>	<u>Date</u>	<u>Level</u>	<u>Status</u>
Appomattox Wayside (picnic tables, trees, cannon, check dam)	ca. 1930		to be determined
Herman Methodist Church foundation	n.d.		to be determined
Herman Methodist Church Cemetery*	n.d.		contributing

III. STRUCTURES

<u>Name</u>	<u>Date</u>	<u>Level</u>	<u>Status</u>
Memorial Bridge	ca. 1930		to be determined

*Dates for the creation of these cemeteries were not established in the documents reviewed for this study. Level of significance cannot, therefore, be determined at this time. (Cemeteries established before April 8, 1865, might be significant at the national, state, and local levels. Those created after the Civil War might only be significant at the state or local level.) The cemeteries are, however, listed as contributing elements in this appendix because they have been so designated in either the Appomattox Court House's National Register documentation or in the park's Cultural Landscape Inventories.

LIST OF PHOTOGRAPHS AND MAPS

Photographs

Richmond-Lynchburg Stage Road

- 3. Judith H. Robinson
- 4. November 19, 2001
- 5. Philadelphia Support Office
- 6. Facing E
- 7. 01

Richmond-Lynchburg Stage Road

- 3. Tim Kerr
- 4. January 14, 2002
- 5. Philadelphia Support Office
- 6. Facing W
- 7. 02

McLean House

- 3. Judith H. Robinson
- 4. November 19, 2001
- 5. Philadelphia Support Office
- 6. Facing SE
- 7. 03

Appomattox Court House

- 3. Judith H. Robinson
- 4. November 19, 2001
- 5. Philadelphia Support Office
- 6. Facing E
- 7. 04

Clover Hill Tavern and Outbuildings

- 3. Tim Kerr
- 4. January 14, 2002
- 5. Philadelphia Support Office
- 6. Facing NW
- 7. 05

Woodson Law Office

- 3. Tim Kerr
- 4. January 14, 2002
- 5. Philadelphia Support Office

6. Facing W
7. 06

Coleman Outbuilding
3. Tim Kerr
4. January 14, 2002
5. Philadelphia Support Office
6. Facing SW
7. 07

Patteson-Hix Cemetery
3. Judith H. Robinson
4. November 19, 2001
5. Philadelphia Support Office
6. Facing NE
7. 08

Confederate Cemetery
3. Judith H. Robinson
4. November 19, 2001
5. Philadelphia Support Office
6. Facing E
7. 09

War Department Tablet
3. Tim Kerr
4. January 14, 2002
5. Philadelphia Support Office
6. Facing N
7. 010

North Carolina Monument
3. Tim Kerr
4. January 14, 2002
5. Philadelphia Support Office
6. Facing S
7. 11

Memorial Bridge and Wayside
3. Tim Kerr
4. January 14, 2002
5. Philadelphia Support Office
6. Facing SE
7. 12

Collapsed Two-Room Cabin, Tibbs Homestead

- 3. Tim Kerr
- 4. January 14, 2002
- 5. Philadelphia Support Office
- 6. Facing NE
- 7. 13

Double-Walled Storage Building, Tibbs Homestead

- 3. Judith H. Robinson
- 4. November 19, 2001
- 5. Philadelphia Support Office
- 6. Facing NW
- 7. 14

CCC Dynamite Storage Building

- 3. Tim Kerr
- 4. January 14, 2002
- 5. Philadelphia Support Office
- 6. Facing SE
- 7. 15

CCC Quarry

- 3. Tim Kerr
- 4. January 14, 2002
- 5. Philadelphia Support Office
- 6. Facing SW
- 7. 16

Maps

Map 01

**Appomattox Court House National Historical Park
Existing Conditions
June 1999 Draft, Revised May 2000
Appomattox Court House National Historical Park [APCO]**

Map 02

**Village Core of Appomattox Court House
Existing Conditions
June 1999 Draft, Revised May 2000
Appomattox Court House National Historical Park [APCO]**

Map 03

Appomattox Court House National Historical Park
Appomattox County, Virginia

Segment 01

drawing no. 340/80,005

n.d.

National Park Service

Cultural Resources Management Files

Philadelphia Support Office [PHSO], PA.

Map 04

Appomattox Court House

Nathaniel Michler

New York: New York Lithographing, Engraving & Printing Company

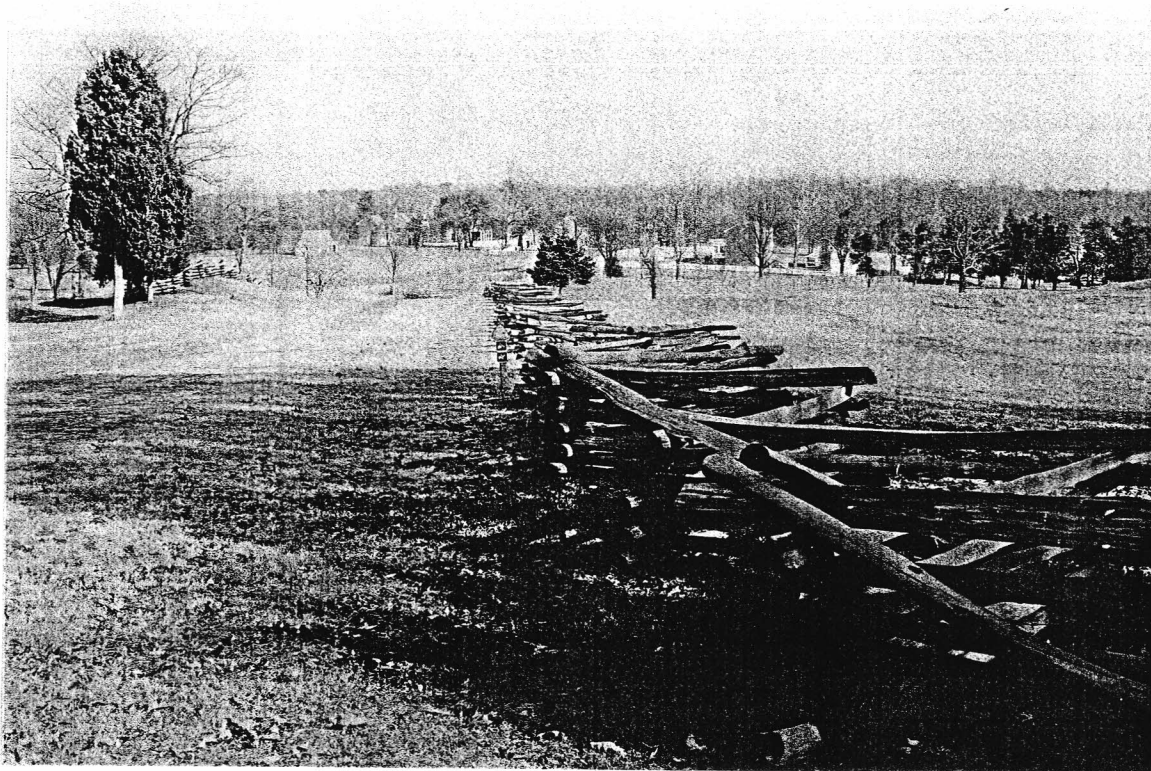
1867

Geography and Maps Division

Library of Congress

Washington, D.C..

microfiche



01 – Richmond-Lynchburg Stage Road, facing east



02 – Richmond-Lynchburg Stage Road, facing west



03 – McLean House



04 – Appomattox Court House



05 - Clover Hill Tavern and Outbuildings



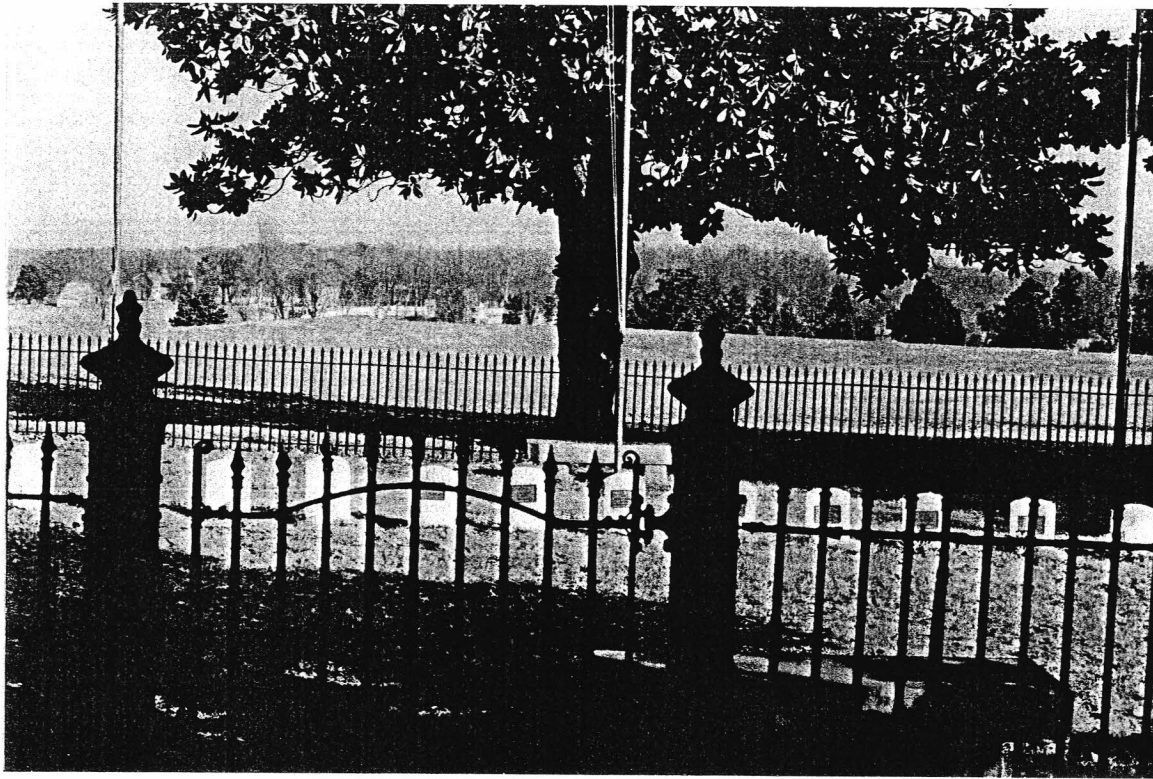
06 - Woodson Law Office



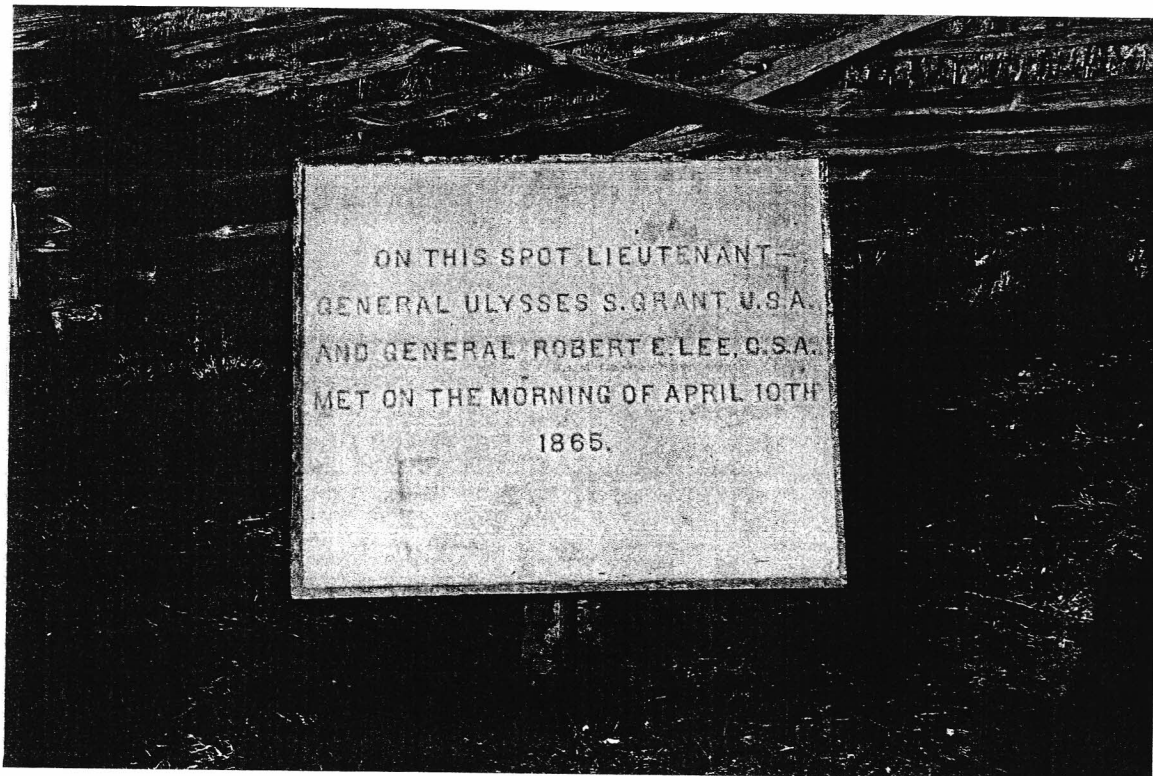
07 – Coleman Outbuilding



08 – Patteson-Hix Cemetery



09 – Confederate Cemetery



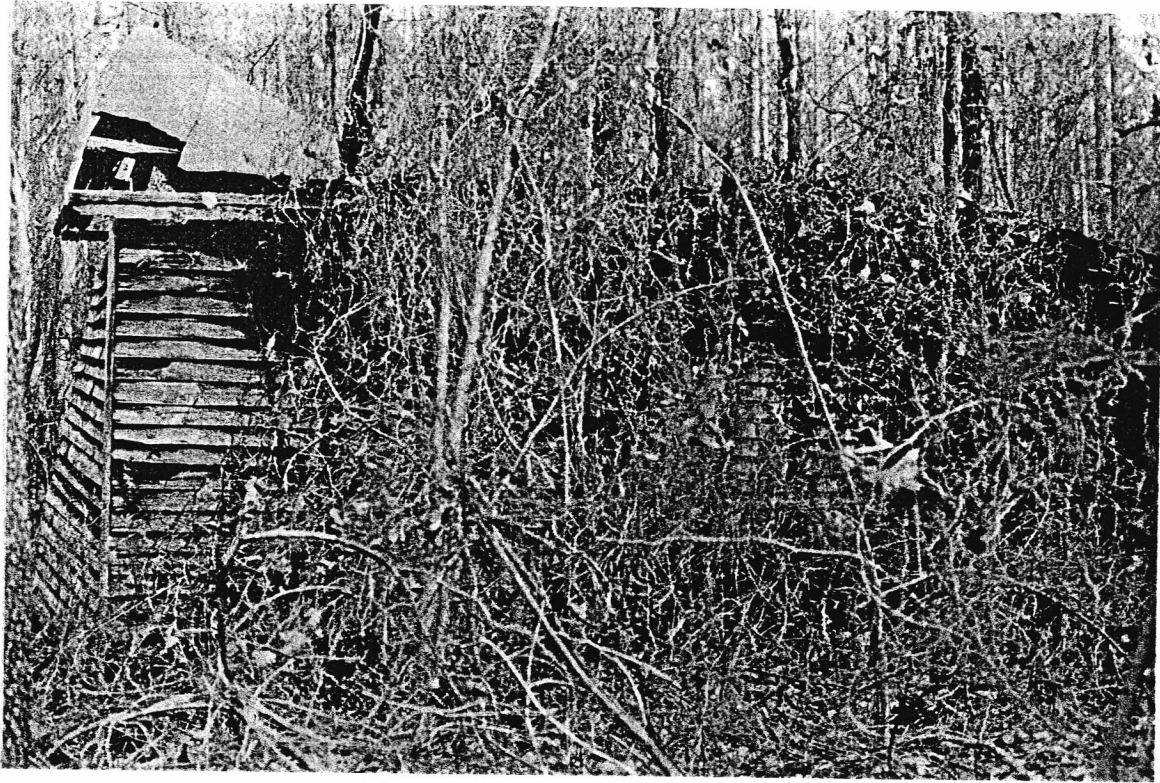
10 – War Department Tablet



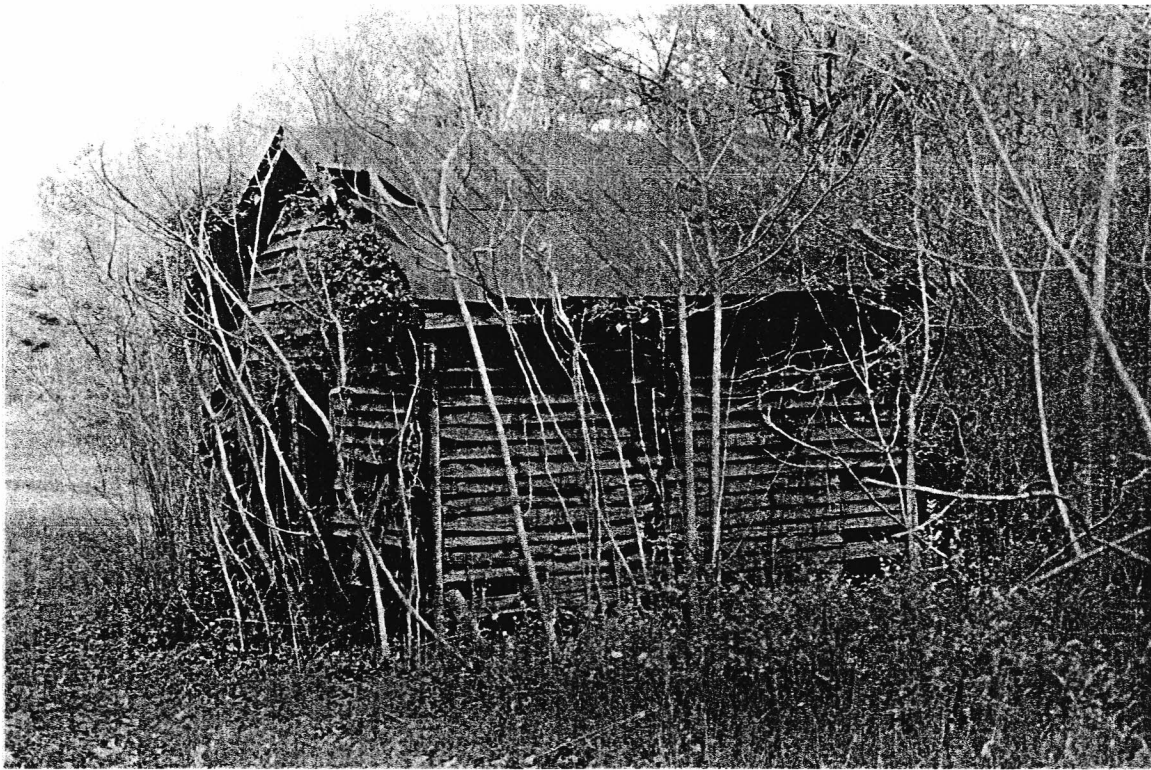
11 – North Carolina Monument



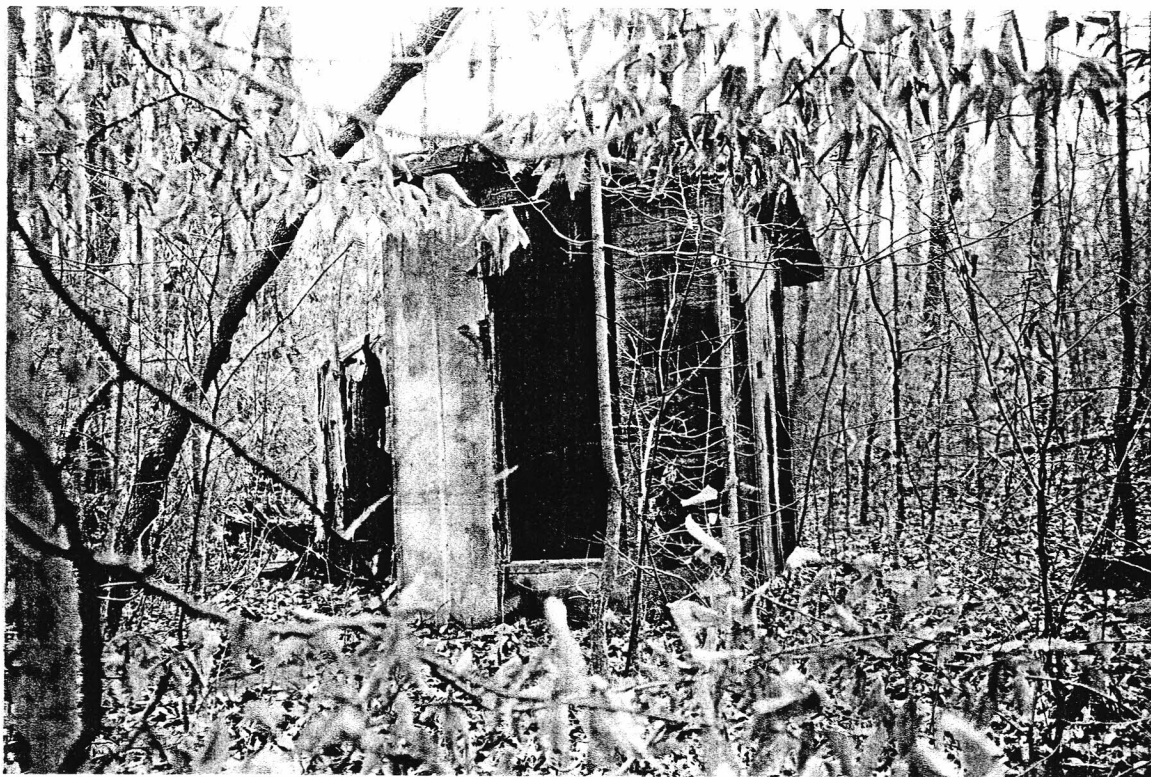
12 – Memorial Bridge and Appomattox Wayside



13 – Collapsed Two-Room Cabin, Tibbs Homestead



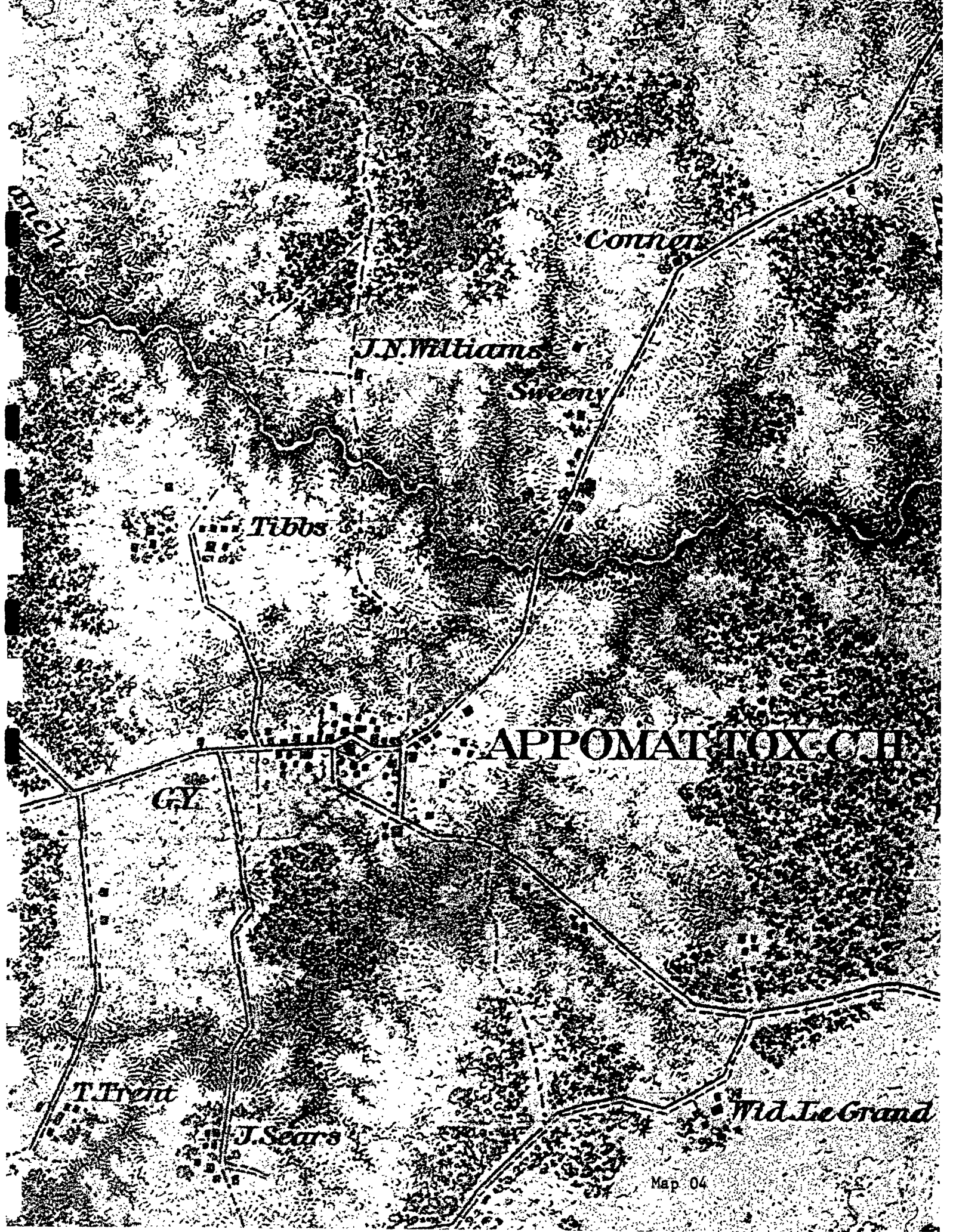
14 – Double-Walled Storage Buildings, Tibbs Homestead



15 – CCC Dynamite Storage Building



16 – CCC Quarry



1000

Conner

J.N. Williams

Sweeney

Tibbs

APPOMATTOX C.H.

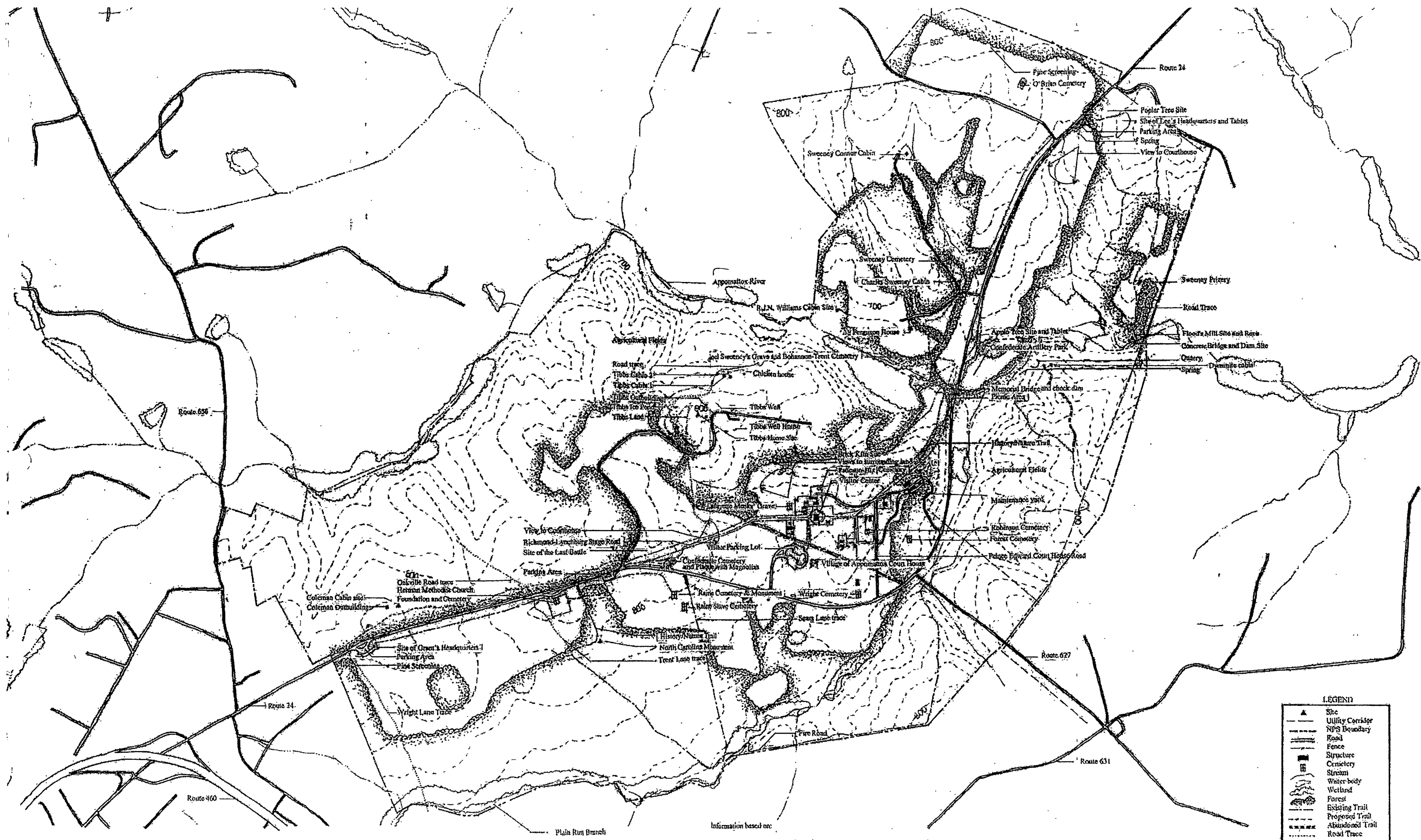
GE

T. Trent

J. Sears

Wild Lie Grand

Map 04



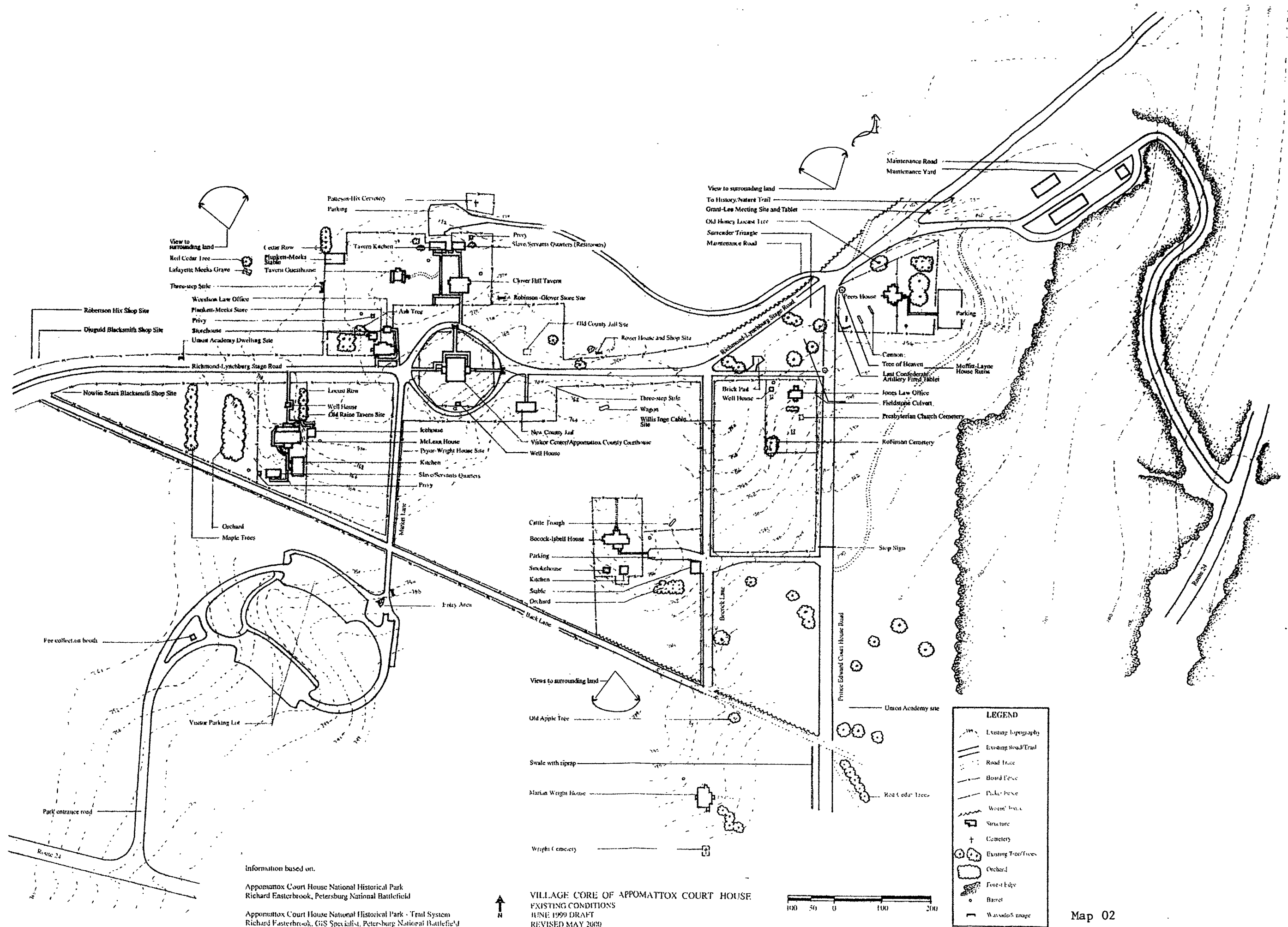
Information based on:
 Appomattox Court House National Historical Park
 Richard Easterbrook, Petersburg National Battlefield
 Appomattox Court House National Historical Park - Trail System
 Richard Easterbrook, GIS Specialist, Petersburg National Battlefield

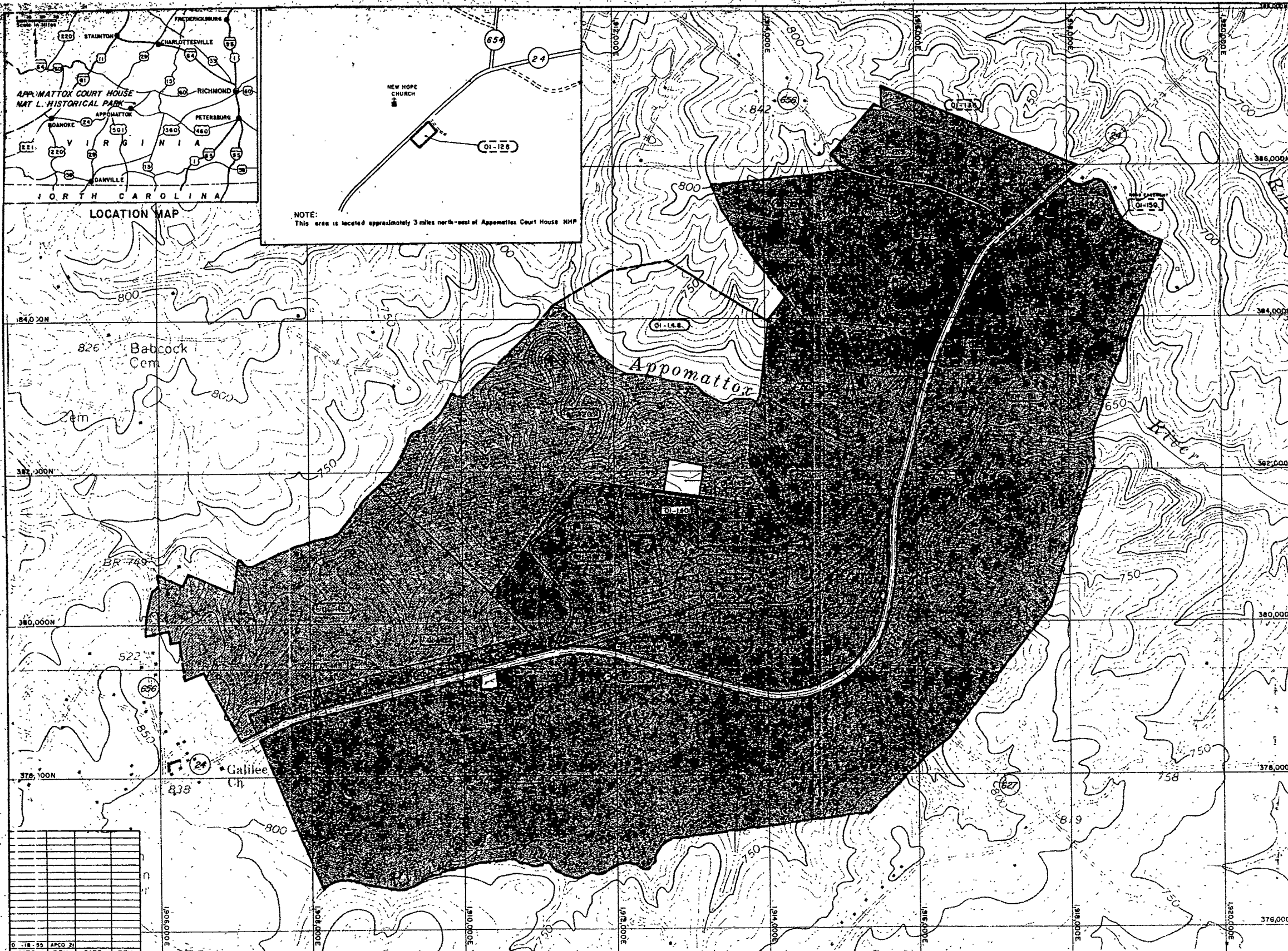
↑
 APPOMATTOX COURT HOUSE NATIONAL HISTORICAL PARK
 EXISTING CONDITIONS
 JUNE 1999 DRAFT
 REVISED MAY 2000
 Map 01

LEGEND

- ▲ Site
- Utility Corridor
- NPS Boundary
- == Road
- Fence
- Structure
- Cemetery
- ~ Stream
- Water body
- Wetland
- Forest
- Existing Trail
- Proposed Trail
- Abandoned Trail
- Road Trace

600 300 0 600 1200
 SCALE APPROX.





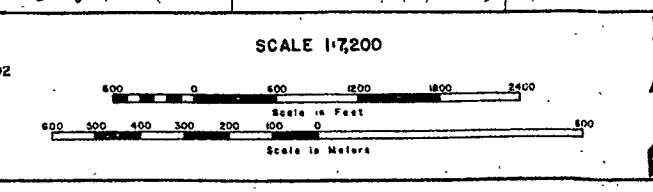
DEED	TRACT	OWNER	ACRES	INT.
TRA D-1	01-101	DEPARTMENT OF AGRICUL.	261.40	FEE
EXC D-11	01-102	COMMONWEALTH OF VIRGINIA	190.00	FEE
DON D-10	01-103	JOEL W. FLOOD, ET UX	0.70	FEE
EXC D-9	01-104	SAMUEL L. FERGUSON, ET AL	76.00	FEE
PUR D-2	01-105	BESSIE FERGUSON	6.02	FEE
	01-106	UNKNOWN	0.07	FEE
DON D-3	01-107	VIRGINIA CONSERVATION COMMISSION	0.88	FEE
PUR D-6	01-108	CLARENCE S. McDEARMON, ET AL	0.87	FEE
	01-109	UNKNOWN	0.08	FEE
	01-110	UNKNOWN	0.03	FEE
DON D-7	01-111	STATE OF NORTH CAROLINA	0.08	FEE
TRA D-5	01-112	DEPARTMENT OF AGRICUL.	1.19	FEE
DON D-4	01-113	J.W. FLOOD, ET AL	0.00	SE-PRE
PUR D-33	01-114	BURRUSS TIMBER COMPANY INC	22.19	FEE
PUR D-24	01-115	N. NCT S. GOODE	56.69	FEE
PUR D-31	01-116	N. NCT S. GOODE	3.31	FEE
PUR D-35	01-117	BURRUSS TIMBER ASSOC., L.P.	179.82	FEE
PUR D-27	01-118	DAVID S. NASH, ET UX	7.00	FEE
	01-119	COMMONWEALTH OF VIRGINIA	2.29	FOW
DON	01-120	THE CONSERVATION FUND	192.00	FEE
PUR D-28	01-121	JOHN A. MATHEWS, ET AL	8.90	FEE
PUR D-13	01-122	EASTERN NATIONAL PARK AND MONUMENT ASSOCIATION	2.41	FEE
PUR D-14	01-123	EASTERN NATIONAL PARK AND MONUMENT ASSOCIATION	0.55	FEE
PUR D-19	01-124	TRESSIE M. FERGUSON	44.59	FEE
PUR D-16	01-125	JOHNNY C. CARTER	2.70	FEE
PUR D-21	01-126	DOROTHY C. SWEENEY, ET VIR	1.56	FEE
PUR D-30	01-127	JAMES A. SWEENEY	18.44	FEE
	01-128	THE CONSERVATION FUND	1.25	FEE-0
PUR D-20	01-129	MARGARET S. O'BRIEN, ET AL	41.76	FEE
EXC D-34	01-130	TO COMMONWEALTH OF VA.	(-0.46)	EASEM
PUR D-18	01-131	MARY Y. BEALE, ET AL	0.50	FEE
PUR D-17	01-132	ERNESTINE REALE	0.50	FEE
PUR D-15	01-133	NATIONAL PARK FOUNDATION	23.00	FEE
PUR D-34	01-134	COMMONWEALTH OF VA.	(0.07)	EASEM
PUR D-29	01-135	M O'BRIEN ALVIS, ET AL	68.55	FEE
PUR D-29	01-136	M O'BRIEN ALVIS, ET AL	8.50	FEE
PUR D-32	01-137	ROY A. MOON, ET UX	1.18	FEE
PUR	01-138	ROY A. MOON, ET UX	4.28	SCENIC
PUR D-32	01-139	ROY A. MOON, ET UX	5.44	FEE
PUR D-22	01-140	JOHN A. MATHEWS, ET UX	4.98	SCENIC
PUR D-23	01-141	JOHN A. MATHEWS, ET UX	14.42	FEE
PUR D-25	01-142	CLAUDINE D O'BRIEN	38.90	FEE
PUR D-26	01-143	CLAUDINE D O'BRIEN	5.13	SCENIC
PUR D-25	01-144	CLAUDINE D O'BRIEN	0.00	EASEM
PUR D-30	01-145	JAMES A. SWEENEY	0.00	IMPR
PUR	01-146	BURRUSS TIMBER ASSOCIATES	0.00	ROW
PUR	01-147	BURRUSS TIMBER ASSOCIATES	0.00	ROW
	01-148	THOMAS E. O'BRIEN, ET UX	72.00	FEE
	01-149	JOHN A. MATHEWS, ET UX	5.00	FEE
	01-150	TO COMMONWEALTH OF VA.	(-0.50)	EASEM

LEGEND

- FEDERAL LAND
- FEDERAL LAND (TRANSFERRED)
- FEDERAL LAND (DONATION)
- FEDERAL LAND (EXCHANGE)
- FEDERAL LAND (LESS THAN FEE)
- NON-FEDERAL LAND
- TRACT NUMBER (FEE)
- TRACT NUMBER (LESS THAN FEE)
- PARK BOUNDARY
- TRACT BOUNDARY

DATE	REV	DATE	REV
01-18-93	APCO-21	02-09-93	APCO-20
01-28-93	ADD TR. 01-144	08-13-93	APCO-19
01-19-93	ADD TRS. 01-142 & 01-143	05-26-93	APCO C.O. NO. 18
01-18-78	DELETED TR. 01-134	05-10-93	APCO C.O. NO. 17
01-28-78	ADD TRS. 01-137, 01-138, 01-139, 01-140	03-19-93	APCO C.O. NO. 16
01-28-78	DELETED TRS. 01-132, 01-133	03-01-88	APCO C.O. NO. 15
01-18-78	ADD TR. 01-138	02-14-88	APCO C.O. NO. 14
01-31-78	DELETED TRS. 01-128, 01-130	03-31-88	APCO C.O. NO. 13
01-28-77	CORRECT ACREAGE TR. 01-127	08-31-81	APCO C.O. NO. 12
01-28-77	CHANGE NAME TR. 01-115, 01-133	07-23-81	APCO C.O. NO. 10

ESTABLISHED: JUNE 18, 1930
BOUNDARY CHANGE: FEBRUARY 23, 1939; OCT. 27, 1992
DATE: JANUARY 1981
MAPPED BY:
MID-ATLANTIC REGIONAL OFFICE



BASE MAPS U.S.G.S.
VERA 8 APPOMATTOX, VA.
7.5 MINUTE SERIES
2,000 FOOT GRID
VIRGINIA - SOUTH ZONE
COORDINATE SYSTEM

ON BY *BLC* CN. BY *RA*
APPR. BY *RA*
REGION MARO
DRAWING NO. 340
80,005
SHEET 1 OF 1

UNITED STATES
DEPARTMENT OF THE INTERIOR
NATIONAL PARK SERVICE
LAND ACQUISITION DIVISION

APPOMATTOX
COURT HOUSE
NATIONAL HISTORICAL PARK
APPOMATTOX COUNTY
VIRGINIA
TITLE
SEGMENT 01
Map 03