National Park Service
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Historic Resource Study
Petersburg National Battlefield

The Eastern Front

A Historic Resource Study for Petersburg National Battlefield

Perri Meldon
Elizabeth Catte
Josh Howard

Cover: The view from inside Fort Haskell looking out toward Fort Stedman, 1865. Black and white stereograph of earthworks and piles of lumber. Two men are visible stacking goods and crates. In the background, scattered trees are visible on a hillside. Petersburg, Virginia. Fort Haskell. Petersburg Virginia United States, 1865. Photograph. https://www.loc.gov/item/2018671809/.

The Eastern Front
A Historic Resource Study for Petersburg National Battlefield

By Perri Meldon, Elizabeth Catte, and Josh Howard

Presented to Petersburg National Battlefield
Interior Region 1-North Atlantic-
Appalachian

In Partnership with
the National Council on Public History

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List of Acronyms

CCC	Civilian Conservation Corps
CHCH	Chickamauga and Chattanooga National Military Park
CLI	Cultural Landscape Inventory
CLR	Cultural Landscape Report
DOI	Department of the Interior
GAR	Grand Army of the Republic
HRS	Historic Resource Study
NARA	National Archives and Records Administration
NPS	National Park Service
SCV	Sons of Confederate Veterans
SHPO	State Historic Preservation Office
PETE	Petersburg National Battlefield
UDC	United Daughters of the Confederacy
UVC	United Confederate Veterans
WPA	Works Progress Administration

Acknowledgments

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Executive Summary

The scholarly partnership of Perri Meldon, Josh Howard, and Elizabeth Catte has completed this Historic Resource Study of the Eastern Front of Petersburg National Battlefield (PETE) under Task Agreement No. P23AC01218. The study encompasses resources within the Eastern Front administrative unit to the south and east of the City of Petersburg, Virginia, from Native American and colonial contexts, through the Siege of Petersburg (June 9, 1864, to March 25, 1865) during the Civil War, and concluding with landscape changes brought by the US Army and National Park Service. This study was conceived as a synthesis of available secondary literature and new archival research to create a comprehensive historical narrative of the Eastern Front. This study takes a broader view of the Eastern Front than Civil War scholarship largely focused on extensive earthworks and fighting during the Civil War, climaxing with the Battle of the Crater. It, instead, argues for the relevance of historiographies of Civil War technology, memory and monuments, and Southern agriculture to sharpen our view of the Eastern Front. The historic and cultural resources addressed in this study range from large earthworks, such as visible forts and bombproofs, to remnants of plantations and farmsteads that bore witness to the ten-month siege. These resources hold national historical significance and retain more than enough integrity to justify a National Register of Historic Places nomination.

Preface

Historical Summary

The Eastern Front of Petersburg National Battlefield preserves the earthworks and sites of the Siege of Petersburg's opening assaults (June 1864), the bloody trench warfare where armies dug in along the Dimmock Line earthworks, and major engagements like the failed Union attack at Fort Stedman and the Battle of the Crater. Union and Confederate forces fought consistently until March 1865 when Robert E. Lee ordered a westward retreat. Prior to the Civil War, the land within the Eastern Front unit consisted of farms, fields, and forests. Immediately after the war, the site became a common tourist destination and portions of the land returned to its former use. In 1917, the US Army constructed Camp Lee just east of the Eastern Front, and thousands of trainees utilized Eastern Front land until the camp's closure in 1921. Congress then authorized a national park at the site under the War Department in 1926. The park was then transferred to the Department of the Interior in 1933 as part of a broad modernization of the National Park Service (NPS). The US Army returned to the Camp Lee site in 1941, building a second Camp Lee. After World War II, the Army retained the facility for training purposes, renaming the site to Fort Lee in 1950, Fort Gregg-Adams in 2023, and most recently back to Fort Lee in 2025.

Purpose of Study and Description of Methods

According to the NPS, a historic resource study (HRS) is a baseline report that is "intended to provide a park or region with both an historical overview and an inventory of all cultural resources above and below ground within the park boundaries or regional geographic areas." An HRS provides critical information for interpretation, education, and historical research, as well as serves as a tool for cultural resource management and preservation initiatives. Acting as an educational reference for park staff, an HRS can identify additional needs, including for planning, visitor programming, and Section 106 and Section 110 inquiries. An HRS encompasses all resources within the boundary of the park unit, or, in this case, the Eastern Front of Petersburg National Battlefield. This HRS can inform the completion of a National Register nomination as the park evaluates the historic significance and integrity of its cultural resources.[1]

Research commenced in February 2024 with a site visit at Petersburg National Battlefield's Eastern Front. The authors joined Chief of Resource Management Emmanuel Dabney, Interior Region 1 Historian Bethany Serafine, and retired NPS historian David Lowe. During this initial meeting, the group reviewed historic maps and archival records, then visited numerous sites including waterways, bombproofs, trenches, and memorials. Following this visit, the authors conducted archival research at the Library of Congress, University of Maryland digital archives, the Library of Virginia, National Archives and Records Administration, Petersburg National Battlefield, and the Albert and Shirley Strong Special Collections Library at the University of Virginia. In addition to the extensive body of secondary literature on Civil War battlefields and military technology, the authors consulted scholarship on transformations in US Southern agriculture and

[1] "Historic Resource Studies," National Park Service, last modified April 16, 2024, https://www.nps.gov/orgs/1220/historic-resource-studies.htm.

industry, the evolution of the National Park System, and memory and memorialization.
A major source for this historic resource study is the cultural landscape inventory (CLI) of Petersburg National Battlefield compiled by the Olmsted Center for Historic Preservation between 2017 and 2021. The three CLIs conducted for the Eastern Front: Crater Battlefield, Fort Stedman, and Initial Assaults (as well as the 2017 Cultural Landscape Report for Crater Battlefield) provide essential information about historic homesteads, landscape features that played pivotal roles in battlefield decision-making, and preservation initiatives in the late nineteenth and twentieth centuries. According to the CLI for the Initial Assaults,

> Petersburg NB was administratively listed on the National Register of Historic Places on October 15, 1966, with the passage of the National Historic Preservation Act. Although the Virginia State Historic Preservation Office (SHPO) has not formally approved National Register documentation for the entire park to date, several sites in the park are listed individually with documentation in the National Register. The Five Forks Battlefield was designated a National Historic Landmark on December 19, 1960 and listed on July 2, 1975. The Appomattox Manor complex at City Point was listed on October 1, 1969. Grant's Headquarters at City Point, a park management unit, is also located within the boundaries of the City Point National Register Historic District, listed on October 15, 1979. There are currently no individual listings for the Eastern Front unit or for the Initial Assaults battlefield.
>
> On February 18, 2000, the Multiple Property Documentation Form (MPDF) "The Civil War in Virginia, 1861- 1865: Historic and Archeological Resources" was accepted by the Keeper of the National Register. The MPDF identified property types and historic contexts with which to evaluate historic and archeological resources related to the Civil War. The six property types were battlefields, earthworks, campsites, military hospitals, military headquarters, and military prisons. Petersburg NB was identified under the battlefields and earthworks property types under Criteria A for its association with the Civil War history in Virginia. The MPDF organized historic contexts by the Civil War campaigns in Virginia, most of which were conducted along principal transportation routes. The Initial Assaults area (June 15-18, 1864) was described as part of the Richmond and Petersburg Campaign of 1864-1865.
>
> There have been several consultations with the Virginia SHPO regarding the eligibility of resources in the park. On April 6, 2004, the SHPO concurred with the NPS that the Mission 66 development program at Petersburg NB was not eligible for listing in the National Register. Mission 66 resources within the Initial Assaults battlefield include a segment of the Auto Tour Road incorporating a bridge over Route 36 and a new park entrance road, the Eastern Front Visitor Center, the maintenance building compound, the tenstop auto tour between Battery 5 and the Crater, the small picnic area between stops three and four, and the living history interpretative area.[2]

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[2] *Cultural Landscape Inventory for Initial Assaults, Petersburg National Battlefield* (Olmsted Center for Landscape Preservation, National Park Service, 2021), 30.

The Virginia SHPO has determined that Petersburg National Battlefield is eligible for consideration to the National Register of Historic Places. Though never finalized, a National Register of Historic Places nomination for the entirety of Petersburg National Battlefield was drafted by the Public Archeology Lab in 2014. This nomination identifies the Eastern Front battlefield landscape as nationally significant under Criterion A in the areas of Military and Ethnic Heritage - Black for the contributions of the United States Colored Troops during the ten-month siege. Further, the landscape is significant under Criterion A in the areas of Commemoration and Conservation following extensive community- and veteran-led initiatives to memorialize the battles. Due to the battle's affiliations with General Robert E. Lee, Lieutenant General Ulysses S. Grant, and General Pierre G.T. Beauregard, the Eastern Front is also significant under Criterion B. The extensive networks of extant earthworks make it nationally significant for Engineering under Criterion C. Evaluation of the battlefield's archeological significance is still needed, making the Eastern Front potentially eligible under Criterion D in the area of Archeology. The period of significance is listed as 11,000 BCE - 1600 CE, c. 1650 - 1750, and 1763 - present.[3]

Pursuant to the purpose of this HRS, the authors submitted a detailed outline and research plan in May 2024, then presented an initial draft of one chapter in August of that year. Due to political uncertainties in Spring 2025, the team did not submit their first full draft until May 2025. Following revision from Dabney and Serafine, the authors completed a second draft, which was sent for anonymous peer review. In Fall 2025, the authors submitted the final draft of the HRS. The National Council on Public History hosted a transfer-of-knowledge event between the authors and Petersburg National Battlefield staff in February 2026.

[3] Public Archeology Lab, "Petersburg National Battlefield," National Register of Historic Places Nomination Form (Unpublished, 2014).

Introduction

This study delves into the rich and multifaceted historical contexts interwoven with the Eastern Front of Petersburg National Battlefield (PETE). Recognizing the profound significance of this landscape, the subsequent six chapters explore the major thematic threads that define the site's past, generally following a chronological progression to provide a clear understanding of its evolution over time.

The initial thematic exploration ventures into the period predating the American Civil War. This chapter examines all human activity and land use that occurred on the Eastern Front prior to 1861. Archeological evidence, early maps, and historical accounts are scrutinized to illuminate the lives of the people who inhabited this land before the arrival of armies. This includes investigating Indigenous populations, early colonial settlements, agricultural practices, and any significant developments that shaped the landscape and laid the groundwork for its later role in national history. Understanding this pre-war context provides a crucial baseline for appreciating the dramatic transformations that the Civil War would subsequently impose upon the land.

The subsequent two chapters turn their focus to the monumental events of the Civil War. The first of these chapters examines the diverse and evolving military technologies deployed during the Siege of Petersburg. From the rifled muskets that dramatically increased battlefield lethality to the formidable siege artillery that relentlessly bombarded fortifications, the chapter explores how technological advancements shaped the very nature of warfare. Building upon this understanding of military technology, the next chapter directly addresses the profound and lasting impact of the Siege of Petersburg on the physical landscape itself. The ten-month siege, characterized by relentless shelling, extensive trench construction, and intense combat, irrevocably altered the topography of the Eastern Front. This chapter analyzes the physical remnants of the siege, from the still-visible earthworks and fortifications to the scars left by artillery fire and the remnants of encampments. It explores how the strategic imperatives of siege warfare – the need for cover, lines of communication, and vantage points – dictated the reshaping of the land. Furthermore, it considers the environmental consequences of such a massive military undertaking, including deforestation, soil erosion, and the long-term effects of human presence on the ecosystem. The landscape of the Eastern Front today stands as a powerful and enduring testament to the brutal realities of the siege.

Moving beyond the immediate aftermath of the Civil War, the study next examines the complex period of Reconstruction and the subsequent decades. Chapter IV chronicles the efforts of local populations to reclaim the war-torn land and attempt a return to agricultural practices, the dominant economic activity of the region prior to the conflict. It explores the challenges faced by communities rebuilding their lives and livelihoods amidst the physical and social upheaval left by the war. However, this period also witnessed the burgeoning interest in the siege itself, particularly the dramatic and tragic story of the Crater.

The narrative then transitions to the significant impact of American mobilization for both World War I and World War II upon the Eastern Front. The strategic location of the Petersburg area led

to the establishment of Camp Lee (now Fort Gregg-Adams) on land that directly encompassed portions of the battlefield. This chapter explores how the needs of a nation at war once again transformed the landscape, albeit for a different purpose. It examines the construction of military facilities, the influx of soldiers, and the ways in which the historical significance of the Civil War battlefield intersected with the demands of modern warfare. This period highlights the enduring strategic importance of the region and the continuous layering of history upon the landscape.

Chapter V analyzes early commemorative efforts, development of battlefield tourism, and initial steps taken towards preserving this historically significant landscape, largely spearheaded by the War Department in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Among topics covered include the emergence of veterans and other allied organizations, efforts mobilized at the local and state levels to memorialize the wartime landscape, and initiatives in the mid- and late twentieth century to diversify interpretation and commemoration of soldiers' experiences. The study then concludes with Chapter VI by examining battlefield preservation efforts that resulted in its establishment as a National Military Park on July 3, 1926, under jurisdiction of the War Department. It was then transferred to the National Park Service (NPS) on August 10, 1933. This chapter also addresses land acquisitions within the Eastern Front until the park was redesignated as a National Battlefield on August 24, 1962.

Ultimately, the continued significance of the Eastern Front of PETE lies in how its landscape remains a powerful and poignant testament to the grueling ten-month siege during the Civil War. This Union campaign, strategically designed to sever vital Confederate supply lines leading to Richmond, ultimately proved to be a decisive turning point in the war. The fall of Petersburg directly precipitated the fall of the Confederate capital and significantly hastened the end of the war. Furthermore, the siege at Petersburg indelibly shaped the landscape of military engagement through the extensive and brutal implementation of trench warfare, a tactic that would become tragically characteristic of future conflicts. It was on this very land, amidst the intricate network of trenches and fortifications, that the final, desperate struggles of the Civil War were fought, ultimately leading to the reunification of the nation and the long-awaited end of slavery within its borders. The Eastern Front, therefore, stands as a powerful and enduring reminder of the sacrifices made, the strategies employed, and the transformative consequences of this pivotal chapter in American history.

A Historic Resource Study (HRS) provides essential background information for understanding the historical and cultural resources in a park or monument. Its purpose is to contextualize a park's historical resources within a broader historical narrative, drawing on various disciplines and information sources. This study supports the NPS in meeting obligations established by the National Historic Preservation Act of 1966, which requires federal agencies to develop programs for identifying and protecting their historic features. The HRS also serves as a resource for diverse audiences interested in a park's history, including managers, specialists, interpreters, and the public.

PETE consists of four units: General Grant's Headquarters at City Point, the Western Front, Five Forks Battlefield, and the Eastern Front. This study only addresses the latter of these units. The

full battlefield park encompasses about 3,070 acres of land with the Eastern Front consisting of approximately 1,422 acres.[4] Located east of the City of Petersburg, the Eastern Front unit contains the park's visitor center and four-mile paved tour road that passes near some of the park's largest historic resources, including the Crater and Fort Stedman and many of the preserved earthworks. The Eastern Front contains several commemorative markers and monuments to the key fighting that transpired during the Siege of Petersburg from June 9, 1864, to March 25, 1865.

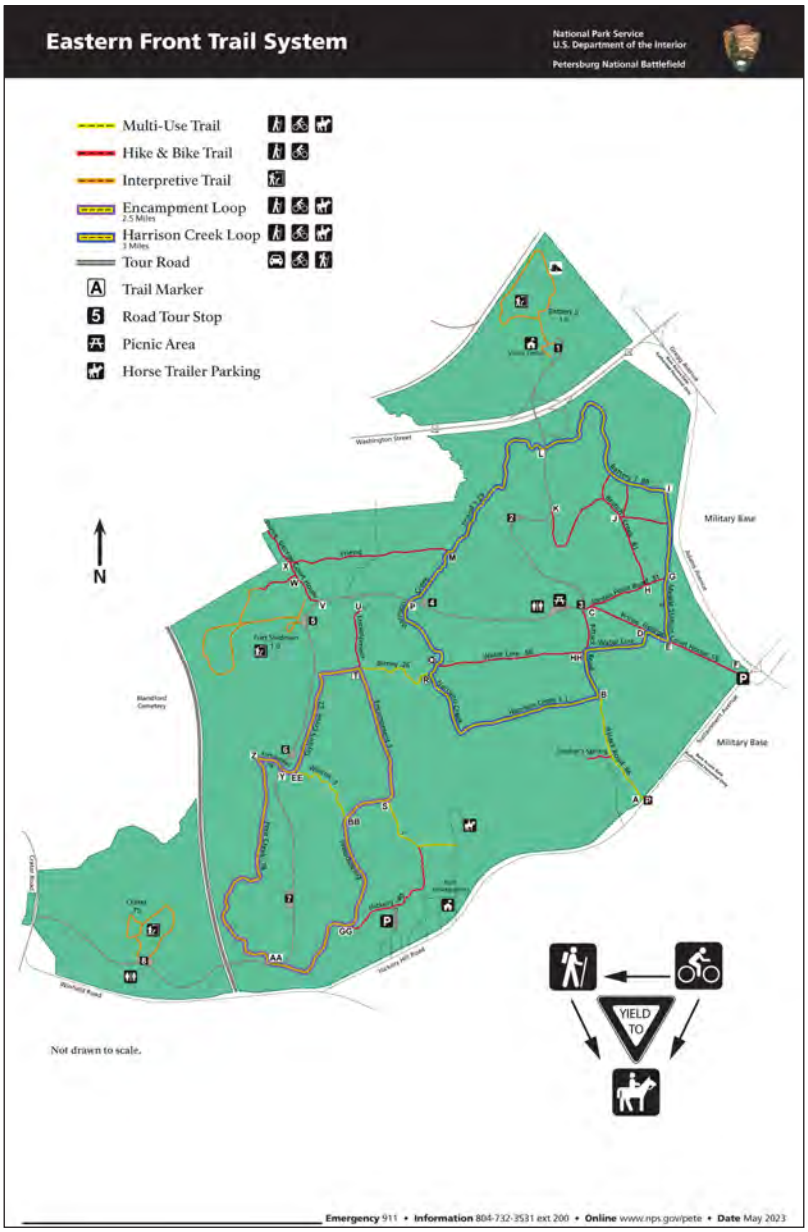

Figure i-1: "Eastern Front Trail System," Petersburg National Battlefield (May 2023).

[4] National Park Service Acreage Reports, National Park Service, June 30, 2025; "Press Kit - Petersburg National Battlefield," National Park Service, last modified December 31, 2023, https://www.nps.gov/pete/learn/news/presskit.htm.

Chapter I: The Area Prior to 1861

Introduction

This chapter explores and summarizes major points regarding the pre-1865 history of the land that would eventually become the Eastern Front Unit of PETE. This includes the history of Native American activity prior to the arrival of Europeans; the relationship between British colonists and the Appamatuck people, including during the Anglo-Powhatan Wars (1609-46); the Virginia Company's 1645 construction of Fort Henry as both a military and trading post in response to increased tensions between Native peoples and colonizers; and the establishment of nearby American trading posts and Native villages. The chapter examines the connections between nearby towns and villages via waterways, roads, and turnpikes. It discusses the establishment of Petersburg and nearby Prince George County and the development of settlement and land ownership and tenancy patterns, including the plantations Clermont (Jordan House), White Hill (Friend House), and others. Special attention will be given to the history of the local enslaved and free Black population. The Friend House, for example, is highlighted as the only known example to date within the Eastern Front of an overseer and slave dwelling complex separated from the owner-occupied dwelling which would allow for distinct archeological research into activity patterns among African Americans at the site. Finally, this chapter addresses the evolution of major technologies affecting the area such as iron and lead works and railroads, as well as agricultural developments related to local cotton, tobacco, and grain production.

Indigenous Settlement in Petersburg and the Surrounding Area

Indigenous peoples have long resided across the three geographic regions (Atlantic coastal plain, piedmont, and Blue Ridge) of the state now called Virginia. Archeological evidence indicates that Indigenous peoples have lived in what is now Virginia for approximately fifteen thousand years, while a distinct southeastern Algonquian cultural area emerged in the thirteenth century.[5] As of 2025, there are seven federally-recognized Tribes (Chickahominy, Eastern Chickahominy, Monacan Indian Nation, Nansemond, Pamunkey, Rappahannock, Upper Mattaponi) and eleven state-recognized Tribes (Mattaponi, Pamunkey, Chickahominy, Eastern Chickahominy, Rappahanock, Upper Mattaponi, Nansemond, Monacan Indian Nation, Cheroenhaka (Nottoway), Nottoway of Virginia, and Patawomeck).[6]

The Appamatuck Tribe is the only recorded community to have inhabited the historic landscape of PETE, though archeological remains exist within the Eastern Front.[7] The Appamatuck be-

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

[6] "Virginia Indians," Virginia Secretary of the Commonwealth, accessed December 27, 2024, https://www.commonwealth.virginia.gov/virginia-indians/.

[7] As Neil Trubowitz demonstrated in his 2005 NPS report, the Nottoway and Catawba likely traded with the Appamatuck, though archeological evidence does not indicate that these communities lived within the present-day boundaries of PETE. The Iroquoian-speaking Nottoway lived in the major river basin south of the Appomattox River beginning in the sixteenth century, though their reservation land was eliminated by the Virginia General As-

longed to the Powhatan chiefdom of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. An Algonquian-speaking people, the Powhatans shared unique cultural connections, including language and politics, and were connected by Virginia's waterways across the Atlantic coastal plain.[8] This chiefdom, which comprised approximately thirty-four distinct communities at the time of English colonization in 1607, lived in different settlements between the Chesapeake Bay westward to the geologic fall line, which runs south from Washington, D.C. through Richmond and Petersburg.[9] Powhatans called these lands Tsenacomoco, and each Tribe reported to a werowance, or political leader. This chiefdom received their namesake from Powhatan, also known as Wahunsenacawh, who served as their Mamantowick, or paramount chief. These thirty-four Tribal communities, including the Appamatuck, paid tribute and allegiance to Powhatan. The Appamatuck first encountered English colonists in May 1607, and the year 1671 marks the last mention of living Appamatuck peoples in English records.

Indigenous Settlement in Virginia

From 15,000 B.C. to A.D. 1607 (the year that English colonists established the first permanent colony in what is present-day Virginia), political, economic, and religious practices have undergirded the cultural connections between the Indigenous peoples of the Eastern Woodlands of the Middle Atlantic region. Archeologists delineate brackets of time prior to European colonization into three periods: Paleoindian, Archaic, and Woodland.

Paleoindian (15,000-8,000 B.C.)

Due to a continental glacier that covered most of what is today New England, northern Indiana, and Illinois, the temperature in what is now Virginia ran 18-27 degrees Fahrenheit cooler during the Paleoindian period. Summers were cool and short, while winters were long and cold. The Middle Atlantic region hosted a variety of ecosystems, including grasslands, open coniferous forest, and islands of deciduous trees. For the peoples of this region, they lived in temporary camps defined by seasonal movement for hunting, trapping, foraging, and fishing. Archeological

sembly in 1821. The Catawba people were Siouan and lived near present-day North and South Carolina borders. Virginia Company men recorded trading with the Catawba in 1653, and Appamatuck people may have facilitated the trade relationship. Ben McCary also notes that the Appamatuck would have interacted with the Algonquian-speaking Weanoc Tribe, who lived on sides of the James River near the mouth of the Appomattox River. Ben C. McCary, *Indians in Seventeenth Century Virginia* (University Press of Virginia, 1957), 3, 7; Neil L. Trubowitz, *Native American Associations with Petersburg National Battlefield, Virginia* (National Park Service, Northeast Region, 2005), 27; Edith Turner (Wané Roonseraw), "Petition of Nottoway Indians, Southampton County (December 11, 1821)," in *Encyclopedia Virginia*, published August 21, 2024, https://encyclopediavirginia.org/primary-documents/petition-of-nottoway-indians-southampton-county-december-11-1821.

8 Virginia was also home to peoples who spoke Iroquoian and Siouan languages. To the west of the Appamatuck people, the Monacan and Saponi both spoke Siouan languages. To the south of the Appamatuck, the Nottoway spoke an Iroquoian language.

9 Frederic W. Gleach, *Powhatan's World and Colonial Virginia: A Conflict of Cultures* (University of Nebraska Press, 1997); Helen Rountree, "Who Were the Powhatans and Did They Have a Unified 'Foreign Policy?," in *Powhatan Foreign Relations*, 1500–1722, ed. Helen Rountree (University Press of Virginia, 1993), 6.

evidence has uncovered Clovis points, which are large lance-shaped fluted spears, as well as stone tools like scrapers, perforatory wedges, and knives.[10]

Notable Paleoindian sites in Virginia include the Williamson Site and Cactus Hill. The Williamson Site, which is located in southwestern Dinwiddie County and forty-five miles southwest of Richmond, is on a plateau that overlooks Little Cattail Run. Dating to 9,000, B.C., this site contains approximately twenty-three acres of thousands of artifacts, including "fluted points, scrapers, knives, burins, hammers, and lithic workshop debris (also known as debitage). The site has been interpreted as a large and rare quarry workshop where Indigenous peoples quarried fine-grained cherts to fashion into a variety of forms on-site. The collected artifacts may have been used by those working the quarry or for trading."[11]

Cactus Hill is located in present-day Sussex County on a sandy hill overlooking the Nottoway River. It contains well-preserved deposits from the Paleoindian, Archaic, and Woodland periods, which range from eighteen thousand to twenty thousand years ago.[12] Archaeological findings there include stone raw materials, stone tools, stone hearths, and points and pottery. A piece of white pine charcoal found on site was carbon-dated to eighteen thousand years ago. It is believed that the site was inhabited during summer months, despite the year-round glacial conditions.[13]

Archaic (~8,000-12,000 B.C.)[14]

The Archaic period is marked by glacial melting and a significant drying and warming of the climate. Rising sea levels resulted in the formation of the Chesapeake Bay. Freshwater marshes, thick deciduous forests, and increased variety in flora and fauna supported Indigenous

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[10] Laura Kline, Stephen Olausen, Ashley Spivey, Lisa Bergstrom, Gretchen Pineo, Jillian Miller, and Kathryn Whitehill, *Richmond National Battlefield Park Historic Resource Study* (Public Archaeology Laboratory, Inc. Publications, 2024), 19; *Encyclopedia Virginia*, "Paleoindian Period (16,000–8000 BC)," by Clifford Boyd, December 7, 2020, https://encyclopediavirginia.org/entries/paleoindian-period-16000-8000-bc/; Clifford C. Boyd, Jr., "Paleoindian Research in Virginia and Beyond," *Quarterly Bulletin of the Archeological Society of Virginia* 58, no. 2 (2003); Mark J. Wittkofski and Theodore R. Reinhart, eds., *Paleoindian Research in Virginia: A Synthesis* (The Dietz Press, 1989).

[11] Kline et al., *Richmond*, 20; Howard MacCord, National Register Nomination – Williamson Site, 1969, on file, Virginia Department of Historic Resources, Richmond, VA; "026-0035 Williamson Archaeological Site," Virginia Department of Historic Resources, accessed December 22, 2024, https://www.dhr.virginia.gov/historic-registers/026-0035/.

[12] E. Randolph Turner, National Register Nomination – Cactus Hill Archaeological Site, 2001, on file, Virginia Department of Historic Resources, Richmond, VA. See also "PaleoIndians, 15,000–8,000 B.C.," Virginia Department of Historic Resources, accessed December 22, 2024, https://www.dhr.virginia.gov/first-people-the-early-indians-of-virginia/paleoindians-15000-8000-b-c/; Keith Egloff and Deborah Woodward, *First People: The Early Indians of Virginia* (University of Virginia Press, 2006); "091-5026 Cactus Hill Archaeological Site," Virginia Department of Historic Resources, accessed December 22, 2024 https://www.dhr.virginia.gov/historic-registers/091-5026/.

[13] *Encyclopedia Virginia*, "Cactus Hill Archaeological Site," by Michael Johnson, December 7, 2020, https://encyclopediavirginia.org/entries/cactus-hill-archaeological-site; Joseph M. McAvoy and Lynn D. McAvoy, *Archaeological Investigations of Site 44SX202, Cactus Hill, Sussex County, Virginia* (Virginia Department of Historic Resources Research Report Series No. 8, 1997).

[14] Archeologists subdivide the Archaic period into Early, Middle, and Late.

subsistence. The people of this period gathered fruits, acorns, and hickory nuts; fished for clams and shellfish; and expanded their hunting practices to include deer, elk, bear, turkey, and small game. This period also marks the introduction of horticulture and cultivation of certain native plant species, like "sunflowers, gourds, sumpweed/marsh elder, maygrass, lambsquarter/goosefoot, and amaranth. People also began to grow varieties of squash first brought to the area from Central America." To support new and different seasonal practices, Indigenous peoples experimented with tools like the "atlatl (wooden spear thrower), chipped-stone axes, soapstone vessels, stone sinkers for fishing nets, and the mortar and pestle for grinding and processing foods."[15] This period is also marked by the expansion of kinship networks through marriage and trade, as larger bands of Indigenous peoples began living together in mobile, seasonal settlements. This expansion fostered the rise of distinct tribal entities.

Woodland (~1,200 B.C.-A.D. 1607)[16]

Sedentism and complex cultural practices define the Woodland era in eastern North America. Sedentism enabled population growth, as Indigenous peoples refined economic, political, spiritual, and social practices. The material culture of this period also indicates an attention to craftsmanship, as demonstrated by increasingly stylized bows and arrows, clay vessels, and ceramic pipes. With an expanded trade network, Indigenous peoples of the Woodland area exchanged goods like copper, beads, and shells. Housing varied in sizes, and horticulture and farming became common practices. Hunting, fishing, and trapping continued to supplement diets. In the second half of this period, Indigenous peoples adopted the "Three Sisters" of beans, corn, and squash, introduced by traders from southwestern North America around A.D. 1000.[17]

It is during the late Woodland period that the Powhatan Chiefdom emerged and European colonization expanded into North America. Social and geographic hierarchies characterized people's relationships to place and their access to goods, as demonstrated by the settlement of Indigenous communities around the Chesapeake Bay toward the geologic fall line between present-day Washington, D.C. and Petersburg.[18]

Powhatan Paramount Chiefdom

During the sixteenth century, Tidewater Tribal communities coalesced under the leadership of Powhatan, also known as Wahunsenacah, through a series of marriage alliances, military conquests, and strategic movement of family members into positions of power. Between twenty-eight and thirty-four distinct communities belonged to the so-called Powhatan Chiefdom.[19]

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[15] Kline et al., *Richmond*, 20.

[16] Archeologists subdivide the Woodland period into Early, Middle, and Late.

[17] Kline et al., *Richmond*, 21.

[18] James D. Rice, "Escape from Tsenacommacah: Chesapeake Algonquians and the Powhatan Menace," in *The Atlantic World and Virginia, 1550-1624*, ed. Peter C. Mancall (Omohundro Institute of Early American History & Culture, 2007), 108.

[19] The Chickahominy people resisted inclusion within the Powhatan Paramount Chiefdom. Rountree, "Who Were the Powhatans," 6–7.

Wahunsenacawh was born in the village of Powhatan, located at the falls of the Powhatan River (now called the James River). There he served as the Mamantowick, the Algonquian word that indicates the highest level of political leadership. According to John Smith's 1608 map, the village of Powhatan was located within the eastern run of the falls, which is just south of present-day Richmond. The Monacan people lived west of the fall line and held tenuous relations with the Powhatans. While they are sometimes described as enemies, the Monacans and Powhatans also served as trading partners. The Monacans held connections with westward trade networks, which included access to minerals and metals.[20]

Prior to English arrival in 1607, Wahunsenacawh moved east to Werocomoco on the northern side of the York River (then called the Pamunkey River), to the southwest corner of present-day Gloucester County. This strategic move intended to centralize power among tribute-paying Tribal communities, as well as prepare for colonial encounters.[21] In 1608, Wahunsenacawh then moved the capital from Werocomoco to Orapaks. According to a 1612 account from Virginia colonist William Strachey, Powhatan kept a storehouse at Orapaks "in which he keeps his kind of treasure, as skins, copper, pearls and beads, which he stores up against the time of his death and burial. Here also is his store of red paint for ointment, and bows and arrows."[22] After having attempted to control the movements of the newly arrived colonists, Wahunsenacawh determined it was more effective to distance themselves from the English.

English colonists first encountered the Appamatuck people on May 8, 1607.[23] The Appamatuck lived in three primary settlements at what colonists eventually called Bermuda Hundred Point, Swift Creek, and Rohoic Run. Accounts report that the English were "met by several armed men, one of whom stood forth holding a tobacco pipe and a bow, symbolizing a choice of peace or war. The English chose peace and were allowed to remain."[24] According to William Strachey's 1612 travelogue, "On the north syde of this river is Werowocomoco, where theire great kinge inhabited when we came first into the country. Ten or twelve miles lower, on the south side of this river, is Kiskiak; these, as also Appamatuck, Orapaks, Arrohatack, and Powhatan, are their great king's inheritance, chief alliance, and inhabitaunce."[25]

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[20] Jeffrey Hantman, *Monacan Millennium* (University of Virginia Press, 2018); Frederic W. Gleach, *Powhatan's World and Colonial Virginia* (University of Nebraska Press, 2000).

[21] Spanish colonists explored the Chesapeake Bay in the sixteenth century. Christian Feest, "Virginia Algonquians," in *Handbook of North American Indians*, ed. Bruce G. Trigger (Smithsonian Institution, 1978), 254, cited in Neil L. Trubowitz, *Native American Associations with Petersburg National Battlefield, Virginia* (National Park Service, Northeast Region, 2005), 7.

[22] William Strachey, *The Historie of Travaile into Virginia Britannia; Expressing the Cosmographie and Commodities of the Country, Together with the Manners and Customes of the People* (The Hakluyt Society, 1612), 62, cited in Kline et al., *Richmond*, 26.

[23] "Appamatuck" has many different recorded phonetic spellings, including 'Appomattoc' (Swanton 1952) and 'Apamatuks' (Konstantin 2001). Feest (1978) used 'Appamatuck I.' Among other references are 'Apamatechoh' (Archer 1607), 'Apamatica' (Percy 1625), 'Apomatick' (Clayton 1965), Appamattuck (Rountree 1993), and 'Appamatuck' (Smith 1612), cited in Trubowitz, *Native American Associations*, 15.

[24] Helen C. Rountree, *Pocahontas's People: The Powhatan Indians of Virginia Through Four Centuries* (University of Oklahoma Press, 1990), 30.

[25] Strachey, *The Historie of Travaile* (1612), 52, cited in Kline et al., *Richmond*, 26.

Not all Appamatuck peoples welcomed the new arrivals. Opossunoquonuske, a weroansqua (female chief) and the sister of the Appamatuck werowance, did not respond positively to meeting Captain Christopher Newport when he arrived at her Appamatuck satellite town on the north side of the Appomattox River near the mouth of the James.[26] The village where Opossunoquonuske ruled was one of five Appamatuck villages located in the area that became Petersburg.[27]

Anglo-Powhatan Wars

The Appamatuck participated in all three of the wars that unfolded between 1609 to 1646.[28] These wars resulted from the Virginia Company's increased encroachment upon Powhatan lands. Climatic conditions exacerbated the pressure exerted by English colonizers and the enduring cultural and political tensions between colonists and Powhatan peoples. Following several years of severe drought and harsh winters, hunger and limited resources strained the already fraught Anglo-Powhatan relations, as conflicts increasingly arose in the fall of 1609.

1609-1614

Powhatans sought to defend the lands of Tsenacomoco, not only from the English but from other Tribal communities, as well. In May 1609, Powhatan's people killed two English messengers, which led to hundreds of fatalities among both parties. The so-called "Starving Time" of winter 1609-10 escalated the violence. The battles resulted in a truce when Pocahontas, Powhatan's daughter, decided to remain with the English, who had captured her, and convert to Christianity. Pocahontas died in 1617, and Powhatan died the following year.[29] Itoyatan (also spelled Opitchapam or Otiotan), a brother of Powhatan, assumed leadership from 1617 to approximately 1629. A brief period of peace followed, as the English and Powhatan peoples traded food, textiles, and metal tools. Native peoples also served as guides on English hunting expeditions, as well as provided domestic labor in English households.[30]

During the first Anglo-Powhatan War, Sir Thomas Dale, a shareholder of the Virginia Company of London, captured and destroyed Appamatuck villages in retaliation for the deaths of twenty Englishmen on Appamatuck land in 1610. One Appamatuck village, located at the junction of the James and Appomattox Rivers (across from the present-day City Point Unit at PETE) was destroyed in 1611, as Dale erected the Henrico settlement as replacement. He also dismantled Opossunoquonuske's village located north of the Appomattox River on December 25, 1611. There the English colony established the Bermuda Hundred settlement.[31]

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[26] Rountree, *Pocahontas's People,* 33.

[27] Feest, "Virginia Algonquians," 255.

[28] As battle was a frequent reality for Powhatan peoples, some scholars, like Frederic W. Gleach, have argued that "war" is not an accurate term to describe the battles that unfolded in the seventeenth century. Gleach, *Powhatan's World and Colonial Virginia* (2000).

[29] *Encyclopedia Virginia*, "First Anglo-Powhatan War (1609-1614)," by Brendan Wolfe, last modified August 26. 2024, https://encyclopediavirginia.org/entries/first-anglo-powhatan-war-1609-1614/.

[30] Christina Snyder, *Slavery in Indian Country* (Harvard University Press, 2012); Alan Gallay, *Indian Slavery in Colonial America* (University of Nebraska Press, 2009).

[31] Trubowitz, *Native American Associations,* 16; Rountree, *Pochahontas's People,* 58; Gleach, *Powhatan's World*

1622-1632

After the first Anglo-Powhatan war, English colonists navigated further up the James River and other nearby waterways. Motivated by a desire for more land, the English traveled greater distances to settle and grow tobacco, the trade of which continued to grow in the seventeenth century.[32] The bulk of settlement occurred on the James River between the Chickahominy River and the falls at the James River (present-day Richmond). In response to this increased pressure, Opechancanough (the younger brother or cousin of Powhatan), who had assumed leadership as paramount chief, led a series of assaults against the colonists between the 1620s and 1640s. The March 22, 1622, Indigenous-led attack resulted in the deaths of nearly a third of the English settlement.[33] Over the following decade, the English colonists repeatedly destroyed the Powhatan people's food supply. In 1632, Virginia's governor signed an agreement with the Powhatan peoples. Whereas the Powhatan peoples far exceeded the English colony's population in 1622, the English population had outgrown the Indigenous population by 1632. The second Anglo-Powhatan War also resulted in the dismantling of the Virginia Company of London, as James I took control of the Virginia-based English colony in 1624. In the aftermath of war, wealthy colonists consolidated power over formerly Powhatan lands as the expansion of the tobacco and slave trades grew.[34]

1644-1646

By the 1640s, English colonists had expanded their reach into the Rappahanock and Potomac Rivers. In April 1644, Opechancanough organized the Powhatan peoples to lead another attack upon the English, killing approximately four hundred colonists. The English retaliated with a counterattack, which ended the war in 1646. Captured by Virginia governor Sir William Berkeley, Opechancanough was transported by the English and brought to Jamestown, where English guards shot him dead.[35]

Necotowance succeeded as paramount chief, executing a treaty with the English in October 1646. Across eleven articles, the *Treaty of Peace with Necotowance, King of the Indians* contained the following provisions: the English crown established a tributary relationship with the Indigenous peoples, whereby the Crown managed the land-use and habitation rights; tributary rights outlined where Tribes could live, hunt, fish, gather, and farm; and it relocated the Tribes to the north and south of the James River settlement, to enable expansion of the English planta-

and Colonial Virginia (1997), 31; Brooke S. Blades, *An Archaeological Overview and Assessment of the Main Unit, Petersburg National Battlefield, Virginia* (University of Maryland, Department of Anthropology, Center for Heritage Resource Studies, 2005), https://drum.lib.umd.edu/items/0eb23a3c-4a85-4742-9694-40c1443fdd11.

[32] T.H. Breen, *Tobacco Culture: The Mentality of the Great Tidewater Planters on the Eve of Revolution* (Princeton University Press, 1985); Allan Kulikoff, *Tobacco & Slaves: The Development of Southern Cultures in the Chesapeake, 1680-1800* (University of North Carolina Press, 1986).

[33] Gleach refers to this attack as a coup. Gleach, *Powhatan's World and Colonial Virginia* (2000).

[34] *Encyclopedia Virginia*, "Anglo-Powhatan War, Second (1622-1632)," by James Rice, last modified August 26, 2024, https://encyclopediavirginia.org/entries/anglo-powhatan-war-second-1622-1632/.

[35] *Encyclopedia Virginia*, "Opechancanough (d. 1646)," by Helen Rountree, last modified August 26, 2024, https://encyclopediavirginia.org/entries/opechancanough-d-1646/.

tion system. Further, the Tribes were required to submit twenty beaver skins as annual tribute to the Virginia governor, and the Tribes also agreed to offer military support to the Virginia colony when facing conflict with Tribes not bound by the treaty agreements.[36]

While the Appamatuck were forbidden from participating in the 1646 treaty-signing, due to "recent trouble with his [weroance's] people," they still appeared in in Article 8 of the 1646 treaty:

> And it is further thought fitt and enacted, that upon any occasion of message to the Gov'r. or trade, The said Necotowance and his people the Indians doe repair to fforte Henery alias Appamattucke fforte, or to the house of Capt. John ffloud, and to no other place or places of the south side of the river, att which places the aforesayd badges of striped stuff are to be and remaine.[37]

The "fforte Henery alias Appamattucke fforte" refers to Fort Henry, built by decree in 1646 at the falls of the Appomattox River in present-day Petersburg. No colonists were living in the area that would become Petersburg prior to Fort Henry's construction. See later in this chapter for more information on Fort Henry's role in the settlement of Petersburg.[38]

After 1646, the treaty forced the Appamatuck people to relocate upriver to Indian Town Creek (present-day Rohoic Creek), which was a tributary of the Appomattox River near the falls (outside PETE's present-day boundary). According to Neil Trubowitz,

> The mouth of Indian Town Creek was just over a mile west of the location of Fort Henry, as close to the fort as possible while still on the Indian side of the border. Indian Town Creek, named after the settlement, was also called Old Town Creek and later Rohoic Creek. It marked the western boundary of contemporary Petersburg. This creek flows through PETE near Civil War Confederate Fort Gregg, but the Indian settlement was likely closer to the mouth of the creek on the Appomattox River, off of park property.[39]

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[36] Kline et al., *Richmond*, 85; General Assembly, "Treaty Ending the Third Anglo-Powhatan War (1646)," in *Encyclopedia Virginia*, published December 7, 2020, https://encyclopediavirginia.org/primary-documents/treaty-ending-the-third-anglo-powhatan-war-1646; William Waller Hening, ed., *The Statutes at Large; Being a Collection of All the Laws of Virginia from the First Session of the Legislature in the Year 1619* (R. & W. & G. Bartow, 1814), 1,323–326.

[37] General Assembly, "Treaty Ending the Third Anglo-Powhatan War (1646)." In a memorandum in the 1677 Treaty of Middle Plantation, the signatories attached a document that dated to the 1646 treaty, stating "At the same time *Pericuhtah* King of the *Appomatucks* being then present, did earnestly desire to be admitted to the Signing this Peace with the rest; but he being suspected, and Complained of to have Committed by himself or Subjects, some Murthers on His Majesties Subjects of England, was not admitted or included into this League at that time, nor is to partake of the benefit of this Peace, before he shall have cleared himself of this Guilt imputed to him, and Committed since His Majesties Commissioners came into Virginia." "Articles of Peace (1677)," in *Encyclopedia Virginia*, published December 7, 2020, https://encyclopediavirginia.org/primary-documents/articles-of-peace-1677/.

[38] Trubowitz, *Native American Associations*, 16.

[39] Trubowitz, *Native American Associations*, 21; Roger Charles Sherry, *Cultural Landscape Report for the Federal Left Flank and Fish Hook Siegeworks, Petersburg National Battlefield*, (National Park Service, 2004), 11.

The Late Seventeenth Century and Decline of the Appamatuck

By the late seventeenth century, the English settlement had reorganized the lands of the former Powhatan chiefdom and significantly decimated the Indigenous population due to disease and warfare. Yet tensions endured between colonists and Indigenous peoples of the region, as demonstrated by Bacon's Rebellion of 1676-77. With reduced resources and land-use rights, Indigenous peoples had resorted to raiding colonial settlements on the Virginia frontier. As anti-Indigenous sentiment swelled among colonists, responses varied across different ranks and classes, from recent settlers to those in officeholding positions. Governor William Berkeley proposed strategic alliances with certain Tribes, as well as the establishment of frontier forts and patrols. Nathaniel Bacon, a member of the Governor's Council, led a volunteer militia against Berkeley. Bacon's men also indiscriminately slaughtered Indigenous men, women, and children. Bacon died of illness in October 1676, and Berkeley regained control by late winter the following year.[40]

Signed by Pamunkey chief Cockacoeske on May 29, 1677, The Treaty of Middle Plantation attempted to reunite several tribes of the former Powhatan chiefdom and recommit them to the English crown. The treaty consisted of twenty-one articles, which restricted English and Indigenous peoples to specific tracts of land for fishing, hunting, foraging, and trapping. It reaffirmed military alliance between the Crown and the treaty signatories. The treaty also restricted the movement of Indigenous peoples without permission, as well as their use of specific weapons.[41]

The Appamatuck remained living above the Appomattox River Falls at the time of Bacon's Rebellion, and they participated in signing the Treaty of Middle Plantation. By 1673, settlers drew up patents near the Appamatuck village at the falls.[42] Bacon's men accused the Appamatuck of stealing corn and attacked members of the Tribe.[43] While the Appamatuck remained in place, they may have participated in the trade markets established by the "Act Licensing Trading with Indians," pursuant to the terms of the Treaty of 1677. According to anthropologist and Pamunkey Tribal member Ashley Spiver, these trade markets demonstrated English recognition of Indigenous knowledge, as well as Native people's assimilation into the market economy.[44]

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[40] James D. Rice, *Tales from a Revolution: Bacon's Rebellion and the Transformation of Early America* (Oxford University Press, 2012); Brent Tarter, "Bacon's Rebellion, the Grievances of the People, and the Political Culture of Seventeenth-Century Virginia," *Virginia Magazine of History and Biography* 119, no. 1 (2011).

[41] Kline et al., *Richmond*, 87-88; William Walter Hening, ed., *Statutes at Large: A Collection of All the Laws of Virginia* (W.W. Gray, 1823), 2,138–143; Alden T. Vaughan, ed., *Early American Indian Documents: Treaties and Laws, 1607–1789*, (University Publications of America, Inc., 1979), 4; *Articles of Peace between the Most Serene and Mighty Prince Charles II. By the Grace of God, King of England, Scotland, France and Ireland, Defender of the Faith, &c., and Several Indian Kings and Queens, &c. Concluded the 29th day of May, 1677* (John Bill, Christopher Barker, Thomas Newcomb, and Henry Hills, 1677).

[42] Rountree, *Pocahontas's People*, 109.

[43] Gleach, *Powhatan's World and Colonial Virginia* (1997), 195-196.

[44] These markets occurred on specific dates throughout the state, including different Tidewater counties and along the James, Potomac, and Rappahanock Rivers. Common goods sold included produce, animal pelts and fabrics, weapons and ammunition, and metal tools. Ashley Spivey, "Knowing the River, Working the Land, and Digging for Clay: Pamunkey Indian Subsistence Practices and the Market Economy 1800–1900" (PhD diss., College of William and Mary, 2017); William Waller Hening, ed., *The Statutes at Large; Being a Collection of All the Laws of Virginia from the First Session of the Legislature, in the Year 1619* (R. & W. & G. Bartow, 1823), 2, 410.

By the turn of the eighteenth century, colonists had claimed the formerly Appamatuck land to both the north and south of the James and Appomattox Rivers. While the Appamatuck continued living upstream from Petersburg in 1692, this land had likely been sold to a settler due to the fact that the Appamatuck werowance had requested permission to live on the patent. The Appamatuck were last mentioned in English records in 1705, when seven families were reported to be living on a settler's pasture (location undetermined).[45] According to various English accounts, their population waxed and waned over the seventeenth century, with 200 reported in 1608, 400 in 1610-11, 165 in 1669, and 30 in 1703. Colonists considered the Appamatuck an extinct Tribe by 1722.[46]

While English settlers' accounts of Native people within what is now the Eastern Front unit are limited, archeological evidence points to the presence of people by at least the Archaic period. Archeological investigations have revealed at least one hearth, fire-cracked rock, some stone tools and projectile points, ceramics, and debitage.[47] While no substantial Native settlement has yet been uncovered, some smaller numbers of Native people were living within the area now comprising the Eastern Front unit before English settlement.

No direct evidence was found in the available literature that there are any people in Virginia or elsewhere in the United States who currently identify specifically as Appamatuck descendants. Neither was any documentation found of any federally-recognized tribes in Virginia or elsewhere in the United States who might have traveled through the Petersburg area, or absorbed any Appamatucks into their families, and thus might maintain a cultural or religious connection to the park.

Prior to its dissolution in 2012, the Virginia Council on Indians expressed an interest in sites associated with all its members, including the Algonquian tribes that trace descent from the Powhatans in common with the Appamatuck. Some members of these tribes may maintain a cultural connection to the Appamatuck and to PETE. PETE is encouraged to consult the tribes to learn if there are tribal members who have any interest in, or assign any cultural or religious significance to, historic properties located in the park.

Colonial Era to Civil War, 1607-1861

Jamestown marked the first permanent European colony in the place today called Virginia. Established in 1607 by the Virginia Company of London, English colonists settled on the river they called James (formerly called Powhatan River by the Native peoples of the region), slightly in-

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[45] Feest, "Virginia Algonquians," 256; Rountree *Pocahontas's People*, 109; Trubowitz, *Native American Associations*, 21.

[46] Feest, "Virginia Algonquians," 257; Robert Beverley, *The History and Present State of Virginia* (1722), cited by Feest, "Virginia Algonquians," 263; Trubowitz, *Native American Associations*, 21.

[47] Kelley Whatley and Amy S. Carruth, *A Phase II Archeological Investigation of An Exposed Brick Foundation at Petersburg National Battlefield Maintenance Facility* (Panamerican Consultants, Inc., 2007); R. Corey Rosentel and David Moyer, *Petersburg National Battlefield Maintenance Facility Expansion Archaeological Investigation*.

land from the Chesapeake Bay.[48] Under the leadership of Captain John Smith, colonists encountered Native peoples of the Powhatan chiefdom. English surveyors mapped coastal Virginia's peninsulas, locations of Tribal communities, and took stock of the area's natural resources. Traveling up the James River, colonists first voyaged to its confluence with the Appomattox River in May 1607, where they recorded meeting the Appamatuck Tribe. Nearly seventy years later, they would name this place Petersburg.

Beginning in 1618, the Virginia Company established the headright system, whereby colonists who arrived by May 1616 received one hundred acres of land, and each person who paid the cost to transport another immigrant to Virginia received fifty acres. The headright system bolstered the Virginia Company's profit schemes, enabling them to possess more land and increase agricultural output and trade. Many of these new arrivals were white indentured servants, who landowners instructed to cultivate their new property. Over the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries, enslaved Africans and African Americans increasingly replaced the labor of white indentured servants.[49] Francis Eppes of the historic Eppes Plantation (located in the present-day PETE City Point Unit) was entitled to 1,700 acres in 1635; arriving in the Virginia colony by 1624, Eppes claimed headrights for thirty-four people when he transported his family and indentured servants. Eppes would go on to establish the town of Bermuda Hundred, located at the confluence of the James and Appomattox River, in 1688.[50]

Throughout the seventeenth century, English colonists and Powhatan's people battled over land, resources, and governance. As a result of the third Anglo-Powhatan War of 1644-46 (described in the previous section), the English colony constructed several strategic forts to thwart potential attack and establish trade networks with Native allies.[51]

Fort Henry, 1645-1784

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[48] Kline et al., *Richmond*, 22.

[49] Kulikoff, *Tobacco and Slaves*, 38; *Encyclopedia Virginia*, "Indentured Servants in Colonial Virginia," by Brendan Wolfe, December 7, 2020, https://encyclopediavirginia.org/entries/indentured-servants-in-colonial-virginia; "Evolution of the Virginia Colony, 1611-1624," *Library of Congress*, accessed January 11, 2025, https://www.loc.gov/classroom-materials/united-states-history-primary-source-timeline/colonial-settlement-1600-1763/virginia-colony-1611-1624/.

[50] Bermuda Hundred was first settled by Sir Thomas Dale in 1613. John Rolfe also lived in Bermuda Hundred and may have lived there with Pocahontas, daughter of paramount chief Powhatan. Bermuda Hundred was part of the "Corporation of Henrico," or Henricus. The Eppes family lived primarily at their Shirley Hundred residence. Marie Tyler-McGraw, "Richmond Free Blacks and African Colonization, 1816-1832," *Journal of American Studies* 21, no. 2 (1987):14; *Encyclopedia Virginia*, "Bermuda Hundred during the Colonial Period," by Emily Jones Salmon, last modified August 26, 2024, https://encyclopediavirginia.org/entries/bermuda-hundred-during-the-colonial-period; Public Archeology Lab, "Petersburg National Battlefield," National Register of Historic Places Nomination Form (Unpublished, 2014), sec. 8, 173-177.

[51] *Encyclopedia Virginia*, "Early Jamestown Settlement," by Brendan Wolfe, December 7, 2020, https://encyclopediavirginia.org/entries/jamestown-settlement-early; *Encyclopedia Virginia*, "Colonial Virginia," by Brendan Wolfe, December 7, 2020, https://encyclopediavirginia.org/entries/colonial-virginia/; Danielle Moretti-Langholtz, *Colonial: A Study of Virginia Indians and Jamestowne: The First Century* (Colonial National Historical Park, National Park Service, 2005), https://npshistory.com/publications/jame/moretti-langholtz/contents.htm.

Colonists had begun to settle the area that became Petersburg by the 1620s. In addition to the aforementioned Eppes family, other settlers to have claimed headrights there included Edward Prince, Thomas Pitt, and Captain John Flood.[52] In 1645, the Virginia House of Burgesses selected the falls of the Appomattox River as the southernmost fort to protect against attack from, as well as strengthen trade relations with, Native peoples (present-day PETE City Point Unit. See later section in this chapter for Fort Henry's military activities). The site marked a well-known overland trail for Siouan and Iroquoian Tribes. As a fort and trading post, Fort Henry became a lucrative site of exchange with the Native peoples of the southern interior and west of the piedmont. The English settlers at Fort Henry offered weapons, textiles, and tobacco in exchange for furs and minerals that Native peoples of the piedmont traded with those west of the Blue Ridge.[53]

Abraham Wood was appointed the first commander of Fort Henry and remained there until 1680. First endowed with 400 acres, Captain Wood eventually amassed 5,334 acres. Among his duties as commander, Wood led an exploratory campaign in 1650 into Virginia's southwesterly regions.[54] Another responsibility of Wood's was to administer passes to English settlers who traveled west of the fall line boundary, as well as badges to Native peoples who requested access east of the boundary.[55]

In the 1670s, Peter Jones, son-in-law of Wood, assumed responsibility over Fort Henry. Jones established a trading post, called Peter's Point, which was described as "a large warehouse located east of the fort near the intersection of contemporary Market and Old Streets. This location also is outside park property."[56] Fort Henry was deactivated in the 1670s during Jones's tenure. In 1733, the area surrounding the fort was renamed Petersburg, in Jones's honor. The town of Petersburg was incorporated in 1748. Surrounded by Dinwiddie, Chesterfield, and Prince George Counties, the town included the villages of Blandford to the east and Pocahontas across the Appomattox to the north.[57]

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[52] Arriving in 1639, Edward Prince claimed five hundred acres and represented Charles City County in the House of Burgesses in 1644-45; Thomas Pitt arrived in 1641 and was granted five hundred acres. Captain John Flood served in the House of Burgesses in 1631-32, 1642, and 1652. Appointed captain in 1642, Flood also served as an interpreter with Native peoples upon creation of Fort Henry in 1646. P.H. Drewry, "Fort Henry," *William and Mary College Quarterly Historical Magazine* 3, no. 1 (1923): 20-21.

[53] Trubowitz, *Native American Associations,* 19.

[54] His first exploring party went out in 1650, and an account of this exploration was made by Edward Bland, entitled, "The Discovery of New Brittaine." "Begun August 27, 1650, by Edward Bland, merchant, Abraham Woode Captaine, and Sackford Brewster and Elias Pennant, Gentlemen, from Fort Henry at the head of Appomattuck River in Virginia to the Falls of Blandina, first River in New Brittaine, which runneth West being 120 miles Southwest between 35 and 37 Degrees," wrote Edward Bland. "The discovery of New Brittaine. Began August 27. anno Dom. 1650," cited in Drewry, "Fort Henry," 20; full text available from *Encyclopedia Virginia*, published September 30, 2022, https://encyclopediavirginia.org/primary-documents/the-discovery-of-new-brittaine-began-august-27-anno-dom-1650-1651. Another documented exploratory party from Fort Henry includes the 1673 expedition of James Needham and Gabriel Arthur, who intended to establish trade with the Cherokee along the Tennessee River. Charles Grymes, "Frontier Forts in Virginia," *Virginia Places* (2017), http://www.virginiaplaces.org/military/frontierforts.html#six.

[55] Sherry, *Cultural Landscape Report,* 11.

[56] Trubowitz, *Native American Associations,* 19.

[57] Drewry, "Fort Henry," 9; Petersburg National Register Nomination (Draft), sec. 8, 86.

Revolutionary Era, 1775-1784

While Petersburg gained renown for its role in the Civil War, it also impacted the outcomes of the American Revolution. As a major tobacco hub located at the confluence of important land and water trading routes, Petersburg was a strategic location from early on in the war. Petersburg may have also been the largest settlement in Virginia, according to some estimates. With a population of 2,828 in 1782, Petersburg dwarfed Richmond's 1,031 residents.[58]

As early as 1775, Petersburg was selected as the chief magazine for arms storage and ammunition in Virginia, and, in 1780, George Washington selected Petersburg as one of four Continental Army supply depots located across the state. Major General Nathanael Greene commanded the southern army, overseeing Major General Friedrich Wilhelm Augustus von Steuben who oversaw the supplies and defenses in Virginia. Two forces reported to von Steuben: Brigadier General Thomas Nelson to the north of the James River, and Brigadier General John Peter Gabriel Muhlenberg to the south of the river.[59]

Petersburg residents confronted scattered military activity as early as March 1780, when General William Woodward gathered seven hundred Virginia troops for about a month before departing south to Charleston.[60] Then, upon their successful capture of Portsmouth in March 1781, British Major General William Phillips traveled with approximately three thousand soldiers toward Petersburg. Their intent: to destroy American communications lines throughout Virginia that supported Greene's army. Following the settlement's capture, Phillips aimed to reconnect with General Cornwallis's troops as they marched north from Wilmington, North Carolina. They arrived in City Point on April 24. To their south, Muhlenberg's Virginia militia paralleled the British on the other side of the river.[61]

Under Muhlenberg and von Steuben, the 1,200 Virginia soldiers were not trained members of the Continental Army but civilians armed in a local militia. They understood they did not hold the same military knowledge or might as the three thousand-strong British army, but they strove to protect the Petersburg community. Two regiments were positioned along Poor's Creek between an Appomattox River wharf and Blandford Church, at the foot of Well's Hill. Two more regiments were sited from the Bollingbrook estate on Wood's Hill toward the west end of Lieutenant's Run. A fifth regiment was to guard the Pocahontas Bridge, which provided the only passage across the river for twenty miles. Von Steuben's two piece artillery were placed in present-day Colonial Heights.[62]

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58 "The Revolutionary War Battle of Petersburg," Historic Petersburg Foundation, Inc. (2025), http://www.historicpetersburg.org/the-revolutionary-war-battle-of-petersburg/.

59 "The Revolutionary War Battle of Petersburg."

60 John E. Selby, *Revolution in Virginia* (University of Virginia Press, 2007), 211-212.

61 "Battle of Petersburg," Petersburg, Virginia (2025), https://www.petersburgva.gov/483/Battle-of-Petersburg; "The Revolutionary War Battle of Petersburg."

62 "The Revolutionary War Battle of Petersburg."

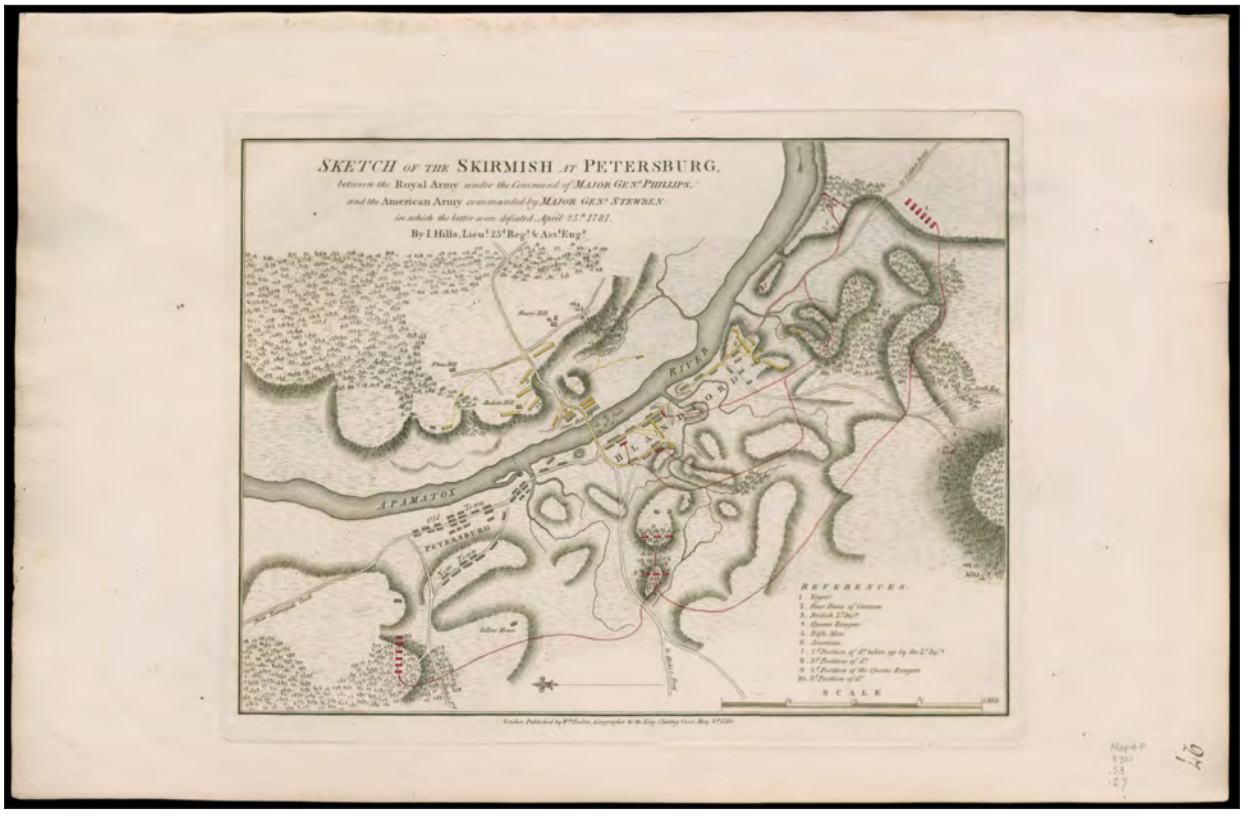

Figure 1-1: John Hills (Surveyor), "Sketch of the skirmish at Petersburg, between the royal army under the command of Major Genl. Phillips, and the American army commanded by Major Genl. Stewben, in which the latter were defeated, April 25th, 1781," Map (London: Wm. Faden, 1783) Norman B. Leventhal Map & Education Center, https://collections.leventhalmap.org/search/commonwealth:z603vn42j (accessed July 31, 2025).

On April 25, Phillips' army arrived with eleven gunboats, then continued the twelve-mile march from Blandford to Petersburg. The battle lasted three hours. Americans suffered approximately 150 casualties, whereas the British army lost an estimated 20 soldiers. Von Steuben ordered a retreat across Pocahontas Bridge toward Chesterfield County, the goal being to reach Richmond where Major General Marquis de Lafayette was stationed with the American Regulars. While the Virginia militia was fighting in Petersburg, Lafayette's troops were able to strengthen their hold over Richmond.[63]

On May 9, Phillips returned with the British army, who confronted two artillery pieces sent by Lafayette. Phillips contracted disease, possibly typhoid fever, and died at the Bolling residence on East Hill on May 13. His body was buried in an unmarked grave in Blandford Cemetery, as ordered by General Benedict Arnold.[64]

Of the families living on PETE's Eastern Front impacted by the Revolutionary-era Battle of Petersburg, Colonel John Bannister was dealt several losses. Colonel John Bannister, husband

[63] "The Revolutionary War Battle of Petersburg"; "Battle of Petersburg."
[64] "The Revolutionary War Battle of Petersburg."

of Elizabeth Munford, lived on the White Hall/White Hill tract (which may at the time have included acreage of the Spring Garden property) at the time of war.[65] Elizabeth Munford died shortly after her son's death in 1755, and Bannister married her cousin Elizabeth Bland in 1771. Bannister owned flour and sawmills on the southern banks of the Appomattox River, as well as his home plantation at "Battersea" in Dinwiddie County. In 1781, the British troops confiscated crops and goods at the White Hall/White Hill plantation, pausing there to rest. In a May 16, 1781 letter to John Bland, Colonel Bannister wrote that this "little affair shows plainly the militia will fight." Bannister fled his property at the time of his property's confiscation, and the British troops evacuated Bannister's enslaved population.[66]

After the war, Bannister reattained much of his lost property. Re-amassing his mills and agricultural enterprises, Bannister came to enslave eighty-three individuals. He became Petersburg's first mayor in 1784. Petersburg was incorporated as the Borough of Petersburg, which included Blandford, Pocahontas, and the lands of Robert Bolling, John Tabb, and the heirs of Peter Jones.[67]

Transportation Development, 1785-1861

Due to Petersburg's location near the confluence of the Appomattox and James Rivers and its connection with the southern and western parts of the state, the development of multimodal transportation networks was strategic for the Commonwealth's expanding economy during the early republic and antebellum eras. In 1785, the Virginia General Assembly approved the establishment of the Upper Appomattox Company, organized to construct a canal that circumvented the river's waterfalls. The cascades resulted from the geologic fall line, which prevented further inland travel by water. Completed in 1816, the Appomattox Canal ultimately cost $109,748.17.[68] With the rise of the rail industry, however, the canal quickly diminished in economic importance.

Between 1830 and 1858, the town of Petersburg became connected with other ports and towns through five different rail lines. In 1833, the Petersburg, or Weldon, Railroad connected Petersburg sixty-five miles away to Weldon, North Carolina. That same year, the City Point Railroad,

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[65] The Taylor family was living on the Spring Garden tract at the time of war. Local merchant Richard F. Taylor (1739-1801) and Mary Field had their first son, George Keith Taylor, in 1769. The family home was destroyed during the 1781 Battle of Petersburg.

[66] Mrs. Rebecca Johnston, "William Byrd Title Book," *Virginia Magazine of History and Biography*, 50, no. 2 (1942): 179; Helen Kilpatrick Lyon and Mary Harding Vesely, "Montfort - Munford family of Virginia and Georgia and allied families," (H.P. Lyon and M.H. Vesely, 1978), cited in *CLI for Initial Assaults*, 35; "The Revolutionary War Battle of Petersburg."

[67] PETE White Hill Plantation Panel Discussion, Facebook, October 18, 2020; Emmanuel Dabney, Review comments to authors, August 29, 2021; Gibson Worsham, "Entrepot, Town, Borough, and City: An Urban History of Petersburg, Part Three," *Urban Scale Petersburg*, April 28, 2014, https://urbanscalepetersburgvirginia.blogspot.com/2014/04/entrepot-town-borough-and-city-urban.html.

[68] *Annual report of the Board of Public Works to the General Assembly of Virginia: with the accompanying documents* (Virginia Board of Public Works, Thomas Ritchie, 1816), 309-310, cited in Peter Antolin Giscombe, "Local Matters: Life, Race, And The Marketplace - Politics, Industry And The Built Environment In Petersburg, Virginia, 1850 - 1890" (PhD diss., College of William & Mary, 2023), 33-34; Edward A. Wyatt, IV, "Rise of Industry in Ante-bellum Petersburg, "William and Mary Quarterly 17, no. 2 (1937): 5.

reorganized in 1847 as the Appomattox Railroad, connected the town with coastal trade routes. In the 1830s, the cities of Richmond and Petersburg established a route between the two cities. The Southside Railroad acquired the nine-mile City Point Railroad in 1854. Heading southwest, the Southside Railroad supplanted the importance of the Upper Appomattox Canal, more efficiently linking Petersburg with Lynchburg 124 miles away. At 85.5 miles long, the 1851 Norfolk and Petersburg line expanded Petersburg's coastal connections, and it straddled the Griffith and Taylor properties.[69]

In addition to rail and canal, the town of Petersburg established connections with other towns and cities through the construction of roads. These roads tended to follow upland plateaus or ridgelines to minimize steep inclines or waterways. Several roads or road traces remain within the present-day boundaries of PETE's Eastern Front: Baxter Road bounded the Taylor and Griffith farm properties to the south. Connecting Petersburg to Norfolk, Baxter Road is also known as Sussex Road or Norfolk Stage Road, and it appears on the 1863 map by Confederate Chief of Engineers Jeremy Francis Gilmer, as well as the 1865 Michler map.[70] Constructed in 1853, Jerusalem Plank Road (present-day South Crater Road, or US Route 301) connected Petersburg with Jerusalem (present-day Courtland). Jordan Point Road, also known as Coggin's Point Road, was constructed in the eighteenth century and connected Petersburg with Jordan Point on the James River. Prince George Court House Road connected Petersburg with Prince George County. Shand House Road connected Baxter Road and Prince George Court House Roads. Toward the west, antebellum corridors included Vaughan, Halifax, Squirrel Level, and Church Roads. Boydton Plank Road connected Petersburg to Dinwiddie County. Several plantations and more modest farmsteads were located on these roads, which are described later in this chapter.[71]

From Agriculture to Industry, 1700-1861

As with much of the US South, Virginia depended on agriculture as its primary economic driver prior to the Civil War. From its origins as an important fur trading post, Petersburg became an agricultural hub that profited from industry and manufacturing. Over the course of the eighteenth century, white landowners and businessmen increasingly replaced their laborers from white indentured servants with enslaved Africans and American Americans. As white servants completed

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[69] National Register Nomination (Draft), sec. 8, 86. The City Point and Southside rail lines are now part of the present-day Norfolk and Western Rail. The Petersburg, or Weldon, line merged with the Richmond and Petersburg Railroad in 1898, which then merged with the Atlantic Coast Line Railroad in 1900. The tracks laid for the Norfolk and Petersburg line remain important routes that connect the international port to inland resources.

[70] According to the PETE Crater Battlefield CLI, "Between the 1930s and 1950s, the Virginia Department of Transportation rerouted and widened Baxter Road south of its battle-era location adjacent to the Griffith and Taylor farm properties. The widened route is presently identified as Winfield Road and merges into County Drive which more closely follows the battle-era alignment of Baxter Road toward Sussex County. A portion of Baxter Road's battle-era alignment survives beneath the present Tour Road. East and west of the Tour Road bridge over the Norfolk and Petersburg Railroad, Baxter Road is present as a trace with the former roadbed at a lower elevation than the surrounding grades. Both the east and west sections of the trace are in areas of successional woody vegetation." *Cultural Landscapes Inventory for Crater Battlefield, Petersburg National Battlefield* (National Park Service, 2017), 111.

[71] National Register Nomination (Draft), sec. 7, 14.

their indentures, they, too, became entitled to own land if they could afford it, thus propelling the trade of enslaved people.[72]

The Chesapeake region increased exponentially between the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, in part due to natural increase among Virginia's enslaved population. Across the region, Black residents represented 42 percent of the population. In general, more white than Black people were internally migrating across the Piedmont into the Blue Ridge in search of land ownership and economic opportunity.[73] As an agricultural and technological port town that depended on the labor of enslaved individuals, Petersburg's population grew between 1840 to 1860 from eleven thousand to more than eighteen thousand.[74] Petersburg was also home to the most Black residents in Virginia prior to the Civil War. In 1790, Petersburg was home to three thousand residents in total, Black and white. One-fourth of the Black population, or 310 residents, was free that year. In 1810, the census total was 5,656, with 2,161 enslaved people and 1,089 free people of color. By 1830, 2,032 free Blacks and 2,850 enslaved people lived in Petersburg amid a total population of 8,322. In 1850, Petersburg reported a total population of 14,010 with 4,729 enslaved individuals and 2,616 free people of color. This marked a larger free Black population than that of Richmond, though Richmond held more enslaved people. By 1860 the city was home to 3,164 free Black residents and 5,680 enslaved people.[75] In rural areas outside the city, most free people of color served as farm laborers.[76]

From the seventeenth to early eighteenth centuries, tobacco was the crop of choice for landowners, though it proved not only labor-intensive but also depleted soil nutrients in the Atlantic coastal plain and Piedmont. By the eighteenth century, Virginians began to diversify their cultivation to include wheat and cotton. All three crops facilitated the growth of Petersburg's milling and manufacturing industries.

By the early nineteenth century, Petersburg had arisen in economic prominence as it boasted five cotton factories, an iron foundry, several flour mills, and a woolen factory. In the 1840s, tobacco and cotton together contributed $1 million to the local economy, and the flour industry added $125,000.[77] Residents of surrounding counties depended on Petersburg for enterprise and shopping, as the bustling town offered "bakehouses, rope walks, tanneries, coachmakers, saddle and harness makers, coppersmiths, blacksmiths, wheelwrights, soap and candle makers, and even shipyards."[78] Writing to a friend in 1841, Petersburg resident Evelyn Taylor wrote of the town,

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[72] Tyler-McGraw, "Richmond Free Blacks," 15; Kulikoff, *Tobacco and Slaves*, 47.

[73] In 1810, the Black population of the Chesapeake region (including parts of Maryland) had reached 567,000, a near doubling over one generation. Richard S. Dunn, "Black Society in the Chesapeake, 1775-1810" in *Slavery and Freedom in the Age of the American Revolution*, eds. Richard S. Dunn, Ira Berlin, and Ronald Hoffman (University Press of Virginia, 1982), 59-61.

[74] National Register Nomination (Draft), sec. 8, 87.

[75] Luther Porter Jackson, "Manumission in Certain Virginia Cities," *Journal of Negro History* 15, no. 3 (1930): 366.

[76] Dunn, "Black Society in the Chesapeake," 77.

[77] *Niles' Weekly Register* (Baltimore, MD), July 21, 1838, cited in Wyatt, "Rise of Industry," 3; *Niles' Weekly Register* (Baltimore, MD), December 9, 1843, cited in Wyatt, "Rise of Industry," 4.

[78] Wyatt, "Rise of Industry," 2.

> I suppose you would be struck with the changes of this place, should you visit it. New churches with their white steeples, large additions to public and private buildings, a strong love of the town and its improvements shown in its outward embellishments would scarcely suffer your recognition of the old place. It has become a manufacturing town and numbers many more inhabitants than when you left it. It is full of enterprises, and a great deal of business is transacted here.[79]

The town of Petersburg grew to accommodate several buildings to support these burgeoning businesses and their financial well-being: constructed in 1787, the Petersburg Market bustled with activity; in 1812, the Virginia General Assembly established the Farmers' Bank of Richmond, with a branch in Petersburg; the town's courthouse was built by 1840; the federal government purchased land for the Petersburg custom house in 1856; and the town had completed construction of the Aqueduct Company by the late 1850s. All building construction, along with the labor necessary to bring agricultural commodities to market, depended on enslaved workers. In addition to the aforementioned enterprises, the built environment of Petersburg also included slave pens located on Rock Street and two slave trading businesses on Old Street by Richeson and Son and Mr. G.K. Taylor.[80]

Tobacco

Virginia's dependence on enslaved labor was a direct result of its expansion of tobacco cultivation. A labor-intensive plant, tobacco requires a year to grow until harvest-ready, then it must be carefully cured, bundled, packaged, and shipped. As white indentured labor declined by the 1680s, colonists needed to source other laborers for this crop that required extensive maintenance. By the late seventeenth century, Virginia had cordoned into three informal agricultural subregions: counties along the Potomac River grew Orinoco tobacco; on the Rappahannock, York, and upper James River, farmers tended sweet-scented strains of tobacco; on the Lower James and Eastern Shore, residents preferred mixed farming and provided naval stores and lumber for colonial markets in other English colonies.[81] Prior to the American Revolution, England was the primary recipient of Virginia tobacco, which in 1700 received twenty-two million pounds of tobacco from Virginia.[82]

Over the course of the eighteenth century, tobacco cultivation expanded through Virginia's Chesapeake and Piedmont. Tobacco proved a difficult crop for Virginians, as it (1) exhausted soil nutrients; (2) was not always economically advantageous, as overproduction led to reduced value; and (3) required enough capital to house and feed an enslaved workforce. The Virginia House

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[79] "Letter of Miss Evelyn Taylor, Petersburg, March 28, 1841, to Mrs. Watson Stott, Edinburgh, Scotland, whose husband had been a wealthy merchant of Petersburg; used through the courtesy of Miss Rosalie G. Taylor of Amelia," cited in Wyatt, "Rise of Industry," 3.

[80] Giscombe, "Local Matters," 45-56. Giscombe cites Tamara J. Eastman, *The Great Fire of Petersburg, Virginia* (The History Press, 2016), 25-26.

[81] Lorena S. Walsh, *Motives of Honor, Pleasure, and Profit Plantation Management in the Colonial Chesapeake, 1607-1763* (University of North Carolina Press, 2010), 210-217.

[82] *Encyclopedia Virginia*, "Tobacco in Colonial Virginia," by Emily Salmon and John Salmon, December 7, 2020, https://encyclopediavirginia.org/entries/tobacco-in-colonial-virginia/. See also: Kulikoff, *Tobacco & Slaves*.

of Burgesses created various incentives to diversify the colony's economy with meager results. White Virginians began to introduce more grains and cotton by the late eighteenth century.[83]

Though Virginia had required tobacco inspection since 1619, Petersburg introduced their own tobacco inspector in 1730. Petersburg became an increasingly important port town for tobacco transport during the eighteenth century. By the 1820s, the "streets of Petersburg were crowded with hogsheads of tobacco; and on the road we continually met with single hogsheads, drawn by two horses, coming eighty or a hundred miles from the interior."[84] The town claimed six operational tobacco factories in 1835, managed predominantly by people of Scottish descent. Laborers were primarily Black and enslaved people.[85]

Cotton

Cotton manufacturing grew in Petersburg during the first half of the nineteenth century. By 1836, the town reported five cotton factories and two cottonseed oil mills. In the 1830s, Petersburg manufacturers produced 3,950,000 yards of cloth and 530,000 pounds of yarn per year. Leading the way were the companies Matoaca, Ettrick, Battersea, Petersburg, Swift Creek, and Merchants. Unlike other industries, cotton manufacturers hired only white employees; in 1838, one thousand white men worked for Petersburg cotton factories.[86] According to one Petersburg-based writer, these factories

> were considered a God-send to the poorer classes of people in the city and the surrounding counties, enabling them to secure a decent livelihood, which it was difficult to do by agricultural pursuits, where all the best lands were tilled by planters owning their own labor, who had no necessity to hire other help, even had pride of race and caste permitted the white man to labor in the fields by the side of the Negro slave.[87]

Such a statement indicates the race and class distinctions that undergirded Black and white relations in the city. Yet all residents suffered during the economic depressions of 1837 and 1857. The latter depression led to the termination of a thousand cotton workers at most of Petersburg's factories. These factories found renewed enterprise during the Civil War, as they provided uniforms to Confederate soldiers.

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[83] T.H. Breen, *Tobacco Culture: The Mentality of the Great Tidewater Planters on the Eve of Revolution* (Princeton University Press, 1985).

[84] Adam Hodgson, *Remarks during a Journey through North America* (1823), 106-111, cited in Wyatt, "Rise of Industry," 9.

[85] Wyatt, "Rise of Industry," 9-11.

[86] Petersburg resident Francis Follet invented a machine whereby planters could hull cotton seeds to separate the hulls from the kernels, which enabled them to produce cotton seed oil. Wyatt, "Rise of Industry," 27-28. By 1831, Petersburg was producing approximately thirteen million gallons of oil per year. Anna Arabindan-Kesson, *Black Bodies, White Gold: Art, Cotton, and Commerce in the Atlantic World* (Duke University Press, 2021), 16-18.

[87] John Herbert Claiborne, *Seventy-Five Years in Old Virginia* (1904), 65-66, cited in Wyatt, "Rise of Industry," 19-20.

Grain

In addition to cotton's economic contributions, Petersburg was also home to several grain mill warehouses. Robert Bolling established Petersburg's first mill in 1754, and Richard Bate opened a bakery near his mill at Bate's spring, on the Appomattox River, in 1790. Virginia's General Assembly passed a grain inspection law in 1781. Though milling declined in popularity by the 1830s (with more entrepreneurs favoring Richmond), many Petersburg families at one time contributed to the industry including Bland, Banister, Atkinson, Boiling, Pride, Skipwith, Taylor, Tabb, Stott, Haxall, Boisseau, McKenzie, LeMessurier, Dunlop, Campbell, and Rambaut. By the nineteenth century, Richard Furt, Smith Stokes, and McKenzie & Christian were the primary milling companies of Petersburg.[88]

Iron and lead works

While on a smaller scale than the agricultural industries, foundries supported local farmers, as well as regional trade and the expansion of railroads. For example, Uriah Wells managed a foundry, founded in 1847, where they manufactured "water wheels, steam engines, ploughs, iron railing, tobacco presses, edge tools, and mill gearing of all kinds."[89] Charles Friend, who owned land in present-day PETE's Eastern Front, is known to have purchased forged goods for their agricultural productions. He hired several artisans in Petersburg, including Wells, as well as druggists, saddlers, coach makers, shoemakers, cabinetmakers, and butchers. As L. Diane Barnes has argued "small amounts of the wealth generated through slave labor on the plantations benefited the white artisans in the community of Petersburg even if they did not own slaves themselves."[90]

Outside the City: Rural Landowners within the Eastern Front

Within PETE's Eastern Front, plantation development reflected the living patterns of many Virginia plantations in the Chesapeake and Piedmont regions between the colonial era and the Civil War. Many of these plantations cultivated tobacco for commercial use and grains like wheat and corn or other produce for private consumption. Some families may have also experimented with cotton, rice, and indigo, as well as orchards or vineyards. Virginia plantations cultivated Orinoco and sweet-scented strains of tobacco. Plantation owners typically cultivated four to five acres of tobacco per enslaved worker. Some plantations may have raised livestock and draft animals like cattle and hogs. The introduction of stock and fence laws throughout the antebellum era established rules of enclosure for roaming livestock.[91]

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88 Wyatt, "Rise of Industry," 28-32.

89 Wyatt, "Rise of Industry," 33.

90 Account Book, 1839-1869, Charles Friend Papers, Virginia Historical Society, cited in L. Diane Barnes, *Artisan Workers in the Upper South: Petersburg, Virginia, 1820-1865* (LSU Press, 2008); David R. Goldfield, *Urban Growth in the Age of Sectionalism: Virginia, 1847-1861* (LSU Press, 1977), 195-196.

91 Lorena S. Walsh, "Summing the Parts: Implications for Estimating Chesapeake Output and Income Subregionally," *William and Mary Quarterly*, 56, no. 1 (1999); Kline et al., *Richmond*, 50-51.

Labor on the plantations was informed both by race and class positions. White women who served as indentured servants were more likely to perform domestic labor and dairying, though this temporarily shifted during the Revolutionary era as the wives and daughters of slave-owning families assumed these duties, along with textile production. By the early nineteenth century on large plantations, enslaved men were primarily tasked with sowing and mowing grain, plowing, harrowing, caring, ditching, lumbering, fishing, and milling. In addition to domestic work, including sewing and spinning, enslaved women were often assigned the responsibility of unskilled manual field labor, including hoeing, weeding, building fences, cleaning winnowed grains, breaking new ground, cleaning stables, and loading and spreading manure.[92]

Wharves and warehouses were common features of plantations located on the Chesapeake region's riverbanks. Over the first half of the nineteenth century, plantations shifted their dependence from waterways to turnpikes and railroads. Petersburg began constructing turnpikes after 1816, and the Petersburg and Jerusalem Plank Road Company was incorporated in 1853.[93] With increased access to urban hubs, rural landowners like those located within PETE's Eastern Front benefited from the aforementioned industries and manufacturing located in Petersburg's mercantile center. In 1853, Frederick Law Olmsted described the land between the more urban parts of Petersburg and the rural areas in the surrounding counties as:

> Old fields…of a course and yellow sandy soil bearing scare anything but pine trees and broom sedge. In some places, for acres the pines would not be above five feet high—that was land that had been in cultivation, used up and 'turned out' not more than six or eight years before. Then there were patches of every age, sometimes the trees were a hundred feet high. At long intervals, there were fields with pines just beginning to spring in beautiful green plumes from the ground, hardly noticeable from the dead brown grass and sassafras bushes and blackberry-vines, which nature sends to hide the nakedness of the impoverished earth.[94]

Several plantations and farmsteads were located within the boundaries of PETE's Eastern Front, though most were destroyed during the Civil War siege on Petersburg. Despite Civil War destruction, ruins and archeological deposits indicate the location of domestic sites, though not all properties have undergone rigorous scrutiny. Archeologists have conducted detailed archival and archeological research on PETE's Eastern Front. Cultural resource specialists must find evidence in land tax records, which remain one of the most critical sites of inquiry for the construction, improvement, and demolition of buildings in Petersburg. Virginia's old deed books burned in Richmond in April 1865, thus limiting the archival sources available to trace land ownership. Established in 1782, land taxes assessed the value per acre and total acreage for individual property owners.

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92 Walsh, Motives of Honor, 186-187.

93 The first turnpikes were constructed in Petersburg in 1816, and the first plank roads were introduced in 1850. Wyatt, "Rise of Industry," 5.

94 Frederick Law Olmsted, *A Journey in the Seaboard Slave States, with Remarks on their Economy* (Mason Brothers, 1863), 65, cited in *Cultural Resource Inventory for Fort Stedman, Petersburg National Battlefield*, (Olmsted Center for Landscape Preservation, National Park Service, 2021), 47.

Further investigations may shed light on the domestic activities and living arrangements of white and Black residents on these properties. Among the under-researched sites, "the Friend House Ruin (ASMIS #PETE00016.000) and Jordan House Ruin (ASMIS #PETE00012.000), also have the potential for intact archeological deposits related to enslaved African American laborers."[95]

Taylor House (ASMIS #PETE00018.000)

Known as "Spring Garden," this plantation was first recorded in 1654 under the ownership of Thomas Batte.[96] Richard Taylor settled on a portion of this property in the late eighteenth century.[97] In 1782, Richard Taylor was listed as owning 742 acres, though that number reduced to 611 in 1790.[98] George Taylor, son of Richard, was a member of the Virginia House of Delegates and served on the US Court of Appeals Court for the 4th Circuit under President John Adams. Later in life, Taylor ran a private practice. From his father, George received an initial 130 acres; in 1797, Richard bequeathed another 300 acres to his son. George may have resided elsewhere until his death in 1815.[99]

Between 1816 and 1848, two successive owners managed the property. In 1819, Thomas Gary purchased George's acreage. After Gary's death in 1822, Hartwell Heath and his sisters inherited the property. Hartwell owned the property until his death in 1847. Because Hartwell's residence listed him in Petersburg, it's possible that a tenant lived on the formerly Taylor property.[100]

After being sold among various land speculators, the Taylor family resumed ownership in 1848.[101] In 1851, Mary Taylor bequeathed the 304.5-acre property to her son William Byrd Taylor. It is likely that Wiliam Byrd lived on the property. Norfolk and Western Railroad bought twenty-three acres from William, who also bought a separate twenty-four acres for Elizabeth Taylor, likely a daughter or granddaughter of Richard, in 1856.

According to the 1860 personal property tax for Prince George County, the 425-acre Taylor Plantation profited from the enslaved labor of twenty-one people (three women, ten men, one

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95 National Register Nomination (Draft), sec. 8, 179-181.

96 John Bennett Boddie, *Southside Virginia Families*, 1 (Genealogical Publishing Company, Inc., 1966), 25.

97 There was likely a mill at this site during the April 1781 Battle of Petersburg of the American Revolution, as suggested by the intact ruins of a dam along Poor-Creek and Taylor's Branch. *CLI for Fort Stedman*, 76.

98 Brooke S. Blades, *Archeological Excavations at the Taylor House Site, Petersburg National Battlefield, Virginia* (National Park Service, Mid-Atlantic Region, July 1993), 1. [REDACTED]

99 Blades, *Archeological Excavations at the Taylor House Site*, 1.

100 Blades, *Archeological Excavations at the Taylor House Site*, 1.

101 "Three-hundred and sixty four of Taylor's Spring Garden acres north of the 'Hall's Field Road' and south of the river and the 'Palestine Line' [sic palustrine for wetland] were sold to Colin Alfriend whom later married Rebecca Heath. Other purchasers of Judge Taylor's lands included John Clarke (34.25 riverfront acres of wetland meadow, lot #11), Robert Prichett (five 16.25 acre lots, 81.25 acres); Belefield Starke (16.25 acres, lot #6), Drury Buage (sp?)(16.25 acres, lot #7), Daniel Vaughn (16.25 acres, lot #8), Peyton Mason (16.25 acres, lot #9), John James Thweatt (16.25 acres, lot #10). One-hundred and eighty acres south of the referenced Halls Field' road were identified in 1818 as yet to be sold." Timothy W. Layton and H. Eliot Foulds, *Cultural Landscape Report for Crater Battlefield, Petersburg National Battlefield* (Olmsted Center for Landscape Preservation, National Park Service, 2017), 16.

teenage girl, three teenage boys, a two-year-old girl, and a five-year-old boy). They likely lived in six residences. Taylor reported two of the enslaved people as missing in 1860.[102] Reported on the agricultural census, Taylor owned a farm valued at $6,000 and $703 in livestock, as well as produced 1,700 bushels of winter wheat, corn, and Indian corn.[103] At the time of the Petersburg battles, three structures were extant on the property. The Union Army gained control of the property on June 18, 1864. The Taylor House burned down when Confederate troops set fire to it on June 18, leaving behind only chimneys. Renamed "The Chimneys" by the military, the property again returned to William Byrd Taylor after the war. Taylor rebuilt and remained at the house until his death in 1875, at which time the property was used as a dairy farm until the early twentieth century.[104]

The Taylor property underwent archeological research in the late 1970s and early 1980s. Archeologists David Orr, Brooke Blades, and Bruce Bevan assembled a large artifact collection that dates between 1760 and 1950. It is believed that the extant brick foundations and center chimney belonged to the original kitchen. Melted bottles and window glass suggest that the Taylor House burned by fire. Archeologists have confirmed that one of the brick foundations served as the kitchen and laundry where enslaved African Americans worked and resided.
According to the draft National Register of Historic Places nomination for Petersburg National Battlefield,

> The value of the Taylor House and Kitchen Ruins site lies in its potential to provide substantive data about residency and cultural material acquisition patterns of upper-class Petersburg residents from the second half of the eighteenth century through the mid nineteenth century. Existing and as yet unexplored sites of this nature also have the potential to provide information on a wide range of research issues from a comparative, diachronic perspective. Archeological exploration of alterations in the organization of the plantation/farm landscape over time, as well as changes in architecture and activity patterns, have the potential to shed light on the processes of economic development, shifting patterns of agriculture, and changing ideas about class, race, and social relations that characterized the region between the period of initial English settlement and the Civil War.[105]

The Taylor House property is located within the Crater Battlefield area of PETE's Eastern Front.

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[102] Layton and Foulds, *CLR for Crater Battlefield*, 17.

[103] "The 1860 Slave Schedule lists '6' and '3' under Sarah Shands in the column for slave houses. Sarah Shands is the next owner entry after Taylor. The recorder tended to list the number of slave houses at the end of each entry and 6 is listed first under Shands with 3 listed at the end of Shands. That, coupled with the fact that Shands had less slaves than Taylor, leads to a reasonable conclusion that the Taylor property contained six slave houses in 1860." "1850 Agricultural Census," "1860 US Decennial Census," and "1860 Slave Schedule," Ancestry, accessed February 2017, https://www.ancestry.com, cited in Layton and Foulds, CLR for *Crater Battlefield*, 18.

[104] National Register Nomination (Draft), sec. 8, 179-181.

[105] National Register Nomination (Draft), sec. 8, 180.

Figure 1-2: This map features detail from Hare and Taylor Farms. United States Army Of The Potomac. Engineer Dept, and N Michler. Vicinity of Petersburg. 1864. Map. https://www.loc.gov/item/lva0000194/.

Friend House (ASMIS #PETE0016.00)

The Friend House, also known as White Hill or White Hall, was the only house to survive the Civil War. Standing until the twentieth century, the house, built in 1778, was part of the original White Hill estate.[106] It originally belonged to the Colemans in 1638, then the Munfords by 1640. William Kennon of Mecklenburg owned the property as an absentee landlord until 1782. Following the American Revolution, Robert Turnball assumed ownership by 1797. By 1805 the property had changed hands and was purchased by John Gilliam. Gilliam then sold 460 acres to Nathaniel Friend in 1817, who renamed it from White Hall to White Hill. In 1820, the buildings were assessed at $2,000. The Friends expanded their plantation to 538 acres by 1830, and Nathaniel bequeathed the land to Charles Friend in his 1842 will. Charles Friend, born at White Hill in 1825, married twice. His first wife, Catherine Cole or Coles, died not long after they married; his second wife, Mary Minge, mothered twelve children, eight of whom survived.[107]

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[106] The estate was originally owned by the Munford (also known as Mumford) family. "In 1689, James Munford patented 504-acres in 'Westopher' Parish in Charles City County, within the area that became Prince George County, near the homes of the Byrd, Harrison, and Bland families… By 1704, Robert Munford I had inherited the 504-acres in Prince George County from his father. Later 'White Hall' [later White Hill] is referenced in a 1720 deed, through which Elizabeth Munford, daughter of Robert and Martha Kennon Munford, transferred the home plantation. The Munfords eventually amassed 9,000 acres in Prince George County, the second largest land ownership after Robert Bolling, who owned 13,199 acres. The Munfords also owned part of the original Spring Garden tract." *CLI for Initial Assaults*, 35-36.

[107] For more on genealogy, see Mrs. C.E. Friend, "History of the Friend Family of Virginia," *William and Mary College Quarterly Historical Magazine* 11, no. 4 (1931): 330-335.

Charles wrote extensively about visitors (including neighbors and prominent families like the Eppes, Bollingses, Taylors, and Gibsons) and farming practices in agricultural journals, dating from 1851 to 1860 and again after 1868. In his journals, he recorded numerous buildings on his property, including a blacksmith shop, three field quarters, a corn crib, and livestock pens. The journal contains the names of the people he enslaved and the crops they cultivated (predominantly wheat, tobacco, corn, and fruit trees) and livestock they tended (most especially hogs). As one example from his journals, Friend wrote,

> The wagons were hauling Plank along the fence and
> Posts and there hauled rails around the fence. Henry
> was white washing. Albert Miles Archy and Nelson
> were putting up Plank fence. Jim was plowing
> Tobacco Land John sowing Guano. The rest
> of the hands were making up Tobacco hills
> We are now suffering for the want of rain
> and the wheat on light Land is turning yet
> low from the continues dry cold spill
> whilst that on the [undecipherable] Land look very
> green and strong. We have a fair prospect
> for [undecipherable] Tho' it has been so cold.
> I have omitted to say that Lucy Ann
> had her fourth Baby about a week ago.[108]

The name Albert appears 229 times in the journals, the name John 435 times, the name Miles 133 times, the name Jim 421 times, the name Archy 142 times, the name Nelson 122 times (though this sometimes referred to the last name of white visiting guests), and the name Lucy Ann 9 times (the birth of her child mentioned on June 1, 1854; the birth of another child on November 22, 1855; the death of a child on December 10, 1856; and the birth of a child on April 2, 1858).

In her reminisces, daughter of Charles Friend, Jane Minge (Friend) Stephenson, described her upbringing at White Hill and experiences on the plantation:

> The name White Hill must have come from the large, square, white frame house built on the northern brow of an oblong hill, very level on top and covering several acres, but rising abruptly from flat meadows, that lay on the west and north… Wide halls or pass ages were called ran through the center of the house. The passage below was entered at the north and south by square porches, which were covered on either side of by climbing roses… There, was no back or front to the house. The ascent towards town (Petersburg) was so steep the approach to the dwelling had to wind around and come in at what would have been the rear.[109]

[108] Charles Friend, Diary entry, 30 April 1860, Diary of White Hill Plantations Operations, 173, Mss1F9156a, Microfilm reel C251, Friend Family Papers, 1792–1871, Virginia Museum of History and Culture. For references to the births and deaths of Lucy Ann's children, see pages 208, 293, 353, and 122. Page numbers may refer to different journals.

[109] Jane Minge (Friend) Stephenson (1897), cited in Whatley and Carruth, *A Phase II Archaeological Investigation*,

Stephenson provided a detailed account of the plantation's built environment:

> For on the other southern side were the domestic arrangements; houses for the servants, the poultry, the smokehouse, the garden, and still beyond, but in sight, the stable for the pleasure horses. Little fencing was to be seen about the yard. Running north and south on either side, but for some distance from the house, were rows of cedar trees, that separated the yard from the apple and peach orchards. Between the house and garden was a large circle, and around it the drive to the southern porch, which was the general entrance to the dwelling… But the boxwood bordering the wide flower beds, which in turn bordered the squares of beautifully cultivated vegetables… Across the back of the garden on the brow of the terrace, then covered with underbrush was a row of fig trees, that bore great quantities of luscious fruit. Meeting these fit bushes on the right hand side of the garden was an old graveyard, where some relations were buried. At the porch the grass came to the door, unbroken save for a little foot-path, shining with white native pebbles, that abound on this side of the hill. Not very far from the house was this lost to view, as it entered a large grove of oaks, maple and hickory trees, that had stood there in their glory for generations… One portion of the hillside nearest town… was a peach orchard, that had been given over the servants for their use… Through the meadows on the north, below the grove of forest trees, the City Point R.R. passes. A mile beyond and parallel with the railroad, ran the Appomattox River, not a pretty stream, but the fringe of trees on its banks made a pleasing line of green, and a natural limit for the farm in that direction. This stretch of a mile between the house and the river made a fair prospect for one standing on the northern side of the dwelling. For spread out before the eyes were beautifully cultivated fields, enclosed with fencing made of tarred cedar posts, and white washed planks. Westward was Petersburg. Line in between could be seen the Overseer's house and near his premises, the barn and farmyard… Beyond the Overseer's house, on a bluff overhanging a creek running through the plantation were the 'Quarters,' the name given the settlement of the farm hands… Every married couple had two rooms, a garden, a pig-sty and a hen-roost. Their burial grounds were marked by a clump of trees in an open field behind the garden.[110]

None of this landscape would have been possible without the labor of enslaved African Americans. Personal property taxes for Prince George County in 1860 list Friend as having owned thirty-six enslaved adults. On the 1837 map by John Couty, four structures labeled "quarter" likely indicate slave quarters located between Harrison Creek and the Petersburg and City Point Railroad. A road separated the Jordan and Friend plantations and traveled to the bluff to the City Point Road.[111] By 1850, Friend owned seventy-one enslaved people. At the time of the Civil War, the enslaved population managed Friend's 802 acres.

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[110] Jane Minge (Friend) Stephenson Diaries, Mss1B6117a, Blanton Family Papers, 1818–1961, Virginia Museum of History and Culture.

[111] R. Corey Rosentel, "White Hill Plantation and the Siege of Petersburg," paper presented at American Battlefield Protection Program 7th National Conference on Battlefield Preservation, Lone Tree Archaeology and Environmental, Inc., April 5, 2004, 5; , 36.

Whereas most structures located within the Eastern Front were destroyed during the Civil War, the White Hill house remained. Because other buildings on their property were destroyed, the overall value of the property was reduced from $3,240 to $1,240 in 1865. The Friend house site is located in the woods to the west of present-day PETE's maintenance area. The site of the Friend House property is located near the current maintenance building, the only traces of which are a large depression north-northwest of the facility. Archeologists have been unable to determine the origins or use of the old concrete foundations located nearby, and the brick foundations underwent archeological review in 2007.[112]

Figure 1-3: Friend House, c. 1918. Collection of Petersburg National Battlefield.

Figure 1-4: "Friends Residence and Battlefield during Civil War–Near Petersburg," Photograph in the collection at Petersburg National Battlefield, photographer and date unknown, taken from near the Gibbens compound looking east.

[112] Whatley and Carruth, *A Phase II Archaeological Investigation*.

Figure 1-5: "Rebel prisoners being brought to Hd. Qtrs. 1st Div. 9th A. Corps at the Friend House, March 25th,1865." (Francis W. Knowles Papers, #164, East Carolina Manuscript Collection)

Jordan House Ruin (ASMIS #PETE00012.000)

By 1787, William Cole owned 350 acres upon the land where Clermont, or the Jordan House, had been constructed around 1778. It is likely that the Munfords owned this property prior to this time. According to a May 1797 survey, the boundaries of Clermont bordered White Hill, the plantation that belonged to the Friends. William Cole died by 1805, and the Clermont property (now estimated at 300 acres) seemed to have been bequeathed to another William Cole. The value of all the buildings was assessed at $2,000 in 1820.[113]

The younger William Cole died by 1826, and a William Weeks came to possess 482 acres on the Cole estate in 1832. In 1833, George Ruffin briefly owned the property before selling 525 acres to Josiah Jones in 1833. While the buildings' value was listed at $200 from 1830 to 1839, Brooke Blades notes that this "may have been an error, since the 1840 value was raised $1575 in a year when land and building values were generally reduced following the national economic panic in 1839."[114] When Josiah Jones died in 1835, his wife Rebecca Jordan inherited the plantation through his will. She married Christopher Roane by 1838, who assumed ownership of the property. Roane also died, and Rebecca married Josiah Jordan in 1853. In 1852, the buildings were

[113] Prince George County Surveyor's Record 1797:24, cited in Brooke S. Blades, David G. Orr, and Paul A. Shackel, "An Archaeological Overview and Assessment of the Main Unit: Petersburg National Battlefield, Virginia" (U.S. Department of the Interior, National Park Service, Petersburg National Battlefield, 2001, no page numbers.

[114] Blades, "An Archaeological Overview and Assessment of the Main Unit: Petersburg National Battlefield, Virginia."

assessed at $1,052 and reassessed in 1859 at $1,575. Josiah Jordan owned sixteen adult enslaved persons on his 525-acre property in the 1860s.[115] The enslaved people's likely dwellings, a series of log houses, are located in an illustration drawn by Edwin Forbes on July 15, 1864.[116]

Clermont burned in 1864 or 1865. In 1878, Jordan reported to a former soldier of the New Hampshire 13th regiment that he lost seventeen structures near Battery 5 during the battle.[117] The Jordan property is sited near the present-day visitor center , and a cemetery associated with the house is located near the site of Confederate Battery 6. This 24 sq. ft. cemetery includes Josiah Jordan, his parents, his wife Mary, and four of their children: Watson, ten months; Laura, three years; Charles, four months; and Lemuel, twenty-four years. Dated to the second half of the nineteenth century, their graves are marked by three marble markers with round tops. The maker's mark "JH Brown" is inscribed on the back of two of the stones. Iron frames hold together two of the stones. The stones of Josiah and Mary measure 1 ft., 2 in. x 3 ft., 2 in.[118] A 1935 NPS topographic map details the "old burial ground," the believed location of the Jordan site, and three concrete foundations. The Jordan House property is located within the Initial Assaults area of PETE's Eastern Front.

Figure 1-6: "Sketch of the forts and breastworks near Petersburg, stormed and captured by the 18th Corps, on Wednesday night of June 15th. Petersburg can be seen 2 1/2 or 3 miles off, within easy shelling range. The spires of the churches can be seen above the trees in the centre of the picture." Drawing by Edwin Forbes of lines near the Jordan House, June 15, 1864, Morgan Collection of Civil War Drawings, Library of Congress, https://www.loc.gov/pictures/item/2004661586/.

Hare House (ASMIS #PETE00043.000)

Located west of the plateau river bluff, the Bate (later Hare) House was constructed between 1782-1796. Richard Bate, who served as Petersburg's mayor in 1791, first owned the property, including a mile-long circumference racetrack called Popular Lawn or Poplar Springs Ground, though further research must be conducted to confirm whether this is the same as the New Mar-

[115] Prince George County Personal Property Tax 1860, cited in Blades, "An Archaeological Overview and Assessment of the Main Unit: Petersburg National Battlefield, Virginia"; "Jordan House," Petersburg Project, accessed January 18, 2025, http://www.petersburgproject.org/jordan-house.html.

[116] *CLI for Initial Assaults*, 17.

[117] "New Hampshire 13th Regiment Accounts, 1878," 378, cited in *CLI for Initial Assaults*, 47.

[118] National Register Nomination (Draft), sec. 7, 36.

ket Racecourse. The property was reduced in size to 158 acres by 1795. Bate's insurance policy listed James Bromler as the occupant of three buildings: a "Mansion," assessed at $2,000; a "laundry," assessed at $600; and a "stable," assessed at $400. Bate issued another second insurance policy in 1805, which listed "New Market" as his residence. This policy listed the same structures and assessed values.[119] The main house was a two-story wood structure with a brick cellar measuring 42 x 22 ft. The separate kitchen structure was 32 x 18 ft., ninety feet distant from the main house, and the wood stable was one story 28 x 28 ft.[120]

By 1820, the property was no longer called "New Market" but "New Market Race fields," and the buildings were used by the "New Market Jockey Club."[121]

After Richard Bate died in 1830, Otway Hare purchased the property. Otway Hare was born June 18, 1803, at Brickhouse, Chesterfield County, Virginia. He married Elizabeth by 1826, and they lived in Petersburg, where he purchased several properties. He was trained as a pharmacist, where he ran a pharmacy at the corner of South and Halifax Streets.[122] By 1860, Hare enslaved thirty people between two months and fifty years of age. He also enslaved two women whom he hired out to white Petersburg residents.[123] On March 13, 1841, he emancipated a "Mulatto woman, slave Lucy Cox, about 55 years."[124]

The Hare family invested in horses and inherited the Jockey Club of the nearby mile-long circumference New Market horse race in 1837. In an 1833 issue of the American Turf Register and Sporting Magazine, the racecourse was described as "the oldest and most popular club in Virginia…its races are over a course, one mile in length, of good soil for running, and commanding an extensive and beautiful prospect in every direction…"[125]

Following the 1839 economic panic, the value of Hare's estate dropped to $1,500. At the time of the Civil War, Hare owned 189 acres. By April 1845, Hare needed to grant a deed of trust to New Market due to mounting debts. According to the agreement, Hare would:

> bargain, grant and sell unto him the said Wm. C. Rawlings all that Tract and parcel of land whereon the said Otway P. Hare now resides known by the name of "New Market" lying in the county of Prince George and containing about hundred and thirty acres, also another parcel of land in the same county adjoining the foregoing parcel and containing

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[119] Mutual Assurance Society Records, vol 10, policy #55 (microfilm reel #1, Virginia State Library); Mutual Assurance Society Records, vol 37, policy #563 (microfilm reel #4, Virginia State Library), cited in Brooke S. Blades and John L. Cotter, *Archaeological Test Excavations at the Hare House Site, Petersburg National Battlefield* (Office of Planning and Resource Preservation, Mid-Atlantic Region, National Park Service, 1978), 3.

[120] *CLI for Fort Stedman*, 37.

[121] Blades and Cotter, *Archaeological Test Excavations,* 4.

[122] Blades and Cotter, *Archaeological Test Excavations,* 4.

[123] *CLI for Fort Stedman*, 37.

[124] Blades and Cotter, *Archaeological Test Excavations,* 4.

[125] Wyatt, "Rise of Industry," citing *Turf Register*, April 1833. Other magazines described the racecourse as having "white gravel walks, the flower garden, the many fig bushes, the kitchen garden of 40 or 50 acres, and the stables situated in a fine grove…" Wyatt, "Rise of Industry," 490, citing *Express,* October 29, 1859.

> about one hundred and fifty acres; … together with all the privileges and appurtenances to the said parcels of land or either of them belonging (including 20 slaves and future increase, "blood stock," carriages and horses, plantation utensils at residence, household and kitchen furniture at residence "including plate")… (further) that the said Otway P. Hare shall be allowed to remain in possession and use of the said property until default be made in the payment of the negotiable notes herein before mentioned, or until a sale shall be required, either by said branch, Bragg, or Watson to meet the payment of the said notes when the same shall due…[126]

According to the 1851 Prince George County Courthouse land book, the New Market property included 150 acres, valued at $21 per acre, and the buildings were appraised at $1,050.[127]

All buildings on his property were destroyed during the Petersburg siege. Civil War soldier accounts describe the interior of Hare's home, which was found just after the family fled: "a large amount of books and papers principally referring to sporting items, furniture of different kinds, carpets, etc., were found scattered about… The windows of the carpeted basement opened on one side in full view of the rebel pits in front, and as the basement itself made a very comfortable rifle pit, with chairs of mahogany to sit on, a number of the riflemen took possession of the same for the day."[128]

Archeological research has uncovered varied artifacts on the Bate/Hare site, including a key dropped near the location of the house and a bell pull for the front door, both of which were made from metal.[129] The Hare House property is located within the Fort Stedman area of PETE's Eastern Front.

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[126] Prince George County Deed Book, No. 18, 468-70, cited in Blades and Cotter, *Archaeological Test Excavations*, 7.

[127] Prince George County Land Book, 1851-1865, cited in Blades and Cotter, *Archaeological Test Excavations*, 8. [REDACTED]

[128] Charles Augustus Stevens, *Berdan's United States Sharpshooters in the Army of the Potomac*, 1861-1865 (Prince-McGill, 1892), 457.

[129] "Archeology and When War Came to the Hare House at the Eastern Front (An Informal Learning Activity)," National Park Service, last modified August 23, 2024, https://www.nps.gov/articles/000/informal-learning-archeology-hare-house.htm.

Figure 1-7: Alfred R. Waud, "Hare house, Petersburg," LC-DIG-ppmsca-21616, Library of Congress Prints and Photographs Division (June 1864), https://www.loc.gov/item/2004660548/.

Gibbons Property

The densification of properties along Prince George Court House Road near Harrison indicates a new settlement pattern in the early nineteenth century, as larger plantations were subdivided into smaller parcels. In 1855 William Gibbons purchased thirty-six acres of land on Prince George Court House Road, which had previously belonged to Francis Rives. By 1855-56, the Gibbons Property contained several buildings, which were assessed at $1,008. These buildings may have supported the nearby New Market racecourse, in which William Gibbons had invested. These structures were destroyed during the siege. The Gibbons property is located in the Initial Assaults area of PETE's Eastern Front.

Griffith Tract

Elizabeth Taylor (an heir of Richard Taylor) sold one acre to Lydia Fells, located on the plank road south of Blandford (present-day Crater Road). Fells was listed as a "free negro." According to archeologist Brooke Blades, "Fells owned the lot for 30 years, but no building values were noted in the land tax."[130] Fells sold the land to Richard Brisband in 1851, who then sold it to Timothy Rives in 1852. As of 1857, the buildings on the one-acre lot were assessed at $700. William Griffith purchased the lot in 1861, and he is reported to have had 130 acres of farmland. Until the war, he lived there with his wife, five children, likely his mother-in-law, and six enslaved people (three women, a teenage boy, a two-year-old girl, and a one-year-old boy). In the agricultural census, Griffith is described as owning $100 in livestock, a farm valued at $1,300, and having produced two hundred bushels of Indian corn.[131] The buildings were destroyed during the war. William Griffith returned to his property after the war, building a cabin for himself and his sons.

[130] Blades, "An Archaeological Overview and Assessment of the Main Unit: Petersburg National Battlefield, Virginia."

[131] "1850 Agricultural Census," "1860 US Decennial Census," and "1860 Slave Schedule," Ancestry, accessed February 2017, cited in Layton and Foulds, *CLR for Crater Battlefield*, 18.

He leveled the network of trenches and other earthworks to resume farming.[132] Griffith fenced in the site that surrounded the Crater, which almost immediately became a spectacle for visitors. In addition to fencing, he began charging admission to the site.[133] Baxter Road once ran adjacent to the Griffith and Taylor tracts, and its trace remains beneath part of the present-day Tour Road and in nearby successional woods.[134] The Griffith House property is located within the Crater Battlefield area of PETE's Eastern Front.

Dunn House

Information about the Dunn House remains murky due to limited records. Born around 1824, James A. Dunn married Sarah Elizabeth Hall, who was approximately seventeen years his junior. Dunn died in 1884, and Hall died sometime after 1900. In 1860, James A. Dunn lived at the property south of the intersection of Prince George Court House and Jordan's Point Roads, near Dimmock Battery 11. He enlisted as a Confederate soldier in Company K, 5th VA Cavalry on April 7, 1862, in Petersburg as a private. One month after he enlisted, Dunn was promoted to 2nd Lieutenant. His military record holds conflicting reports, stating that he resigned on January 31, 1863, yet recording that he contracted typhoid fever and was sent to a Petersburg hospital on March 12, 1863. It is likely that Mrs. Dunn evacuated from their property in early summer 1864 as Union troops arrived.[135]

It is possible that the Dunns leased out the land to tenants. A white framed house with a hipped roof and two interior chimneys can be seen in a Civil War-era photograph. An outbuilding and fruit orchard can also be seen.[136] According to personal property tax records, he enslaved nine adults. Blades writes that "The Census data (U.S. Census, PG Co., p. 67) record that Dunn resided in dwelling no. 555 as a farmer with real estate valued at $8000 but no personal estate. This real estate value may be compared with that of the Hare ($20,000) or Taylor ($12,000) plantations to suggest that the Dunn farm was smaller or composed of less valuable land."[137] The Dunn property was located in the Initial Assaults area of PETE's Eastern Front.

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[132] Layton and Foulds, *CLR for Crater Battlefield*, 34.
[133] Layton and Foulds, *CLR for Crater Battlefield*, 3.
[134] *Cultural Landscapes Inventory for Eastern Front, Petersburg National Battlefield* (National Park Service, 2021).
[135] Emmanuel Dabney, "James A. Dunn House," (Petersburg National Battlefield, National Park Service, Summer 2009).
[136] *CLI for Initial Assaults*, 37.
[137] Blades, "An Archaeological Overview and Assessment of the Main Unit: Petersburg National Battlefield, Virginia."

Figure 1-8: Timothy O'Sullivan, "Petersburg, Va. Redoubt near Dunn's house in outer line of Confederate fortifications captured June 14, 1864, by Gen. William F. Smith," Library of Congress, LC-DIG-cwpb-01229, https://www.loc.gov/pictures/item/2018666637/.

Additional Properties

Several white families with smaller properties are reported to have enslaved African Americans in the 1860 personal property tax record. David Payne and his family, who lived on 7.5 acres between Blandford Church and Poor Creek, enslaved three adults. Payne owned some of this land with S. Jackson in 1858. The buildings on their land were assessed at $735 in 1860.[138]

Henry Bowman and his family lived east of the Payne tract and are listed as owning one enslaved person. The 5.5-acre Bowman tract was once part of a 157-acre parcel that belonged to the Taylor family, which they sold to the Bowmans in 1857.[139] In 1851, buildings on this parcel

[138] Payne made his money in lumber, where he held $5,000 in real estate in Pennsylvania. He and his wife had six children.

[139] Blades notes that "This Taylor estate was separate from those acres that Richard deeded to his son George in 1790 on the Taylor plantation east of Poor Creek within the Main Unit [since renamed Eastern Front]." Married with two children, Bowman was employed as a butcher. The buildings on the original tract were valued at $3,000 in 1865. Bowman purchased another thirteen acres near Blandford in 1861. He then sold it to Charles Bowman

were assessed at $392.50. Once the Bowmans purchased and built on the property, buildings were valued at $850.

Sarah Shands, the widow of William, and their two children lived above Harrison Creek, west of and behind Dimmock Battery 14 (near present-day Hickory Hill Road, beyond the current boundary of PETE). They were living at the Hickory Hill plantation by 1834, when a powerful storm destroyed many buildings in the area, including their cotton gin and stable.[140] The Shands amassed 220 acres and constructed buildings on their property between 1837 and 1842, which were assessed at $960. In 1851, the value dropped to $660, then to $617 in 1859. In the 1860 census, this real estate was valued at $7,000. The Shands depended on the enslaved labor of ten individuals. The plantation, which had reached 308 acres by the time of the siege on Petersburg, was destroyed in battle. The trace of Shands House Road is located in the Initial Assaults area of PETE's Eastern Front.

On John Avery's 660-acre property south of Sussex Road (present-day Route 603), buildings were valued at $2,500 in 1850. Additional building construction increased the value to $4,164 in 1857, though this amount must account for inflation at that time. Thirty-nine enslaved individuals worked and lived at the so-called "Negro Quarters," featured on the 1863 Gilmer map.

On the eve of the 1864 siege, the Eastern Front consisted of large plantations and smaller farmsteads. When Union soldiers arrived in this area, they would have approached Confederate lines to their north. They would have faced each other across agricultural fields and parcels that had been deforested. The two armies scavenged materials from barns and other buildings to clear sightlines. To the north, scattered trees grew along stream corridors, interrupted by agricultural land and roads between.[141]

Black Experiences

In 1619, English colonizers forcibly brought the first enslaved Africans to Point Comfort (present-day Fort Monroe in Hampton, Virginia) aboard the ship *White Lion*. These twenty to thirty Africans were likely uprooted from West Central Africa. With over three hundred thousand people brought from Africa's Gold Coast to the colonies between 1675 and 1725, English colonists treated enslaved Africans as commodities to be purchased and sold. Despite dehumanizing and egregious living conditions, enslaved Africans and their descendants developed complex kinship and communication networks that perpetually challenged and threatened the "peculiar institution" of slavery throughout the US South until emancipation in 1863. While there is a scarcity of extant primary sources about these first "saltwater slaves," as well as limited records of enslaved African Americans in their own words, historians and descendants have pieced together a substantial account of the enslaved and free people of color who lived in Virginia prior to 1865.[142]

and others in 1862. All buildings were destroyed by 1865. Blades, "An Archaeological Overview and Assessment of the Main Unit: Petersburg National Battlefield, Virginia."

[140] Layton and Foulds, *CLR for Crater Battlefield*, 17.

[141] National Register Nomination (Draft), sec. 7, 12.

[142] "Saltwater slave" is a term popularized by historian Stephanie Smallwood to refer to the first generation of

While Tidewater-area towns like Norfolk and Yorktown served as early hubs for the trade of enslaved Africans, Richmond expanded into one of the largest slave markets in the US South after the United States halted the forced importation of Africans in 1808.[143] Second only in size to the slave trade industry in New Orleans, Richmond was home to jails and auction houses, as well as the residences and offices of slave traders like Robert Lumpkin. In the Richmond neighborhood of Shockoe Bottom, these buildings interspersed with tobacco warehouses and African American cemeteries.[144]

Though Petersburg also had its own slave auction sites, the slaveholding landowners of PETE's Eastern Front likely visited and purchased African Americans from the market in Richmond. In the seventeenth century along the James River, landowners' supposed need for enslaved labor increased due to the intensification of tobacco cultivation. According to Laura Kline et. al., "Wealthy planters on the upper James River claimed 68 percent of the Black headrights in land patents and certificates from 1670 to 1700, while 25–40 percent of an average planter's total number of workers were white servants, and most ordinary settlers had no household laborers. Planters in Henrico County also enslaved Native Americans."[145]

The experiences of enslaved African Americans and free people of color in Petersburg is well documented due to extensive land records on plantations like those of the Eppes family, as well as newspapers announcing runaway slave advertisements or the sale of enslaved people.[146] The 2001 study *An Archaeological Overview and Assessment of the Main Unit, Petersburg National Battlefield, Virginia*, offers an overview of the plantations associated with the Eastern Front (discussed in the section above "Outside the City"). The white families who owned these estates also owned human property.

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enslaved Africans forcibly brought via the Middle Passage to the mainland English colony in North America. Stephanie E. Smallwood, *Saltwater Slavery: A Middle Passage from Africa to American Diaspora* (Harvard University Press, 2007), 3; Jennifer L. Morgan, *Reckoning with Slavery: Gender, Kinship, and Capitalism in the Early Black Atlantic* (Duke University Press, 2021). For more on 1619, see Beth Austin, *1619: Virginia's First Africans*, report prepared for Hampton History Museum (December 2019); *Encyclopedia Virginia*, "Virginia's First Africans," by Martha McCartney, December 7, 2020, https://encyclopediavirginia.org/entries/africans-virginias-first; "Arrival of the First Africans in 1619," National Park Service, Fort Monroe National Monument, last modified August 2, 2024, https://www.nps.gov/articles/000/arrival-of-the-first-africans-in-1619.htm.

[143] "The Slave Trade," National Archives and Records Administration, last modified January 7, 2022, https://www.archives.gov/education/lessons/slave-trade.html.

[144] Abigail Tucker, "Digging Up the Past at a Richmond Jail," *Smithsonian Magazine*, March 2009, https://www.smithsonianmag.com/history/digging-up-the-past-at-a-richmond-jail-50642859/; Walter Johnson, *Soul by Soul: Inside the Antebellum Slave Market* (Harvard University Press, 1999).

[145] Kline et al., *Richmond*, 72; John C. Coombs, "The Phases of Conversion: A New Chronology for the Rise of Slavery in Early Virginia," *William and Mary Quarterly* 68, no. 3 (2011).

[146] While Eppes Plantation is located outside the boundaries of the PETE Eastern Front, the study *Slavery and the Underground Railroad at the Eppes Plantations, Petersburg National Battlefield* offers an intimate look at the interactions among enslaved African Americans and free people of color in and around Petersburg. Marie Tyler-McGraw, *Slavery and the Underground Railroad* (National Park Service, 2005).

Life on the Plantation in and around Petersburg for Enslaved and Free People of Color

What can be known, and what can historians speculate about the African Americans enslaved at these sites? How did they relate with the free people of color who lived in antebellum Petersburg? Physical characteristics of the plantations described above suggest possible patterns of African American life before the Civil War, including mobility, diet, interaction with kin and nearby communities, proximity to enslavers, and environmental knowledge.

Within and outside the plantation household, the dispersal and distribution of buildings oriented the daily lives of enslaved people.[147] While the buildings are longer extant, scattered buildings supported the functions of the "big house" at the Jordan, Hare, and Taylor properties, including horse stalls, smokehouses, dairies, privies, and trash heaps. Maps, woodcuts, and archeological evidence demonstrate the proximity between these structures, as well as the spaces where enslaved African Americans may have dodged the view of overseers and other white people on the property.

The dispersal of buildings structured a person's sense of time and routine as they moved in and between buildings and completed tasks. It also shaped a person's interactivity with others on the property, including fellow enslaved workers, family members (their own or those for whom they labored), and the enslavers.[148] According to Dell Upton, "all work areas other than the main house were the slaves' domain, a division of space made clear by the frequent juxtaposition of work buildings and slave houses."[149] Examples of extant enslaved quarters in Virginia, while limited, also grant historians a degree of understanding of African Americans' built environment on the plantation. For example, in Goochland County, a one-story log frame building holds two rooms, a loft, and a central chimney. Such a building, which could range in size from 12 x 8 ft. to 16 x 20 ft., could host between six to twenty-four people. Within these spaces, enslaved people slept, cooked, mended clothes, and cared for kin. Enslavers rationed their diet to include cornmeal, pork (salt or pickled), sweet potatoes, buttermilk, and molasses.[150] Such spaces would have been cramped and required creativity to find privacy or storage, like cubby holes or root cellars.[151] Slave residences could be located within view of the main house, carefully planned on "streets" or rows, or hidden from view.

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147 Elizabeth Fox-Genovese, *Within the Plantation Household: Black and White Women of the Old South* (University of North Carolina Press, 1998); Thavolia Glymph, *Out of the House of Bondage: The Transformation of the Plantation Household* (Cambridge University Press, 2008).

148 Steven Hahn, *A Nation Under Our Feet Black Political Struggles in the Rural South from Slavery to the Great Migration* (Harvard University Press, 2003), 15-19.

149 Dell Upton, "White and Black Landscapes in Eighteenth-Century Virginia," *Places* 2, no.2 (1984): 70.

150 Exposure to spoiled food and risk of disease and malnutrition were risks of antebellum daily life. In particular, enslaved African Americans and people of low-class positions were likely exposed to roundworms and hookworms, which were common in Virginia soil and water. Todd Savitt, "Sound Minds and Sound Bodies: The Diseases and Health Care of Blacks in Ante-Bellum Virginia," (PhD diss., University of Virginia, 1975), 54, 68-69, cited in Tyler-McGraw, *Slavery and the Underground Railroad*, 32.

151 Upton, "White and Black Landscapes," 59-61; John Michael Vlach, *Back of the Big House: The Architecture of Plantation Slavery* (University of North Carolina Press, 1993).

Enslaved people developed a keen understanding of their environmental surroundings. In addition to small subsistence plots where they may have grown vegetables or raised chickens, African Americans may have supplemented their diets with foraging, trapping, fishing, or hunting animals in the woods and waters that surrounded the plantation property. Subsistence practices could serve as a form of resistance, whereby enslaved people could supplement their diets with nutrients and gather in spaces beyond the view of the big house.[152] In one Civil War diary, Union soldier Charles Carleton Coffin remarked on the topography of the Shands House at Hickory Hill:

> The house was a large two-story structure, fronting east, painted white, with great chimneys at either end, shaded by buttonwoods and gum trees, and a peach orchard in rear. Fifty paces from the front door was a narrow ravine, fifteen or twenty feet deep, with a brook, fed by springs, trickling northward.[153]

This remark indicates that, prior to the war, enslaved people would have cultivated the fruits and thus developed a botanical knowledge in the shadow of the enslaver's home. By descending into the ravine, enslaved people would have become acquainted with undomesticated plant species and regional fauna. In the woods that surrounded plantations, enslaved people could temporarily retreat and meet kin or engage in varied cultural practices from medicinal plant gathering to holding religious services. Equipped with a "toolkit" of local environmental knowledge, the African Americans enslaved on rural plantations could become emboldened to resist their masters in both subtle and obvious ways.[154] The landscape that enslaved people moved about was constructed by the white planter, but African Americans devised ways to obfuscate the master's gaze.

Watery places served as important spaces of slave resistance and communications. The ravine near the Shand House fed into Harrison Creek, which, according to Colonel Byron M. Cutcheon "took its rise on the *Shand* place in an almost impervious swamp, and flowed nearly due north about parallel with the Confederate lines, and emptied into the Appomattox River between Fort McGilvery and Battery V."[155] These three different bodies of water (ravine, swamp, and river) created conditions whereby enslaved peoples could illicitly meet, transfer information, and even escape their servitude. Swamps were common spaces for hiding, as patrols and their dogs could not penetrate the mire. Low-lying lands like swamps and marshland also repelled white people of wealth, as these ecosystems were believed to harbor disease.[156] Rivers, meanwhile, became com-

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[152] Drew A. Swanson, *Remaking Wormsloe Plantation: The Environmental History of a Lowcountry Landscape* (University of Georgia Press, 2012), 68-69.

[153] Charles Carleton Coffin, as quoted in Oliver Christian Bosbyshell, *The Forty Eighth [PA] in the War,* 159-160, retrieved from "William Shands Houses 'Hickory Hill'," The Petersburg Project, accessed January 5, 2025, http://www.petersburgproject.org/shands-house.html.

[154] Sharla M. Fett, *Working Cures: Healing, Health, and Power on Southern Slave Plantations* (University of North Carolina Press, 2002); Stephanie M.H. Camp, *Closer to Freedom: Enslaved Women and Everyday Resistance in the Plantation South* (University of North Carolina, 2004).

[155] Col. Byron M. Cutcheon, *Story of the Twentieth Michigan* (1904), 131-132, retrieved from "William Shands Houses 'Hickory Hill'."

[156] Ann Vileisis, *Discovering the Unknown Landscape: A History of America's Wetlands* (Island Books, 1997); Conevery Bolton Valenčius, *The Health of the Country: How American Settlers Understood Themselves and*

munication networks where African Americans could exchange information along the James and Appomattox Rivers.[157]

According to Brooke Blades, 382 taxed individuals, or 38% of the county, were slaveholders.[158] This means that plantation-owning families like the Taylors or Hares were not necessarily representative of the overall white population of Petersburg. William Taylor owned eighteen enslaved males aged over twelve years, while Otway Hare owned twenty-two enslaved males aged over twelve years. Blades continues that "Only 37% of the adult male slaves in the county were the property of slaveholders who owned between 1 and 9 slaves. Therefore, the median slaveholder possessed 4 slaves, but the 'median' slave was the property of an individual who owned 13 adult male slaves."[159] Conditions of slave life varied across plantations, thus we cannot assume that this median thirteen would necessarily have found ways, either permitted or transgressively, to sustain community.

With the Appomattox River flowing through the growing town, Petersburg and Prince George County became a nexus of Black life for free people of color and enslaved workers. From the confluence of the James and Appomattox River to Norfolk's Chesapeake harbor, ports enabled African American shipmen to deliver information from plantations to urban areas. In addition to waterways as sites of exchange, African American churches fostered communication networks within the community and along the routes traveled by preachers. The region surrounding Petersburg was home to some of the earliest African American churches in America. The Bluestone Church (c.1758) became the Petersburg First Colored Church in 1820, led by ministers John Benn and Daniel Jackson. In the 1780s and '90s, Baptist and Methodist Camp meetings proliferated among Black and racially mixed congregants. These meetings eventually formalized in 1788 as the Davenport Church, and in 1837 the Gillfield Baptist Church welcomed its first African American pastor, Sampson White. Many church leaders eventually moved to Northern cities like New York and Washington, D.C., which facilitated a network of knowledge among free people of color and freedom-seeking enslaved people prior to the Civil War.[160]

As mentioned earlier in the chapter, the city of Petersburg was home to more Black residents than any other locality in Virginia, including more free people of color than in nearby Richmond. The free people of color in Richmond worked as merchants or found jobs in hotels, barbershops,

Their Land (Basic Books, 2002).

[157] Examples abound of enslaved people finding refuge in swamps. For primary-source examples based in Virginia: Frederick Law Olmsted, *A Journey in the Seaboard Slave States* (Dix and Edwards, 1856), 89; Virginia Writers' Project, *The Negro in Virginia*., foreword by Charles L. Perdue Jr. (John F. Blair, Publisher, 1994). For more on water as a space of slave resistance, see Jack Temple Kirby, *Poquosin* (University of North Carolina Press, 1995); David S. Cecelski, *The Waterman's Song: Slavery and Freedom in Maritime North Carolina* (University of North Carolina Press, 2001); Tiya Miles, *Night Flyer: Harriet Tubman and the Faith Dreams of a Free People* (Penguin Random House, 2024).

[158] Blades, "An Archaeological Overview and Assessment of the Main Unit: Petersburg National Battlefield, Virginia."

[159] Blades, *Archeological Excavations at the Taylor House Site*, 8-11.

[160] Tyler-McGraw, *Slavery and the Underground Railroad*, 23-24; Daniel, W. Harrison, "Virginia Baptists and the Negro in the Antebellum Era," *Journal of Negro History* 56, no. 1 (1971).

and restaurants. Others leveraged their skills as craftsmen or artisans to gain employment.[161] In Black-only churches and residences, as well as in the back rooms and storage areas of workplaces, African Americans found spaces to cultivate community and discuss ideas. Most Black residents lived in the Pochahontas neighborhood, though others, like Lavinia Sampson, owned six or seven residences in both Pocahontas and Blandford. Her properties were valued at $5,000 in 1860. Robert Clark, who was born enslaved and later bought his freedom, purchased a livery stable on Lombard Street. His real estate holdings were assessed at $9,000 in 1860. David Scott and Eliza Smith were property owners on Lee Avenue, and they made their money in milling and oyster-catching from their business on Union Street. In 1860, 186 free people of color were listed as owners of real estate.[162] Some free people of color also enslaved other African Americans, though it appears they often purchased slaves for the purpose of emancipating them.[163]

Black residents of Petersburg and Richmond were early proponents of emigration to Africa, with the 1815 formation of respective African Missionary Societies in both cities. By the 1820s, two groups of mixed-race families departed from Petersburg, Richmond, and Norfolk for Liberia. Many remained in contact with Petersburg family members, as demonstrated by letters and return travel. An 1822 account reports that

> The Annual Meeting of the Richmond African Baptist Missionary Society was held on Monday the 8th instant, at 11 o'clock, in the First Baptist meeting house in this city. A large number of coloured people were present, probably two thousand and the heart of the philanthropist and Christian must have been gratified to witness the orderly deportment and Christian zeal evinced on this occasion. Rev. Colston M. Waring, a pious, warm-hearted coloured man from Petersburg, preached from Isaiah 1xii:10. ... This society was formed in the spring of 1815 with the sole object of sending persons of color as missionaries to Africa since which time they have collected nearly $1000.[164]

Joseph Jenkins Roberts, born free in Norfolk and raised in Petersburg, initially conducted trade between Liberia and Virginia. Roberts went on to become the first president of Liberia in 1847.[165] While interest in emigration to Liberia declined by the 1830s, it also inspired other forms of freedom-seeking from bondage among Petersburg Virginians.

Underground Railroad and Slave Resistance

Enslaved African Americans on and off plantations always sought ways to resist their bondage. In addition to the subtle forms described in the section above, more overt resistance took

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[161] Tyler-McGraw, *Slavery and the Underground Railroad*, 25, 45.
[162] Jackson, "Manumission in Certain Virginia Cities," 388.
[163] Jackson, "Manumission in Certain Virginia Cities," 384.
[164] *Genius of Universal Emancipation*, Vol. 1, no. 10 (Fourth Month, 1822), reprinted there from the *Richmond Family Visitor*, cited in Tyler-McGraw, *Slavery and the Underground Railroad*, 26-27.
[165] One ship, the *Harriet*, disembarked from City Point in Petersburg, carried hundreds of African Americans from Petersburg and Richmond. Tyler-McGraw, *Slavery and the Underground Railroad*, 27; Tom Shick, "Emigrants to Liberia: 1820-1843, an Alphabetical Listing," Liberian Studies Research Working Paper No. 2 (Department of Anthropology, University of Delaware, 1971).

shape through uprisings and freedom seeking. While a slave revolt never occurred in Petersburg, rumors spread in 1793 of an uprising in the city. Certainly, enslaved African Americans in and around Petersburg were aware of and may have even considered participating in the armed revolts that unfolded in antebellum Virginia.[166]

Two slave uprisings have gained the most notoriety in Virginia history: Gabriel's Rebellion in 1800 and Nat Turner's Rebellion in 1831. Both resulted in stricter laws to control African Americans' already limited rights. Gabriel Prosser, born enslaved in 1776 in Henrico County, organized hundreds of enslaved African Americans to revolt in Richmond. The state militia quelled the uprising before it could occur, and Gabriel and twenty-three other enslaved people were executed. Following Gabriel's Rebellion, the Virginia General Assembly passed a law in 1806 that required removal or reenslavement of Black persons who had been manumitted.[167]

In August 1831, Nat Turner led a group of armed enslaved people through Southampton County. They killed fifty-five white men, women, and children before they were defeated by a group of white people. Local whites killed over thirty Black people by extralegal means, while they captured the rest for trial. Turner, along with nineteen other participants in the uprising, was executed.[168] Fear of slave insurrection spread throughout the US South, and the Virginia Assembly passed several laws that further restricted African Americans.[169] Had Nat Turner's uprising been successful, it is believed that he and his conspirators would have retreated first to the Great Dismal Swamp to the east of Southampton County.

Enslaved people have long sought refuge in places hidden from the master's view, like wetlands, woods, and waterways, as well as safe houses along the routes of the Underground Railroad. By the 1830s, the term "underground railroad" was used to describe the act of enslaved people who fled bondage.[170] In 1860, the Petersburg Press quoted the New York Herald that

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[166] Tyler-McGraw, *Slavery and the Underground Railroad*, 22.

[167] "An ACT to amend the several laws concerning slaves (1806)," in *Encyclopedia Virginia*, published December 7, 2020, https://encyclopediavirginia.org/primary-documents/an-act-to-amend-the-several-laws-concerning-slaves-1806; Ted Maris-Wolf, *Family Bonds: Free Blacks and Re-enslavement Law in Antebellum Virginia* (University of North Carolina Press, 2015); Douglas Egerton, *Gabriel's Rebellion: The Virginia Slave Conspiracies of 1800 and 1802* (University of North Carolina Press, 1993); James Sidbury, *Ploughshares into Swords: Race, Rebellion and Identity in Gabriel's Virginia* (Cambridge University Press, 1997).

[168] *Encyclopedia Virginia*, "Nat Turner's Revolt (1831)," by Patrick Breen, December 7, 2020, https://encyclopediavirginia.org/entries/turners-revolt-nat-1831; David F. Allmendinger Jr., *Nat Turner and the Rising in Southampton County* (Johns Hopkins University Press, 2014); Patrick H. Breen, *The Land Shall Be Deluged with Blood: A New History of the Nat Turner Revolt* (Oxford University Press, 2015).

[169] In addition to nineteenth-century laws that restricted movement of enslaved people, the Virginia legislature also passed several laws in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries that categorized people's race and ethnicity. These designations make it difficult for historians to distinguish people's racial background. In the eighteenth century, Virginia distinguished between African Americans, Indians, mulattoes, and whites. In 1866, the word "mulatto" was replaced with the word "colored," and Indigenous people were identified as being not colored and having one-fourth or more "Indian blood." These laws continued to evolve in the twentieth century under Jim Crow segregationist practices. *Encyclopedia Virginia*, "Racial Integrity Laws (1924-1930)," by Brendan Wolfe, December 7, 2020, https://encyclopediavirginia.org/entries/racial-integrity-laws-1924-1930/.

[170] "Historic Context for the Underground Railroad," in *Exploring A Common Past: Researching and Interpreting the Underground Railroad* (National Park Service, 1997), https://www.nps.gov/parkhistory/online_books/ugrr/

> The underground railroad is no myth. A regular organization, to which this name has been applied, stretches through every free State in the Union and has its agents and emissaries on the borders of every Slave State. It is a systematized association of negroes and republican abolition whites, having for its object the enticing away of the slave property of the South and its safe transportation into Canada.[171]

Within the city of Petersburg, the free people of color and enslaved workers were well-positioned to transmit information and facilitate escape. Some may have also served as Underground Railroad agents, as with "Ham & Eggs" who may have been free Black merchant Jack McCrae.[172] "Ham & Eggs" wrote to William Still, abolitionist and documenter of fugitivity:

> Petersburg, Va.
>
> Oct. 17, 1860
>
> Mr. W. Still: –Dear Sir –
>
> I am happy to think that the time has come when we no doubt can open our correspondence with one another again. Also I am in hopes, that these few lines may find you and family well and in the enjoyment of good health, as it leaves me and my family the same. I want you to know, that I feel as much determined to work in this glorious cause, as ever I did in all of my life, and I have some very good hams on hand that I would like very much for you to have. I have nothing of interest to write about just now, only that the politics of the day is in a high-rage, and I don't know of the result, therefore, I want you to be one of those wide-a-wakes as is mentioned from your section of country now-a-days, &c. Also, if you wish to write to me, Mr. J. Brown will inform you how to direct a letter to me. No more at present, until I hear from you; but I want you to be a wide-awake. Yours in haste, Ham & Eggs[173]

John McCrae was father-in-law to Petersburg escapee, John Henry Hill. Prior to his potential sale in Richmond in 1853, Hill took flight and hid with the support of Black and white agents in

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exugrr2.htm.

[171] *The Press* (Petersburg, VA), Jan. 12, 1860, cited in Tyler-McGraw, *Slavery and the Underground Railroad*, 52.

[172] McCrae sheltered fugitives in his houses on Gill Street and Low Street. Jane Minor, freed by Benjamin H. May, nursed several Black Petersburg residents, as well as paid for fifteen enslaved individuals' freedom. Other Black-owned residences that may have offered coverage included the Parham residences in New Blandford and the houses owned by the Hill family on Lee Alley, Halifax Street, Wells Alley, Gillfield Street, and Sheppard Street. Lucious Edwards Jr., "Free Black Property Holders in Petersburg, Virginia, 1865-74" (MA thesis, Virginia State College, 1977), 74-80; Kathryn Grover, e-mail communication to Marie Tyler-McGraw, November 30, 2001; "Crew Lists, New Bedford Customs District," Ship *Favorite*, New Bedford, East Cape (June 8, 1837); Harvey Roberts and Lucious Edwards, interview, Virginia State University, February 4, 2002; Jackson, "Manumission in Certain Virginia Cities," 301-02, all cited in Tyler-McGraw, *Slavery and the Underground Railroad*, 47-50.

[173] William Still, *The Underground Railroad*, (Porter & Coates, 1872; repr., Arno Press, 1968), 23, cited in Tyler-McGraw, *Slavery and the Underground Railroad*, 45-46.

Richmond and Petersburg.[174] Hill leveraged his literacy to write himself a pass for his voyage:

> Stayed here from the 16th of August to the 12th of September. On the 11th of Sept. 8 o'clock P.M. a message came to me that there had been a State Room taken on the steamer City of Richmond for my benefit, and I assured the party that it would be occupied if God be willing. ....I wrote my pass for Norfolk left my old Den with many a good bye.[175]

Of those who successfully escaped, ongoing correspondence indicates that they kept contact with their family who remained in Petersburg. Individuals who reached Hamilton and Richmond, Canada pleaded with Still to transmit information about potential routes and safe houses.[176]

Ships provided a common mode of illicit travel for runaway enslaved people, as boats traveled from the Appomattox River to the James on its way to Chesapeake Bay. According to Richard Slaughter, born enslaved at the Appomattox Point plantation,

> Did slaves ever run away! Lord, yes. All the time. Where I was born, there is lots of water. Why there used to be as high as ten and twelve Dutch three masters in the harbor at a time. I used to catch little snakes and other things like terrapins and sell 'em to the sailors for to eat roaches on the ships. In those days a good captain would hide a slave way up in the top sail and carry him out of Virginia to New York and Boston.[177]

Yet not all waterway escapes were successful, especially after an 1856 Virginia General Assembly law enhanced the inspection of all vessels, explicitly passed for "additional protection for the slave property of citizens of this commonwealth."[178] In spring 1859, local authorities caught several fugitives and arrested Captain William Bayliss and his first mate on the ship Keziah in Petersburg. Approximately two thousand Virginians gathered in angry protest toward Bayliss, as the captain was jailed in the Virginia Penitentiary in Richmond. Such events as the Keziah incident instilled fear in enslaved African Americans and made them think twice about freedom-seeking.[179]

Apart from the enslaved workers and free people of color in the city of Petersburg, enslaved people on the plantation also encountered risks when they considered escape. While limited records exist about the enslaved population who lived and worked in the Eastern Front of PETE, records from the Eppes Plantation in City Point (present-day PETE City Point Unit)

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175 Still, *Underground Railroad*, 23, cited in Tyler-McGraw, *Slavery and the Underground Railroad*, 48-49.

176 Still, *Underground Railroad*, 22-23, 94, 107-109, cited in Tyler-McGraw, *Slavery and the Underground Railroad*, 50-51.

177 *National Era*, June 28, 1855, in Patricia Hickin, "Antislavery in Virginia," (PhD diss., University of Virginia, 1968), 78, cited in Tyler-McGraw, *Slavery and the Underground Railroad*, 33.

178 "An ACT providing additional protection for the slave property of citizens of this commonwealth (1856)," in *Encyclopedia Virginia*, published December 7, 2020, https://encyclopediavirginia.org/primary-documents/an-act-providing-additional-protection-for-the-slave-property-of-citizens-of-this-commonwealth-1856.

179 John Kneebone, "'A Break Down on the Underground Railroad': Captain B. and the capture of the Keziah, 1858," *Virginia Cavalcade* 48, no. 2 (1999): 1-16, cited in Tyler-McGraw, 39.

indicate slave patrols tamped down on potential fugitivity. Traveling by night around City Point, Eppes and fellow white patrolmen discovered one evening a group of three men as they rowed toward a small store. The men sold corn and wheat to the store owner, a woman named Mrs. Penny. Such transactions were not uncommon between African Americans and poor whites, an illegal trade practice that threatened the hegemony of the peculiar institution.[180]

On the eve of the Civil War, some fugitive African Americans from Petersburg felt motivated to enlist in the Union Army. Petitioning the Canadian Governor General, Hezekiah Hill, Robert Jones, and John Henry Hill registered their militia company as Queen Victoria's Rifle Guards.[181]

Since 2020, PETE park officials and the NPS Northeast Archeological Resources Program have worked with descendant communities of the White Hill plantation as part of the Enslaved Field Laborers Project. As of 1850, Charles Friend enslaved seventy-one African Americans, with at least five of them under the age of ten years old. The 1850 inventory featured people's names, as well as years of death, age, and updates on sale. By 1857, there were sixty-three enslaved people living at White Hill. This indicates a substantial community of enslaved African Americans amid the White Hill community leading to the Civil War. Though the Friend family evacuated to their city home in 1862, Charles continued to check on operations at the White Hill plantation. With the arrival of forces on June 9, 1864, Friend ordered the enslaved laborers to "cut loose the horses and escape as best they could." They then hid behind earthworks until it was safe to leave. Though the plantation home remained intact after the war, slave dwellings were destroyed in the siege. Some of the newly emancipated people remained at the plantation after the war, though Friend was resistant to paying his formerly enslaved population. According to Friend's daughter Stephenson,

> All the house servants did well where they settled, whether North or South. They always come to see us when we are near, and seem to take an affectionate interest in us, as we do in them… Most of the field hands are lost to our knowledge… Our own servants were never in our employ after the surrender, save one, who rented a house of my Father's in Blandford and paid the rent in family laundrying.[182]

With records such as these, as well as Friend's inventory and the Confederate slave payrolls, PETE continues to build connections with the surrounding descendant community.

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[180] Tyler-McGraw, *Slavery and the Underground Railroad*, 31.

[181] Still, *Underground Railroad*, 278-279, cited in Tyler-McGraw, *Slavery and the Underground Railroad*, 53. Tyler-McGraw also indicates that Jones was a Philadelphia resident before fleeing to Canada. See C. Peter Ripley, et al., eds. *The Black Abolitionist Papers, Vol. 2, Canada*, 1830-1865 (University of North Carolina Press, 1986), 62.

[182] Jennie Stephenson (1897), 48, cited in "Descendant Community Outreach," Petersburg National Battlefield, last modified January 23, 2025), https://www.nps.gov/pete/learn/historyculture/descendant-outreach.htm. See also "Enslaved Field Laborers Project," Petersburg National Battlefield, last modified August 23, 2024, https://www.nps.gov/pete/learn/historyculture/enslaved-field-laborers-project.htm.

War's Impacts on Eastern Front Properties

Every family living in Petersburg was impacted by the coming of the war there, making the area within PETE's Eastern Front no exception. As a result of the nine-month siege of Petersburg, all families needed to vacate, either temporarily or permanently, and many of their properties sustained significant if not total damage.

A summary below describes the Civil War experiences of some of the families living within the boundaries of present-day PETE and how the war impacted resources associated with this property:

James A. Dunn enrolled in Company K of the 5th Virginia Cavalry in Petersburg. It is likely that, by summer 1864, his wife Sarah Elizabeth Hall fled for Petersburg. According to Emmanuel Dabney, it is likely that the Dunn House did not survive the Civil War: 1. Because the 1870 census reported that James and Sarah Dunn were living in the 6th Ward, 1st District of Petersburg, and 2. The house is not featured on the 1894 USGS map.[183]

The Taylor House/Spring Garden house was destroyed on June 18, 1864. Soldiers' war journals and letters indicate the damage that the Taylor House sustained. According to a soldier in the Sixth New Hampshire Regiment, "at a little distance in front, burning buildings, which the enemy had just fired" could be seen.[184] One day later, Union General Wilcox wrote that "the division had a severe engagement, lasting nearly all day, moving up to, across, and beyond the deep cut of the Norfolk railroad, in front of the Taylor house, driving the enemy into his new works, notwithstanding our very heavy loss, and finally establishing ourselves nearer to the enemy than any other portion of the army."[185] That same day, Union General Burnside reported that,

> On pushing out the skirmishers in advance of the attacking column it was discovered that the enemy had withdrawn from the line on the open ground in front of the Shands house, but their skirmishers were found in the woods that intervened between it and the Taylor house… From the open ground in front of this house it was discovered that the enemy had a strongly entrenched line beyond the railroad. The advanced position gained by us and held as an intrenched skirmish line, and our main line between the Second and Fifth Corps passed by the Taylor House.[186]

With troops in front of and passing by the Taylor House, the property succumbed to wartime destruction during this skirmish. The property remained in Taylor hands until Robert W. Travis purchased the land in April 1901.[187]

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[183] Emmanuel Dabney, "James A. Dunn House."
[184] Jackman (1891), cited in *Blades, Archeological Excavations at the Taylor House Site*, 11.
[185] O.R. I, Vol. 40, Pt. 1:571, cited in Harrison and Lanford 1962, cited in *Blades, Archeological Excavations at the Taylor House Site*, 11.
[186] O.R.T., Vol. 40, Pt. 1:523, cited in Harrison and Lanford 1962, cited in *Blades, Archeological Excavations at the Taylor House Site*, 11-12.
[187] Layton and Foulds, *CLR for Crater Battlefield*, 61.

By June 18, Otway Hare and his daughter Laura had already fled to Petersburg. When Union troops arrived, they began building temporary earthworks near the Hare House. According to Captain Edwin B. Down, Sixth Maine Battery:

> Resumed march at daylight 16th, and arrived at the works in front of Petersburg at 5:00 pm. Was immediately ordered to take position on the right of the road leading to the Hare house to cover the advance of Birney's division down the road. Opened fire at 6:30 p.m. and advance in rear of infantry, keeping up a spirited fire on the enemy's line and compelling a battery of the enemy's stationed at the Hare House to retire… At daylight 18th moved to position to the left of the Hare House, and within 200 yards of the rebel line of works, supported by the Second Division.[188]

The Hare house remained an important site of defense throughout the battle, as one Pennsylvania soldier wrote:

> We remained in the works near the Hare house, being constantly under severe shelling, musketry fire and sharpshooting from the inner works of the Confederates until the morning of June 18th [incorrect; apparently 19th], when we were relieved by some colored troops and moved to a position in front of the house, on a knoll overlooking a battlefield where a Union regiment had been charged the day before.[189]

Additional earthworks, four artillery batteries, and trenches were built by the 93rd New York infantry in the former garden of the Hare House, located to the southwest of the property. By July 29, the constant bombardment spelled the demise of the Hare property.[190]

According to 1865 Prince George County land tax records, Otway Hare likely moved to Petersburg after evacuating from his home in June 1864. His Prince George property was reduced from a value of $6,000 in 1863 to $4,500 in 1865. As explained in the land book, the "1500 [was] deducted for destruction of Buildings."[191] After the war, Hare seemingly abandoned New Market. Hare transferred the title of 323.5 acres of land to a trustee, Isaac Carrington of Prince George County. This land included 150 acres of the New Market property. On November 11, 1873, Carrington served as Hare's legal representative in the sale of 323.5 acres to William H. Gibbons for $6,750.[192]

According to Brooke Blades and John Cotter, "Many of the Hare family possessions were left in the house and thus fell into the cellar as the structure collapsed. The site therefore presents a rare opportunity to observe the material culture of a nineteenth century Virginia plantation as a

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[188] O.R., Series 1, Vol. XL, Part I, 427, cited in *Blades, Archeological Excavations at the Taylor House Site*, 12.
[189] Gilbert Adam Hays, *Under the Red Patch-Story of the Sixty-Third Regiment Pennsylvania Volunteers 1861-64* (Market Review Publishing Co., 1908), 256, cited in Blades, *Archeological Excavations at the Taylor House Site*, 13.
[190] Blades and Cotter, *Archaeological Test Excavations*, 14.
[191] Prince George County Land Book, 1851-65, cited in *Blades and Cotter, Archaeological Test Excavations*, 18.
[192] Prince George County Deed Book #30, p. 151, cited in *Blades and Cotter, Archaeological Test Excavations*, 18.

collection within its domestic context. The site itself may be considered a besieged Petersburg in microcosm."[193]

At the White Hill property, Charles Friend and his son Benjamin Carter Minge Friend enlisted in the Confederate Army. During their absence, the plantation served as headquarters and signal station for the Union Army. Union General Orlando B. Wilcox headquartered there. All buildings and gardens of the Friend property were destroyed. In her reflections, Stephenson wrote that doors, windows, and walls were destroyed, and the Union Army built an observatory atop the house. Reminders of war were scattered across the property: shallow graves, canteens, garments, and ammunition.[194]

The Friend family returned to the property after the war, as they tried to repair the main house. They employed tenant farmers to replace enslaved labor. In 1871, Charles Friend died, and the property remained with the family until after 1900.[195]

See Chapter IV for reference to the Griffith Farm after the Civil War. The Griffiths stood to profit from the crater which marred their property. While transforming the property into a tourism venture, the Griffiths also resumed agricultural activities. They produced 400 bushels of Indian corn, 150 bushels of oats, 14 bushels of wheat, and 125 bushels of sweet potato across 119 acres in 1880.[196]

During the twentieth century, Fort Lee used this property before and during World War I, as soldiers trained on newly constructed earthworks and fortifications, some of which still exist today. Prior to construction of the current maintenance facility at PETE, a 1935 topographic map depicts several building excavations and old concrete foundations. The only physical reminder of the Friend House today is a large depression marked in the woods north-northwest of the current maintenance facility for PETE.[197]

[193] Blades and Cotter, *Archaeological Test Excavations*, 1.
[194] Whatley and Carruth, *A Phase II Archaeological Investigation*, 8.
[195] Whatley and Carruth, *A Phase II Archaeological Investigation*, 8.
[196] Layton and Foulds, *CLR for Crater Battlefield*, 38.
[197] Whatley and Carruth, *A Phase II Archaeological Investigation*, 9.

Chapter II: The Civil War and Technology

Introduction

The fighting that took place within the Eastern Front during 1864 and 1865, commonly referred to as the Siege of Petersburg, was tactically unique amongst all other American Civil War battles. Along the Eastern Front, both sides used established military technologies in new ways, namely trench works and other defensive earthen structures, foretelling the future of global warfare. Other more common technologies for the time like railroads, mortars, and explosives also left indelible marks upon the Eastern Front landscape.

The tactics at PETE deployed by both Union and Confederate forces were shaped by these technologies. For both Union and Confederate forces, the tools of war were as much shovels as black-powder rifles. Thousands of holes, just large enough for one soldier, dot the landscape, and their documentation is an ongoing project. In addition to infantry labor, both sides also used both free and enslaved African American workers to re-shape the land. By the end of the fighting, the trenches at Petersburg represented the most advanced system of earthworks seen in modern warfare.[198]

Analysis in this chapter also considers the tactics employed by Union and Confederate troops as technology shaped the ten-month Petersburg Campaign. The Siege of Petersburg is recognized by military historians as a place where warfare changed. Gone were the days of orderly troops meeting one another in formation across an open field to fire inaccurately at one another. Replacing this old fighting style, which had been in place since shortly after broad implementation of black powder firearms, was a new style based on defense, trenches, and short, quick attacks. It is no coincidence that the French battlefields of World War I resembled those of Petersburg; the European generals directing those twentieth-century battles had all studied what happened at the Crater.[199]

The heavy trenching at Petersburg has been the subject of historical debate. In 2009, historian Earl Hess broke with the long-standing argument that the extensive trench warfare during the Petersburg Campaign was the result of greater range and accuracy of rifles, requiring soldiers to literally dig in to escape musket fire. Instead, Hess argued that the trenches were evidence of attrition and evolved out of desperation on both sides to hold ground under sustained contact between the two armies.[200]

The landscape transformation wrought by combatants tells the story of human decision-making

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[198] "Training for Trench Warfare," Petersburg National Battlefield, National Park Service, last modified October 24, 2018, https://www.nps.gov/articles/training-for-trench-warfare.htm.

[199] For more on the importance of the Siege of Petersburg to the broader story of western warfare, see Earl Hess, *In the Trenches at Petersburg* (University of North Carolina Press, 2013); Richard J. Sommores, *Richmond Redeemed* (Savas Beatie, 1981); and Edward Hagerman, *The American Civil War and the Origins of Modern Warfare* (Indiana University Press, 1988).

[200] Hess, *In the Trenches at Petersburg*, xv.

in exceptional circumstances and bears evidence of the daily realities of soldiers' lives under the threat of enemy fire from mortar, rifles, and charges. W.W. Blackford described the scene at the trenches at night:

> For miles the bright little flashes of the musketry in two parallel lines were the brilliants surrounding the brighter gems of the cannon flashes…high above all in the heavens in graceful, arching flight flew in flocks of six or eight a time, the mortar shells, looking as if they were chasing and passing and re-passing one another in their eagerness to perform their deadly mission.[201]

Observers of the Civil War recognized the importance and uniqueness of the Siege of Petersburg before the battle ended. A movement to commemorate battlefields began even as the Civil War raged throughout the fractured nation in the early 1860s. Most commemorative efforts from the 1860s and 1870s focused on monuments and memorials (see Chapter V), but the beginnings of a true park movement had roots in cemeteries. In the 1860s, federal officials recognized a need for a national cemetery program. Civil War soldiers who perished during the war were buried during and immediately after battles with many interred near where they fell, but the sheer scale of caring for Union dead led to the National Cemetery Act of 1867, which provided funding for National Cemeteries under the auspices of the War Department. By the end of the 1860s, the War Department managed dozens of National Cemeteries, including Poplar Grove National Cemetery now managed by PETE and not part of the Eastern Front.[202]

As most Civil War historians agree, the Civil War did not exactly end at Petersburg, but Grant's ultimate conquering of the Dimmock Line meant Lee now had virtually no paths to victory. In other words, when the Union engineers and soldiers broke through Confederate lines, it was only a matter of time.

The Coming of the Civil War (1861)

Northern and Southern economies diverged sharply during the antebellum era, and with this divergence came severe political disagreements. As Northern states moved away from agriculture and abolished slavery during the early nineteenth century, they entered a tacit understanding with their Southern kin that slavery would persist in the United States. Throughout this period, however, numerous flashpoints arose to foreshadow what would come. For example, the United States abolished the transatlantic slave trade in 1808, yet plenty of Americans led illegal ventures to the west coast of Africa explicitly to deliver people enslaved against their will to the Caribbean and the American South. The last known such vessel, the Clotilda, delivered over one hundred enslaved Africans to Mobile, Alabama, in 1860. The continued existence of such vessels

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[201] W.W. Blackford, *War Years with Jeb Stuart* (LSU Press, 1993), 264.

[202] Robert Poole, *On Hallowed Ground* (Walker & Company, 2009), 76-90; Micki McElya, *The Politics of Mourning* (Harvard University Press, 2016); "National Cemetery Administration History and Development," National Cemetery Administration, last modified October 18, 2023, https://www.cem.va.gov/facts/NCA_History_and_Development_1.asp; "National Cemetery Administration Dates of Establishment," National Cemetery Administration, last modified November 2, 2023, https://www.cem.va.gov/facts/Dates_of_Establishment_1.asp.

outraged abolitionists as well as the American government, who continually increased the number of US Navy patrol ships to prevent such activities.[203] Another example of disagreement can be seen in responses to Harriet Beecher Stowe's seminal work Uncle Tom's Cabin, published in 1851. While abolitionism had been a common feature of Northern life, never had so many read accurate depictions of slavery's brutality, driving thousands of indifferent Yankees toward radicalism.[204]

The Senate Floor became the site of frequent political sparring in the 1850s and 1860s as westward expansion exposed large fault lines in the debate over the future of American slavery. Since 1820, national governance operated within the balance formed by the Missouri Compromise, which established a line prohibiting slavery north of the line that would become the border between Missouri and Arkansas.[205] Westward expansion, along with changing public sentiment, had thrown that balance into disarray. While figures such as Henry Clay, Daniel Webster, and Steven Douglas hoped there would be compromises yet to come, others like the abolitionist Charles Sumner and sovereignty advocate Steven Douglas represented the increasing polarity of the question.

The year 1850 was pivotal in failing to avoid further sectional tensions. America had just acquired significant western territories through victory in the Mexican War of 1848, and by letter of the law the Missouri Compromise did not apply to those western lands. Before the question could be settled, California then applied to be entered into the nation as a free state in 1849, throwing Congress into conflict. In an effort to solve the problem, Senator Henry Clay proposed legislation that would admit California, allow slavery to persist in other western lands, and abolish the slave trade in Washington D.C. While this act, known as the Compromise of 1850, alleviated some sectional tensions, it was persistently opposed by the South's leading voice in the Senate, Senator John C. Calhoun, and left both sides generally unhappy.[206]

The Compromise of 1850 was a poor solution to the nation's ills. Also part of the Compromise of 1850 was a clause that became deeply unpopular in the North – the Fugitive Slave Act, a law that amongst other provisions required free citizens to aid in the capture of enslaved people who had escaped. Abolitionist protests were immediately organized throughout the North and Midwest, especially once this law was weaponized against free Black people or those who had escaped slavery years earlier. In response, Northern states began passing laws attempting to counter the national law, which only caused more tension and confusion. In an effort to correct these problems, the Senate acted again in 1854 with the Kansas-Nebraska Act, legislation designed by Senator Steven Douglas allowing territorial settlers to vote to become slave or free states. What came next was rampant voter fraud and violence, as agents of both pro-slavery and anti-slavery

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[203] Hannah Durkin, *The Survivors of the Clotilda: The Lost Stories of the Last Captives of the American Slave Trade* (HarperCollins, 2024).

[204] Michael Green, *Politics and America in Crisis: The Coming of the Civil War* (Praeger, 2009), 54-55.

[205] "The Civil War: the Senate's Story," U.S. Senate Historical Office, https://www.senate.gov/artandhistory/history/common/civil_war/RoadtoWar.htm.

[206] Holman Hamilton, *Prologue to Conflict* (University Press of Kentucky, 2014); Robert Elder, *Calhoun* (Basic Books, 2021).

viewpoints fled to the Kansas and Nebraska territories. The most famed of these was John Brown and his family who organized militia groups and killed numerous pro-slavery individuals.[207]

With these problems ongoing, the US Supreme Court made a disastrous ruling in Dred Scott v. Sanford, a case with far-reaching implications. In 1857, Chief Justice Roger Taney issued a decision that Dred Scott, an enslaved man who sued for his freedom after his owner transported him from Missouri to the free territories, was in fact not an American citizen and therefore not entitled to protections under American law. Scott's residence mattered not, for he was an enslaved Black man outside of American protection. The court's majority opinion also found the Missouri Compromise to be unconstitutional, citing its belief that Congress lacked the authority to prohibit slavery in US territories. Two years later, the aforementioned John Brown led a group of nearly two dozen men in an attack upon the federal arsenal at Harpers Ferry, which was then in Virginia. The attack failed. Brown was soon captured, convicted, and executed as a traitor. However, his death was seen by many as a deeply honorable act of sacrifice for a greater idea, and he quickly ascended to martyrdom status.[208]

Finally, the 1860 Presidential Election shattered what tenuous American unity still existed. Republican Abraham Lincoln won handily in a four-way contest highlighted by a severely divided Democratic party and sharp sectionalism in many Southern states. The newly elected President was an opponent of slavery but had not made public any plans to abolish the practice. Nevertheless, Southern political leaders met within weeks of the election to discuss and ultimately agree to illegally secede from the United States. Southern states drafted new Constitutions, nearly all of which specifically referenced and protected slavery. Six of these states met in February 1861 to form the Confederate States of America, and they elected Senator Jefferson Davis as its President. Two months later, South Carolinian militia forces fired upon Fort Sumter, a garrison occupied by US military forces, and with that, the war was on. The wealthiest and largest Southern state, Virginia, voted to secede on April 17, 1861, and it became clear to all that the coming conflict would not be over quickly.[209]

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[207] Alice Malavasic, *The F Street Mess: How Southern Senators Rewrote the Kansas-Nebraska Act* (University of North Carolina Press, 2017); Kristen Oertel, *Bleeding Borders* (LSU Press, 2009); Nicole Etcheson, *Bleeding Kansas* (University Press of Kansas, 2008).

[208] Kelly Kennington, *In the Shadow of Dred Scott* (University of Georgia Press, 2017); James Simon, *Lincoln and Chief Justice Taney* (Simon & Schuster, 2007).

[209] Shearer Davis Bowman, *At the Precipice: Americans North and South During the Secession Crisis* (University of North Carolina Press, 2010); Erik Larson, *The Demon of Unrest* (Crown, 2024).

Figure 2-1: "The Dictator" mortar cannon, photo by David Knox, ca. Sep. 1864. Library of Congress.

Petersburg's Context

Petersburg, the seventh largest city in the South with about eighteen thousand residents[210], was an important strategic location for two primary reasons. First, the city's nearness to the Confederate capital city Richmond, and second, Petersburg was an economically important rail and river transportation hub. In 1850, the town of Petersburg was redesigned as a city with a new charter, a governmental restructuring that demonstrated its growing size and economic significance. Furthering the city's importance, several factories called Petersburg home, including those important to the war effort such as cotton mills, iron foundries, tobacco processing facilities, and flour mills. Railroads and rivers also provided easy access to European markets, as is detailed in Chapter I. Once hostilities broke out, all of Petersburg's industries would be put to bear in service of the Confederate war effort. Leaders within the US military recognized quickly that the railroad corridor between Petersburg and Richmond was a critical lifeline. If it could be severed, then the Southern armies would be severely weakened.[211]

From 1861 until mid-June 1864, life in Petersburg was largely untroubled by combat and functioned much as any other Southern city away from the front lines. Economically, railroad and

[210] Note that Richmond's population was only about thirty-eight thousand, just over double that of Petersburg. 1860 U.S. Census.

[211] *CLI for Eastern Front*, 31-32; Hess, *In the Trenches at Petersburg*, 10-11; Edward Pollock, *Historical and Industrial Guide to Petersburg, Virginia* (T. S. Beckwith & Co., 1884), 40-41.

industry both ramped up production, as did hospitals serving the wounded. Local farmers sold their production both locally and to markets far afield, and social events like weddings, funerals, and parties transpired essentially as usual. However, both Richmond and Petersburg became locations that attracted all kinds from around the South, such as troops, refugees, and battlefield casualties. This caused occasional food shortages and inflation. In Petersburg and Richmond on April 1 and 2, 1863, white residents took to the streets in protest over the cost of food. Since the primary foodstuff of concern was bread, these generally became known as two events in a series of bread riots across the South.[212]

The Army of the Potomac approached the city's gates in June 1864. Union artillery bombarded the city from positions within the Eastern Front and to the South, killing civilians and damaging buildings and infrastructure. By this point the Confederate military had seized control of the railroads fully. Commerce ceased to exist except for subsistence food supplies to those within the city.[213]

African Americans and Petersburg

Out of Virginia's total population of about 1,596,000, approximately 58,000 (3.6 percent) were free African Americans and 491,000 (30.7 percent) were enslaved. Petersburg was a numerical outlier because roughly half the population was African American and of those, about 35 percent were free. According to NPS research, Petersburg was likely the Southern city with the largest free Black population at the beginning of the Civil War and certainly the largest within Virginia. An extensive free Black community thrived in Petersburg.[214]

Petersburg was also a city generally segregated by both race and class by 1861. Separate poor white and free Black communities developed prior to the Civil War, with one of the latter, for example, earning the nickname amongst whites as "Africatown." However, segregation was not total, as evidenced by a game that historian Suzanne Lebsock described where white and Black boys played together reenacting John Brown's raid on Harpers Ferry. Race and racism clearly played a role in Petersburg's pre-war culture, but it was not nearly so stark as might be seen in the Deep South.[215]

Even though Petersburg was a racial anomaly within the pre-war South, the Commonwealth still burdened African Americans, free or not, with laws restricting their rights. In the aftermath of

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[212] Caroline Janney, "A Far Thoroughfare," in *Cold Harbor to the Crater*, eds. Gary Gallagher and Caroline Janney (University of North Carolina Press, 2015), 228-263; Wendy Hamand Venet, A Changing Wind (University of Georgia Press, 2017), 103; "An American Turning Point: The Civil War in Virginia," *Virginia Magazine of History and Biography* 118, no. 4 (2010): 377.

[213] Janney, "A Far Thoroughfare."

[214] "African-Americans at the Siege," Petersburg National Battlefield, National Park Service, last modified March 2, 2025, https://www.nps.gov/pete/learn/historyculture/african-americans-at-the-siege.htm; "State of Virginia: Table No. 1 - Population by Age and Sex," 1860 U.S. Census, https://www2.census.gov/library/publications/decennial/1860/population/1860a-36.pdf; *Encyclopedia Virginia*, "Free Blacks During the Civil War," by Susanna Michele Lee, December 7, 2020, https://encyclopediavirginia.org/entries/free-blacks-during-the-civil-war/.

[215] Suzanne Lebsock, *Free Women of Petersburg* (W.W. Norton & Co., 1985), 11.

the Nat Turner Rebellion in 1831, the Virginia General Assembly made it illegal for free Black people to carry firearms, denied jury trials in most cases, and curtailed freedom of assembly until whites were present. Each Virginia locality determined how strictly they would abide by these rules, and in Petersburg, rules were enforced unevenly but with force. For example, free Black people were regularly whipped publicly for "talking back" to white residents, something that would never happen to a white man or woman. During the 1850s, Petersburg escalated its restrictions on the free Black community by arresting anyone delinquent on their taxes and forcing them into labor. By 1860, the city had barred all African Americans from free use of sidewalks and from using horse-drawn taxis except in rare circumstances.[216]

White Petersburg residents were more likely than other Southerners to be familiar with modern technology and industry due to the growing mill culture that surrounded the Appomattox River. Like most Southerners, however, they believed in their ability to shape new technologies to their racial caste system. The institution of slavery adapted to the introduction of railroads, factories, and foundries, shifting from the daily tasks and practices of Southern plantations. Though the expansion of less labor-intensive grain farming increasingly displaced cotton and tobacco, enslaved labor remained crucial to the economies of Petersburg and its surroundings. Instead of reducing their enslaved workforces, industrial agriculturalists leased out enslaved peoples to other markets. Artisans, industrialists, and builders were all too keen to tap into the enslaved labor market.[217]

Upon the outbreak of war, all African Americans were immediately presented with a series of challenging decisions. Throughout the South, enslaved African Americans were coerced into work beneficial to the Confederate war effort. This was legal under the Confederate government after March 26, 1863, with the Impressment Act, which enabled the enforcement of military service of enslaved people.[218] Most individuals had no real opportunities to escape the conditions of their enslavement and remained entrapped in a deeply unjust system. Many free and enslaved Black men continued working on the railroad as they had prior to wartime hostilities, while many others were drawn into military industries. Both enslaved and free African Americans worked on infrastructure projects in and around Petersburg, most notably on digging earthworks.[219]

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[216] Lebsock, *Free Women of Petersburg*, 92-95.

[217] Jonathan Daniel Wells, "The Southern Middle Class," *Journal of Southern History* 75, no. 3 (2009): 651. See also Barnes, *Artisan Workers in the Upper South; Goldfield, Urban Growth in the Age of Sectionalism.*

[218] As early as spring 1862, Charles Friend of White Hill plantation hired a field hand named Moses Hunt to build earthworks in Williamsburg. "Confederate Slave Payroll 1099," RG 109, War Department Collection of Confederate Records 1825-1927, Confederate Quartermaster and Corps of Engineer Payrolls for Enslaved Labor 1874-1899, National Archives and Records Administration.

[219] "African-Americans at the Siege," Petersburg National Battlefield, National Park Service, last modified March 2, 2025, https://www.nps.gov/pete/learn/historyculture/african-americans-at-the-siege.htm; *Encyclopedia Virginia*, "Black Confederates," by Jaime Amanda Martinez, December 7, 2020, https://encyclopediavirginia.org/entries/black-confederates/.

Earthworks Context

Shortly after Virginia secession on April 17, 1861, white men from Virginia volunteered for Confederate service in massive numbers, with hundreds of Petersburg residents joining the secessionist cause. Mustered troops then met on battlefields throughout Virginia during the summer of 1861 at places like Philippi, Manassas, and Newport News. The Lincoln government, fearing the near proximity of the Confederate army to Washington D.C., almost immediately ordered the seizure of land to the south of the Potomac River, primarily in Arlington and Alexandria. Union forces then built large earthworks and forts surrounding Washington, making it nigh impenetrable. Despite the importance of Petersburg to Southern industry and logistics, the city and much of the Virginian interior would not see military action from the war's outset, thus allowing the construction of extensive defensive earthworks by Confederate forces.

Historians typically identify two major reasons why earthen entrenchments became a common feature of each army's defensive tactics. First, many historians credit the increased abilities of sharpshooters during the Siege of Petersburg as to why trenches and earthworks became battlefield necessities. Recent scholarship has largely debunked the idea that American rifles significantly changed combat throughout most of the Civil War, but there were indeed major changes in strategy by perhaps 1864 and certainly in 1865. Neither Union nor Confederate soldiers received significant training in how to use the rifle versus any other personally-issued firearm. Thus, for the first years of combat, the weapon was no more accurate or deadly than technological predecessors. By the time of the Siege of Petersburg, however, soldiers on both sides had honed their weaponry skills enough to become known as sharpshooters. However, there is still ongoing debate to what degree sharpshooters were actually feared for their abilities.[220]

Another argument, largely driven by historian Earl Hess, was that earthen entrenchments grew in importance because of the sustained near-physical proximity of enemy combatants to one another. Contact for more than a few days of fighting required soldiers to seek cover and construct improvised defenses, often little more than a two-foot hole, which evolved quickly into complex earthworks. Such situations became increasingly common by the end of the war as Confederate forces were stretched thin and on the defensive. This allowed combatants to literally dig in and hold their lines, sometimes just yards away from the enemy. According to Hess, there was nothing particularly special about Petersburg that resulted in earthworks; it just so happened that both sides refused to abandon their goals, and a mobile campaign, as seen in places like Gettysburg or Antietam, were either not pursued or not possible.[221]

There are many challenges to studying and identifying Civil War earthworks. Sometimes, something that looks like an earthwork is a natural feature or a simple hole in the ground. It is also virtually impossible to tell what type of technology went into constructing the earthwork. At Pe-

[220] Earl Hess, *The Rifle Musket in Civil War Combat* (University Press of Kansas, 2016); Scott Hippensteel, "The Myth of the Civil War Sniper," *Civil War Monitor*, April 15, 2024, https://www.civilwarmonitor.com/the-myth-of-the-civil-war-sniper/.

[221] Hess, *Rifle Musket in Civil War Combat*; Wayne Wei-siang Hsieh, *West Pointers and the Civil War* (University of North Carolina Press, 2009).

tersburg, for example, primary source documentation suggests that soldiers used a massive range of technologies, including typical shovels and picks, improvised tools like bayonets or pieces of wood, and rarely gunpowder and dynamite. Some earthworks, such as the Dimmock Line or the aforementioned structures around Washington D.C., were planned feats of engineering. Most larger earthworks meant to provide defensive cover for at least four soldiers were likely planned constructions.

Other earthworks (primarily those small enough for just one or two soldiers) were impromptu creations out of desperate or last-minute need. For example, Confederate soldier W.W. Blackford explained his first experience leading soldiers in creating mortar cover for their camp.

> The first duty I was called upon to perform was to get my men under cover in their camp. The hill was about forty feet high…and I selected a tolerably steep slope where by digging into the hill good shelter could be had from the shells constantly passing over our heads on their way to town. We soon had level benches cut into the hill for the men to pitch their flies on, and these were connected from one end to the other by a path made of the excavated material.[222]

From Blackford's telling, the transformation of the Eastern Front landscape was immense, and this passage tells but a fraction of excavations completed in a hurry to avoid enemy fire.

Figure 2-2: Fort Haskell, photograph from the main eastern theater of war, the siege of Petersburg, June 1864-April 1865. Library of Congress.

[222] Blackford, *War Years with Jeb Stuart*, 265.

The War Begins (1861-64)

Most monographs on the Petersburg Campaign include early in their narratives a note about its complexity and the difficulty in unpacking just what happened here. The first line, for example, of Earl Hess's *In the Trenches at Petersburg* identifies it as "the longest, the most complex, and perhaps the most important campaign of the Civil War."[223] To understand the importance of the Siege of Petersburg, one must understand the importance of the city itself, including its extensive earthwork defenses, and the preceding military actions leading to the conflict. To be clear, Petersburg was not the only battlefield with extensive trenching and earthworks, but it was certainly the longest such battle, so it is no wonder that historians have struggled to unpack its many layers both within the physical landscape and its many months of tactical actions.

The Civil War witnessed the introduction and adaptation of several technologies, both military and otherwise, broadly defined. For example, it is obvious that rifles, bayonets, and cannons are all technologies that directly impacted Civil War battles. Perhaps less obvious is the impact of rail and telegraph, and even less so is the impact of new wartime officer training. What follows is a general assessment of how technologies affected the Civil War by discussing each technology independently. Special attention is given to technologies that directly affected the battle at Petersburg.

Context of Technologies

While both Union and Confederate officers later claimed to be surprised by the technological advances of the Civil War, this was not because they had suddenly discovered new technologies. On the contrary, many of the senior officers in both the Union and Confederate militaries were veterans themselves, having served in the Mexican War from 1846-1848. Both sides also had innumerable officers trained on the latest tactics and weaponry at West Point, primarily in the 1840s and 1850s. There had been some military inventions between 1845 and 1860, most notably the widespread introduction of the rifle, but this had little influence on changing combat conditions. What was more impactful instead were peacetime technologies – railroads, telegraphs, and factories – applied to wartime environments.

Rifle and Bayonet

The rifle had an advantage over its smoothbore counterpart by providing more accuracy and thus a greater effective range, but some historians have recently argued that this technological advancement did not actually affect combat methods. The black powder used in rifles had not significantly changed despite weaponry improvements. Powder used during the Civil War burned dirty, caused large amounts of smoke, and regularly jammed weapons. Because of these shortcomings, historians like Allen Guelzo argued tactics essentially remained the same. Weapons were deadlier from afar, but as Guelzo wrote "all technological improvements in accuracy and

[223] Hess, *In the Trenches at Petersburg*, xiii.

range would mean nothing if a target could not be seen." Officers thus continued to train infantry to shoot volleys at the enemy in the traditional method of simultaneous fire.[224]

Simply collapsing all infantry weaponry into the category of "rifles" does a severe disservice to the wide variety used in combat. For instance, virtually every Springfield model of rifle and musket saw some combat action. The 1861 model was standard issue, but weapon shortages led to usage of all previous Springfield models, including the Model 1795, which still utilized a flint-lock mechanism and was the first produced in America. Dozens of other rifles, including Enfield and Lorenz models, were deployed by Civil War infantry, as were breech-loading and muzzle-loading carbines. There were also howitzers, ten and twenty-pound Parrott guns, and twelve-pound smoothbore Napoleon guns, all of which could be found throughout the military theater.[225]

The Civil War was an inflection point regarding bayonet combat. Bayonets are simple weapons, essentially just a firearm modification to create a spear or pike. The Civil War witnessed plenty of close quarters combat, during which the bayonet was a prime weapon. Bayonet charges were also still in vogue upon the onset of the Civil War and were especially effective when deployed against untested and untrained officers, both of which the Union and Confederacy had in droves. However, as the war developed, both sides utilized bayonet charges less often than ever before in American military history. Some estimates suggest less than 5 percent of Civil War casualties were caused by bayonets, a sharp decline compared to conflicts earlier in the century which regularly totaled around 20 percent. This sharp decline was largely due to both improved weapons, namely rifles; the decreased importance placed by generals upon capturing singular targets; and wartime attrition that led to loss of supplies over time, including bayonets, especially within Confederate ranks.[226]

By the end of the war, Civil War generals adapted to new realities by utilizing shorter charges from one spot of cover to another. The bayonet was the weapon used during such movements. For instance, combat at Petersburg in 1864-65 involved small groups often shifting from earthwork to earthwork, usually no more than a few yards at a time. Compare this to Grover's charge at Manassas (1862) or Chamberlain's charge at Little Round Top (1863), both of which saw over one thousand soldiers advance with bayonets directly at the enemy. Otherwise, the bayonet saw less use as a killing weapon and, on the contrary, was used more often as a digging tool under periods of duress at places like Bermuda Hundred and Petersburg.[227]

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[224] Allen C. Guelzo, *Fateful Lightning* (Oxford University Press, 2012), 253-4.
[225] Guelzo, *Fateful Lighting*, 257.
[226] John Stone, "The Point of the Bayonet," *Technology and Culture* 53, no. 4 (2012): 895.
[227] Stone, "The Point of the Bayonet," 895; "Information Panel: Charge Bayonets," Manassas National Battlefield Park, National Park Service, https://www.nps.gov/places/information-panel-charge-bayonets.htm; James R. Brann, "Defense of Little Round Top," American Battlefield Trust, https://www.battlefields.org/learn/articles/defense-little-round-top; W. C. Johnson and E. S. Hartshorn, "The Development of Field Fortification in the Civil War," *Professional Memoirs, Corps of Engineers, United States Army, and Engineer Department at Large* 7, No. 35 (1915).

Rail

The Civil War was a large geographic war with many theaters requiring transport of both troops and supplies across great distances. Railroads were of course critical to this task. Both rail and steamships effectively shrank the distance between Northern power centers, such as Boston, and battlefields in the South. Both sides targeted railways, fully understanding their importance, but the ability to quickly rebuild proved decisive.[228]

Even though the Union was more effective in using railroads, the Confederacy's use was significant yet flawed. The North had a major advantage upon the war's onset with 22,000 track miles compared to the South's 9,500. Despite the South's obvious shortcoming, most of the rail network connected southeastern population centers like Atlanta, Charleston, and Richmond. Thus, when compared with other combat arenas, the area with the most fighting – Virginia – was well supplied by both sides. However, much of the southern rail system was horribly disjointed, meaning there were many competing companies whose lines did not connect. Due to a shortage of connecting spur lines across the South, it was not uncommon that some supplies essentially became stranded miles away from their intended destinations. Richmond, for example, was served by six separate railway companies with no central interchange.[229]

In part because the largest battles in the first two years occurred in a small geographic area, the Confederacy did not initially place much emphasis on utilizing and maintaining its railway network. This was, in part, because most railroad employees were Northern migrants who left the South upon the declaration of secession, but, more importantly, was the conservative politics of the Confederate government. Despite fighting for its existence, the Confederate government consistently refused to seize private rail companies for the war effort. Private companies, of which there were dozens, neglected to repair their rail lines largely because hauling Confederate war supplies was not as profitable as hauling cotton. With reduced cotton production, rail lines naturally deteriorated as Southern companies responded to the market. Southern railroads also focused on local and regional service and communicated little with their competitors. This led to few inter-network connections and varied rail gauges, resulting in little to no ability for long-distance rail travel throughout the southern network without extensive knowledge and planning.[230]

The North thought of railroads in terms of logistics early in the war, while Confederate leaders were the first to consider using them for rapid troop transport. Confederate leaders understood their armies would always be outnumbered, so they sought to quickly shift large numbers between theaters of war to even the odds. The first example of this strategy came at the First Battle of Manassas when the Confederacy quickly moved troops from Delaplane to Manassas Junction

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[228] Williamson Murray and Wayne Wei-siang Hsieh, *A Savage War: A Military History of the Civil War* (Princeton University Press, 2016).

[229] "Railroads of the Confederacy," American Battlefield Trust, last modified August 15, 2024, https://www.battlefields.org/learn/articles/railroads-confederacy.

[230] "Railroads of the Confederacy"; Robert C. Black III, *The Railroads of the Confederacy* (University of North Carolina Press, 2018), 8-12.

to reinforce troops mid-battle. Reinforcements were a major factor in Confederate victory at this battle, so both sides recognized an important lesson learned.[231]

As the war developed, Union leaders developed a dual strategy to ensure the North maintained a robust, inter-state railroad system while also attempting to demolish all of the South's lines. The Union Army found the former of the strategies somewhat easy, given the Confederates' utter inability to strike into the north.[232] In response to this strategy, the Confederacy redoubled its efforts to quickly rebuild broken lines. However, this effort was largely insufficient. For example, General Sherman's troops developed a strategy of heating railroad ties and then bending the metal around trees, thus making the tracks virtually impossible to repair. The Confederacy also did not have adequate resources to maintain its nascent industrial economy dependent upon railroads. Another example is Alleghany County, Virginia, a locale that witnessed virtually zero direct Civil War action, but whose mining, rail, and iron forges were essentially shuttered early in the war due to the siphoning off of resources and young men for the war effort. This particular county did not recover in terms of economy and population until at least 1890, a story that was much the same for other communities entering their industrial era in 1861.[233]

By the second half of 1864, Grant had embarked upon his siege of Petersburg, an action only possible due to the railroads here, including the City Point Railroad (1838), Richmond & Petersburg Railroad (1938), Southside Railroad (1854), US Military Road (1862), and Weldon Railroad (1833 and 1840).[234] Grant did not operate in a vacuum; he relied on the actions of General Sheridan in the Shenandoah Valley and General Sherman in the Deep South to prevent Confederate reinforcements of Richmond and Petersburg. Essentially, Grant was attempting to create a situation where a reinforceable, well-supplied army faced another that was neither supplied nor easily reinforceable, a situation unthinkable without railroads.[235]

Telegraph

Telegraph communication also proved revolutionary. This technology was broadly unavailable to Americans until the preceding decade. Samuel Morse, inventor of the telegraph in America, failed to capture significant financial support from Congress during the 1840s, but nevertheless was able to connect much of the coastal corridor between Washington D.C. and Boston. The British deployed telegraph communication during the Crimean War to great success, so it was from this example that American military leaders learned.[236]

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[231] "First Test of Modern Warfare's Innovations," American Battlefield Trust, last modified November 20, 2023, https://www.battlefields.org/learn/articles/first-test-modern-warfares-innovations.

[232] William G. Thomas, *The Iron Way* (Yale University Press, 2013).

[233] "Railroads of the Confederacy,"; Whitelaw Reid, "Why Alleghany County was the Virginia Locality Most Affected by the Civil War," *UVAToday*, April 23, 2019, https://news.virginia.edu/content/why-alleghany-county-was-virginia-locality-most-affected-civil-war.

[234] "Railroads in the Siege," Petersburg National Battlefield, National Park Service, last modified April 28, 2024, https://www.nps.gov/pete/learn/historyculture/railroads-in-the-siege.htm.

[235] Thomas, *The Iron Way*.

[236] Senate Historical Office, "'What Hath God Wrought': Morse's Telegraph in the Capitol," *Senate Stories*, May 7, 2024, https://www.senate.gov/artandhistory/senate-stories/morses-telegraph-in-the-capitol.htm; William Bern-

For the first time ever starting in March 1862, telegraph lines allowed battlefield conditions to be instantly reported back to the War Department central offices in Washington D.C. By the end of the war, the US military laid about fifteen thousand miles of telegraph cables and handled about 6.5 million messages. This was not an inexpensive endeavor, with historian David Hochfelder tabulating about $2.6 million or about forty-one cents per message delivered. It was dangerous work, too, with telegraph construction regularly coming under fire from Confederate opponents, but it was worth it to American leaders. Edwin Stanton, William Seward, and President Lincoln all recognized the critical value of military telegraphs by early 1862. Confederate leaders also recognized the burgeoning technology's importance but, for a variety of reasons both economic and logistical, the South never fully capitalized on instant communication as the North had done.[237]

Despite this general failure of the South, telegraphic technology had a massive impact on the fighting at Petersburg by allowing for near instant tactical decision-making, especially for the Northern army. Union orders at Petersburg were principally communicated through telegraph, as were reports to leadership regarding battle results. For example, General Meade received over one hundred telegraphs in the five hours after the explosion that created the Crater. If this battle had occurred just years earlier, the fog of war would have potentially overwhelmed commanders, thus resulting in far more casualties. Union commanders delivered orders of all kinds, including those that communicated large-scale plans, coordinated timed attacks in separate theaters, or ordered specific, localized troop movements. To give an idea of how casual such communications could be, General Meade delivered a single telegram to General Horatio Wright; it read (according to memory) something like "don't let 'em dance round you, pitch into them," hardly the clearest of instructions, though the meaning was felt.[238]

Officers and Training

West Point cadets endured a four-year program which resembled a standard university education, including science, technology, engineering, geography, and language arts, though more course hours were dedicated to military science as cadets advanced.[239] Officer training also included instruction in French, primarily to ease the learning of French military tactics as well as British tactics.[240] However, most of the curriculum actually focused less on tactics and more on science, engineering, and logistics. Largely inspired by the French military system, such a system prepared men to serve as both officers in the Mexican War and Civil War and as civilian scientists in the industrial north and west. This would have obviously prepared leadership, especially in the Union army, to understand siege warfare like what was seen at the Eastern Front.[241]

stein, *The Birth of Plenty* (McGraw Hill, 2004).

[237] David Hochfelder, *The Telegraph in America, 1832-1920* (Johns Hopkins University Press, 2012), 7-10.

[238] Hochfelder, *The Telegraph in America*, 10-11; Theodore Lyman III, *Meade's Headquarters, 1863-1865* (Atlantic Monthly Press, 1922), 175.

[239] James Morrison, *The Best School: West Point, 1833-1866* (Kent State University Press, 1986).

[240] Hsieh, *West Pointers and the Civil War*, 48-49.

[241] Hsieh, *West Pointers and the Civil War*, 48-49.

However, despite this well-documented and high level of training, the US Army's officer corps was small, totaling just sixteen thousand at the opening of the war. As argued by historian Wayne Hsieh, this small number was further trivialized due to the Army's preference for veterans over fresh graduates. There was also no retirement system in place, which incentivized plenty of older officers to remain in place well past their usefulness as well as frustrated younger West Pointers. Still, the bureaucratic structure of West Point carried over into the lives of officers after graduation, a system highly beneficial to those stationed in the west fighting against Native American groups. However, despite such a system, the most important factor in officer equality and activities was individual capability. Training and experience only carried individual officers so far; it was other factors, including circumstances and luck, that drove actions toward success or failure. Officers also recognized that nearly all of their soldiers were novices to war and were responsible for training new recruits. At Petersburg, new recruits would have grasped drill and weapons training, but they would have also been instructed – oftentimes under great duress – in siege warfare and earthworks construction. Compared to other campaigns, the slower pace of fighting at Petersburg provided soldiers with time to physically rest, a situation that historians like Steven Sodergren have argued regenerated morale and combat effectiveness among troops, especially in the Union Army.[242]

Cavalry

The US military never developed any heavy cavalry in the European tradition but did develop advanced light mounted cavalry in its wars against western Native American forces. Such training developed during the late 1830s and 1840s, so many of the men who commanded Civil War forces learned such strategies early on.[243]

Technological improvements quickly changed the nature of cavalry in the Civil War. Most trained cavalrymen either learned from their experience in the American west, with its wide and open terrain, or from classroom instruction that leaned heavily upon the Napoleonic model of mass charges. Charges quickly became obsolete when facing an organized force since modern rifles allowed for more volleys with greater accuracy compared to the smoothbore muskets of decades earlier. Because of this, the primary role of cavalry shifted towards scouting and reconnaissance, providing crucial intelligence to commanders. They also conducted disruptive raids behind enemy lines, targeting supply lines and infrastructure, and screened troop movements while protecting flanks. Although traditional cavalry charges regularly occurred (sometimes to dramatic failure, as with multiple Union charges at Gaine's Mill), they were less frequent and often less decisive due to the increased firepower of rifled infantry. Dismounted combat became more common, highlighting the versatility of cavalry units.[244]

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[242] Hsieh, *West Pointers and the Civil War*, 48-49; Steven Sodergren, *The Army of the Potomac* (LSU Press, 2017); Mark Weitz, "Drill, training, and the combat performance of the Civil War soldier: Dispelling the myth of the poor soldier, great fighter," *Journal of Military History* 62, no. 2 (1998).

[243] Hsieh, *West Pointers and the Civil War*, 52.

[244] Eric J. Wittenberg, "The Evolution of Cavalry Tactics," *The Emerging Civil War*, February 11, 2019, https://emergingcivilwar.com/2019/02/11/the-evolution-of-cavalry-tactics-how-technology-drove-change-part-five/.

By the time of Petersburg, both sides' cavalrymen would have been highly professional mounted forces, again owing to their many years of on-the-field training. However, on battlefields like Petersburg with heavy earthworks, cavalry was deployed more for scouting and quick communication, as cavalry charges were all but impossible. All that was needed to prevent such a charge was a simple traphole directly in front of defensive lines. By 1864, large cavalry engagements remained commonplace in theaters like the Shenandoah Valley, Atlanta, Nashville, and Alabama.

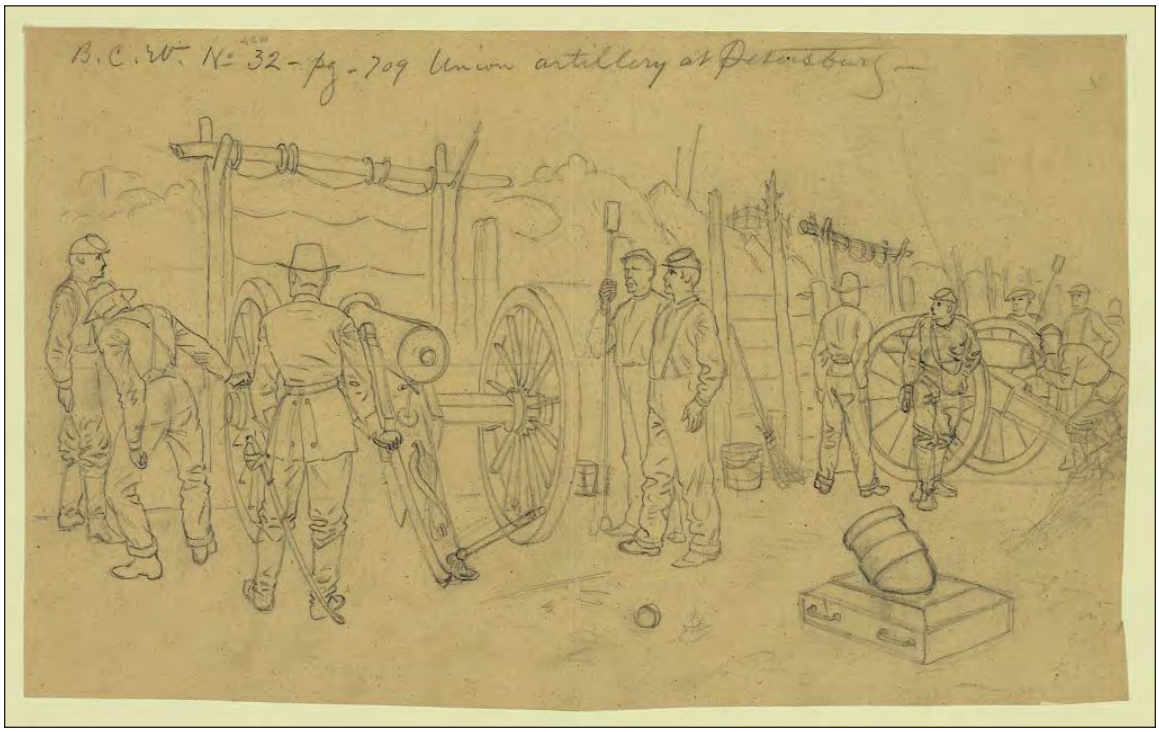

Figure 2-3: Drawing of Union artillery at Petersburg by Alfred C. Waud, ca. 1864. Library of Congress.

Artillery

Civil War artillery dramatically reshaped the battlefield, forcing a shift in both strategy and tactics, owing to the newer cannons' greater range, accuracy, and explosive power. Increased range and accuracy of rifled artillery meant that battles could be initiated and fought at much greater distances than in previous conflicts. This led to the dispersal of troops and digging in, as massed formations in open ground became vulnerable to devastating artillery barrages. Strategically, armies had to adapt to longer-range engagements, requiring more sophisticated logistical support to move and supply artillery batteries. The ability to bombard fortifications and supply lines from afar also changed siege warfare, making it more about attrition and less about direct assaults. However, artillery was still notoriously inaccurate, which only further sowed chaos in the ranks of both armies as they came under unpredictable fire.

Tactically, artillery forced the development of new defensive measures. The construction of extensive earthworks, as mentioned previously, became essential for protecting infantry from artillery fire. The use of skirmishers and more dispersed lines of advance also became prevalent,

reducing the effectiveness of concentrated artillery strikes. Artillery itself became more mobile, with horse-drawn batteries capable of rapidly deploying and shifting positions to support infantry attacks or defend key terrain. The use of artillery to prepare for infantry assaults became a standard tactic, with preliminary bombardments designed to soften enemy defenses and disrupt their formations. In short, the presence of artillery forced greater mobility, dispersal, and flexibility amongst generals.

Both Grant and Lee clearly understood the centrality of artillery to controlling landscapes. Almost immediately upon occupying the Dimmock Line, Grant ordered artillery to be placed within the eastern part of the line. He then ordered a bombardment aimed at Petersburg. Hundreds of structures would be hit, leading to an evacuation of much of the city. This would have a dramatic impact upon the landscape, as discussed in Chapter III, but so too would it orient the battlefield.

The Bermuda Hundred Campaign

The first military action transpiring near the Eastern Front was the Bermuda Hundred Campaign, named for an area ten miles northeast from Petersburg at the confluence of the Appomattox and James rivers. Though it did not have a direct impact upon Petersburg, it did draw Confederate forces out of the city and eventually turn Union interest away from Richmond to the south. In the broader interpretation of the Civil War, the Bermuda Hundred Campaign was not of tremendous historical importance, but it did have a significant mental effect upon how men prepared for the Petersburg battle. The Bermuda Hundred Campaign inflated Confederate confidence, demonstrated the power of earthen defenses, and re-centered this particular theater away from Richmond and toward Petersburg.[245]

Union General Benjamin Butler, acting on the orders of new US Army Commanding General Ulysses S. Grant, led upwards of forty thousand soldiers up the James River on May 5, 1864, out of Fort Monroe and Newport News. Some of the first soldiers to land were a US Colored Troops (USCT) brigade commanded by Brigadier General Edward Wild, who then immediately set about building Fort Pocahontas at Wilson's Wharf on the northern banks of the James River. Another USCT brigade landed at City Point and successfully captured a signal station before Confederate communications could be sent to Petersburg. Union troops were now positioned less than ten miles away from Petersburg, the closest approach thus far in the war.[246]

Butler's orders were simple – capture Richmond and disrupt railroad supply lines. Motivating Grant's orders was a desire both to obviously capture the Confederate capital, as well as to avoid surrendering any hard-won territory in eastern Virginia. Protected by a diversionary force sent up the York River toward West Point, Butler's mass of ships fully unloaded near Bermuda Hundred by the morning of May 6, and engineers set to work erecting a defensive line near Point of

[245] Sean Chick, *Grant's Left Hook: The Bermuda Hundred Campaign*, May 5 – June 7, 1864 (Savas Beatie, 2021), 21; William Glenn Robertson, *Back Door to Richmond: The Bermuda Hundred Campaign* (University of Delaware Press, 1987), 68.

[246] Chick, *Grant's Left Hook*, 21; Robertson, *Back Door to Richmond*, 68; Noah Andre Trudeau, *The Last Citadel* (Little, Brown, & Co., 1991), 5.

Rocks. At the time, Richmond had few soldiers holding down defenses and only about nine hundred militiamen occupied Petersburg. Once news reached Confederate leadership, Beauregard rapidly ordered troops to the area, but this would take a few days to properly materialize. By the end of May 6, only about 2,600 Confederate soldiers guarded Richmond, some of whom were emergency forces dispatched from the Petersburg City Battalion.[247]

However, despite overwhelming numerical superiority, Union forces were unable to mount a significant advance largely because of the defenses around the city and poor communication between Union commanders. Confederate troops arrived in the area by rail within two days, so by the end of May 7, the only notable Union accomplishment was burning a saw mill and temporarily disabling a short section of railroad that Confederates repaired within six hours. Given this lack of immediate success, Butler then ordered troops to destroy a railroad bridge crossing Swift Creek. Again, Butler ran into problems given that Confederates had successfully gathered about four thousand troops with support from artillery at Fort Clifton, an earthworks structure about five miles north of Petersburg on the Appomattox River.[248]

Seeing the heavily fortified though relatively small Confederate forces, some Union commanders, namely Major Generals Quincy Adams Gilmore and William Farrar Smith, proposed abandoning the Richmond assault to instead take Petersburg. On May 9, the two attempted to move toward Petersburg, but instead encountered the impassable Swift Creek. They returned to Butler and proposed quickly building a pontoon bridge across the Appomattox River and making a dash for the city. The Confederate capital may remain, but this would at least devastate the rail networks and supply lines while fulfilling secondary orders. Butler rejected this plan, instead opting to follow Grant's original primary instruction to take Richmond. Gilmore and Smith both followed orders to attack toward Richmond three days later. Meanwhile, Union cavalry forces under Butler were more successful at conducting bridge and railroad raids far from Butler's fortified position until May 17.[249]

Butler's relative inaction, given the troops at his disposal, allowed Confederate forces to further amass. By May 13, Beauregard commanded about eighteen thousand soldiers, roughly half of Butler's size, and positioned them on a line along Proctor's Creek, a position roughly halfway between Richmond and Petersburg. Butler's subsequent attacks were unable to destroy the Confederate lines, while Beauregard's counter attacks were far more successful in confusing and splintering the Union ranks. By May 20, Union forces had been driven out of their own outer rifle pits.

Beauregard's success marked a similar situation to what would come in Petersburg – competing parallel trenchworks in close proximity to one another. The Union army retreated to its original line established on the May 6 landing. Beauregard's forces occupied some Union defenses and

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[247] Chick, *Grant's Left Hook*, 22-27; *CLI for Eastern Front*, 35.

[248] Chick, *Grant's Left Hook*, 32.

[249] George Maharay, *Baldy: Major General William F. Smith* (iUniverse, 2013), 91-92; Gerald Earley, *Strategies of the North and South: A Comparative Analysis of the Union and Confederate Campaigns* (McFarland, 2021), 191-194.

expanded these works significantly spanning the eight miles from the Appomattox to the James rivers. With these defensive earthworks in place, both sides settled into essentially a stalemate only occasionally broken by artillery strikes, midnight raids, and brief skirmishes. By early June, Beauregard began sending some of his forces to Lee's Army of Northern Virginia, signaling his confidence in Butler's inability to break his line. Recognizing the same issue, General Grant similarly removed sixteen thousand troops from Butler's army to buttress his own in preparation for movements at Cold Harbor. The lone final action affecting Petersburg was when Butler dispatched about 4,500 soldiers on June 9 to cross the Appomattox River in an attempt to capture Petersburg. A Confederate militia group engaged the main attack force along Jerusalem Plank Road and held them long enough so Beauregard's forces could repel the Union back to Bermuda Hundred.[250]

The key impact of the Bermuda Hundred Campaign upon the Eastern Front was that it enhanced the confidence of the Confederate forces stationed there. For the rest of the Bermuda Hundred Campaign, neither military broke through the other's lines. Confederate forces were generally commanded from Petersburg as the Confederacy still enjoyed relatively unbroken access between Richmond and Petersburg. Outnumbered two to one, Beauregard's forces had just repelled an assault and had been caught largely flatfooted. City defenses proved capable, so Confederate leaders could only imagine what could be accomplished with preparation time along the Dimmock Line. Butler's failure also set into motion events that would lead to an assault on Petersburg. For all their lack of success, Butler's forces did secure a foothold near Petersburg, enabling Grant to enter the arena and shift the army's focus once he realized the extreme difficulty of another direct assault upon Richmond.

Overview of the Petersburg Campaign (1864-65)

While Butler remained bogged down at Bermuda Hundred, General Grant initiated the Overland Campaign and, beginning on May 31, attacked Confederate forces positioned behind a strong defensive line. It became clear to General Grant within days that victory would not be met despite roughly double the number of Confederate forces. The Union would suffer more than double the Confederate casualties. After the final failed assault on June 3, General Grant ordered troops to move out to the southeast, across the James River, and ultimately on to Petersburg. The US Army would no longer try to take Richmond directly but instead focus on disrupting transportation lines going to the city, including railroads in and around Petersburg.[251]

Butler's forces, having obviously failed to mount a serious attack on Richmond, were still settled into a fortified area at Bermuda Hundred when orders changed to target Petersburg. On June 9, 1864, Butler's forces approached Petersburg from the east and south intending to raze transportation networks and sites of military production. Most of the day's fighting was considered light

[250] Mark Grimsley, "A Lack of Confidence: Benjamin F. Butler," in Steven E. Woodworth, ed., *Grant's Lieutenants: From Cairo to Vicksburg* (University Press of Kansas, 2001), 117-122; William Glenn Robertson, *The First Battle for Petersburg: The Attack and Defense of the Cockade City, June 9, 1864* (Savas Beatie, 2015).

[251] Ethan S. Rafuse, "'Wherever Lee Goes…': George G. Meade," in *Grant's Lieutenants: From Cairo to Vicksburg*, ed. Steven E. Woodworth (University Press of Kansas, 2001), 66; *CLI for Eastern Front*, 35.

skirmishes, with Union infantry retreating early and a small contingent of Confederates fighting back Union assaults at the Dimmock Line. Meanwhile, General Grant's and Meade's forces made their way from the Mechanicsville area over one hundred miles to the north-northeast and arrived over the next week in preparation for a planned attack on June 15.[252]

From June 12 to June 14, thousands of Union troops – essentially the entire Army of the Potomac – moved south from Cold Harbor, across the Chickahominy River, and toward the James River near City Point. Confederate forces understood that Grant aimed his sights on Petersburg or perhaps Richmond but were unable to mount a serious attack as the Union Army moved. Instead, Robert E. Lee dispersed his forces by sending Jubal Early to the Shenandoah Valley, far away from the pending action near Petersburg. Skirmishes broke out the night of June 12, but it became clear to Confederate leaders that Grant had successfully mobilized his troops southward with no opposition. In response, Lee followed, again only offering minimal military resistance to Lee's forces. The Army of the Potomac crossed the James River from late morning into nighttime on June 14. Nearly all the Northern troops were ready for action by the morning of June 15.[253]

Officially, the Petersburg Campaign's beginning is identified by military historians as June 15 and would continue for a total of 292 consecutive days of contact between the two military forces. On June 15, the Union Army (primarily the Eighteenth Corps) attacked Confederate forces guarding Petersburg in a four-day offensive. While not an overwhelming success, these forces occupied nearly two miles of the Dimmock Line by the end of the day. Fighting over the next three days did not result in significant gains, so Union forces settled in and began creating new defensive fortifications.[254]

General Grant encountered more problems even before Union troops could settle outside of the Dimmock Line. Owing to a series of miscommunications, General Winfield Scott Hancock did not arrive at Petersburg on time, and General William Farrar Smith proceeded to attack Confederate forces as instructed, though he did not have the support of Meade's Fifth and Ninth Corps. This led to immediate chaos and missed opportunities, a hallmark of the coming months-long battle for both sides.[255]

Unpacking the complexities of the Petersburg campaign is a difficult task. The fighting never truly stopped over the 292 days, though of course some assaults were larger than others. But that leads to an obvious question – what constitutes a "skirmish" versus an "attack" or a "counterattack"? Should this conflict be considered a "Siege" as most historians have termed it, or should this be reconsidered since Petersburg itself was never blockaded and combat focused more on maneuvers and trench warfare?

[252] Rafuse, "'Wherever Lee Goes…'," 66.
[253] Trudeau, *The Last Citadel* 15-24.
[254] Hess, *In the Trenches at Petersburg,* xiii-xvii.
[255] Rafuse, "'Wherever Lee Goes…'," 67-68.

The First Assaults (June 15-18, 1864)

General Grant first made a general inspection of the Dimmock Line on June 15, finding it impressive, and ordered an assault to be made that same evening. Confederate defenses were exceptionally thin at this point with only about two thousand stationed between Batteries 1 through 23. Gustavus Smith's 18th Corps approached the Dimmock Line near Battery V, and Smith himself scouted the area for about two hours. He too found the defenses formidable. After patiently waiting for other expected Union forces that were ultimately delayed, Smith's forces attacked at 7 p.m. and immediately overran at least three miles of the Dimmock Line's eastern portion spanning Batteries III through XI, the Dimmock Line arc within the Eastern Front. Only the timely arrival of five thousand Confederate troops led by Robert Hoke stymied the Union advance.[256]

Large numbers of troops on both sides arrived at the Dimmock Line in subsequent days. Over the night of June 15, Confederates built a defensive line, and Beauregard immediately brought in forces stationed at the Bermuda Hundred lines totaling about ten thousand. A massive Union force consisting of the Army of the Potomac's Fifth, Sixth, and Ninth Corps arrived through June 16 and 17, bringing the total count of soldiers to over one hundred thousand. Robert E. Lee's Army of Northern Virginia then arrived to reinforce positions on June 18. With both Grant and Lee on the field and Grant determined to capture Petersburg, the Eastern Front became the central theater of the Civil War at this point. Over this three-day span, Grant continued to test Confederate defenses in this first wave of attacks.[257]

On June 16, Union forces continued to slowly advance but not nearly as quickly as numerical advantages would dictate. Confederate forces formed multiple lines roughly north-to-south to counter the Union's new positions on the captured portions of the Dimmock Line. The first was the Hagood Line, which spanned from around Battery II to an area between Batteries XVII and XVIII and roughly followed portions of Harrison's Creek. However, Beauregard disapproved of this position and ordered a new line be formed further back, the Harris Line, spanning from the river to near Battery XXVI for an eventual fallback.[258] By the end of June 16, Grant ordered more attacks along the Dimmock Line as troops continued to arrive. Forces led by Colonel Thomas Egan took Battery XII, and a later attack ordered by Grant and Meade took Batteries XIII and XIV. Throughout the night, Union troops continued to fire upon the Hagood Line to disrupt stronger fortifications.[259]

What most historians refer to as the "siege" of Petersburg began once Grant realized on June 18 that the attacks would likely not penetrate the Dimmock Line quickly, and he ordered troops to dig in. With this decision, not only was the fighting along the Dimmock Line the effective center of the Civil War, it was also unlike any warfare that had yet transpired in the history of American warfare. Of course, other battlefields saw wide usage of trenches, such as Vicksburg and those within the Atlanta Campaign, but now there were two large opposing armies just mere feet apart

[256] Hess, *In the Trenches at Petersburg*, 18-20.
[257] Hess, *In the Trenches at Petersburg*.
[258] Hess, *In the Trenches at Petersburg*, 23.
[259] Hess, *In the Trenches at Petersburg*, 24-25.

from one another at some points. Engineers would now play an even more prominent role in combat. All Union corps were assigned engineer regiments at the start of the Overland campaign except for the Ninth Corps under Burnside, though Burnside's chief engineer regularly drafted regular regiments for engineer duty. Engineers were also assigned throughout the Army of the James.[260] As for the Army of Northern Virginia, engineer troops mustered into service shortly before the Overland campaign. Shortages in engineer companies regularly meant Confederate officers detailed regular soldiers for engineering work. Similarly, Confederates dissolved the pioneer companies – soldiers assigned to repair roads and bridges – to incorporate them into the armed forces.[261]

Second Attack and Confederate Response (June 22-24, 1864)

Confederate soldiers within the extensive trenchworks guarding Petersburg remained optimistic despite numerical odds. Innumerable scholars since have traced a straight, downward path from Confederate losses at Gettysburg and Vicksburg to Appomattox Court House, but the soldiers on the ground certainly did not understand the big picture. This is to say that morale did not falter amongst Confederates on this battlefront. The initial weeklong movements initiated by Grant starting on June 9 revealed this Southern confidence, as traced by historian M. Keith Harris in Confederate diaries. So long as Robert E. Lee maintained a presence and an army, Southern soldiers believed the massive Army of the Potomac could be defeated and an independent slave republic could be secured.[262]

Grant too believed the Union army had achieved success during the first few days by gaining advantageous ground and so he sought to push further. With Union troops primarily digging in from June 18 to 21, Grant ordered Major General David Birney's Second Corps and Major General Horatio Wright's Sixth Corp to march south and west to take the Weldon Railroad line south of Petersburg. Over the next two days, these troops moved only to be met by a Confederate counterattack by Mahone's and Wilcox's forces. Union troops repelled Confederate attacks on the third day, and Grant ordered troops to dig in at their new locations. Birney's troops were positioned south of the Dimmock Line spanning from about Batteries XXXIII to XXVI and crossing Jerusalem Plank Road, while Wright's were further to the south halfway between the same road and the railroad line. This attack only lasted two days, and the third was marked by a Confederate offensive easily repelled. This offensive also included a cavalry strike aiming to destroy portions of the South Side Railroad and Richmond and Danville Railroad to the southwest of Petersburg. Again, Confederate counterattacks forced Union men to retreat without major damage.[263]

[260] Hess, *In the Trenches at Petersburg*, 2-5.
[261] Hess, *In the Trenches at Petersburg*, 5-8.
[262] M. Keith Harris, "We Will Finish the War Here," in *Cold Harbor to the Crater*, ed. Gary W. Gallagher and Caroline E. Janney (University of North Carolina Press, 2015).
[263] Trudeau, *The Last Citadel*, 65.

Later Attacks

In general, historians do not agree about the total number of attacks, raids, or counterattacks during the Petersburg campaign. The primary cause of such disagreements stems from the campaign's sheer magnitude and complexity. Since there is no consensus, this study instead emphasizes that the Petersburg campaign was a lengthy fortified stalemate where both armies developed new technological applications in seeking victory. Battle lines were regularly redrawn through attrition, skirmishes, raids, and offensives. But unlike a typical battle in which Corps and fortifications can be represented on a map, the forces at Petersburg resemble a solid line shifting slightly and rarely broken with thousands of new earthworks constructed throughout. Historian Earl Hess' work *In the Trenches at Petersburg* argues there were nine clear Union offensives, two Union raids, and three Confederate offensives throughout the campaign. These events can serve as helpful waypoints in understanding the broader campaign.

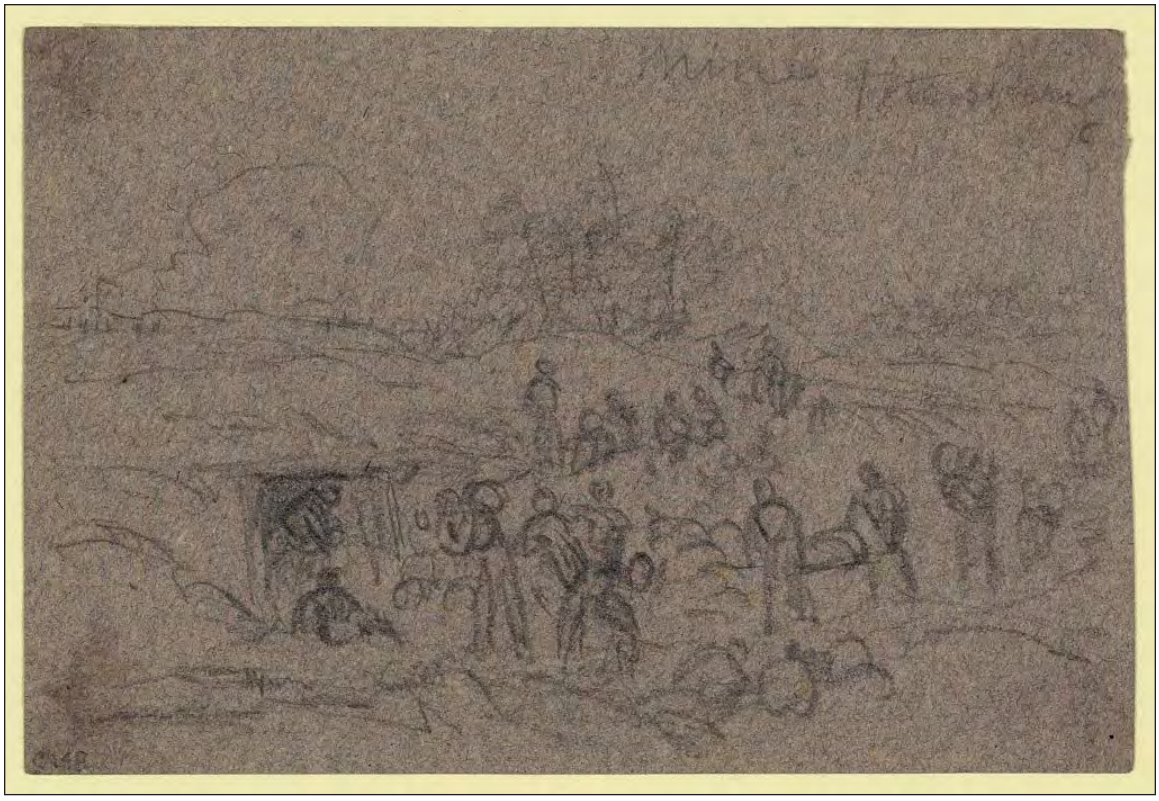

Figure 2-4: Sketch of mining operations in Petersburg, ca. July 30, 1864, by Alfred R. Waud. Library of Congress.

The Crater

Both Union and Confederate forces deployed field fortifications such as trenches, earthworks, and mines, from the beginning of the Civil War, but the situation differed at Petersburg because of the battle's length and extended proximity of the two armies. Both armies regularly dug in to protect themselves from snipers, artillery, and charges, though these were usually constructed far away from enemy forces. This pattern changed initially at Cold Harbor, where Union forces dug

meters away from the Confederates and attempted to mine under their position, but since digging only transpired for about two weeks, the Union was unable to achieve desired results.[264]

The presence of mining engineers at the battle is, in part, one of the reasons such extensive digging took place within both army's fronts. This, combined with the inability for the Union army to make any headway, led to commanders developing and eventually proposing ideas for utilizing tunnels and explosions. The first to make such a proposal was Lieutenant Colonel Henry Pleasants of the 48th Pennsylvania Infantry, a coal mining engineer who led a regiment which had a number of men who had worked in mines in Pennsylvania before the war. At least as early as June 21, Pleasants expressed this idea to a fellow Union officer as he toured an area where the distance between the two armies was at its narrowest point, at the time about 125 meters.[265]

Pleasants' idea was to use his regiment to dig a five-hundred-foot-long mine shaft, sight unseen to the Confederates, directly under the enemy lines and then detonate an explosive. The surprise explosion would be followed immediately by a Union charge that would overwhelm and ultimately lead to the capture of Petersburg. Pleasants' proposal was first made to Burnside who then took it to General Meade and Major James Duane. However, the reception by Meade, Duane, and Grant himself was somewhat chilly, though they allowed work to proceed.[266]

On June 25, the 48th Pennsylvania Infantry began tunnel excavations. The diggers had no specialized equipment and operated in cramped quarters, fearing that any larger effort would be detected by Confederates. On July 17, the tunnel was complete, officially measuring 511 feet with its terminus directly under Confederate forces. Six days later, Union forces completed two forty-foot lateral tunnels designed to hold eight powder magazines. These would be filled with four tons of gunpowder. Then, Union forces waited for the orders to detonate.[267]

At about the same time, forces led by Major General Winfield Scott Hancock attacked in an effort to lure Confederate forces away from Petersburg to the north. This was somewhat successful, leading to the Dimmock Line being minimally staffed.[268]

Burnside chose the 4th Division of the Army of the Potomac, the only division of USCT, to lead the attack after gunpowder was detonated. The total attacking force would be 8,600 soldiers. However, on the day of the attack, the plan was changed by General Meade so that a white division within the IX Corps would lead the charge. Ultimately, Brigadier General James Ledlie was chosen to lead the charge by a drawing of lots. Other divisions within IX Corps would provide support. Soldiers gathered in trenches near the explosion location the night of July 29.[269]

Pennsylvania miners lit three fuses in the excavated tunnel before dawn on the morning of July

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[264] Hess, *In the Trenches at Petersburg*, xiv.
[265] *CLI for Eastern Front*, 37-38. Hess, *In the Trenches at Petersburg*, 1.
[266] *CLI for Eastern Front*, 39.
[267] *CLI for Eastern Front*, 40.
[268] *CLI for Eastern Front*, 43.
[269] *CLI for Eastern Front*, 24.

30. After sputtering out and re-lighting, the charges exploded at 4:44 a.m. After a brief rumble, the earth exploded, blowing parts of the Confederate fortifications along with soldiers about two hundred feet into the air. Between 278 and 300 Confederate soldiers were killed or injured with many more buried within their trenches. Once the dust cleared, a crater had been created measuring between 170 and 250 ft. long, 60 to 80 ft. wide, and about 25 ft. deep.

The expected charge by Union forces took at least five minutes to manifest as those present were too stunned by the carnage and chaos to act. Under Ledlie, the soldiers charged into the crater rather than around its rim, a fatal error given that the attack was heavily slowed by loose soil and steep walls. The final Union soldiers to enter the action at the newly created Crater were of the Fourth Division of the IX Corps, a USCT division assigned to their first engagement. This group advanced farther than any other Union unit despite their late entry. However, the Confederates, recognizing the Union's advance, rallied and were able to trap many Union troops within the crater itself, an utter disaster for Grant.[270]

Making matters worse for the Union, by about 8:45 a.m. Confederate reinforcements led by General Mahone arrived and drove back Union forces north of the crater. By 2:00 p.m., the Confederate line had been fully restored. The opposing forces returned to essentially the same stalemate that was in place the night before, thus meaning the battle was a Confederate victory.

The sides negotiated a temporary truce starting at 5:00 a.m. on August 1 to treat the wounded and bury the dead. Once tallies were recorded, it became obvious the Union had suffered an overwhelming defeat. About four hundred Confederates were killed, of which about 70 percent died in the initial explosion, with about seven hundred wounded and forty captured. In contrast, the Union totaled 504 killed, 1,881 wounded, and 1,413 captured or missing.

After the Crater

As both sides battled it out after the Crater (123-5020-0016), morale amongst Confederates and Southern citizens remained high despite the destruction and high casualty figures. From the trenches, soldiers celebrated as reports of Jubal Early's victories at Monocacy and Frederick reached the front lines in July. That same month, Petersburg residents celebrated the supposed news that Early marched on Washington, although this was not fully accurate. Finally, the Crater explosion and inclusion of Black soldiers on the front lines further solidified Confederates as many viewed the Northern assault as both an abject failure and an act of desperation. In the weeks after the Crater, Union and Confederate forces resettled into trench warfare. There were occasional picket line assaults and light skirmishes, but most time was spent reconstructing defensive lines and embellishing earthworks. Beyond combat, President Lincoln's election in November 1864 was hard fought and hardly drew unanimous support from Radical Republicans. White Southerners saw this as proof the Union was weaker than their posturing suggested.[271]

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[270] *CLI for Eastern Front*, 53; "Battle of the Crater," National Park Service, last modified December 3, 2023, https://www.nps.gov/pete/learn/historyculture/battle-of-the-crater.htm.

[271] Harris, "We Will Finish the War Here," 220-223; Trudeau, *The Last Citadel*, xiii.

However, Confederate confidence began to fall throughout the fall and into 1865. One major factor was the destruction of Atlanta, an objective reality that simply could not be spun into a positive. Atlanta's fall also meant, in Confederate minds, that more Northern troops would soon unite with Grant's army to further the disparity. Another was the resounding losses of Jubal Early in the Shenandoah Valley far from Washington. Many Confederates still believed he marched nearer to the Union capital every day, but again this evidence of Southern failure was incontrovertible. Morale declined even further among Confederates when they lost hope of recapturing former defenses as Union troops were ordered to destroy parts of the Dimmock Line they had not repurposed.[272]

Battle of Fort Stedman (March 25, 1865)

The final large-scale battle on the Eastern Front before Southern capitulation was the Battle of Fort Stedman (sometimes referred to as the Battle of Hare's Hill) on March 25, 1865. Robert E. Lee recognized his troops at Petersburg were significantly outnumbered and concluded the only hope for victory was a decisive offensive maneuver. Confederate Major General John B. Gordon advised Lee that if the Confederates were to attack, then the best chance of success was for his troops to attack the fortification immediately in their front, Fort Stedman. Gordon's assault quickly scattered the Union troops within the lightly defended fort and Batteries 10, 11, and 12. The Union's Ninth Corp, led by Major General John Parke, counterattacked and effectively snuffed out the Confederate assault after about four hours of fighting. Once casualties were tallied, the Confederates totaled about four thousand to the Union's approximate one thousand, a truly devastating defeat given the South's numerical disadvantage. Union forces settled back into their positions, which were essentially unchanged from the moments immediately prior to the Confederate attack. This was the final offensive action of the Army of Northern Virginia. A week later on April 1, the Union enjoyed another significant victory at the Battle of Five Forks to the southwest.[273]

Final Assault (April 2, 1865)

On April 2, 1865, the months of mining, countermining, and trenching finally ended – the Union finally broke through the Confederate lines beyond the boundaries of the current Eastern Front unit. The Ninth Corps attacked along Jerusalem Plank Road and drove back Confederate forces. The Sixth Corps broke through Confederate lines southwest of the city. After 292 days, Grant's forces pushed through Confederate defenses. Confederate forces delayed the inevitable defeat at Fort Gregg but were unsuccessful. Lee ordered a full evacuation of both Petersburg and Richmond on the night of April 2. Confederate forces immediately crossed the Appomattox River and burned the bridges as they fell back. In the wee hours of April 3, 1865, Union forces entered the city and raised the US flag over the courthouse. Union soldiers then occupied the city with white residents having fled or gone into hiding and Black residents overjoyed. Later that same morning, President Abraham Lincoln arrived and met with Grant within the city. The two men talked

[272] Harris, "We Will Finish the War Here," 224.

[273] Hess, *In the Trenches at Petersburg*, 245-263; S.C. Gwynne, Hymns of the Republic (Scribner, 2019), 260-61; William H. Hodgkins, *Battle of Fort Stedman* (Privately Printed, 1889).

for ninety minutes, then Grant departed to lead forces in pursuit of Lee. Six days later, Union forces cornered Lee at Appomattox Court House. Lee then surrendered unconditionally, thus effectively ending the American Civil War in Virginia.

Chapter III: The Civil War and the Landscape

Introduction

The Civil War dramatically affected the American landscape. Most obvious changes were due to the direct actions of soldiers, such as mortar explosions or building earthworks. Less obvious but still significant were day-to-day soldier activities like building campsites and dismantling agricultural structures. Neglect of buildings and fields due to outmigration also affected the landscape. Streams and rivers, natural embankments, and hillsides all contributed to military strategy, and all were affected and sometimes reshaped by military activities.

This chapter provides historical context for changes brought directly by the American Civil War upon the Eastern Front landscape that did not result from the technologies discussed in Chapter II. The locations most affected by the Civil War were battlefields and locations deemed strategic for their military or logistical value. During the Civil War, military leaders on both sides understood clearly that disruption of railroads and agricultural networks would directly lead to disabled militaries, a loss of morale, and an increase in soldier desertions. In many ways the army that controlled railroads, roads, or waterways in a particular area controlled the battlefield just as much as the army with soldiers directly on the field. Petersburg was, of course, one of these locations due to its access to transportation networks and industrial and commercial centers near the Confederate capital, Richmond.

Although the Civil War's most significant transformations to Southern society were arguably the staggering human toll and subsequent emancipation of enslaved African Americans, the war's impact on the physical environment was equally visible and deeply consequential for those who experienced it. Over the course of four years, both direct and indirect effects of military activity reshaped Southern terrain. Agricultural lands were devastated or left fallow, to be reclaimed in postwar years by formerly enslaved individuals and agrarian laborers.

Among numerous sites of destruction, the Siege of Petersburg represents one of the more extreme examples of environmental transformation during the war. It is a critical case study in the physical toll of protracted conflict. To contextualize the events at Petersburg, it is necessary to consider the broader patterns of wartime environmental change, as well – from the effects of foraging armies and varied forms of combat to widespread artillery use and, most significantly in the case of Petersburg, the construction of extensive earthworks and defensive fortifications.

Figure 3-1: Photograph from the main eastern theater of war, the siege of Petersburg, June 1864-April 1865. Library of Congress.

Context of Destruction

The American Civil War had a profound and lasting impact on rural landscapes, particularly in the South given that nearly all battles occurred in seceded states. Most Civil War battlefields occurred on fields and in wooded areas, and only lasted a few days at most, sometimes just a few hours. Battles were fought in rural areas leading to widespread destruction of farms, fields, and forests. In fewer cases, fighting near urban centers led to both the intentional and unintentional destruction of structures, including homes.

Battles generally lasted longer and were more destructive as the war developed. Chapter II noted that war technologies grew more advanced, and soldiers more adept, as the war continued and survival under siege tactics became necessary. Rural land was scarred by trenches, fortifications, and artillery fire. For example, the Shenandoah Valley in western Virginia was repeatedly ravaged by both armies, with widespread destruction of farms and infrastructure as both sides recognized the area's great strategic importance for its food production. While Stonewall Jackson's 1862 campaign disrupted farming, the most devastating period came with Union General Philip

Sheridan's 1864 "scorched earth" campaign. By this point, the war had escalated to attrition. Under orders to deny the Confederacy resources, Sheridan's forces systematically burned barns, crops, and homes, and destroyed or confiscated livestock. This campaign resulted in widespread devastation of farms, infrastructure, and the psychological well-being of the valley's residents. Farmland was rendered unusable, railroads and bridges were destroyed, and many were left destitute.

Even though Southern landscapes typically witnessed more destruction, those in the North and border states also witnessed destructive change. Gettysburg was, of course, the site of one of the war's bloodiest battles, with extensive damage to farmland and surrounding areas. Artillery fire ripped through trees and fields, while the movement of tens of thousands of soldiers trampled crops and tore up the earth. Stone walls, fences, and farm buildings became improvised fortifications, often shattered by musket and cannon fire. The sheer volume of fighting left a permanent mark, with the landscape pockmarked by shell craters and littered with the debris of war.

At each of these battlefields, the changes were also felt psychologically because every battlefield was also a graveyard. The once-peaceful fields and hillsides were transformed into vast cemeteries, where thousands of soldiers lay buried or hastily interred. These sites, forever after, became a somber reminder of the war's immense human cost, and the tranquility of the rural landscape was forever marked by evidence of intense violence.

The nature of environmental destruction during the Civil War is complex and remains relatively understudied in the current historiography. Existing scholarship tends to focus on battlefields, emphasizing the immediate and visible impacts of combat, such as artillery damage, churned soil, and bullet-scarred terrain. However, these direct effects represent only a portion of the environmental toll. Equally, if not more, destructive were the logistical demands of sustaining large armies in the field. Both Union and Confederate forces altered the landscape through the construction of defensive works, the repair and exploitation of railroads, the widespread use of fire for cooking and warmth, and the systematic foraging for supplies. By 1865, foraging and scavenging were central components of army-wide war efforts, rather than the stop-gap measures to resolve minor shortages that they had been using during the first years of war. All of these activities placed immense pressure on the Southern landscape.[274]

Foraging

The extent of foraging and looting, and the subsequent impact on the landscape, is an often-overlooked component of the Civil War. Armies from both sides foraged for food, supplies, and fuel, stripping the land of its resources, whether occupied by people or not. The primary targets were

[274] For more on the environmental history of the Civil War era, see Lisa M. Brady, *War upon the Land: Military Strategy and the Transformation of Southern Landscapes during the American Civil War* (University of Georgia Press, 2012); Erin Mauldin, *Unredeemed Land: An Environmental History of Civil War and Emancipation in the Cotton South* (Oxford University Press, 2018); Caroline E. Janney, "They 'Literally Ate Crow': How Starving Confederate Troops Made It Home After the Civil War," *History Net*, January 19, 2022, https://www.historynet.com/how-the-confederate-army-made-it-home-after-appomattox/.

crops, livestock, and timber. An occupying army was often in desperate need, so there was little consideration for moderation or sustainability. Large swathes of land became entirely barren, and farms were emptied of supplies.

Officers and soldiers had different perspectives on foraging, especially when it involved effectively stealing from civilians. Officers were generally reticent, both because their supplies were typically sufficient and because of their socially conditioned beliefs about women's inability to provide for themselves. Meanwhile, a different perspective prevailed among many soldiers, who saw no issue with taking these residents' food. Soldiers also felt justified in stealing because, no matter the victim, Union soldiers simply viewed them as the enemy. On occasion, both Union and Confederate soldiers willingly destroyed private property while foraging in enemy territory. Driven by hunger, retaliation, and resentment, individuals destroyed property and food, going beyond their basic need to eat.[275]

Soldiers also cut down trees for firewood and to construct fortifications, sometimes leaving entire forests decimated. Deforestation, of course, impacted local ecology for decades afterward and limited the ability of Southerners to rebuild after the war. Deforestation also led to soil erosion and the many connected effects that follow.

The environmental destruction brought by the Civil War had enduring consequences for land use and agricultural productivity across the South. Undeniably, the dual effect of widespread destruction of local landscapes and emancipation accelerated the transformation of Southern agricultural practices away from plantation economies and toward a diversified economy and smaller farms. While the abolition of slavery represented the most profound structural change, physical alteration of the landscape also undermined the viability of large-scale plantation agriculture in many Southern regions. In areas where land was degraded or infrastructure destroyed, smaller agricultural plots became more practical and, in some cases, more profitable. However, former slave-holding elites struggled to regain the immense capital and agricultural productivity once achieved through the exploitation of enslaved labor. In response to the collapse of the plantation economy, many landowners turned to the emerging system of sharecropping as a means of preserving their economic interests and maintaining social dominance in the post-emancipation South.

Soldiers also had a significant impact upon the Southern landscape in the immediate days and weeks following Confederate surrender. Thousands of soldiers-turned-veterans were forced to return to their homes largely by their own means, with most walking or hitching on the railroad with few supplies, although some boarded ships for coastal cities instead. The problem of securing transportation paled in comparison to the problem of finding food for the journey. Stories abound of starving veterans reliant upon civilian charity, often resorting to eating any animal

[275] Lisa Tendrich Frank, "Bedrooms as Battlefields: The Role of Gender Politics in Sherman's March," in *Occupied Women: Gender, Military Occupation, and the American Civil War*, ed. Susan Barber and Charles Ritter (LSU Press, 2009); Margaret Creighton, "Gettysburg Out of Bounds: Women and Soldiers in the Embattled Borough, 1863," in *Occupied Women: Gender, Military Occupation, and the American Civil War*, ed. Susan Barber and Charles Ritter (LSU Press, 2009).

unlucky enough to cross their path. Within a month of the Appomattox Court House surrender, for example, Confederate veterans looted public and private stores in places like Danville, Virginia, and Greensboro, North Carolina. In response, the US Army regularly dispatched soldiers to restore order, though the vast majority were gone by the end of 1865.[276]

Urban and Rural Warfare

The nature of landscape destruction also depended, of course, upon the nature of the landscape itself. However, all landscapes, whether an urban city, developed farmland, or largely undeveloped wilderness, were dramatically impacted whenever Union or Confederate troops were near. As noted elsewhere, the logistical needs for an army were grand, and these needs were increasingly unmet by each government (especially the Confederacy) as the war progressed. Additionally, both sides came to recognize that modern warfare was not simply capturing territory but instead a battle over logistics and strategic points.

Because of this concern over logistics, infrastructure warfare became more common as the war advanced. Union leadership understood that the South's great strength was its agricultural wealth, so disrupting this became a top priority. By mid-1862, Union leaders noted that many Southern farmers and plantation owners had abandoned cash crops like cotton or sugar in favor of corn, suggesting that damaging these crops would be as effective as a direct assault upon the Confederate military. Thus, Union leaders turned to English military history and the massive foraging raids carried out during the Hundred Years' War for inspiration. Railroads and bridges were also common targets of sabotage. Union troops destroyed a large percentage of the South's roughly nine thousand miles of rail lines. An exact tabulation is not possible, given the rebuilding of lines throughout the war, but specific examples show the thoroughness of the Union assault. For example, in Loudoun County, cavalry leader Wesley Merritt reported to General Philip Sheridan that Union forces seized or destroyed 947 miles of rail.[277]

Sheridan's orders during late 1864 in the Shenandoah campaign further highlight the changing nature of landscape destruction. Writing to Merrit, Sheridan ordered:

> You will consume and destroy all forage and subsistence, burn all barns and mills, and their contents, and drive off all stock in the region the boundaries of which are above described. This order must be literally executed, bearing in mind, however, that no dwellings are to be burned and that no personal violence be offered to the citizens.[278]

In Merritt's report on his actions, he claimed seizure or destruction of "71 flour mills, one wool mill, eight saw mills, one powder mill, three saltpeter works, 1,200 barns, seven furnaces, four tanneries," truly an impressive list of structures for just a single county. This campaign was so

[276] Janney, "They 'Literally Ate Crow'."
[277] Michael Lee Lanning, *The Civil War 100* (Sourcebooks, 2007), 113; "The Burning," Cedar Creek & Belle Grove National Historical Park, National Park Service, last modified January 30, 2023, https://www.nps.gov/articles/000/the-burning-shenandoah-valley-in-flames.htm; Brady, *War Upon the Land*, 20-23.
[278] S.Rpt. 80 (42nd Cong., 2nd Sess.), Mar. 22, 1872.

successful in its destruction that it has generally been referred to as the Burning Raid. Many landowners were ultimately compensated for the property destruction.[279]

Soldiers on both sides frequently destroyed bridges, both to hinder enemy advances and to facilitate tactical retreats. In response to such destruction, both Union and Confederate forces constructed temporary replacements, most commonly pontoon bridges. These makeshift structures were inherently fragile and were not intended to remain in place for more than a few weeks. The strategic importance of bridges is evident in an early example from East Tennessee in 1861, where a coordinated campaign of pro-Union guerrillas aimed to destroy nine key bridges. The effort exposed the Confederacy's unpreparedness, as many of the targeted bridges were under-defended. Nevertheless, due to failures in communication and poor coordination among guerillas, only five bridges were successfully destroyed, and these were promptly rebuilt by Confederates. The sabotage, however, had lasting impacts in spite of its ultimate failure. The campaign prompted Confederate leadership to increase security at key transportation points and intensify efforts to root out Union sympathizers across the South. From this point forward, Confederate forces recognized the tactical importance of bridges and routinely stationed guards at vital crossings.[280]

Wartime destruction of rural and urban landscapes was intertwined. Rural economies in the South depended on the supply chain and transportation networks to sell products at market. Naval blockades and the destruction of impressed ships further disconnected the South from urban centers and markets. Without an ability to move goods, import new agricultural technologies such as guano fertilizer, or facilitate immigrant laborers from Europe or Asia, Southern planters suddenly found themselves removed from the market. The exception was subsistence farmers in Appalachia and yeoman farmers producing for local economies throughout every Southern state. For this group, primary impacts were either the departure of young men for the war effort or the shipment of their goods directly to the Confederate government. But all of this would change upon emancipation. At a macro-level, overall population trends from the 1860 to 1870 Census reveal lagging growth amongst the white population in nearly all Southern states. Two states, Alabama and South Carolina, experienced a decline in the white population. Louisiana, Virginia, North Carolina, Georgia, and Mississippi all experienced single digit population growth, while all other states in the mid-Atlantic, Midwest, and West easily cleared the double digits.[281]

For some white Southerners, the temporary solution to rural ills was to relocate to new spaces outside of the rural South, primarily to what few Southern cities existed. A smaller number fled the country altogether. This further affected change in both the destination cities and the depopulated rural interior. Cities provided more economic opportunities, security, and access to

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[279] Lanning, *The Civil War 100*, 113.

[280] Oliver Perry Temple, *East Tennessee and the Civil War* (1899); Donahue Bible, *Broken Vessels* (Dodson Creek Publishers, 1996); Enrico Dal Lago, *Civil War and Agrarian Unrest* (Cambridge University Press, 2018).

[281] Robert Ekelund and Mark Thornton, *Tariffs, Blockades, and Inflation* (Rowman & Littlefield, 2004); Gilbert Fite, "Southern Agriculture since the Civil War: An Overview," *Agricultural History* 53, no. 1 (1979); Andrew J. Ross, "Fertilizing Southern Empire: The Pacific Guano Trade and Agricultural Modernization in the Chesapeake South, 1850–1860," *Journal of Southern History* 90, no. 4 (2024); Hidetaka Hirota, "Transpacific Connections in the Civil War Era," *Journal of the Civil War Era* 13, no. 4 (2023).

basic goods like food and clothing. For white Southerners, urban centers provided a modicum of defense against the Union army, though this defense was far more pronounced in cities like Richmond and Petersburg with major earthwork defenses. Some Southerners were desperate to retain their slaveholding lifestyle in Republican-controlled America, so some emigrated to Mexico, Brazil, and other parts of Latin America, further disrupting the Southern economy.[282]

Historian Lisa M. Brady has argued that the Civil War transformed the notions held by Americans regarding nature. Most Americans were shocked by the destruction of the natural landscape, so much so that conservation became highly popular with the wartime generation. For example, soldiers regularly noted trees with excess of fifty bullet marks splintered and dying throughout the Tennessee landscape. Armies exploited houses, barns, and other agricultural buildings. These farm structures were often the first resources destroyed or repurposed for military use by either army. Fences, barns, and outbuildings were often pirated for wood, either for fires or repairing items. Fields for producing crops were regularly erased from the landscape by removing fences and then by thousands of men camped out on the ground. For example, soldiers' campfires required wood to burn, which often came from stripping boards off agricultural structures. Even if a field was not necessarily harvested by the passing army, fields were trampled and rendered unusable as thousands marched through, thus destroying the local ecology for years. However, one must be careful not to overstate the magnitude of this destruction. Lost Cause writers sympathetic with the South have greatly exaggerated the extent of Southern rural devastation. Still, there is a kernel of truth, as evidenced by the continued relevance of the Supreme Court case *United States v. Pacific Railroad* (1887), which held that the Federal government was not responsible for private property destruction caused by military operations.[283]

[282] Todd Wahlstrom, *The Southern Exodus to Mexico* (University of Nebraska Press, 2015); Cyrus Dawsey and James Dawsey, eds., *The Confederados* (University of Alabama Press, 1995).
[283] United States v. Pacific Railroad, 120 U.S. 227 (1887); Brady, *War Upon the Land*.

Figure 3-2: This photograph, though not attributed to Timothy O'Sullivan, resembles a near-identical image taken by the Civil War photographer. The scene depicts a south-facing view into Gracie's Salient with Poor Creek in the foreground. Out of view is Colquitt's Salient, behind the photographer. Gracie's Dam can be seen on the left, and the Petersburg & Norfolk Railroad cut is to the far right. Library of Congress.[284]

The greater Petersburg area suffered some of the worst such landscape destruction throughout the South. The Union bombardment of Petersburg itself resulted in hundreds of damaged or destroyed buildings. All railroads in the area were subject to disruption, including destroyed rail lines and service disruptions as both militaries targeted one another's logistical capabilities. The Norfolk and Petersburg Railroad, for example, ran directly through the area of fighting of the Petersburg campaign and near the Crater mine shaft. A portion of this line still runs behind Gracie's and Colquitt's Salient at Stop 5 on the driving tour and between Stops 7 and 8. The Norfolk and Petersburg's 1866 annual report noted that they suffered heavily as a result of the Petersburg campaign: "our Road-way was much torn to pieces, and obstructed by their defensive works; the entire Railway Track removed, and the cross-ties and rails thereof employed in that connection." The company's president also reported on the loss of rail cars, damaged engines, and damage to buildings in Petersburg.[285]

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[284] *Petersburg, Virginia vicinity. Confederate fortifications at Gracie's Salient on the Petersburg line*, United States, 1865, photograph, Library of Congress, https://www.loc.gov/item/2018672511/.

[285] "Annual Report of the Norfolk & Petersburg RR, President's Report, March 31, 1866," accessed November 20, 2025, https://csa-railroads.com/.

By the end of the war, the South Side Railroad company reported:

> In Petersburg [post-evacuation] the bridge to the shops, 350 feet long, was burnt, with two locomotives and all the cars that could be placed on it, and all the good cars in the depot lot. Our provisions and stores of all kinds, of which we had nearly a year's supply of meat, were either destroyed or pillaged, and nothing was saved, except a quantity of salt.
>
> The engines left standing in the engine house and the cars in the lot at the shops were not destroyed, but every piece of brass work, and all the belting, tools and every thing portable in the shops, were carried off.[286]

Rural county seats, such as Prince George, were often targets of such violent destruction. While beyond the boundary of the Eastern Front, the destruction of Prince George County's pre-war records further illustrates the radiating difficulties of historical writing caused by the Civil War.[287]

Artillery

The nature of artillery impacts changed the landscape anywhere a shell landed. Bombardments caused large explosions that regularly landed almost randomly despite careful aiming because of the charged shot, inaccuracy of the technologies, and often untrained soldiers tasked with firing. In rural areas, the impact was often widespread and indiscriminate. Fields were churned into muddy quagmires by the constant barrage, with shell craters scarring the earth. Forests were splintered and burned, as artillery fire ripped through trees, creating obstacles and exposing previously concealed positions. Farms and homes, often caught in the crossfire, were reduced to rubble. Often, journalists and other contemporary observers blamed fires (to both land and structures) on soldiers committing arson when, in actuality, fires were caused by exploding or heated cannon fire. The magnitude of cannon fire was also immense. To give an idea of scale, Union forces at Gettysburg fired about thirty-three thousand rounds and the Confederates about twenty-two thousand. Shot was notoriously unreliable, but these artillery charges would have destroyed both flesh and earth alike.[288]

In urban settings, artillery's impact was equally devastating, though more concentrated. Cities under siege, like Vicksburg or Petersburg, endured relentless bombardment, reducing buildings to ruins and turning streets into rubble-strewn battlefields, forcing civilians to either flee or hunker down.[289] The destruction of infrastructure, including railroads and bridges, crippled

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[286] "Annual Report of the South Side RR, Superintendent's Report, October 1, 1865," accessed November 20, 2025, https://csa-railroads.com/.

[287] Chris Calkins, *Auto Tour of Petersburg: 1861-1865* (City of Petersburg, 2003); A. Wilson Greene, Civil War Petersburg (University of North Carolina Press, 2006).

[288] "Artillery in the Civil War," U.S. Army Ordnance Corps, 20; Philip M. Cole, *Civil War Artillery At Gettysburg* (De Capo Press, 2008).

[289] Stephen Davis, *What the Yankees Did to Us* (Mercer University Press, 2012); Andrew Slap and Frank Towers, *Confederate Cities* (University of Chicago Press, 2015).

urban economies and disrupted civilian life. The psychological impact of constant shelling was overwhelming, especially to a civilian population that had never experienced such warfare. Urban residents were forced to seek shelter in cellars and makeshift fortifications, further altering the urban landscape. Examples of cities affected by artillery were in the coastal south, such as Mobile and Charleston, and those under siege like Richmond and Petersburg. Some other cities, most notably Hampton, Virginia, were burned by Confederate troops rather than experiencing long, drawn-out siege warfare.[290]

Artillery fire had less impact upon casualty rates compared to the rifle. This was understood by commanders, who nevertheless continued to utilize artillery fire to boost morale or damage the landscape. Commanders regularly used artillery fire explicitly to damage or otherwise alter the landscape. Most obvious was the use of artillery to damage enemy defenses, as was the case with Petersburg (though the soft soil typically meant cannons had less-than-optimal impact). Bombproofs at places like Petersburg earned their namesake by being constructed out of soil so that cannon fire would be less likely to cause significant damage. More useful was the deployment of artillery against rigid targets, such as wooden structures and fences. To those in the field, it soon became evident that the landscape itself could significantly influence the lethality of artillery fire. On gently sloping or flat terrain, cannon balls could ricochet and maintain deadly momentum over extended distances. In contrast, uneven ground, like hills or valleys, tended to absorb impact and reduce a projectile's velocity. As a result, one effective countermeasure against enemy artillery was to deliberately disrupt the terrain between opposing sides, creating a pockmarked surface that could diminish the effectiveness of incoming fire.[291]

[290] John Sledge, *These Rugged Days* (University of Alabama Press, 2017); Arthur Bergeron and Arthur Bergeron, Jr., *Confederate Mobile* (LSU Press, 2000); Paul Brueske, *The Last Siege* (Casemate Publishers, 2018); E. Milby Burton, *The Siege of Charleston, 1861-1865* (University of South Carolina Press, 2022).

[291] *Medical and Surgical History of the War of the Rebellion, Part III, Vol. II* (1883), 696; Scott Hippensteel, *Sand, Science, and the Civil War* (University of Georgia Press, 2023), 33; "Bombproofs and Magazines," Richmond National Battlefield Park, National Park Service, last modified February 26, 2015, https://www.nps.gov/rich/learn/historyculture/bombproofs-and-magazines.htm.

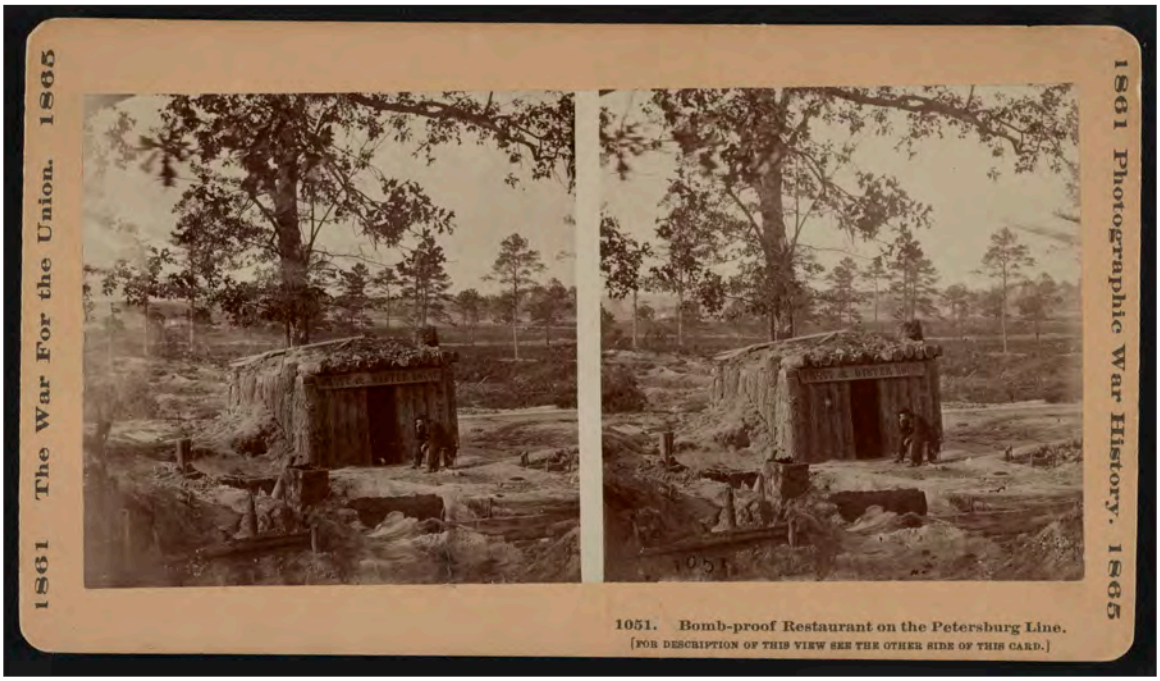

Figure 3-3: A man sitting outside a bombproof "restaurant" called the "Fruit & Oyster House" amidst the fortifications in Petersburg, VA, n.d. [ca. 1861-5]. Library of Congress.

There was also a wide range of weapons used as artillery throughout the war, though nearly all could be classified into the slightly overlapping categories of cannon, howitzer, and mortar. Weapons are grouped based on barrel length and firing angle. Typically, cannons had the longest barrel, usually rifled, and fired twelve-pound or less ordinances at a low or flat angle, while mortars had short barrels firing shells in excess of fifty pounds at high angles. Cannons were typically on wheels and pulled by soldiers or pack animals, while mortars were either stationary or large enough to be carried by rail. Howitzers occupy a middle-ground between the two, with some, such as the US Army standard issue M1857 twelve-pound Napoleon, being able to provide either function. In general, the Confederacy had access to older, small artillery models, so Union forces typically were more destructive. Union artillery were typically issued a roughly equal supply of anti-personnel case or canister rounds versus ammunition more effective against landscape or structures, such as shells, shot, or bolts. However, the types of Confederate artillery at Petersburg were in line with Union equipment. Confederate artillery possessed a twelve-pound Napoleon, followed by three-inch Ordnance rifles, ten-pound and twenty-pound Parrotts, two imported Whitworths, and an imported Blakely gun. Confederate siege artillery also included siege mortars, Columbiads, Coehorn mortars, siege howitzers, and Brooke and Dahlgren guns. Union artillery had more total siege guns than the Confederates, but both sides boasted significant destructive artillery force.[292]

[292] Philip Cole, *Civil War Artillery at Gettysburg* (Colecraft, 2002). For more on cannon types of battery, see Brett Schulte "The Siege of Petersburg Online," accessed October 1, 2025, https://www.beyondthecrater.com/.

Figure 3-4: Drawing of trenches in Petersburg by British artist Alfred R. Waud, ca. 1864. Library of Congress.

Earthworks

While the features discussed thus far had a dramatic impact upon the landscape, the most direct and obvious landscape-altering civil war activity was the construction of defensive structures by both armies. Earthen defenses became a defining feature of Civil War battlefields with extended enemy contact, transforming the landscape into a network of fortifications. Both Union and Confederate armies rapidly adopted the practice of constructing earthworks, including trenches, redoubts, and breastworks. The primary reason was to provide protection against increasingly accurate and powerful weaponry, though commanders also ordered earthwork construction to provide urban defenses, protect against a similarly fortified enemy, provide defense in flat and generally open terrain, or simply because the soil composition made it a quick, relatively easy method of creating large defensive formations within days or sometimes hours. These defenses, often built quickly from readily available soil, rock, and timber, offered significant advantages in slowing advances and minimizing casualties. Earthen fortifications led to a dramatic alteration of terrain, with miles of trenches crisscrossing fields and forests, creating a visible and enduring legacy of the war's tactical innovations.[293]

[293] Earl Hess, *Field Armies and Fortifications in the Civil War* (University of North Carolina Press, 2005); Charles Misulia, *Columbus, Georgia, 1865* (University of Alabama Press, 2010).

Even though both armies eventually developed loose schemata for defenses, most were lightly engineered structures built in strategic locations under the guidance of military engineers. Rarely were two earthworks identical, though they were highly similar since many engineers on both sides utilized *A Treatise of Field Fortifications*, published in 1836 and revised in 1860, by Dennis Hart Mahan of West Point. Defensive forts were typically planned, though each was unique, while other fortifications were typically built using whatever materials were available: soil, felled trees, loose rocks, salvaged timber from buildings, and whatever else could be scavenged. Soldiers employed simple tools like shovels, picks, and axes to dig trenches and pile up earth. If these tools were not available, soldiers used whatever was available, including bayonets, tree branches, and their hands. Soldiers often worked quickly under fire at building these defenses to create a significant battlefield advantage while also fundamentally altering the landscape.[294]

Engineers coordinated the construction of dozens of earthwork varieties ranging in complexity from a shallow trench to a large, reinforced fort. A common earthwork type was the rifle pit: a shallow trench providing cover for individual soldiers. Trenches of varied lengths and depths formed continuous lines of defense, often with a raised front parapet for firing. Redoubts were small, fortified positions, commonly square or rectangular, used to defend key points or artillery batteries. Breastworks were raised earthen walls, sometimes reinforced with logs or sandbags, offering protection for soldiers firing over them. An abatis involved felled trees with sharpened branches facing outwards, creating an obstacle in front of defenses. Fascines, bundles of sticks bound together, were used to reinforce earthworks and prevent erosion. Many of these structures were large enough to protect dozens of soldiers, meaning they would have remained standing long after the Civil War without intentional deconstruction.[295]

Mining

By far, the most well-known example of Civil War military mining under earthworks is the Battle of the Crater on July 30, 1864, during the Siege of Petersburg. Union troops, many of them former coal miners, dug a 511-foot tunnel beneath the Confederate line. However, there were also intense mining efforts throughout the Dimmock Line as both sides quickly learned that digging under defenses was a safer approach than short charges across the surface. The system of mining grew so complex that mining engineers became experts in countermining. Both sides also constructed listening galleries, a small tunnel or shaft dug into the ground by a besieged army used to detect enemy miners by sound and then quickly respond with a countermine leading to collapsing the enemy mine, flooding it with smoke, or deploying explosives.[296]

While the Petersburg Crater is the best-known instance of this type of siege warfare, underground mining efforts were not unique. Earlier in the war during the Peninsula Campaign of 1862, Con-

[294] "DC's Civil War Earthworks," National Park Service, last modified March 26, 2021, https://www.nps.gov/articles/000/dc-s-civil-war-earthworks.htm; Hess, *Field Armies and Fortifications; Stanley Totten, Brilliance of Charles Whittlesey* (Kent State University Press, 2022).

[295] *A Historic Resources Study: The Civil War Defenses of Washington* (National Park Service, 2005), https://www.npshistory.com/publications/cwdw/hrs/index.htm.

[296] Hess, *In the Trenches at Petersburg*, xiv, 155.

federate forces under Gabriel Rains deployed explosive devices (early land mines, often made from artillery shells) around the fortifications at Yorktown to slow the Union advance, underscoring that this kind of subsurface warfare was a recurring, though often localized, element of the conflict. General Grant had also deployed such tactics before, such as at the Siege of Vicksburg when Union miners detonated over a ton of explosives beneath a Confederate stronghold known as the Third Louisiana Redan. Grant's tactics were successful, and Union forces were able to advance after intense fighting. For more on mining at the Siege of Petersburg, see the subsection "The Crater" in Chapter II.[297]

Petersburg's Landscape

Few battlefields of the American Civil War witnessed such intensive landscape changes as battlefields in the Petersburg Eastern Front. Of course, every battle resulted in some landscape change, primarily in the form of tree damage, destroyed buildings, and trampled farmland. Fields became littered with holes, campfire remains, discarded debris, and dead bodies. Other non-agricultural landscapes were similarly damaged, with the most dramatic impact on forests near defensive fortifications. Soldiers stripped trees of usable resources to construct campsites, shelters, and fortifications. However, as a percentage of land, the actual affected areas were relatively small except for areas intentionally razed late in the war and battlefields shaped by slow, siege-like warfare. Military activity altered nearly 100 percent of the land south of Petersburg in an arc stretching over ten miles.

Cities and towns were also damaged through war as capturing cities became a central component of military campaigns. Both sides recognized early in the war that cities were critical to supply lines and war production, so capturing these means of production became a top priority. However, urban combat was largely an artillery affair, meaning that structures often suffered significant damage. Sieges were also common, further damaging Southern morale. Fires, whether intentional, incidental, or accidental, regularly destroyed structures, and many were defensive in nature being set by fleeing Southern civilians and soldiers alike. Most large cities in the South experienced some level of destruction, including Charleston, Vicksburg, Richmond, Atlanta, Columbia, and Petersburg. However, the story of Petersburg's landscape changes was almost totally unique, owing to the massive earthworks that were intentionally engineered long before fighting came to Petersburg, known as the Dimmock Line.

[297] Ron Chernow, *Grant* (Penguin, 2018), 285-288; *CLI for Eastern Front*, 37-38; Hess, *In the Trenches at Petersburg*, 1; Paul Branch, Jr., "Rains, Gabriel James," *NCpedia*, 1994, https://www.ncpedia.org/biography/rains-gabriel-james.

Figure 3-5: Interior view of Confederate works at Petersburg, Apr. 3, 1865. Library of Congress.

The Dimmock Line

Defenses constructed around Petersburg were a high-tech engineering feat, making the city one of the most well-defended in the South. These defenses radically transformed the landscape around Petersburg south of the Appomattox River. Beginning in August 1862, Confederate engineer Charles Dimmock led the massive project, though construction had begun the previous month when Confederate Major General Daniel H. Hill deployed troops to build initial defenses. Lee soon dispatched Dimmock and other engineers to oversee the work. Lieutenant Colonel Walter H. Stevens selected the general area for construction, then Stevens returned to duties in Richmond.[298]

Dimmock's final vision was a ten-mile arc of earthen batteries and other defenses around Petersburg to the west, south, and east with both ends connecting to the Appomattox River. The Appo-

[298] *Encyclopedia Virginia*, "The Dimmock Line," by Emmanuel Dabney, December 7, 2020, https://encyclopediavirginia.org/entries/dimmock-line-the/; Hess, *In the Trenches at Petersburg*, 11.

mattox River bordered Petersburg to the north, making it nearly unassailable.[299] Once completed, the Dimmock Line, as it was colloquially known, could theoretically defend the city with minimal staffing until reinforcements could arrive.[300] Infantry batteries appeared at somewhat regular intervals along the line, eventually numbering fifty-five in total, with open backs and six-foot deep ditches for riflemen. Confederate workers also removed all foliage for about a half mile in front of the line and laid the timber to create an abatis, an obstacle of interlaced branches laid so that sharp ends were facing enemy combatants. Most of these obstacles, however, were removed by June 1864.[301]

Work progressed more slowly than Dimmock would have liked, primarily because Confederate officers did not believe the defense of Petersburg was immediately urgent. When the Army of the Potomac evacuated the area in August 1862, just weeks after Dimmock's arrival, many Confederate forces were dispatched elsewhere. Local slaveholders also became more resistant to allowing enslaved people to work on this large project, especially during harvest seasons. Workers labored throughout the entirety of 1863 and into 1864, only stopping once the nearby movements of Union troops ceased construction activity.[302]

Lacking Confederate soldiers to use during construction, Dimmock heavily exploited the forced labor of enslaved African Americans to complete this project. The first enslaved peoples working at the site were there within weeks of Dimmock, with about 1,200 being forced into digging details. Confederate officers regularly requested more enslaved peoples as the project developed. In response to this perceived need, the Virginia General Assembly passed a law allowing the military to impress enslaved people into wartime earthwork construction for up to sixty days. By December, with work still far from complete, Dimmock requested and was granted the labor of hundreds of enslaved African Americans by the Petersburg Common Council.[303]

To put the Dimmock Line in context, similar defenses were built to protect Richmond on both sides of the James River. Designed as three concentric rings, the first two defenses, nicknamed the Inner and Intermediate Rings, were completed by March 1862. Lee ordered construction of a third Outer Ring in June 1862 about five miles outside of the city that would span twenty-six miles in length. The Outer Ring was being constructed well into 1864 but was a fully functional city defense.[304]

The final construction of the Dimmock Line prior to Union military arrival was a sight to behold and closely matched Dimmock's original intent. Fifty-five artillery batteries appeared along the

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[299] *CLI for Eastern Front*, 33.

[300] *CLI for Eastern Front*, 34; Hess, *In the Trenches at Petersburg*, 11.

[301] Hess, *In the Trenches at Petersburg*, 11.

[302] *Encyclopedia Virginia*, "The Dimmock Line"; Hess, *In the Trenches at Petersburg*, 12.

[303] *CLI for Eastern Front*, 33; *Encyclopedia Virginia*, "The Dimmock Line." As early as spring 1862, Charles Friend of White Hill plantation hired a field hand named Moses Hunt to build earthworks in Williamsburg. "Confederate Slave Payroll 1099," RG 109, War Department Collection of Confederate Records 1825-1927, Confederate Quartermaster and Corps of Engineer Payrolls for Enslaved Labor 1874-1899, National Archives and Records Administration, https://catalog.archives.gov/id/66392823.

[304] Hess, *In the Trenches at Petersburg*, 9.

ten-mile line of breastworks numbered from the first nearest the Appomattox River east of the city to the fifty-fifth, located west of the city along the river. Batteries were not evenly spaced, so it was clear that some areas were more susceptible to attack. Roughly a third of the Dimmock Line is contained within the modern boundaries of the Eastern Front unit, including batteries four through thirteen. Of these ten batteries, five are still clearly visible in the landscape (5, 7, 8, 11, and 12).[305] The Dimmock Line remained untested by Union forces throughout 1862 and 1863, only coming under attack by mid-1864 as Union forces closed in on Richmond.

Outside of the Dimmock Line

Beyond the immediacy of the earthworks, the primary effect on the landscape was destruction of agricultural land and forested areas, as trees were harvested to construct defenses. Soldiers, of course, had a significant, near-continuous, deforestation effect upon the landscape south of the Appomattox River, including the Eastern Front. Outside of this rather large impact, landscape changes within the Eastern Front were typical when compared to other Civil War battlefields in a similar biome.

One significant difference within the Eastern Front compared to, for example, the battles at Stones River or Antietam, was the heavy reliance upon defensive cover beyond the Dimmock Line. The wooded areas to the south and east of the line regularly saw combat, usually brief skirmishes. Since most soldiers were deeply familiar with digging, soldiers commonly dug out small holes for themselves and comrades. Petersburg was also different from battles fought on rocky terrain, such as Chattanooga, because soldiers at those battlefields simply could not dig for cover.

Although roads and railways in the Eastern Theater were affected by the Siege of Petersburg, the extent of their destruction was generally less severe than in other regions, except in areas where earthwork construction directly disrupted transportation routes. During the Confederate retreat from Petersburg and Richmond, General Robert E. Lee's forces relied heavily on a network of bridges to facilitate their withdrawal. To prevent Union pursuit, Lee ordered all bridges to be burned immediately after the last Confederate troops had crossed. Elements of the army crossed the Appomattox River at Campbell's Bridge, located near the center of Petersburg, while others used a pontoon bridge to the west, as well as the Pocahontas Bridge and the Richmond and Petersburg Railroad Bridge.

[305] David G. Orr and Paul A. Shackle, *An Archaeological Overview and Assessment of the Main Unit, Petersburg National Battlefield, Virginia*, (National Park Service, 2001), http://www.heritage.umd.edu/chrsweb/nps/petersburg/petersburgmainunit/Main%20Contents.htm.

Figure 3-6: Sketch of the Hare House by Alfred R. Waud, ca. June 1864. Library of Congress.

One major landscape change was the effective destruction of the plantation known as the Taylor farm. This plantation was directly along the line of action taken by the Union advance on June 18, 1864. Union forces washed over this land during the advance, and it remained behind Union lines throughout the conflict. That same day, the main farmhouse was destroyed by fires set by retreating Confederates. Within a short period, fighting destroyed all buildings considered part of the farm. Until the late 1970s, the Taylor house was believed to be a standing ruin (which was later concluded to be an outbuilding). The actual house was instead rediscovered via an archeological investigation in 1978.[306] Another structure destroyed in the fighting was the Hare House, which was once located near Fort Stedman (which occupied the house's farmland). The Hare family fled within days of the Union's arrival, and the house collapsed in late July 1864. The site went on to be a significant archeological site since the family left behind so many of their possessions.

Several other structures within or near the Eastern Front were destroyed or damaged during the siege. On or about the same date as the Taylor farm destruction, the Griffith farm along Jerusalem Plank Road was also damaged significantly. As Union forces advanced, the property was generally behind enemy lines, though portions were central to the Battle of the Crater. In its place, the Griffith family quickly built a new cabin. The Griffiths also leveled trenches and earthworks on their property in preparation for agricultural production. However, most of the changes were left in place by the Griffith family as they sensed the potential tourism value.[307] The William Shands house was at the center of the Union attack on June 17, but it was not destroyed at that point. Instead, the family fled, at the behest of a Union soldier's warning, and General

[306] Bruce Bevan, David Orr, and Brook Blades, "The Discovery of the Taylor House at the Petersburg National Battlefield," *Historical Archeology* 18, no. 2 (1984).

[307] "The Griffith Family," Petersburg National Battlefield, National Park Service, last modified August 8, 2019, https://www.nps.gov/pete/learn/historyculture/the-griffith-family.htm; "Mrs. Susie R, Griffith, '*For sale! That very valuable tract of land known as Crater Farm near Petersburg, Virginia ... For terms, address Mrs. Susie R. Griffith, Crater Farm, Petersburg, Virginia Kirkham & Co. printers n. d,*'" Library of Congress, https://www.loc.gov/item/2021767458/.

Winfield Hancock used it as a headquarters for much of the remainder of the year. However, the house was destroyed by the end of the siege. It should also be noted there were many earthworks and other landscape changes created June 16 to 18 that were not mapped during or after the battle.[308]

As the siege evolved throughout the late summer and into fall, both sides invested significant resources into better protecting soldiers and strengthening their positions. Both Union and Confederate forces at Petersburg built covered passageways to protect the movement of soldiers and supplies between the rear and front. Especially in August through October 1864, both sides made massive changes to their lines. For instance, multiple batteries on Hare House Hill were moved. A picket line was created in September 1864 in front of Elliott's Salient (which still survives in part). A battery at Taylor Farm was transformed into Fort Morton between the summer and the fall of 1864.[309]

Waterways

Harrison Creek is one of a few creeks passing through the Eastern Front. Flowing from south to north, the creek eventually feeds into the Appomattox River just east of Petersburg. The creek was originally just to the west of the Dimmock Line, though Confederate forces retreated westward, beyond the creek, after the fighting of June 15, 1864. Harrison Creek was itself an important defensive feature for both Union and Confederate forces throughout the entire battle. Because of its importance, its creek banks were certainly impacted by soldiers' activity, and it is certainly possible that its waterflow was also impacted, though this has not been studied in depth.

The Union attack on June 15, 1864, was essentially halted by Harrison Creek. While a small waterway, its banks proved a sufficient deterrent once Confederate soldiers anchored their position just beyond its northern banks. On June 15, General Grant ordered a crossing of the river, leading to General William Smith's corps marching down City Point Road toward Petersburg before coming to Battery 5 and ordering an attack. Smith's action proved successful, forcing the retreat of Confederates back toward Harrison Creek. Confederate forces then formed a new defensive line shortly beyond the stream while awaiting reinforcements. Some of the Confederate forces built directly into the creekbank during this military action, significantly altering the waterway's integrity. The Confederate defenses proved decisive, effectively halting the Union advance for two days as Confederates regularly fell back and reinforced their defensive positions as they went. Confederate forces then regrouped, fell back a bit farther, and established new fortifications. For the next nine months, the creek was simply part of the contested landscape, yet another obstacle in the highly fortified Eastern Front.

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[308] Lee A. Wallace, Jr. and Martin R. Conway, *A History of Petersburg National Battlefield* (National Park Service, 1983).

[309] "Fort Morton," The Petersburg Project, http://www.petersburgproject.org/fort-morton.html; "Undated Federal Engineers Map -- Late June-Early July, 1864," The Petersburg Project, http://www.petersburgproject.org/june-july-undated-federal-engineers-map.html; "Hare House Hill," The Petersburg Project, http://www.petersburgproject.org/hare-house-hill.html.

Meanwhile, Poor Creek provided a significant defense center for Union troops. Sharpshooters used the creek's natural formations for defense, and other troops used it as a safe staging ground for attacks upon the Dimmock Line. This waterway was also regularly contested during the June 1864 attack. Since the battle, Poor Creek has been significantly altered due to increases in upstream water flow outside of NPS control. This has resulted in insignificant erosion both horizontally and vertically, so the modern creek does not necessarily follow the same flow as it did in 1864-65.[310]

The next time Harrison's Creek was significant within the conflict was when the Confederate military attempted to "break out" of their defensive position on March 25, 1865, the last official day of the battle. Confederate troops, under the guise of being deserters, departed for Fort Stedman in the early hours of the morning around 4:15 a.m. Confederates successfully captured the fort, as well as Batteries X, XI, and XII. Confederate artillery began attacking Fort Haskell, but at this point the attack had stalled as troops stopped to eat, as further orders were unclear. However, as part of this attack, some Confederate forces advanced beyond the creek, though Union forces quickly met this advance and drove them back to Fort Stedman. Within about three hours, Union forces organized a sufficient defense that stemmed the Confederate advance. Artillery bombarded Fort Stedman, occupied by Confederates, and a Union counterattack launched by 7:45 a.m. drove Confederate forces back to their own lines.

Despite this significant military activity, evidence of man-made changes to the creek no longer exists. Over the years, the periodic rising and falling of the creek water has led to the erosion of any Confederate earthworks that once reinforced the creek shores. Further, any changes to the waterway – whether by natural causes or by human actions – have yet to be fully studied.

[310] Sean Michael Chick, *The Battle of Petersburg* (Potomac Books, 2015); "General Management Plan," Petersburg National Battlefield, National Park Service (2004).

Chapter IV: After the Fighting Stopped

Introduction

One of the closest neighbors to PETE is the US Army facility Fort Gregg-Adams, established in 1917 as Camp Lee and known from 1950 to 2023 as Fort Lee. Portions of the land now within PETE were once used by the Army to train troops during World War I and World War II. Although the general historical connection between military training and this landscape is acknowledged, the specific impact of these activities on the terrain remains insufficiently documented. Notably, several World War I-era training trenches constructed at Camp Lee still exist within the present boundaries of the park. These remnants serve as valuable cultural resources, offering insight into a formative period in American military history. Soldiers arrived at Camp Lee with little understanding of what awaited them in the trenches of Europe. While the true horrors of trench warfare could only be fully comprehended on the battlefield, the training they received on this land provided an initial, if limited, experience of the conditions they would soon face overseas.[311]

This chapter covers the time period from 1865 until just after World War II, when the Army decided to convert the temporary Camp Lee into the permanent Fort Lee facility. Topics discussed include the context of Reconstruction, Jim Crow Virginia, and the arrival of the US Army to the area. Commemorative efforts that overlap this time period are mentioned in Chapter V, while chapter VI discusses attempts to create a battlefield park under the War Department.

Reconstruction to Jim Crow

The decision by Southern state leaders to secede from the United States had catastrophic consequences for the region, particularly from the perspective of white Southerners. The Union Army dismantled the South's slave-based economic system through both widespread destruction and the emancipation of enslaved people. In states such as Virginia, Georgia, and South Carolina, the devastation of the agrarian landscape contributed to a sharp decline in agricultural production and precipitated a prolonged economic depression. Compounding these effects were strategic missteps by Confederate leadership, including short-sighted policies surrounding the export of staple crops such as cotton and tobacco, which further destabilized the Southern economy.

Historians have long debated the severity and duration of the Civil War's economic impact on the South. In a seminal 1977 study, Roger Ransom and Richard Sutch likened the war's destruction in the South to the devastation experienced by Japan and Germany during World War II, a view that dovetails with commonly accepted views such as those in American History textbooks. However, other scholars like John Hope Franklin and Douglas Blackmon disagreed with this view, suggesting that the South experienced a relatively swift economic recovery, particularly as African Americans began to exercise their freedom by working land independently and participating in the emerging post-emancipation economy. Of course, oppressive racism persisted

[311] Petersburg National Battlefield, "Training for Trench Warfare."

and African Americans were still unable to fully participate in this economy, leaving most of the spoils available to those white men with available investment capital.[312]

Ransom and Sutch's work, as well as the subsequent work of many other historians, also determined that abolition of slavery had the most dramatic impact upon the Southern economy. Southern plantation owners had long grown accustomed to exploiting the labor of enslaved African Americans and the associated reduced cost of labor. Planting and harvest systems were especially cruel, typically relying on closely supervised gang labor. Following emancipation, formerly enslaved individuals and other free laborers were no longer willing to work in agricultural fields under exploitative or uncompensated conditions. Many chose to leave plantation labor altogether, seeking opportunities in other industries or migrating to different regions in pursuit of greater autonomy and improved living conditions. Those who did return to agricultural work often demanded fair wages, reduced hours, and a more humane pace of labor. The end of slavery also led to a significant decline in child labor, as emancipated African American families gained greater control over the lives of their children. Because the prewar Southern agricultural economy had been heavily dependent on coerced labor, the abolition of slavery severely disrupted its productivity and profitability. The former planter class, largely unwilling to adjust to a free labor system, resisted structural changes to agricultural practices. As a result, the region's economy faltered in the postwar years, reflecting both the loss of its foundational labor system and the inability of its elites to effectively transition to new economic realities.[313]

Mass casualties – at least 250,000 Southern deaths – and destroyed farmland also suppressed the Confederate economy. Farmland could be re-leveled and planted, as was done throughout the South, but lives lost were gone forever. Even though there were more Union deaths than Confederate deaths, Southern states lost significantly more lives as a percentage of the population. The mortality rate for Southern states was an estimated 13.1 percent compared to 4.9 percent and 4 percent for the North and Border States, respectively, devastating the population of young white Southern men. In such a patriarchal society, the economic impacts would have been especially felt for decades to come.[314]

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[312] Roger Ransom and Richard Sutch, *One Kind of Freedom* (Cambridge University Press, 1977); John Hope Franklin, *Reconstruction After the Civil War* (University of Chicago Press, 1961), 174-75; Douglas A. Blackmon, *Slavery by Another Name* (Anchor Books, 2008); Gabriel A. Briggs, *The New Negro in the Old South* (Rutgers University Press, 2015); Scott E. Giltner, *Hunting and Fishing in the New South* (Johns Hopkins University Press, 2008).

[313] For a sampling of socioeconomic transformations of the South after the Civil War, see C. Vann Woodward, *Origins of the New South 1877-1913* (LSU Press, 1971); Roger Ransom and Richard Sutch, *One Kind of Freedom* (Cambridge University Press, 1977); Nell Irvin Painter, *Exodusters: Black Migration to Kansas after Reconstruction* (Alfred A. Knopf, 1977); Pete Daniel, *Breaking the Land: The Transformation of Cotton, Tobacco, and Rice Cultures since 1880* (University of Chicago Press, 1985); Thavolia Glymph, *Out of the House of Bondage: The Transformation of the Plantation Household* (Cambridge University Press, 2008); Adrienne Monteith Petty, *Standing Their Ground: Small Farmers in North Carolina since the Civil War* (Oxford University Press, 2013).

[314] Joan Barcelo, Jeffrey Jensen, Leonid Peisakhin, and Haoyu Zhai, "New Estimates of U.S. Civil War Mortality from Full-Census Records," *PNAS* 121, no. 48 (2024), https://www.pnas.org/doi/10.1073/pnas.2414919121. For environmental transformations of the South after the Civil War, see Mauldin, *Unredeemed Land*.

All such official data on the Southern economy focused on the larger story of white-controlled agriculture and often missed the story of how Black Southerners experienced the new post-war reality. The Black Southern experience was highly heterogeneous and dependent on factors such as the time of emancipation, social networks, and the local economy. Despite obviously poorer social and economic conditions in the South, African Americans did not migrate in large numbers to the North after the war due to a combination of poverty, high illiteracy rates, and a general lack of knowledge about Northern opportunities. An exception to this pattern were USCT veterans. Since these individuals were especially targeted by their white Southern neighbors, Black veterans leveraged wartime social connections to migrate elsewhere.[315]

Reconstruction began in Virginia even as the Civil War raged, though there was never an explicit plan established by President Lincoln. Virginia's post-Civil War economic recovery was a slow and arduous process, initially hampered by the devastation of its agricultural base. Compared to other Southern states, slavery dissolved much more quickly, owing to the presence of the Union army. The abolition of slavery dismantled the plantation system yet kept powerful white landowners in place. Formerly enslaved African Americans were without land and capital, and former plantation owners failed to adapt to the new post-war realities. This quickly led to the rise of sharecropping and tenant farming, which offered limited economic mobility and often trapped laborers in cycles of debt. Powerful white landowners also doomed themselves to eventual economic losses, as sharecropping typically resulted in reduced soil quality, lower crop yields, and less control over products. While the state attempted to diversify its economy by promoting manufacturing and mining, these efforts were hindered by a lack of capital and infrastructure, as well as lingering social tensions.[316]

Virginia experienced more damage during the war than any other state. The area between Washington D.C. and Petersburg, as well as the Shenandoah Valley, received the brunt. A significant driver of Virginia's recovery was the gradual revitalization of its transportation network. Railroads, many of which had been destroyed or damaged during the war, were rebuilt, facilitating the movement of goods and people. This spurred the growth of industries like coal mining in the southwest and tobacco processing in the Piedmont region. The expansion of these industries attracted investment and created new employment opportunities, slowly contributing to the state's overall economic resurgence. However, this economic growth did not affect the state's poorest, such as aforementioned sharecroppers, coal miners, and most railroad workers. Population growth in many Southern cities, such as Petersburg, essentially stagnated for decades.[317]

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[315] Nicholas Lemann, *The Promised Land* (Vintage, 1991); DA Black, SG Sanders, EJ Taylor, and LJ Taylor, "The Impact of the Great Migration on Mortality of African Americans," *American Economic Review* 105, no. 2 (2015); T.D. Logan, "Health, Human Capital, and African-American Migration before 1910," *Exploring Economic History* 46, no. 2 (2009); Boxiao Zhang, "The Long-Term Effect of Wartime Social Networks: Evidence from African American Civil War Veterans, 1870-1900," *Journal of Population Economics* 36 (2023).

[316] Jane Elizabeth Dailey, *Before Jim Crow* (University of North Carolina Press, 2000); Daniel Thorp, *Facing Freedom* (University of Virginia Press, 2017); Bruce Baker, *What Reconstruction Meant* (University of Virginia Press, 2007).

[317] Thomas, *The Iron Way; Robert C. Black III, The Railroads of the Confederacy* (University of North Carolina Press, 2018 [1952]).

Reconstruction-era Virginia can be best characterized as a society in transition, one emerging from the devastation of war and grappling with the collapse of the slave-based social and economic order. Like those in other former Confederate states, white Virginians responded to emancipation by enacting a series of restrictive laws known as Black Codes. These measures reflected deep-seated resistance to racial equality and were intended to curtail the freedoms of newly emancipated African Americans. The Black Codes severely limited African Americans' rights to own property, enter into contracts, testify in court, and move freely within the state. In effect, these laws sought to reestablish a system of racial control that mirrored the conditions of slavery, particularly by regulating Black labor and social conduct in ways that preserved white supremacy.

The Federal government significantly aided Virginia's economic fortunes through the actions of the Freedman's Bureau, primarily in providing food relief to both white and Black Virginians and establishing schools for freedmen. The politics of Reconstruction ran hot in Virginia too, as new political alliances quickly shifted and debates raged over re-entry into the Union and the new 14th Amendment. Voters ultimately supported a return to the Union in 1870 with universal male suffrage. This led to significant Black political representation, an idea unthinkable to most white Virginians, and the rise of the Readjuster movement, an interracial political party focused on reforming Virginia's debt crisis to support public schools, during the following decade.[318]

Amid the social and political upheaval of the post-Reconstruction era, white Virginians seeking to permanently disenfranchise and segregate African Americans succeeded in entrenching racial inequality during the 1890s and early 1900s. This effort began with the implementation of Jim Crow laws, which extended far beyond the earlier Black Codes by legally mandating racial segregation across nearly all aspects of public life. These laws required separate facilities for Black and white individuals in schools, hospitals, transportation, and public accommodations. The aim was not merely separation but the systematic enforcement of white supremacy by denying African Americans equal access to education, healthcare, political participation, and economic opportunity. The 1896 Supreme Court decision in *Plessy v. Ferguson*, which upheld the constitutionality of "separate but equal" facilities, provided legal justification for the expansion and entrenchment of Jim Crow laws. In Virginia, this trajectory culminated in the 1902 state constitution, which further institutionalized racial exclusion through mechanisms such as poll taxes, literacy tests, and the formal separation of public schools. Despite sustained efforts by African American communities – including organized protests, legal challenges, and economic boycotts – these discriminatory systems remained firmly in place until the mid-twentieth century, when civil rights litigation in the 1950s began to dismantle them.[319]

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[318] *Encyclopedia Virginia*, "The Readjuster Party," by Brent Tarter, last modified September 22, 2023, https://encyclopediavirginia.org/entries/readjuster-party-the/; Carl N. Degler, *The Other South: Southern Dissenters in the Nineteenth Century* (University Press of Florida, 1974); Jack P. Maddex Jr., *The Virginia Conservatives, 1867–1879: A Study in Reconstruction Politics* (University of North Carolina Press, 1970); Brent Tarter, *A Saga of the New South: Race, Law, and Public Debt in Virginia* (University of Virginia Press, 2016).

[319] Dailey, *Before Jim Crow*; Peter Wallenstein, *Blue Laws and Black Codes* (University of Virginia Press, 2013); Douglas Blackmon, *Slavery by Another Name* (Icon Books, 2012); Kimberley Johnson, *Reforming Jim Crow* (Oxford University Press, 2010).

The Eastern Front in 1865

When the fighting ceased, local landowners and farmers got to work. Nearly seventy miles of earthworks spanned the areas around Petersburg. Over 150 forts and batteries were connected by trenches, not to mention the innumerable smaller earthen defensive structures peppered across the battlefield. Scavengers had the most immediate effect on the post-battle landscape in 1865, as hundreds of people fanned out across the battlefield gathering wooden planks and other war refuse to repair their homes, fences, and agricultural buildings. Others would have taken away iron, lead, and other valuables for a profit or souvenir. While the desperate took iron and wood, the war dead still lay throughout the battlefield, especially within the trenches where they fell, and some were assuredly buried by those with the time, ability, and tools. Many of the earthworks and forts were destroyed as locals sought to recover the land to a state of agricultural usefulness. The US Government also established Poplar Grove Cemetery in 1866 outside of the Eastern Front boundaries, but its creation meant a team of ninety-seven individuals set about excavating the Union dead from the Eastern Front for reburial. A total of 669 bodies were removed from the Eastern Front during this work.[320]

Tourism also played a major role in the immediate post-battle landscape. Noticing the influx of visitors to the battlefield, Confederate veteran Napoleon Hawes opened a refreshment stand near Fort Stedman as early as July 5, 1865, selling drinks, cakes, and alcohol, though this store was not open long as Hawes died before the end of the year.[321] Also owing to the popularity of the battlefield, Union veteran James H. Platt purchased Jarratt's Hotel on April 8, 1865, and regularly hosted his fellow Union veterans and other Northern travelers. The next year, he printed a small book entitled *A Guide to the Fortifications and Battlefields Around Petersburg* which suggests a significant, if not booming, tourism industry on the battlefield and provides a unique primary source that documents the landscape as of 1866. Visitation also led to significant site degradation as, for example, some visitors to the Crater commented that its walls began to collapse during the first decade.[322]

In the immediate aftermath of the Civil War, veterans from both sides began returning to the battlefields, driven by a complex mix of emotions. It was a common sight for battle veterans to appear at the Eastern Front, usually in small groups. These visits were often deeply personal, serving to process trauma, honor fallen comrades, and grapple with the profound changes wrought by the conflict. Many sought to locate and recover the remains of loved ones, navigating the still-scarred landscapes to find unmarked graves or identify remains amidst the debris of war. These early visits were often solitary or small-group affairs, marked by somber reflection and a palpable sense of loss. Beyond personal grief, veterans also returned to battlefields to understand and memorialize the events that had shaped their lives. These visits were a way to reconstruct the battles in their minds, tracing the movements of their units and revisiting pivotal moments. In these early years, there was no formal organization for such visits. The Union veteran's organiza-

[320] Wallace and Conway, 17.
[321] Wallace and Conway, 16-717.
[322] *CLI for Eastern Front*, 72.

tion Grand Army of the Republic formed in 1866, though it would take several years to significantly organize. With time, these veterans' activities evolved into larger gatherings and reunions, laying the groundwork for the development of battlefield preservation and commemoration efforts.[323]

Petersburg area residents also began recovering their lives that were severely disrupted by the Siege. Most were deeply reliant upon US Army supplies from the day of city surrender, April 3, 1865, until the end of military occupation on January 31, 1870. Despite efforts towards economic recovery, such as Mahone's role in rebuilding the local railroad network, economic turmoil and political division defined the area for several decades. Food shortages and unemployment were the norm, especially amongst the large population of recently emancipated individuals. The Freedman's Bureau, a federal program intended to provide aid to formerly enslaved African Americans and mediate any racial strife, was also highly active in the area.

Despite such post-war efforts at building a new, more equitable Petersburg, the pre-war power structures soon returned to dominate local society. While power did not necessarily return to the same individuals, the tragically familiar hierarchy of white social dominance emerged soon after the 1870 end of military occupation. Plenty of former Confederates and slaveholders in the area requested and were granted pardons by President Andrew Johnson, including Charles Friend and William Mahone. Charles Friend, who owned land within the Eastern Front, was assaulted in 1871, soon thereafter succumbing to his injuries and dying. Local authorities charged two Black men, Henry Johnson and Richard Green, with the crime. They were both found guilty and executed shortly thereafter despite protestations of innocence and no strong evidence linking them to the crime. Other such episodes of injustice became commonplace in Petersburg. Full equality and social integration, once seemingly in Petersburg's grasp, faded as a dream.[324]

Land within the Eastern Front remained largely bereft of trees and other vegetation for at least a few years after the battle. However, by the mid-1880s, small trees and shrubs had grown up around much of the site. Within two decades, visiting veterans commented that it had become difficult to trace the once formidable Dimmock Line. While much of the Eastern Front was reclaimed for farming, significant portions were instead returned to a more natural state. Many of the earthworks were still visible to those who knew where to look, but a casual viewer may only see a knoll covered by greenery.[325]

Training for WWI

[323] Paul A. Cimbala, *Veterans North and South: The Transition from Soldier to Civilian after the American Civil War* (Praeger, 2015); James Alan Marten, *Sing Not War: The Lives of Union & Confederate Veterans in Gilded Age America* (University of North Carolina Press, 2011); Stuart McConnell, *Glorious Contentment: The Grand Army of the Republic, 1865–1900* (University of North Carolina Press, 1997).

[324] "Reconstruction in Petersburg, Virginia," Petersburg National Battlefield, National Park Service, last modified May 15, 2025, https://www.nps.gov/articles/000/reconstruction-in-petersburg-virginia.htm; Caroline Janney, *Ends of War: The Unfinished Fight of Lee's Army after Appomattox* (University of North Carolina Press, 2021); "The Prince George Tragedy," *Daily Enquirer*, March 28, 1871; "Execution of Murderers in Virginia," *The Carolina Farmer and Morning Star*, August 4, 1871.

[325] *Encyclopedia Virginia*, "The Dimmock Line."

Figure 4-1: Camp Lee, Virginia, ca. 1911. Library of Congress.

With the outbreak of conflicts that would become World War I, the fighting in western Europe almost immediately settled into a stalemate as the Allied and Central forces both deployed defensive trench warfare systems. The magnitude of these trenches was unlike anything seen in warfare before, with a largely connected western front system stretching 475 miles from the Netherlands to Switzerland. This absolutely dwarfed anything seen in the American Civil War, including at Petersburg. Trench warfare was made further deadly as both sides also deployed unprecedented weapons of death. Aircrafts dropped bombs and strafed soldiers with machine guns. Engineers developed new toxic chemicals that settled into the trenches, killing thousands before the realization of the coming doom took hold. Death rates soared as both sides struggled to cope with the new realities of war.[326]

Upon the onset of European violence, President Woodrow Wilson maintained a stoic position of neutrality. American military leaders, while never suggesting direct involvement, studied the ongoing hostilities, speculating that the United States may be drawn into the conflict on the side of close allies France and Great Britain. President Wilson doggedly kept American forces out of the war to the point that Wilson campaigned for the 1916 presidency almost exclusively on this promise. With Wilson's decisive electoral victory, it seemed less likely than ever that America would join the European conflict. By January 1917, it seemed increasingly likely the United States would get drawn into a military conflict due to its close financial ties with the United Kingdom, the sinking of the *Lusitania* passenger ship, and the interception of the Zimmerman Telegram.

The Zimmermann Telegram, named after its author, German Foreign Secretary Arthur Zimmermann, is widely regarded by historians as a pivotal factor in prompting American entry into World War I. This brief, one-page message, sent from Germany to Mexico, was intercepted by British intelligence and subsequently shared with the United States. In the telegram, Germany proposed a military alliance with Mexico, promising the return of territories lost during the Mexican-American War (including Texas, New Mexico, and Arizona) should Mexico agree to join the conflict against the United States. The suggestion of a hostile alliance and potential invasion of American soil provoked widespread outrage among the American public and political leadership. Although the telegram was sent on January 17, 1917, Germany did not publicly confirm its authenticity until March 3, and Zimmermann personally addressed the matter in the Reichstag on March 29. The diplomatic crisis escalated quickly: on April 2, President Woodrow Wilson delivered a speech before a joint session of Congress requesting a declaration of war against Ger-

[326] Petersburg National Battlefield, "Training for Trench Warfare"; Nicholas Murray, *The Rocky Road to the Great War* (Potomac Books, 2013), x; Peter Hart, *The Great War* (Oxford University Press, 2013).

many. The Senate approved the declaration on April 4, followed by the House of Representatives on April 6. Several months later, on December 7, 1917, the United States formally declared war on Austria-Hungary as well.[327]

War Training Context

The declaration of war dramatically transformed the US Army's approach toward the training of soldiers. Although public support for the war was growing, military preparedness lagged behind. Neither the Army nor Navy were equipped for immediate deployment to the European theater. Intelligence regarding activities in Europe also lagged, with little knowledge of modern war technologies such as tanks, airplanes, or poison gases. In short, the Army had little to no training plans in place prior to 1917, and the quality of the first American soldiers to land in Europe – most of whom were far from battle-ready upon arrival – reflected this shortcoming. There were many reasons for this general military failure, though most historians blame a combination of military complacency after the obvious success in the Spanish-American War of 1898 and national budget cuts championed by economic conservatives in both parties. The US Army attempted to rapidly modernize, though success was mixed and reforms were uneven. Up to 1917, military training essentially consisted of conducting drills and learning to take orders quickly as American military philosophy relied on individual soldiers to make decisions in the heat of the moment.[328]

Starting in the 1890s, the War Department began publishing new training manuals for the first time since the era of Friedrich von Steuben, the Prussian military officer appointed by George Washington to reform army logistics, training, and supply logistics. The first such document was *Infantry Drill Regulations,* an 1891 manual primarily aimed at standardizing tactics, not training, as drill was still considered the top standard. Even with the adoption of such manuals, little positive change resulted regarding Army training largely due to the poor communication and administrative structure of the military mixed with the rapid onset of the Spanish-American War.[329]

Major training reforms then developed starting in August 1899 when President William McKinley appointed Elihu Root as Secretary of War, hoping for significant reforms, including training. The first significant change came in 1900 with General Order 125 ordering uniformity of training. Army headquarters would establish a training curriculum expected to be followed by the full military. Despite these official orders, regional commanding officers continued to follow their own plans and no immediate change transpired. In February 1903 and at the urging of Secretary Root, Congress authorized "An Act To Increase the Efficiency of the Army," which amongst other items created the General Staff Corps and Chief of Staff as an effort to improve commu-

[327] "Joint Address to Congress Leading to a Declaration of War Against Germany," National Archive, https://www.archives.gov/milestone-documents/address-to-congress-declaration-of-war-against-germany; Arthur Link, *Woodrow Wilson and the Progressive Era* (Harper, 1963); "U.S. House of Representatives tally sheet for the Declaration of War on Germany, April 6, 1917," U.S. Capitol Visitor Center, https://www.visitthecapitol.gov/artifact/us-house-representatives-tally-sheet-declaration-war-germany-april-6-1917.

[328] Gregory Hope, *"Army Training, Sir": The Impact of the World War I Experience on the Evolution of Training Doctrine in the U.S. Army* (Army University Press, 2021), x, 1.

[329] Hope, *"Army Training, Sir", 3-4; United States War Department, Infantry Drill Regulations, United States Army 1891* (Government Printing Office, 1891).

nication between commanding officers and the War Department. Secretary Root's motivation largely came from America's poor mobilization effort during the Philippine-American War.[330] That same year, Congress also authorized the Militia Act of 1903 to create the National Guard and define its operations. From 1903 to 1915, Congress authorized other military reform laws, including Militia Act amendments. Throughout these years, Army training programs steadily modernized and improved.[331]

Starting in the early 1910s, former US Army leaders and other nationally known political leaders, especially former President Theodore Roosevelt, called for strengthening and enlarging the American military in response to tensions (and then violence) in Europe. Generally known as the Preparedness Movement, most proponents focused on volunteerism and goods production, though another key component was a six-month conscription for all eighteen-year-old men termed "universal military training." One critical organization to this movement was the Military Training Camps Association (MTCA), formed in 1915 to lobby for military training reforms. Congress responded to Preparedness by authorizing the 1916 National Defense Act, which more than doubled the number of active duty soldiers. Going into 1917, it seemed like the framework was in place to avoid the problems faced by the Army in the conflicts against Spain and the Philippines a generation earlier.[332]

Given the scale of World War I, perhaps no level of centralized planning could have prepared the War Department for what was to come. Because of the National Defense Act, the Army stood at about 108,000 soldiers; about 4 million would serve during World War I, though initially the Army expected to train about 1 million. The Army's plan was to recruit untrained volunteers organized in sixteen National Army divisions, in addition to the standing army and the National Guard. To train these soldiers, starting in April 1917, the American military began erecting new training facilities throughout the country, primarily on wide, open spaces typically used for agriculture. The Army recognized that a quick mobilization was desirable, so massive construction crews were immediately hired to erect huge, centralized training facilities. At least two hundred thousand civilian workers labored to construct camps, with required materials estimated to be the equivalent of building a city for 1.3 million people. Construction contracts operated under a blanket agreement negotiated with labor chief Samuel Gompers to avoid any work stoppages. However, by September, it was clear that mobilization plans were not going as expected, considering less than 5 percent of all American soldiers mobilized on the planned schedule.[333]

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[330] Hope, *"Army Training, Sir"*, 4; Elihu Root, "The General Staff," in *The Colonial and Military Policy of the United States*, ed. Robert Bacon and James Brown Scott (Harvard University Press, 1916); Brian Linn, *The Philippine War 1899-1902* (University Press of Kansas, 2000), 10-11; Archibald King, *The Command of the Army: A Legal and Historical Study of the Relations of the President, the Secretaries of War and the Army, the General of the Army, and the Chief of Staff, with one Another* (The Judge Advocate General's School, U.S. Army, 1960), 59-60.

[331] Sean M. Ziegler, Alexandra Evans, Gian Gentile, and Badreddine Ahtachi, *The Evolution of U.S. Military Policy from the Constitution to the Present, Volume II*, (RAND Corporation, 2020), 116-7. Mark Graber, "The Militia Act of 1903 in Historical Context," *The Journal of the Civil War Era*, July 21, 2025, https://www.journalofthecivilwarera.org/2025/07/the-militia-act-of-1903-in-historical-context/.

[332] Ziegler et al., *The Evolution of U.S. Military Policy from the Constitution to the Present, Volume II*, 73, 83.

[333] Ziegler et al.,*The Evolution of U.S. Military Policy from the Constitution to the Present, Volume II*, 73; "The Eli-

The Army operated thirty-four training camps across twenty-three states. These camps were evenly divided between National Guard and National Army training. Typically, National Army facilities were new constructions of wooden structures, while the National Guard was usually facilitated with tents. The Army initiated construction during spring and summer of 1917 for most camps on land either leased from local governments or owned by the US government, sometimes immediately adjacent to established military facilities. Some camps, such as Camp Lee, remained in use after the war, while most were designed to be dismantled upon the conclusion of hostilities. The Army also initially planned to construct camps near urban centers and host soldiers from nearby locales, but the sheer size of the war effort meant such an organization was largely impossible. For example, Camp Wadsworth near Spartanburg, South Carolina, hosted the 27th Infantry Division, which was nicknamed the "New York" because of the high number of New Yorkers training at the facility.[334]

Nearly everyone quickly recognized flaws in the training system. Army training camps quickly became a location where progressive reformers provided compulsory education for soldiers as part of a broader emphasis on morality and citizenship. However, educational training typically excluded public health from its standards and often fell short of stated goals due to strict adherence to Army bureaucracy and hierarchy. Some camps, because they were considered temporary structures, had no plumbing. In addition, those who built the training facilities were some contractors but also the first individuals drafted into the military. These early soldiers then immediately fell into training for the European conflict. Hardly any camps were completed in time for the mass arrival of trainees, and camps were never fully completed. Some used broomsticks and other props since actual weapons had not yet arrived.[335] High-ranking military officials grew critical of training programs and camps once underway. For instance, General Pershing typically ordered further training once troops arrived in Europe because of their perceived inability, further delaying deployment to the front lines and frustrating British and French allies.[336]

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hu Root Reforms and the Progressive Era," paper presented at Command and Commanders in Modern Warfare: The Proceedings of the Second Military History Symposium, U.S. Air Force Academy, May 2–3, 1968, Office of Air Force History and U.S. Air Force Academy, 1971; Kenneth Finlayson, "The Three Lives of Fort Lee, Virginia: World War I," *Army Sustainment* (July-August 2017); Leonard Ayers, *The War with Germany: A Statistical Summary* (Government Printing Office, 1919), 126; Edward Coffman, *The War to End All Wars* (Oxford University Press, 1968), 31.

[334] "World War I Training Camps & Cantonments," *Veteran Voices Military Research*, April 9, 2019, https://veteranvoices.com/training-camps-cantonments/; Ziegler et al., *The Evolution of U.S. Military Policy from the Constitution to the Present, Volume II*, 75; John F. O'Ryan, *The Story of the 27th Division* (Wynkoop, Hallenbeck, & Crawford, 1921).

[335] Jennifer Keene, *Doughboys, the Great War, and the Remaking of America* (Johns Hopkins University Press, 2003), 37; William Odom, "Under the Gun: Training the American Expeditionary Force," *Military Review* 80 (July-August 2000), 101; Eric Setzekorn, "Disease and Dissent," *Journal of the Gilded Age and Progressive Era* 21 (2022): 99; Nancy Bristow, *Making Men Moral* (NYU Press, 1996); Christopher Capozzola, *Uncle Sam Wants You* (Oxford University Press, 2008).

[336] Ziegler et al., *The Evolution of U.S. Military Policy from the Constitution to the Present, Volume II*, 75-6; Bobby Wintermute, *Public Health and the U.S. Military* (Taylor & Francis, 2010); Stephen Skowronek, *Building a New American State* (Cambridge University Press, 1982).

Congress soon got involved once it became apparent that the Army's training programs were woefully insufficient. What first brought the issue to public light was a wave of enlistees writing home asking family members for winter jackets as cold weather descended in late 1917. However, the issue was not considered a major problem until the dysfunction in Army medical programs came to the attention of Senator George Chamberlain, a progressive Wilson ally who roundly supported the National Defense Act of 1916. Chamberlain initiated investigations and found overwhelming evidence of Army mismanagement. For instance, medical staff at Camp Pike dedicated significant time toward monitoring the activities of soldiers to prevent alcohol consumption and sexual encounters. Meanwhile, over five hundred soldiers died at the camp during its first six months amidst outbreaks of measles, mumps, and pneumonia.[337]

Major reforms to the Army training system finally arrived in 1918. Senator Chamberlain's initial reform efforts were met with resistance from both the White House and Army, so he took this argument to the public, seeking support for legislation. Chamberlain's public criticisms worked. The Army, starting in February 1918, immediately reformed its logistics coordination, created new oversight positions, and expanded medical staffing.[338] Meanwhile, Chamberlain dialed back his rhetoric while continuing to champion specific causes that he believed affected the war effort. Moralist progressives, including Chamberlain, also continued to believe that venereal disease threatened the war effort. It was estimated at the time that at least 10 percent of all recruits tested positive for venereal disease upon arrival in training camp, a shockingly high statistic.

Chamberlain, along with Representative Julius Kahn, successfully lobbied for the passage of the Chamberlain-Kahn Act of 1918, allowing the quarantine of any civilian suspected of having venereal disease. A primary victim of this act was thousands of women living near army training camps. Officials redoubled their efforts to inculcate supposedly moral behavior in Army trainees now by detaining women believed to be sex workers. Even after Allied victory, officials utilized this law to detain any woman deemed to be a threat to public health.[339]

[337] Setzekorn, "Disease and Dissent."
[338] Setzekorn, "Disease and Dissent."
[339] Adam Hodges, "'Enemy Aliens' and 'Silk Stocking Girls': The Class Politics of Internment in the Drive for Urban Order During World War I," *Journal of the Gilded Age and Progressive Era* 6 (2007); Scott Stern, *The Trials of Nina McCall* (Beacon, 2018).

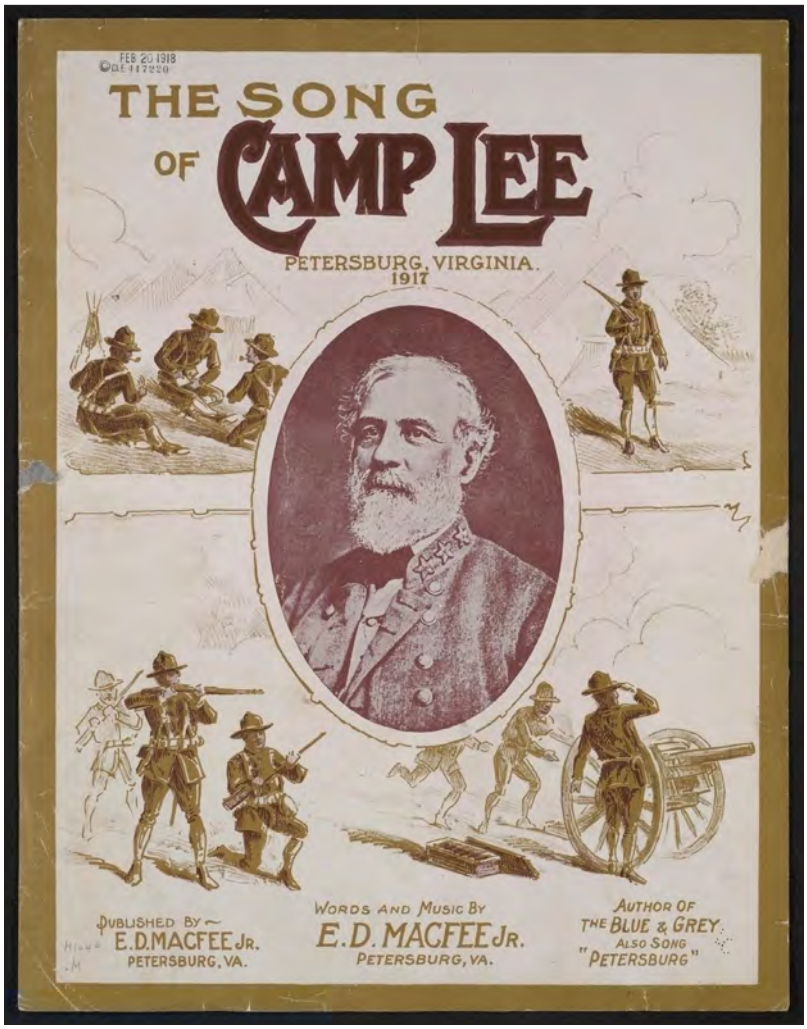

Figure 4-2: Cover sheet for "The Song of Camp Lee," ca. 1918. Library of Congress.

Camp Lee

One such training facility designated as a National Army training facility was Camp Lee, located immediately adjacent and partially overlapping with the Petersburg battlefield. This would be one of the Army's largest facilities, with expectations that hundreds of thousands of American troops would pass through the camp on their way to the European theater.[340] On April 24, 1917, the Army notified the Petersburg Chamber of Commerce that it had selected an area near the city for an Army training base. In response, the city leased 450 acres of land, split evenly between forest and agricultural use, for a cantonment and 15,000 acres for a "maneuver training area." The City of Petersburg, for its part, purchased water mains and other utilities to help facilitate the Army's arrival.[341]

[340] Petersburg National Battlefield, "Training for Trench Warfare."

[341] Finlayson, "The Three Lives of Fort Lee"; Eugene Abadie, "Construction Report on the National Army Cantonment at Camp Lee, Virginia," Construction Division of the Army (1918), 1.

There is no known exact reason as to why the Army chose this area just outside of Petersburg so near the Eastern Front. One possible reason is that the Army understood Petersburg's place within the broader narrative of warfare, especially given the prevalence of trenches and stalemates in the ongoing World War I. Writing in the *Journal of Civil War History* in 2011, military historian Wayne Wei-siang Hsieh argued that most Civil War historians viewed the conflict as the first in a series of modern wars. In this view, the combination of technology, industrialization, and the "mass mobilization of society" led military conflict more often toward total wars and stalemates. This interpretation, largely beginning with the Petersburg siege and trenchworks, leads toward a line connecting the battle to American military training, the Spanish-American War, World War I trench warfare, and further military developments. In other words, what led to trench warfare and the slow grind of military stalemates all began at Petersburg.[342]

The Federal government initiated Camp Lee construction on June 10, 1917, just to the east of the Eastern Front. During that summer, about 14,500 workers worked under guidance from the War Department to construct a facility that could comfortably house about 60,000 military personnel. Most construction was initiated by contractors Rinehart and Dennis out of Charlottesville. Workers cleared trees and foliage, levelled ground, built roads, installed infrastructure, and erected structures. All buildings were of a standard Army-issued design.[343]

Camp Lee construction was briefly halted when the DuPont Company lodged protests with the government that resulted in a court injunction and the Department of War notifying Petersburg that it was abandoning the Camp Lee project. DuPont operated a large factory employing twenty-eight thousand individuals about ten miles away in Hopewell, and company executives feared the massive Army facility would disrupt rail transportation logistics. The Petersburg Chamber of Commerce, sensing that Camp Lee would be a massive economic boon for the area, sent a delegation to Washington D.C. to meet with Senators hoping to lift the injunction. The group was successful. Construction resumed on June 21, and the camp was occupied by the first soldiers within two months. Army officials chose the name Camp Lee on July 15 in accordance with a tendency to name Southern camps after Confederate generals.[344]

The camp in its final form was massive, spanning about four miles in length and containing about 1,500 barracks, a hospital, warehouses, and about thirty other types of buildings for a grand total of 1,532 structures. Final capacity was targeted at 60,335, the second largest in the nation after Camp Grant in Illinois, thus making it the third-largest population concentration in the Commonwealth. At its peak, the camp covered 5,542 acres, and about 138,000 individual soldiers passed through for training. None of the buildings are still standing except for the Davis House, which

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342 Hsieh, *West Pointers and the Civil War*, 394.

343 Petersburg National Battlefield, "Training for Trench Warfare"; Kenneth Finlayson, "The Three Lives of Fort Lee, Virginia: World War I," *U.S. Army*, June 29, 2017, https://www.army.mil/article/189328/the_three_lives_of_fort_lee_virginia_world_war_i; Raymond G. Perkinson, "Fort Lee: Key Camp of Two World Wars and Today," *The Commonwealth* (1956): 34-36.

344 Petersburg National Battlefield, "Training for Trench Warfare"; Finlayson, "The Three Lives of Fort Lee; Abadie "Construction Report on the National Army Cantonment at Camp Lee, Virginia," 30.

was established as division headquarters in 1918 by Division Commander Major General Adelbert Cronkhite.[345]

The military occupied the site starting August 27, 1917, and the first soldiers arrived on September 5. The camp hosted the 80th Infantry Division of the National Army, nicknamed the "Blue Ridge Division," primarily consisting of individuals from Virginia, West Virginia, and Pennsylvania from the Selective Service. Most soldiers were white, but African American soldiers were also trained at Camp Lee. The Army segregated these men into all-Black barracks at 39th, 40th, and 41st streets within the camp.

Soldiers at Camp Lee suffered from illness in much the same way as those in other camps. For instance, the Spanish Flu epidemic reached the camp in the fall of 1918, killing about seven hundred of the ten thousand affected soldiers. However, from September 1917 to April 1918, Camp Lee witnessed just twenty-two deaths, the second lowest in the country after Camp Fremont in California.[346]

Figure 4-3: The hospital staff from *Lest We Forget, Base Hospital, Camp Lee, Virginia, 1919*. Library of Congress.

[345] Finlayson, "The Three Lives of Fort Lee."

[346] "History," U.S. Army Garrison Fort Lee, U.S. Army, https://home.army.mil/greggadams/history; Setzekorn, "Disease and Dissent," 102.

Figure 4-4: Image of several new structures built at Camp Lee for the war effort, ca. 1919, from *Lest We Forget, Base Hospital, Camp Lee, Virginia, 1919*. Library of Congress.

Training Programs (Trenching)

Training at Camp Lee was affected by the generally poor conditions owing to supply chain mishaps, a shortage of capable officer leadership, and the extremely cold 1917-18 winter weather.[347] Nevertheless, troops were drilled and trained quickly following a sixteen-week training program with specific instructions on trench warfare within newly dug trenches (similar programs, including trenches, were also initiated at other National Army training camps under War Department Document 656). New soldiers also dug trenches themselves, all under guidance to learn the French system of connected trench lines and bombproofs. From 1917 until June 1919, the Army dug trenches and trained soldiers for combat under the leadership of Captain John Stringfellow.[348] Military trainers from Great Britain and France arrived in November 1917 to provide more in-depth instruction buttressed by personal experiences. Most of this instruction took place indoors in classroom-like settings.[349]

[347] Petersburg National Battlefield, "Training for Trench Warfare."
[348] Petersburg National Battlefield, "Training for Trench Warfare"; Finlayson, "The Three Lives of Fort Lee."
[349] Petersburg National Battlefield, "Training for Trench Warfare."

Trenches dug by Army trainees varied significantly in size and shape owing to the many varieties of defensive structures in the French system.[350] According to research conducted by PETE staff, each regiment constructed its own independent trench systems for training, though some built exact replicas of the common French system. After the arrival of foreign instructors, trainees continued building out their trench networks in anticipation of live training exercises under the leadership of Captain John Stringfellow (who had just trained at the School of Arms at Fort Sill). The largest structures were bunkers dug down to a depth of about forty feet to be used as living quarters for soldiers during training. A few training exercises involving simulated attacks took place during November. Trainees and officers lived within the trenches for days and learned combat as well as how to properly care for food, water, and communication lines. However, most training did not occur until the harsh winter cold broke in the spring.[351]

Throughout the winter and early spring, trainees continued to expand the trench training network, with the vast majority shoveling tons of frozen soil. Trainees also cut timber from the surrounding area to reinforce the trenches. The trench living quarters were a series of bomb shelters built about thirty feet below the surface. Soldiers readied themselves for an even larger training program in February or March, though this was not to come.[352]

Camp Lee's spring training program was suddenly interrupted upon the arrival of Major General Adelbert Cronkhite. Heavily influenced by Commander of the American Expeditionary Forces John Pershing, Cronkhite ordered training to reduce emphasis upon trench warfare and instead focus on offensive, open-air attacks rather than uncomfortably learning how to literally live in the trenches. Pershing's belief was generally that the war would be won with offensive action, a view countered by virtually every French officer, including those sent to America to oversee training exercises. Despite the insistence of Pershing and Cronkhite, French instructors continued trench instruction. Training events lasted between twelve and twenty-four hours and included all aspects of trench life except for attempting to sleep. Cronkhite, for his part, argued there was no point in forcing soldiers into deeply uncomfortable positions unless there was a critical, immediate need. The training eventually took place during April, and was remembered as highly difficult and resulted in the death of a soldier by cave-in.[353]

After World War I, the Army slowly closed down and dismantled most training camps. The last official training took place at Camp Lee on May 25, 1918, though the camp remained open as a base hospital and processing center for returning soldiers. The last troops officially stationed at Camp Lee, the 80th Division, were inactivated on June 26, 1919. The Army set Camp Lee for closure, and two years later, all land and buildings were transferred to the Commonwealth of

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[350] Petersburg National Battlefield, "Training for Trench Warfare."

[351] Petersburg National Battlefield, "Training for Trench Warfare"; John Stringfellow, *Hell No! This and That: A Narrative of the Great War* (Meador Publishing, 1936).

[352] Robert Clarke, Leo Hirrel, and Debra McClane, *Phase II Archaeological Investigations of the World War I Defensive Earthworks at the Fort Lee Military Reservation and Petersburg National Battlefield, Prince George County, Virginia* (The Digital Archeological Record, 1997), 43-44.

[353] Petersburg National Battlefield, "Training for Trench Warfare"; Donald Smythe, *Pershing* (Indiana University Press, 1986); Clarke et al., *Phase II Archaeological Investigations*, 47-48.

Virginia. The state dismantled all buildings except for the Davis House. Most land was converted into a state game and forest preserve, while some containing the training trenches became part of PETE as part of a roughly 1,600-acre land transfer from the War Department to the Department of the Interior.[354]

Evidence of WWI trench systems can still be found within the Eastern Front, with more being uncovered periodically due to new technological advances such as LIDAR detection.[355] Some of the land utilized by the Army in this training is now within the boundaries of PETE. Evidence of this work can be found within PETE along trails at the start of the tour road and near Battery 7. In total, about 3,300 linear feet of trenches are located within reforested areas within PETE, primarily adjacent to where the main park road stood in the 1990s.[356]

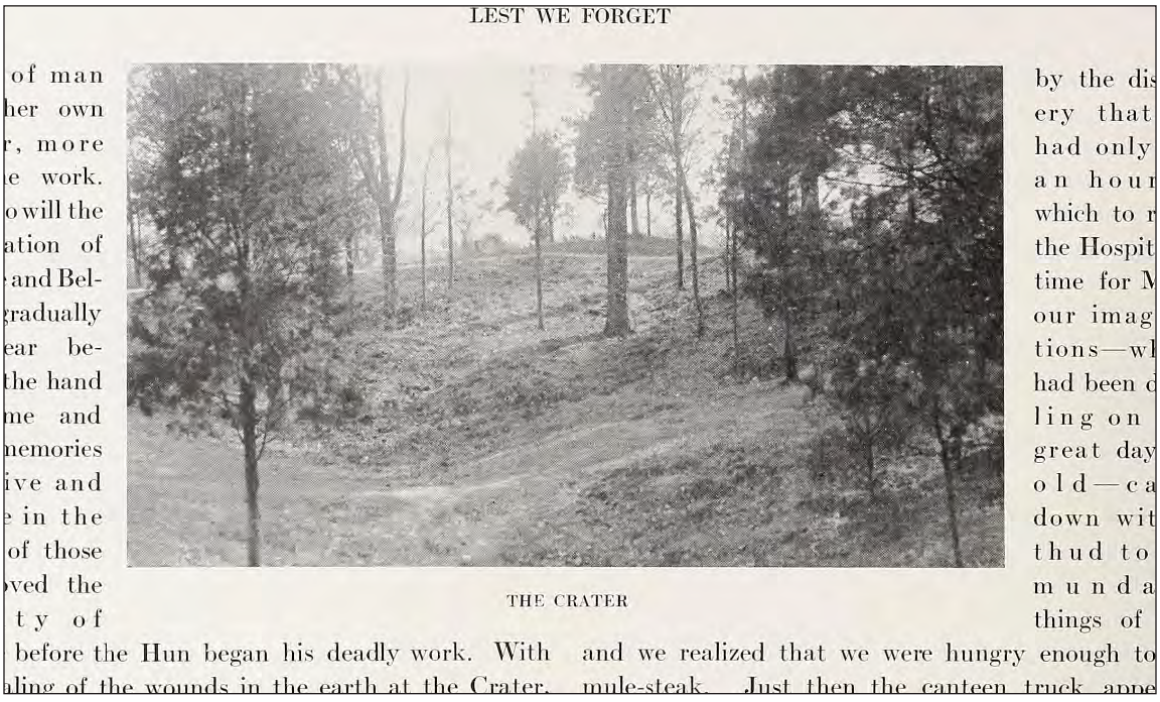
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Figure 4-5: "The Crater," ca. 1919, from *Lest We Forget, Base Hospital, Camp Lee, Virginia, 1919*. Library of Congress.

WWII and Beyond

While new technologies dominated the changes in World War I, World War II was largely seen as a war of logistics and drove significant growth at Camp Lee. Starting in the late-1930s, Congress again authorized increases to the military budget, largely due to the Spanish Civil War and

[354] Finlayson, "The Three Lives of Fort Lee."
[355] Petersburg National Battlefield, "Training for Trench Warfare."
[356] "Training for War on Hallowed Ground," Petersburg National Battlefield, National Park Service, last modified March 11, 2022, https://www.nps.gov/places/training-for-war-on-hallowed-ground.htm; Clarke et al., *Phase II Archaeological Investigations*, 59-61.

increasingly violent rhetoric from fascist dictators like Adolf Hitler and Benito Mussolini. Once Nazi Germany invaded Poland, Congress first responded with a significant budget increase in 1938. As war raged, Congress authorized another increase in 1940, which resulted in the expansion and mobilization of three hundred thousand soldiers. Congress also passed the Selective Service Act, allowing for drafting up to nine hundred thousand more men into service. The Army relocated its Quartermaster's School from Philadelphia to the newly reactivated Camp Lee in October 1941.[357]

Once America entered the war, Camp Lee became a major training center for the military, with at least three hundred thousand soldiers and fifty thousand officers passing through. At the onset of American involvement in World War II, Camp Lee hosted the Quartermaster Officer Candidate School, Army Services Forces Training Center, the Quartermaster (Research & Development) Board, a Women's Army Corps training center, and the Medical Replacement Training Center.[358]

After Allied victory in World War II, the Army elected to retain Camp Lee as a training facility, though its continued existence would have little impact upon the Eastern Front battlefield. The Quartermaster School remained in place, as did other training programs. In 1948, signaling its intention to remain permanently, the Army built the Post Theater, the first brick structure at the site. The formal decision for permanence came on April 15, 1950, with the renaming of the site to Fort Lee. Fort Lee again witnessed the influx of soldiers during the Korean War and Vietnam War, with the Army modernizing the facility significantly during the interlude. However, owing to changes in warfare, there were little to no direct impacts upon PETE.[359]

Figure 4-6: Camp Lee, Petersburg, Virginia. Painting of aerial of camp by Corp. Frayser Childrey. Unknown date. National Archives and Records Administration.

[357] U.S. Army Garrison Fort Lee, "History"; Sherry, *Cultural Landscape Report*, 59.
[358] U.S. Army Garrison Fort Lee, "History."
[359] U.S. Army Garrison Fort Lee, "History."

Chapter V: Commemoration

Introduction

Landscapes are sites of contested memory, a fact that is especially true in places of conflict, death, and historical traumas. The history of memory and place has a deep historiography with scholars such as French philosopher Maurice Halbwachs, Southern historian Fitzhugh Brundage, and American historian David Blight all writing about it at length. Civil War battlefield parks represent what historians Lori Holyfield and Clifford Beacham refer to as "multivocal sites." For example, descendants of USCT soldiers and members of the United Daughters of the Confederacy (UDC) may hold radically different understandings on the role of slavery and the Civil War, but they may both utilize the same physical locations and resources to reflect upon their respective positions. The history of commemorative activities at PETE illustrates how these sites remain contested and relevant among diverse visitors in the twenty-first century.

This chapter explores these themes of meaning and place and explores the multitude of resources within the Eastern Front related to commemorating Civil War events. This includes commemorative activities initiated by a range of organizations including the NPS, Civilian Conservation Corps (CCC), US War Department, and both Union and Confederate commemorative groups. The chapter examines monuments and commemorative markers erected to commemorate the events of the Civil War, as well as highlights major ceremonies, pageants, and the site's evolution in interpretation from CCC construction to living history and reenactments.

General Battlefield Commemoration

Prior to the Civil War, battlefield commemoration of earlier conflicts like the Revolutionary War and the War of 1812 remained limited. Primarily, this is because Americans did not have easy ability to travel great distances. Only the most dedicated were willing to travel days, sometimes weeks, to visit a battle location. Even then, most battles during these conflicts did not dramatically affect the landscape as would happen in later wars. Instead, Americans often expressed public acts of patriotism and memorialization at a local level in the early nineteenth century.[360]

During the Early Republic, Americans slowly began to incorporate commemorative occasions into daily life. For example, New Englanders celebrated the bicentennial of the landing at Plymouth Rock in 1820, and New Orleans held a parade and launched fireworks in 1837 on the anniversary of Andrew Jackson's 1815 victory. Additionally, Marquis de Lafayette embarked on a thirteen-month tour between 1824 and 1825, an event that architectural historian Daniel Bluestone argues illustrated Americans' recognition of "the relevance of the past to their future." Early commemorative practices like pageants, tours, and parades attached preservation to ideas about national identity and patriotism.[361]

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[360] Lori Holyfield and Clifford Beacham, "Memory Brokers, Shameful Pasts, and Civil War Commemoration," *Journal of Black Studies* 42, no. 3 (2011): 449.

[361] Daniel Bluestone, "Patriotism in Place: Lafayette's Triumphal Tour of the United States, 1824-1825," in *Build-*

The construction of monuments also occurred as local affairs at the turn of the nineteenth century. For example, Hubbardton Battlefield in Vermont witnessed commemorative celebrations as early as 1807, though such events were attended primarily by locals celebrating Independence Day. Locals also carried with them memory of actions and deaths upon the battlefield, later erecting monuments in 1840 and 1859 as the revolutionary generation passed. In Boston, Massachusetts, Bunker Hill Monument was originally erected as a wooden tower memorializing Doctor Joseph Warren, a militia commander slain in combat. In 1825, the Bunker Hill Monument Association initiated construction of a new obelisk with a ceremonial cornerstone laid by the Marquis de Lafayette. An 1843 dedication ceremony featured a speech by Senator Daniel Webster, but, in the years that followed, the monument remained primarily visited by Massachusetts residents.[362]

Nationally, monument-building received limited investment in the first decades of the nineteenth century, as demonstrated by the abandonment of Washington Monument construction when it was less than half completed. Similarly, the Continental Congress did not appropriate funds to build a monument at Independence Hall, despite the 1781 vote to invest in such a project. By 1818, Philadelphians organized to save Independence Hall from demolition. As late as the 1840s and 1850s, there was little national appetite for commemoration. So far as the national government was concerned, there was enough commemoration within the Capitol's artwork completed in the 1850s and 1860s to sustain the young republic. Commemoration remained largely the grassroots efforts of women-led groups like the Mount Vernon Ladies' Association. Other examples of such disinterest in commemoration include significant delays for a Bunker Hill monument, struggles in preserving John Hancock's home, and the failure of Tennessee to properly establish preservation after acquiring Andrew Jackson's Hermitage in the 1850s.[363]

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ings, Landscapes, and Memory: Case Studies in Historic Preservation (W.W. Norton & Company, 2011), 18.

[362] Michael Kammen, *Mystic Chords of Memory: The Transformation of Tradition in American Culture* (Random House, 1991), 63-68; Richard West Sellars, "Pilgrim Places: Civil War Battlefields, Historic Preservation, and America's First National Military Parks, 1863-1900," *CRM: Journal of Heritage Stewardship* 2, no. 1 (2005), https://www.nps.gov/crps/CRMJournal/Winter2005/article1.html; "Hubbardton Battlefield Commemorative History," Vermont Agency of Commerce and Community Development, https://historicsites.vermont.gov/sites/histsites/files/documents/Hubbardton%20Battlefield%20commemorative%20history%202018.pdf; "Monuments and Markers Database," American Battlefield Trust, https://www.battlefields.org/learn/monuments-markers.

[363] Internationally, the idea of public monuments connected to the military was essentially non-existent in the first half of the eighteenth century. Napoleon, being the exception, provided one of the first examples of an individual in the modern world who recognized the power of such cultural objects. The British erected a few during the 1850s and 1860s, such as those dedicated to the Crimean War and Sepoy Rebellion in Sunderland's Mowbray Park, but these were few. Historic England categorizes British war memorials based on relative significance, with 8 percent falling within the top two categories (157 in total). Of these, just five were constructed prior to 1900 with designs consisting of two memorial arches, one metal gate, a cross at a church, and a cenotaph, thus revealing there was no consensus yet developed regarding war memorial design. In the broader Western context, war memorials did not become commonplace until the aftermath of the Franco-Prussian War of 1870-1871, and even military cemeteries only came about after World War I. Kammen, *Mystic Chords of Memory*, 33, 63-68; Karine Varley, "Memories Not Yet Formed: Commemorating the Franco-Prussian War and the Paris Commune," Journal of War & Culture Studies 14, no. 3 (2021); *Digital Encyclopedia of European History*, "Military Cemeteries," by Jean-Marc Dreyfus, July 15, 2024, https://ehne.fr/en/encyclopedia/themes/wars-and-memories/memorialization/military-cemeteries-a-european-invention-after-first-world-war; Guy Hinton, "War Memorials and Culture Wars in Mid-Nineteenth Century Sunderland," *Northern History* 59, no. 2 (2022); Historic England, "National Heritage List for England," https://historicengland.org.uk/listing/the-list/; Sellars, "Pilgrim Places: Civil War Battlefields";

The American Civil War dramatically ushered American culture into a new era partially defined by public celebrations and what Michael Kammen termed as "the use of monuments, architecture, and other works of art as a means of demonstrating a sense of continuity or allegiance to the past."[364] Beginning almost immediately after the Civil War, Americans reckoned with mass death and the near destruction of the country by memorializing national identity in a way only rarely seen prior to 1865. Art historian Kirk Savage argues that public monuments served to provide a notion of permanence. As a "conservative form" of commemoration, monuments were built to remain unchanged. In constructing public monuments, advocacy groups bolstered narratives of identity and nationhood, which inevitably silenced or minimized the presence and contribution of other communities. The construction of monuments offered official repute and legitimacy for the promotion of some narratives over others.[365]

Civil War Commemoration and Lost Cause Mythology

Numerous perspectives on the war figuratively battled one another for supremacy amongst all of the reunions and official organizations that formed during this era, but three primary meanings of the war emerged – the national reconciliationist view, the Northern Unionist or "Cause Victorious," and the Southern Lost Cause. The latter two of these almost immediately took hold within the minds of white Northerners and Southerners and shaped public discourse. Over the next few decades, both the Cause Victorious and Lost Cause evolved to deemphasize the war itself and focused more on American society and culture. Societally, the Cause Victorious underscored a "unionist" approach, while the Lost Cause shifted increasingly toward the oppression of African Americans in the wake of Reconstruction. Meanwhile, a spirit of reconciliation expanded as both the traumas of war faded and the nation grew more interconnected by rail, telegraph, and later telephone. By the dawn of the twentieth century, the Civil War's cultural impact was felt by every American, whether or not they recognized its reverberations.

Almost before the smoke cleared and the bodies were buried, white Southerners and Confederate sympathizers redefined the Civil War as a heroic struggle to save their way of life. Known as the Lost Cause, this interpretation has continued to shape southern commemoration from 1865 to the present. Edward A. Pollard, editor of the *Richmond Examiner* and author of the manifesto *The Lost Cause*, published in 1866, asserted that the South was justified in its war actions and should bear no shame in defending slavery nor losing to the more populous North. In Pollard's view, it was the South that exhibited proper "civilized" etiquette throughout the war and should dare not hang their collective head in defeat or shame.[366]

Lost Cause periodicals also disseminated across the US South, as Southern editors promoted this ideology in local newspapers across the region. H. Rives Pollard, brother of Edward, launched

Barbara Wolanin, *Constantino Brumidi* (University Press of the Pacific, 2005); Patricia West, *Domesticating History: The Political Origins of America's House Museums* (Smithsonian Institution Press, 1999).

[364] Kammen, *Mystic Chords of Memory*, 33.

[365] Kirk Savage, *Standing Soldiers, Kneeling Slaves: Race, War, and Monument in Nineteenth-Century America*, 2nd ed. (Princeton University Press, 2018), 4, 14.

[366] E.A. Pollard, *The Lost Cause* (1866).

the *Southern Opinion* in Richmond in 1867, which aimed to foster a distinctly Southern culture that predicated on Lost Cause memory. *Southern Opinion* and other periodicals offered a soapbox upon which Confederate memorialization groups could maintain a veneer of heroism, sacrifice, and white supremacy.

Owing in part to Pollard's *The Lost Cause*, white Southerners gathered and founded new publications specifically to memorialize the Confederacy and present Southern political arguments. In 1869, a group of former Confederate officers formed the Southern Historical Society to spread Lost Cause ideology through historical writings. This endeavor was not financially successful but nevertheless led to extensive writings in near universal defense of Confederate actions.[367]

The Lost Cause spread throughout the South, as Reconstruction efforts dawned, grew, and then succumbed to white supremacist political pressure. White Southerners spread their ideas through extensive writings, publications, and private organizations. For instance, white Southern historians regularly reinterpreted battles soundly won by Union forces as close contests that could have been won by Confederates if not for a single small piece of bad luck. Such examples of Confederate mythology and lore persist into the present.[368]

But the most significant contributors to promoting the Lost Cause ideology in the late 1800s were the Ku Klux Klan and other white supremacist organizations. Formed in 1866 as a social group, the original Klan was loosely organized and connected, but all united as an anti-Black, anti-Republican Party terrorist force. While the Klan did not explicitly spread the words of the Lost Cause, they did spread its values in violent actions.

By the 1910s, especially with the release of the film *The Birth of a Nation*, the Klan had become the white South's romantic defender.[369] Adapted into a screenplay from the novel *The Clansman* by Thomas Dixon, *The Birth of a Nation* was instrumental in spreading Lost Cause ideology and in many ways sanitizing its more violent tendencies for a general white audience. Dixon authored an extensive bibliography, including a three-part novel series on Lincoln, Jefferson Davis, and Robert E. Lee. White Southern audiences embraced Dixon's Lost Cause narratives, and by the 1910s, Northern audiences began to discover their appeal as well. Many white Northerners agreed with Dixon's racist views in support of segregation and disenfranchisement of African Americans. Well into the 1920s, Dixon used Civil War-era and Southern motifs to justify President Wilson's Americanization programs, further popularizing his other work with the broader nation.[370]

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[367] *Encyclopedia Virginia*, "The Lost Cause," by Caroline E. Janney, December 7, 2020, https://encyclopediavirginia.org/entries/lost-cause-the/.

[368] *Encyclopedia Virgnia*, "The Lost Cause."

[369] *Encyclopedia Virginia*, "The Lost Cause"; New Georgia Encyclopedia, "Ku Klux Klan in the Reconstruction Era," by Jonathan M. Bryant, August 12, 2020, https://www.georgiaencyclopedia.org/articles/history-archaeology/ku-klux-klan-in-the-reconstruction-era/.

[370] A.I. Okuna, "'A Nation is Born': Thomas Dixon's Vision of White Nationhood and His Northern Supporters," *Journal of American Culture* 32, no. 3 (2009); Brook Thomas, "Thomas Dixon's A Man of the People: How Lincoln Saved the Union by Cracking Down on Civil Liberties," *Law & Literature* 20, no. 1 (2008).

The Lost Cause narrative profoundly shaped battlefield commemoration efforts in the South by recasting the Civil War as a valorous struggle to preserve white Southern culture rather than a battle to uphold slavery. The Lost Cause held consensus in white Southern memory for well over a century, and it was used to pollute liberty and restrict freedoms along the way. It was the Lost Cause that informed white Southerners when they established Black Codes, Jim Crow laws, erected Confederate monuments at courthouses, lynched innocent men and women, and wielded violence to defend segregationist practices. It was still commonplace for educated white men to spread racist mistruths publicly and to large audiences well into the twentieth century.[371]

According to Nina Silber, the actual veteran's experience lost relevance by the 1930s, as affiliate groups sponsored and spun contemporary narratives through the installation of monuments and memorials. By the time the NPS assumed stewardship of Civil War and other national battlefields in 1933, these landscapes were thoroughly shaped by battles over public memory, Jim Crow segregation, and civil rights.[372]

While Confederate battlefield monuments were erected during the early-twentieth-century height of Jim Crow and the civil rights movement of the 1950s and 1960s, many monuments dedicated to specific units were sponsored by veterans and affiliate groups much earlier. For example, the first Confederate unit monument (for the 2nd Maryland Infantry) was dedicated at Gettysburg in 1884 despite significant opposition from the Gettysburg Battlefield Memorial Association. Meanwhile, at Maryland's Antietam Battlefield, a spirit of reconciliation had swept across the landscape by 1900. The state of Maryland dedicated three monuments to Confederates, though the largest – the Maryland State Monument – was dedicated to both Union and Confederate soldiers from the state. Keynote speakers included President William McKinley and General James Longstreet.[373] By 1917, Gettysburg witnessed construction of a large statue of Robert E. Lee on horseback, dedicated to honor Confederate soldiers from Virginian who served in the 1863 battle.

This reconciliationist spirit spread as the nineteenth century closed. The most influential historical work on how Americans reckoned with the trauma of war, David Blight's Race and Reunion published in 2001, argued reconciliation focused initially on dealing with the realities of war – cemeteries and hospitals. But Unionists eventually aligned themselves with Southern white

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[371] In 1950, for example, venerated historian Douglas Southall Freeman held his ancestor's Confederate flag at the dedication ceremony for Appomattox Court House National Historical Park, while he argued that bloody conflict was simply a disagreement between brothers and reconciliation was due. His speech ended with a band performing "Dixie." "Appomattox Roads Are Clogged Once More as 10,000 See Kin of Lee and Grant at Shrine," *Richmond Times-Dispatch*, April 17, 1950; Hugh Howard, "The Complex Legacy of Appomattox," *The Civil War Times* (2015); Josh Howard, *Thinking Beyond the "Surrender Grounds": An Administrative History of Appomattox Court House National Historical Park, 1930 to 2015* (National Park Service, 2022), 130-31.

[372] Nina Silber, *This War Ain't Over: Fighting the Civil War in New Deal America* (University of North Carolina Press, 2018), 36, 46.

[373] Steve A. Hawks, "State of Virginia: Confederate Monuments at Gettysburg>State Monuments," Stone Sentinels (2025), https://gettysburg.stonesentinels.com/confederate-monuments/virginia/; Steve A. Hawks, "2nd Maryland Infantry: Confederate Monuments at Gettysburg, '1st Maryland Infantry Battalion' Stone Sentinels (2025), https://gettysburg.stonesentinels.com/confederate-monuments/2nd-maryland/. https://www.nps.gov/places/maryland-monument.htm.

supremacists by choosing to ignore the role of race in the war. In this way, reconciliation often ignored slavery, free Black Americans, and the wartime contributions of the USCT. By offering a flatter, fictive, and nostalgic past, white Americans flocked to reconciliationist views of the war as Black Americans' rights diminished in national importance. Instead of remembering slavery or bloody battlefield conflicts, white Americans instead chose to celebrate the reintegration of the South into the nation's whole. In 1887 and in 1938, for example, Union and Confederate veterans literally shook hands across the stone wall on Cemetery Ridge at Gettysburg, a gesture celebrated nationwide.[374]

Blight argued that American culture suppressed emancipationist views of the Civil War in favor of reconciliation. However, this minimizes at least two key issues – Northern viewpoints not predicated on emancipation or explicit white supremacy, as well as the separate perspectives of African Americans. Despite an emphasis on reconciliation, Northern and national voices emphasized a pro-Unionist stance more often than a white Southern or Confederate perspective. This was, in part, because few white Southerners obtained national political prominence after 1865 until Woodrow Wilson won the presidential election of 1912. President Theodore Roosevelt was an especially important figure who adopted a "Unionist" interpretation of the Civil War and carried it into the twentieth century. Of course, Roosevelt utilized this memory to achieve his own goals, such as New Nationalism and the expansion of American empire after the Spanish-American War, but simply reiterating the Unionist perspective reified it in American public discourse. African Americans, for their part, understood before the war had ended that their own cultural contributions, including hymns and music, would help shape memory and commemoration of the war in the years to come.[375]

Coined by historian John Neff, the "Cause Victorious" was the Northern alternative to the Lost Cause that limited concern over slavery. This post-war sensibility could best be characterized by an enduring insistence that the South bore the overwhelming brunt of war blame. Moreover, "Cause Victorious" supporters insisted that all Northern deaths were noble ones, not in vain. As argued by Nina Silber, however, this sensibility was slowly chipped at by the Lost Cause. White middle-class Northerners never embraced the Lost Cause, but its influence slowly withered away emancipationist sentiment of the Cause Victorious. According to Northern perspectives, the South was still at fault, but their blame became easier to dismiss in favor of reunion and economic prosperity. Such contested and various perspectives could exist simultaneously, argues historian Robert Cook, which led to contradictory and increasingly complex notions of memory and identity.[376]

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[374] David Blight, *Race and Reunion* (2001), 1-5; "1938 Reunion Then and Now," Gettysburg National Military Park, National Park Service, last modified November 18, 2022, https://www.nps.gov/gett/learn/photosmultimedia/1938-reunion-then-and-now.htm; Troy Harman, *All Roads Led to Gettysburg* (Stackpole Books, 2022), 22; Carol Reardon, *Pickett's Charge in History and Memory* (University of North Carolina Press, 2012), 208.

[375] Benjamin Wetzel, "Theodore Roosevelt and the Unionist Memory of the Civil War," *Journal of the Gilded Age and Progressive Era* 22 (2023); Blight, *Race and Reunion*, 28-30.

[376] John Neff, *Honoring the Civil War Dead: Commemoration and the Problem of Reconciliation* (University of Kansas Press, 2004); Nina Silber, *The Romance of Reunion: Northerners and the South*, 1865-1900 (University of North Carolina Press, 1993); Robert Cook, "Review Essay: The Quarrel Forgotten? Toward a Clearer Understanding of Sectional Reconciliation," *Journal of the Civil War Era* 6 (September 2016): 413-4.

Among these varied and divergent perspectives, one of the only agreements that could be reached was regarding artform. While some commemorative practices were favored above another, such events, traditions, and installations reflected a reconciliationist desire to absorb the former Confederacy into those of America writ large. The one feature uniting each side's chosen commemorative efforts was artistic – both were largely derived from ancient, classical, and renaissance era architectural styles. Obelisks were a common theme, a style used in Western art since at least Ancient Egypt, as were soldiers standing at attention and grand equestrian poses more common in European art styles. The ordinary lone soldier atop a pedestal became increasingly commonplace in the decades after the war, what art historian Kirk Savage describes as "an authenticating document of a normative white body, a 'race' of white men." Such depictions were reinforced by the advocacy and sponsorship of white veterans' and allies' groups.[377]

By the first twenty years of the twentieth century, Americans settled into a memory of the Civil War that made extensive room for the Lost Cause and reconciliation. Unionist perspectives that outright blamed the South had generally waned.[378]

Initial Commemorations, 1865-1900

Even before Lee surrendered to Grant, Civil War combatants contemplated memorializing their service and fallen comrades alike. The first Civil War monuments were created by the soldiers themselves in honor of their fallen comrades. As far as is currently known, the first monument on a Civil War battlefield was erected in September 1861 by Confederates at Manassas in memory of Colonel Francis Bartow. In 1863, the Union army installed its first monument at Stones River battlefield in Tennessee to commemorate the Union dead at a small cemetery. These two monuments essentially covered the same theme – commemorating fallen comrades – and did not exhibit any explicitly Northern or Southern sensibilities.[379]

The first monument to express a unique sensibility was actually the third battlefield monument, an obelisk installed by the Union army at Vicksburg, to dedicate victory. Symbolically installed on Independence Day of 1864, Union troops occupying Vicksburg erected this monument to commemorate the first anniversary of Confederate surrender. Termed by the NPS as the "Surrender Monument," the marble obelisk replaced an oak tree under which Grant and John Pemberton met to discuss Confederate surrender. Just three years later, the obelisk was replaced by an up-turned cannon inscribed to acknowledge the meeting date. Despite there being no explicit interpretation on the monument, it is still notable that Union forces felt it important to mark this place of victory.[380]

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[377] Sellars, "Pilgrim Places: Civil War Battlefields,"; Savage, *Standing Soldiers, Kneeling Slaves,* 9.

[378] Benjamin Wetzel highlights President Theodore Roosevelt's reconciliationist tendency in the 1900s despite his earlier Unionist values. Wetzel specifically noted two Roosevelt moments, including one at the reconciliationist Kentucky monument at Chickamauga, where his rhetoric emphasized unity and reunification. Wetzel, "Theodore Roosevelt and the Unionist Memory," 199.

[379] Sellars, "Pilgrim Places: Civil War Battlefields."

[380] Sellars, "Pilgrim Places: Civil War Battlefields."

At Petersburg, both Confederate and Union veterans developed private means of commemorating as well as capitalizing upon the hallowed battleground. By July 4, 1865, a paroled Confederate veteran named Napoleon Hawes promoted his "retreat" in the *Petersburg Daily Index*, where tourists could purchase lemonade while visiting the battlefield. Union veteran James H. Platt, meanwhile, purchased Jarratt's Hotel in Petersburg, which welcomed Union veterans for lodging.[381] Platt also published the twenty-seven-page booklet, "A Guide to the Fortifications and Battlefields around Petersburg," which marks perhaps the first published guide to a Civil War battlefield. Visitors could follow the two-day itinerary as they toured sites including Confederate Fort Gregg, the 50th New York Engineers' log church at Poplar Grove, the signal tower at Peebles Farm, Fort Wadsworth, Fort Sedgwick, the Crater, and Fort Stedman.[382]

After the war, William Griffith returned to his residence, where a massive crater now effaced his property. Upon his return, Griffith installed fencing, gravel paths, and wooden steps, and he invited the public to pay entry fees to visit the Crater battlefield. Griffith collected the military artifacts he uncovered on his property, displaying them as part of a "relic house." In 1925, Griffith family heirs sold real and private property to the Crater Battlefield Association. In 1926, the Association raised preservation funds by constructing a golf course on the Crater battlefield site.[383]

Three years later, the Petersburg Battlefield Park Association formed to raise funds for preservation and land acquisition. By 1934, the Crater Battlefield Association declared bankruptcy and closed the golf course. On July 18, 1936, the federal government purchased the 170-acre Crater battlefield tract from Benjamin T. Kinsey, Substituted Trustee, and George B. White, including the relic house and golf course clubhouse, with the intent to expand park operations.[384] Arthur Demaray, acting director of the NPS, quelled concerns for a possible golf course at the Crater Battlefield site in an article published in July 1937 in the *Richmond News-Leader*.[385]

Union Groups

Private groups associated with the North and the Union Army had plenty to commemorate during the first decades after the Civil War. Such efforts were generally uncontroversial at the time because nearly all monuments were either in the geographic North or placed upon Southern battlefields in honor of those slain with the reconciliationist consent of former enemies. Michael Kammen has divided these early monuments into two general groups – those dedicated to a group and those honoring an individual.[386]

Monuments dedicated to a group began appearing on Civil War battlefields even before 1865. At

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[381] Lee A. Wallace, Jr. and Martin R. Conway, *A History of Petersburg National Battlefield to 1956* (National Park Service, History Division 1983), 142, citing Petersburg Daily Index, July 4, 1865, cited in *CLI for Fort Stedman*, 50.
[382] Wallace and Conway, *A History of Petersburg National Battlefield*, 17-18, cited in CLI for Fort Stedman, 50.
[383] *CLI for Crater Battlefield*, 5.
[384] *CLI for Crater Battlefield*, 49-50.
[385] "Against Crater Links," *Richmond News-Leader*, July 5, 1937.
[386] Kammen, *Mystic Chords of Memory*, 116.

Stones River Battlefield in Murfreesboro, Tennessee, for example, soldiers from the 9th Indiana Volunteers erected the Hazen Brigade Monument from June to October 1863 near the burial location of fifty-five fallen soldiers. According to the NPS, at least two other monuments were erected prior to 1863: a monument commemorating the death of Colonel Francis S. Bartow at the First Battle of Manassas (destroyed during the first battle), and the 32nd Indiana Monument to mark the site of the Battle of Rowlett's Station (later moved to Cave Hill National Cemetery and the Frasier International History Museum).[387]

The bulk of monuments were erected in the years after the war, especially as veterans' groups reflected on their shared experiences. The Grand Army of the Republic (GAR) was the largest and most influential fraternal organization, exclusively for Union Army veterans, that shaped commemoration immediately after the war. Founded in 1866 in Springfield, Illinois, the GAR worked alongside the Society for the Army of the Tennessee and the Society for the Army of the Potomac to commemorate fallen soldiers.[388]

Monuments honoring specific individuals attracted significantly more controversy than those that represented groups. Two individuals in particular drew the attention of Northern memory makers – Abraham Lincoln and Ulysses S. Grant. Lincoln's case was popularly received, given his perceived martyrdom. For example, two monuments in Illinois dedicated to Lincoln's memory in Springfield (1874) and Chicago (1887) received positive attention.[389]

In contrast, the monuments dedicated to Grant were more contentious, not least of which were due to his complex, scandal-ridden presidency from 1869 to 1877. Still, Grant remained immensely popular as the Union Army's savior. Shortly after Grant's death in 1885, multiple groups, including the GAR and those based in Missouri and Kansas, feuded over commemorating the former general's legacy. The GAR relocated their initial proposal from Washington, D.C. to New York City. After years of funding challenges, the GAR successfully installed Grant's Tomb in 1897, which underwent many renovations by the Works Progress Administration (WPA) about thirty years after its completion.[390]

[387] "Hazen Brigade Monument," National Park Service, last modified October 10, 2024, https://www.nps.gov/places/hazen-brigade-monument.htm.

[388] By the twentieth century, the GAR had evolved toward becoming a fraternal club dedicated broadly to celebrating veterans. As one example of institutional change, the GAR pivoted in their response to soldiers' participation in the Spanish-American War. As noted by Barbara Gannon, the Indiana GAR hypocritically supported the war effort but later opposed official recognition of funeral services for Spanish-American War veterans. Those who fought in the Spanish-American and Philippine-American wars were not welcome amongst Civil War veterans, thus forcing these veterans to form their own organizations and shared traditions. Barbara Gannon, "'They Call Themselves Veterans': Civil War and Spanish War Veterans and the Complexities of Veteranhood," *Journal of the Civil War Era* 5, no. 4 (2015): 528-29.

[389] Kammen, *Mystic Chords of Memory*, 116.

[390] Kammen, *Mystic Chords of Memory*, 116-17.

Confederate Groups

Most Confederate memorial organizations formed at a local level and often consisted solely of a town's veterans. In Georgia, for example, the Oglethorpe Light Infantry Association formed in Savannah in 1865 as one of the nation's first. A few others organized throughout the state over the next twenty-five years, though no state-wide group manifested.[391]

The death of Robert E. Lee in 1870 was a major catalyst for Confederate commemorative organizations. In Lee's home state of Virginia, at least two organizations formed specifically to memorialize the man: the Lee Memorial Association of Lexington and the Lee Monument Association. Jubal Early also founded the Association of the Army of Northern Virginia.[392]

At Petersburg, informal reunions of Confederate and Union veterans gathered in the 1870s and 1890s. In 1875, approximately thirty-five members of Mahone's Brigade reunited at the battlefield. In 1887, Union and Confederate veterans met as part of a reconciliation effort. A contemporary illustration depicted veterans with General Mahone, shortly after he lost reelection as US senator in Virginia.[393]

General Stith Bolling, a local Confederate veteran, organized initial commemorative activities on the Petersburg battlefield. Formed in 1898 as the Petersburg National Battlefield Association, the group reenacted battles to raise preservation funds. These activities complemented eventual efforts from Congressman Sydney P. Epes to establish a Petersburg National Battlefield.[394]

National Cemeteries

While outside the boundaries of Petersburg's Eastern Front and thus beyond the scope of this HRS, Poplar Grove National Cemetery serves as the final resting place of soldiers who died on Petersburg's battlegrounds. The bodies of fallen soldiers, uncovered while developing PETE as a national military park, were reinterred to Poplar Grove National Cemetery.

In 1862, the US Congress established a system of national cemeteries as a practical and ethical decision to inter those American troops killed in battle. Most of these cemeteries were developed near or upon the battlefields themselves. The creation of these cemeteries aimed to formalize and standardize burials that had been haphazardly constructed immediately following the battles. Prior to the Civil War, most war dead were returned home to be buried within family or community plots. The sheer quantity of Civil War dead was but one reason why this became unfeasible.[395]

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391 *New Georgia Encyclopedia*, "Confederate Veteran Organizations," by Franklin C. Sammons, October 18, 2016, https://www.georgiaencyclopedia.org/articles/history-archaeology/confederate-veteran-organizations/.

392 *Encyclopedia Virginia*, "The Lost Cause."

393 *CLI for Crater Battlefield*, 66-67; CLR draft 2017, 27; CLR review comments, C. Bryce.

394 *CLI for Crater Battlefield*, 66-67.

395 "History of National Cemeteries," National Park Service, last modified March 21, 2025, https://www.nps.gov/articles/000/national-cemeteries-history.htm.

The first national cemeteries received funding for management, interment, and the authorization to purchase land on behalf of the US Government. These rapidly expanded as the fighting progressed and soldiers died, with about thirty cemeteries established by the time that Lee surrendered to Grant in April 1865. Yet many battlefields remained pockmarked with impromptu graves and often unburied corpses.[396]

In 1867, Congress authorized the Secretary of War to fence in every national cemetery, provide a headstone for each interred individual, and establish a management structure for the entire cemetery system. In time, national cemeteries opened to all US veterans, not just those of the Civil War.[397] With national cemeteries increasingly regimented, organized, and fenced in, each became a type of memorial shrine to the Union cause. As with the nineteenth-century phenomenon of landscaped cemetery tourism, national cemeteries became stoic, emotional sites where visitors could wander among the gravestones and battlefields.[398] By the end of 1870, the United States had established seventy-three national Civil War cemeteries.

Given their importance to national mourning and commemoration, national cemeteries hold some of the largest Civil War memorials. The first major Civil War monuments that were erected on the actual battlefields were planned for Gettysburg and Antietam during the 1860s. In 1869, the Gettysburg Battlefield Memorial Association dedicated a soldier's monument that featured a figure representing Liberty atop a plinth depicting War, Peace, History, and Plenty. Eleven years later, the national cemetery at Antietam installed a soldier's monument that depicted a US infantryman with the inscription, "Not for themselves, but for their country." The Antietam monument was first erected at the gateway to the Philadelphia Centennial Exposition in 1876 before being relocated to Antietam.[399]

While these two monuments garnered national significance for their largesse, many others were installed on or near battlefields emphasizing the justness of the Union cause. One such example was the grave of Captain John P. Gleeson, buried in 1866 and the first marker of its kind in Maryland, declaring him "a martyr to the cause of human liberty." In 1871, survivors of the First Corps of the Union Army installed a bronze statue cast from four cannons of General John F. Reynolds at Gettysburg, the first such statue depicting an individual's likeness at the site. Over the next two decades, a cavalcade of monument dedication ceremonies flooded the Antietam and Gettysburg battlefields, as well as other Civil War battlefields. In general, these dedication events drew hundreds, if not thousands of Union veterans, and were essentially seen as reunion events.[400]

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[396] National Park Service, "History of National Cemeteries."

[397] An Act To amend an act entitled "An act to establish and protect national cemeteries," H.R.2699, 42nd Cong. (1871-1873), https://www.congress.gov/bill/42nd-congress/house-bill/2699/text.

[398] For more on nineteenth-century tourism of cemeteries, see John F. Sears, *Sacred Places: American Tourist Attractions in the Nineteenth Century* (University of Massachusetts Press, 1999).

[399] Sellars, "Pilgrim Places: Civil War Battlefields"; "Soldiers' National Monument," Gettysburg National Battlefield, National Park Service, last modified September 23, 2022, https://www.nps.gov/places/soldiers-national-monument.htm; "Antietam National Cemetery," Antietam National Battlefield, National Park Service, last modified December 21, 2025, https://www.nps.gov/anti/learn/historyculture/antietam-national-cemetery.htm.

[400] "Remembrance and Reconciliation," *Crossroads of War and Freedom* (2025), https://crossroadsofwar.org/dis-

Commemoration in the 20th Century

Until the 1880s, the national government expressed little interest in officially commemorating the Civil War outside of National Cemeteries. As noted in Chapter VI, Congress established five national battlefield parks during the 1890s and placed management under the War Department.

Meanwhile, Confederate memorials and monuments exploded in popularity during the first decade of the twentieth century with most, if not all, fully subscribing to Lost Cause ideology. Two primary reasons attest to this phenomenon. First, it took nearly forty years for the South to truly recover economically from the devastation wrought by the decision to secede from the United States. In other words, there simply were not enough disposable funds to commit to cultural projects. Second, Jim Crow had fully taken hold within all southern states by about 1900. White Southerners focused their attention and energies within the courts and legislatures as they sought to remove Black rights from the law books. Once this task was accomplished, they turned to reforming the cultural landscape of the South, in part to remind those who found themselves in the South, white or Black, that Jim Crow was the new legal reality.

Northerners continued to erect monuments to the Union, just not quite with the fervor of the Lost Causers. In 1922, Henry Merwin Shrady completed the Grant monument in front of the US Capitol, which featured a bronze statue of Grant on his horse Cincinnatus. On either side, Grant was surrounded by artillery and cavalry soldiers. Whereas Grant's posture appears calm, the soldiers' scenes are chaotic: a horseman is trampled in one scene, and the artillery seems precariously towed in the other. Shrady attempted to convey the chaos of war. Grant may appear detached and unaware of the suffering of those soldiers around him, but Grant acknowledged the horrors. Certainly, some men may be trampled and cannons tipped into the muck, but these scenarios are real possibilities of warfare.[401]

Emergence of Affiliate Groups

At the turn of the twentieth century, affiliate groups of veterans and their supporters emerged to support veterans and uphold wartime narratives. Their interpretation of events held material consequences for battlefields and how the public engaged with these sites, most especially through these groups' installations of memorials, reenactments, and pageantry.

One of the first groups to coordinate memorialization efforts was the Ladies' Memorial Association. With its first chapter organized in Summer 1865 in Winchester, Virginia, the association expanded into seventy chapters by 1866. Ladies' Memorial Associations offered support to ailing veterans, as well as re-shaped public memory through their emphasis on Confederate patriotism.

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cover-the-story/remembrance-and-reconciliation; Steve A. Hawks, "John F. Reynolds," *The Battle of Gettysburg* (2025), https://gettysburg.stonesentinels.com/monuments-to-individuals/john-reynolds/.

[401] Benjamin Freed, "Is the Grant Memorial a Failure?," *The DCist*, April 27, 2013, https://dcist.com/story/13/04/27/exactly-a-hundred-years-after/; Nick Sacco, "Public Monuments and Ulysses S. Grant's Contested Legacy," *Journal of the Civil War Era*, July 7, 2020, https://www.journalofthecivilwarera.org/2020/07/public-monuments-and-ulysses-s-grants-contested-legacy/.

The Petersburg Ladies Memorial Association formed in 1866. As one of its first tasks, the Petersburg chapter selected June 9 as Memorial Day and decorated the thirty thousand graves of Confederate soldiers at Blandford Cemetery. The Ninth of June Memorial Day, renamed and still celebrated as Decoration Day, inspired the Commander of the Grand Army of the Republic to establish national Memorial Day celebrations on May 30, 1868.[402]

Formed in 1894 in Nashville, Tennessee, the UDC remains one of the most prominent groups in the shaping of Civil War public memory due to the sheer number of memorials for which they raised funds. As widows, descendants, and family members of Confederate veterans, the UDC worked toward advancing Lost Cause narratives through installing monuments and maintaining artifacts and museums dedicated to the Civil War. The creation of the UDC reflected other women's social groups that coalesced in the late nineteenth century, with some dedicated generally to arts, culture, and Progressive reform, while others formed specifically around causes, like the 1890 creation of the Daughters of the American Revolution. With its headquarters eventually located in Richmond, Virginia, the UDC aimed to instill "a proper respect for and pride in the glorious war history, with a veneration and love for the deeds of their forefathers … and to perpetuate a truthful record of the noble and chivalric achievements of their ancestors."[403] They sought to accomplish this through establishing local chapters, raising funds, and leading educational campaigns. By 1900, the UDC listed 20,000 members; Virginia hosted 57 chapters with more than 3,200 women. By the end of World War I, the UDC boasted nearly one hundred thousand members. The majority of UDC members had no personal recollection of the Civil war.

It is estimated that between 450 to 700 statues, markers, and buildings dedicated to Confederate memory exist due to the UDC. While most are located in the South, the UDC sponsored construction of memorials in Helena, Montana; Phoenix, Arizona; and Boston, Massachusetts. The UDC worked with the United Confederate Veterans (UCV) on fundraising for several statues, including one of Confederate President Jefferson Davis, installed in 1907 in Richmond. Other prominent monuments sponsored by the UDC include the carving of Robert E. Lee, Thomas J. "Stonewall" Jackson, and Jefferson Davis at Stone Mountain, Georgia. These statues perpetuated a white supremacist narrative that served to maintain Jim Crow segregation across the South.[404]

Like the UDC, the Sons of Confederate Veterans (SCV) and the UCV formed to commemorate and uphold Confederate heritage and memory. By the 1880s, white Southern interest emerged in the form of a regional organization consisting of dozens of local groups. In 1889, a group of New

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[402] John Bodnar, *Remaking America: Public Memory, Commemoration, and Patriotism in the Twentieth Century* (Princeton University Press, 1993); Caroline Janney, *Burying the Dead but not the Past: Ladies' Memorial Associations and the Lost Cause* (University of North Carolina Press, 2008).

[403] United Daughters of the Confederacy, "Constitution of The United Daughters of the Confederacy (1895)," in *Encyclopedia Virginia*, last modified January 26, 2021, https://encyclopediavirginia.org/primary-documents/confederacy-constitution-of-the-united-daughters-of-the-1895.

[404] For more on the United Daughters of the Confederacy, see *Encyclopedia Virginia*, "United Daughters of the Confederacy," by Caroline Janney, last modified August 26, 2024, https://encyclopediavirginia.org/entries/united-daughters-of-the-confederacy; Karen L. Cox, Dixie's Daughters: The United Daughters of the Confederacy and the Preservation of Confederate Culture (University Press of Florida, 2003); Janney, Burying the Dead but not the Past.

Orleans veterans formed the UCV, a group dedicated to Lost Cause commemoration in Louisiana, Texas, and Mississippi. This organization also recruited other local Confederate organizations, typically named "camps," in an effort to create a unified private organization throughout the South. The Lee Camp of Confederate Veterans in Virginia joined in 1890, and about 850 joined within six years.[405] In Petersburg, the SCV organized the A.P. Hill Camp, named for a Confederate general, in 1886. At its peak, the A.P Hill Camp registered 275 members.[406]

At the 1896 convention of the UCV, held in Richmond, the SCV formed to defend Confederate history. The SCV invited membership only from those who claimed lineal and collateral descendancy. Like the UDC, the SCV supported the upkeep of cemeteries, providing aid to widows and veterans' families, and maintaining Lost Cause ideologies through memorials and monument-building.[407]

Racialized Memory and Commemorating the US Colored Troops

White Americans, both in the North and South, strongly resisted attaching any importance to the memory of Black Americans in connection with the Civil War, especially the role of Black Union soldiers. Differences in commemoration were also driven by partisan politics as the Republican Party sought to retain both Black and Northern voters.[408]

Despite battlefields' eventual incorporation within a federal system of park management and memory making, the role of slavery as the dominant cause of the Civil War was often excluded from the park's story. Both the War Department and the NPS too often focused on rote battlefield maneuvers and not on cultural history and lived experiences, especially those of Black soldiers and civilians alike.[409]

In general – and this was certainly true at Petersburg – most USCT experienced the war differently from their white Northern counterparts.[410] As Lori Holyfield and Clifford Beacham point out, "Black Union troops may have equaled or outnumbered the entire Confederate army" by 1865. Yet postwar reunions, memorials, and other dedications actively excluded the voices of Black veterans, instead bolstering a flattened, reconciliationist narrative among white Union and

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[405] *Encyclopedia Virginia*, "The Lost Cause"; New Georgia Encyclopedia, "Confederate Veteran Organizations."
[406] National Register Nomination (Draft), sec. 8, 126.
[407] *New Georgia Encyclopedia*, "Confederate Veteran Organizations."
[408] William Blair, *Cities of Dead: Contesting the Memory of the Civil War in the South* (University of North Carolina Press, 2004).
[409] Holyfield and Beacham, "Memory Brokers," 438.
[410] For more on the experiences of US Colored Troops, see William A. Dobak, *Freedom by the Sword: The U.S. Colored Troops, 1862-1867* (Center of Military History, United States Army, 2011); *Encyclopedia Virginia*, "The United States Colored Troops," by Andrew Fleche, December 7, 2020, https://encyclopediavirginia.org/entries/united-states-colored-troops-the; John David Smith, ed., *Black Soldiers in Blue: African American Troops in the Civil War Era* (University of North Carolina Press, 2002); Donald R. Shaffer, *After the Glory: The Struggles of Black Civil War Veterans* (University of Kansas Press, 2004); Ervin L. Jordan, *Black Confederates and Afro-Yankees in Civil War Virginia* (University of Virginia Press, 1995); Barbara A. Gannon, *The Won Cause: Black and White Comradeship in the Grand Army of the Republic* (University of North Carolina Press, 2011).

Confederate soldiers.[411] With such divergent experiences from white soldiers and enduring misinterpretation of USCT participation, commemorative practices of African American contributions during the Civil War have adopted different forms.[412]

At Peterburg, postwar reunions and memorial-making emphasized only white soldiers, failing to recognize the contributions of the USCT. It was not until 1993 that PETE installed the Colored Troops Monument, honoring the USCT who served in the Army of the James and the Army of the Republic. This monument's creation is due largely to the perseverance of Kelvin Miles, a former seasonal interpreter at PETE. By 1990, Miles had established the Decatur Dorsey Institute, named for the USCT soldier and recipient of the Medal of Honor who fought at the Battle of the Crater. Miles succeeded in convening NPS Director William Penn Mott, Jr., and PETE Superintendent Michael O. Hill. The dedication, which occurred in August 1993, included a concert, benediction, remarks, and keynote address.[413] More than a hundred people attended the ceremony, commemorating the twenty-two Black infantry regiments and a Black cavalry unit who served at Petersburg.[414] Located at the intersection of the Prince George Court House Road Trace and the Jordan Point Road Trace, the U.S. Colored Troops Monument consists of an 8 in. thick, 3 ft., 4 in. tall light gray monolithic stone mounted on a 6 ft., 1 in. tall and 5 ft. long granite base. The sides of the monument are rough cut, while the front and rear faces are smooth. The west face bears the incised inscription:

IN MEMORY OF
THE VALOROUS SERVICE OF REGIMENTS
AND COMPANIES
OF THE U. S. COLORED TROOPS
ARMY OF THE JAMES
AND ARMY OF THE POTOMAC
SIEGE OF PETERSBURG
1864 – 65

Battlefield Monuments

Initial Assaults Battlefield

The Initial Assaults battlefield is nationally significant in the area of Commemoration for association with the origin and evolution of the Civil War battlefield memorialization movement. Monuments, sponsored by North and South veterans' groups and their allies, are a defining feature of the landscape. Following the battlefield's period of significance, several memorials were installed within park boundaries, as well as small-scale features that are largely intended to facilitate park operations and interpretation.

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411 Holyfield and Beacham, "Memory Brokers," 442.

412 Kathleen Clark, *Defining Moments: African American Commemoration and Political Culture in the South* (University of North Carolina Press, 2005).

413 "Draft Program U.S.C.T Monument Dedication Ceremony, August 21, 1993, 2:00 pm"; "Monument Honors Civil War Blacks," *Roanoke Times*, August 20, 1993.

414 "Civil War's Black Soldiers Honored," *Roanoke Times*, August 22, 1993.

The Soldiers' Spring Monument identifies the location of the spring used by the 209th Regiment, Pennsylvania Volunteer Infantry during the siege. The monument, sponsored in October 1912 by Survivors of the IX Corps Regiment (209th Regiment of Pennsylvania veterans Florentine H. Barker and Milton A. Embick with Seward W. Jones, son of Lieutenant Hugh Jones), is sited in the woods northwest of the Resource Management Office on Hickory Hill Road. To access the 3 sq. ft. concrete spring box monument, one must follow two flights of curving concrete steps set into a slope.

According to Webb family lore as residents of Hickory Hill, the spring was considered notable because Union and Confederate soldiers occasionally met there to gather potable water and make coffee. Captain F.H. Barker supposedly approached the Webb family living at the house at Hickory Hill (the same family that would later erect the Confederate Unknown Monument (see later in this chapter). Barker, a young Union bugler in the war, requested permission to erect the monument, according to later newspaper reports, "in memory of his father who used to tell him of how he drank coffee there with Southern soldiers in lulls between the firing."[415]

A bronze marker on top of the concrete base bears the following inscription in raised letters:

SPRING USED BY THE
209TH REGT. PENN. VOLS.
DURING THE
SIEGE OF PETERSBURG
1864 – 1865
ERECTED OCT. 1912 BY
F.H. BARKER
M.A. EMBICK
S.W. JONES[416]

[415] Mary Cherry Allen, "Nearly Century Late Marker Placed on Grave of Soldiers," *The Progress-Index*, September 24, 1960.

[416] *CLI for Initial Assaults*, 31, 82; National Register Nomination (Draft), sec. 8, 115-116.

Figure 5-1: Soldiers' Spring Monument. Source: Petersburg National Battlefield

While erected in 1930 during the period of significance, the Mather Monument is a non-contributing resource as it does not relate to the park's identified historic themes. Sited next to the main walkway, the monument has been located since the 1960s beside the Mission 66-era Visitor Center Complex. It can be accessed via pathways that also lead from the main walkway to Confederate Battery 5, Mortar Loop Road, and the Dictator site. The monument consists of a bronze tablet attached to the slanted top face of an approximately 3 ft. high rectangular brick base. The tablet bears the profile of Stephen T. Mather, the first director of the NPS, in relief against a scenic mountain background above the following inscription:

HE LAID THE FOUNDATION OF THE NATIONAL PARK SERVICE, DEFINING AND ESTABLISHING THE POLICIES UNDER WHICH ITS AREAS SHALL BE DEVELOPED AND CONSERVED UNIMPAIRED FOR FUTURE GENERATIONS. THERE WILL NEVER COME AN END TO THE GOOD THAT HE HAS DONE.[417]

[417] *CLI for Initial Assaults*, 81, 83; National Register Nomination (Draft), sec. 7, 29.

On September 23, 1960, Mrs. W.H. Evans dedicated the Confederate Unknown Monument, designed to honor three unknown Confederate soldiers buried on her property. According to legend, three bayonets once stood propped upright marking the gravesite of three unknown Confederate soldiers. A fourth unknown soldier requested and received permission from landowner Sarah Shands Webb (Mrs. W.H. Evans' grandmother) to inter his comrades. Eventually, the bayonets disappeared from the site, according to the Evans-Webb family. The origins of this monument came from Evans and G. Watson James, a friend and amateur Civil War historian. James then received a donation from David M. Bounds (Rock of Ages company of Barre, Vermont) and H. Jack Hunt (Liberty Granite Company of Elberta, Georgia). Evans secured staff from Fort Lee, including Chaplain Captain L.E. VanVerth, color guard, firing squad, and bugler, and President of the Petersburg UDC chapter Mrs. T.J. Moran, the A.P. Hill chapter of the SCV, and the Cockade Rifles (a reenactment organization) to all participate in the dedication.[418]

The monument is located in the woods southwest of the Resource Management Office on Hickory Hill Road. It consists of a slender slab of granite that measures 2 ft. wide, 5 in. thick, and 1 ft. high. The sides are rough-cut, while the front and rear are smooth faced. One side of the monument bears the inscription: "To The Unknown Confederate Dead, They Fought a Good Fight."[419]

Figure 5-2: Confederate Unknown Monument. Source: Petersburg National Battlefield

[418] "Confederate Grave to the Marked," *Richmond News-Leader*, September 22, 1960; "Unknown of Confederacy to be Honored," *The Progress-Index*, September 22, 1960; "Confederates to Receive Military Rites," *Richmond Times-Dispatch*, September 23, 1960; Mary Cherry Allen, "Nearly Century Late Marker Placed on Grave of Soldiers," *The Progress-Index*, September 24, 1960.

[419] *CLI for Initial Assaults*, 82.

The U.S. Colored Troops Monument (described in greater detail in this chapter's section on "Racialized Memory and Commemorating the U.S. Colored Troops") was erected in 1993 to honor the Black soldiers who served in the Army of the James and the Army of the Potomac during the Siege of Petersburg. The granite monument is located at the intersection of the Prince George Courthouse Road Trace and the Jordan Point Road Trace. It consists of an 8 in. thick, 3 ft., 4 in. tall light gray monolithic stone mounted on a 6 ft., 1 in. tall, and 5 ft. long granite base. The sides of the monument are rough cut, while the front and rear faces are smooth. The west face bears the incised inscription:

IN MEMORY OF
THE VALOROUS SERVICE OF REGIMENTS
AND COMPANIES
OF THE U. S. COLORED TROOPS
ARMY OF THE JAMES
AND ARMY OF THE POTOMAC
SIEGE OF PETERSBURG
1864 – 65.[420]

Figure 5-3: U.S Colored Troops Monument. Source: Petersburg National Battlefield

[420] *CLI for Initial Assaults*, 82.

Apart from formal monuments that commemorate the Initial Assaults battlefield, several memorial features mark the landscape. Within an overgrown, wooded area to the east of the Visitor Center Parking lot, the Jordan Family Cemetery consists of a 24 sq. ft. burial ground. During the Petersburg siege, this land belonged to Josiah Jordan, buried here with his parents, his wife Mary, and four of their children: Watson, ten months; Laura, three years; Charles, four months; and Lemuel, twenty-four years. Three marble markers with rounded tops locate these graves, all of which date to the second half of the nineteenth century. Two of the stones bear the maker's mark "JH Brown" on the back. Two are held together with iron frames. Josiah and Mary's stones measure 1 ft., 2 in. wide x 3 ft., 2 in. high. The children's stone measures 1 ft., 8 in. wide x 4 ft., 3 in. high and 2 in. thick. They are inscribed with incised lettering.

In the woods to the north of the Living History Site, a Powder Magazine and Revetment were constructed as part of the World War I training exercises at Camp Lee between 1917 and 1920. Despite their being built during the period of significance, the magazine and revetment are non-contributing resources due to their poor condition and lack of integrity. The one-room magazine measures 9 ft. x 12 ft. and is approximately 10 ft. high. It has a single metal door on the west side and a gable roof with a ventilator. The revetment consists of two crescent-shaped earthworks, measuring approximately 30 ft. long and 4 ft. high, that encircle the powder magazine.[421]

Constructed in recent decades, various cannons, fences, and directional and interpretive signage contribute to the battlefield's historical associations and sense-of-place.[422]

Crater Battlefield

The Crater Battlefield holds national significance in the area of Commemoration for its breadth of Civil War battlefield memorial activity. Its monuments, constructed between 1905 and 1927 and made primarily of stone markers with inscriptions, were erected by Union and Confederate groups alike.[423]

It was during the Second Pennsylvania Heavy Artillery's reunion in Richmond in July 1905 that they decided to erect a monument in Petersburg. The group visited several battlefields around Richmond and Petersburg, and they selected the Crater site to commemorate their wartime contributions. The committee of veterans included chairman Christian F. Gramlich, John Myers, Jacob J. Eberhart, Richard Derfer, William H. Berger, George W. Ward, Henry S. Rau, and Frank Willmunder. The men plan the unveiling during the October 1905 confederate reunion. Originally located on privately owned land west of the Crater and Trench Cavalier, the Second Pennsylvania Heavy Artillery Regiment monument is comprised of three markers which signify the regiment's advanced, right flank, and left flank positions. The primary monument is a rough-cut granite monolith, 24 sq. in. and 52 in. high, that features a polished flat top bearing an inscription. The two flank markers are rough-cut granite with slope-cut faces measuring 12 sq. in. x 21 in. high. The right flank marker is north of the primary monument, and the left flank marker is

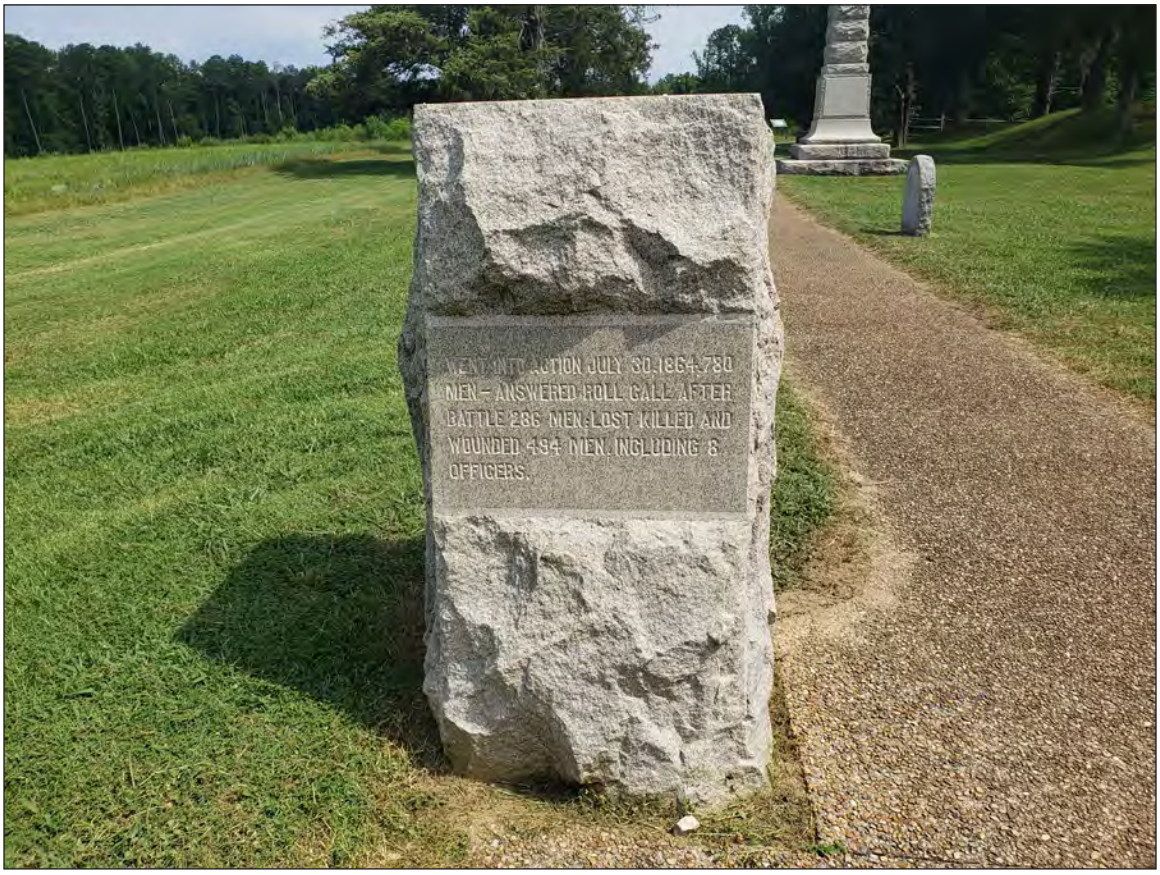
[421] *CLI for Initial Assaults,* 83.
[422] *CLI for Initial Assaults,* 81-82.
[423] *CLI for Crater Battlefield,* 92; Layton and Foulds, *CLR for Crater Battlefield,* 117.

located to the south. The advanced position marker contains a polished top bearing the following inscription:

THE ADVANCED POSITION 2ND PA.
VET., HEAVY ART., JULY 30, 1864.

A polished rectangular inset on the south face of the marker bears the inscription:

WENT INTO ACTION JULY 30, 1864,780
MEN – ANSWERED ROLL CALL AFTER
BATTLE 286 MEN, LOST KILLED AND
WOUNDED 494 MEN, INCLUDING 8
OFFICERS.



Figures 5-4 and 5-5: Second Pennsylvania Heavy Artillery Regiment Monument. Source: Petersburg National Battlefield

The two flank position markers are smaller, measuring only 12 sq. in. x 21 in. in height. The right flank marker lies 136 feet north of the advanced position marker, and the left flank marker lies 132 feet south. These markers are also rough-cut granite with slope-cut faces. The right flank marker is inscribed RIGHT/2ND PA. VET./HEAVY ART., and the left flank marker bears a similar inscription: LEFT/2ND PA. VET/HEAVY ART.

This monument is located on the Crater Perimeter Walkway. The grouping of three stones is located along the foot trail on the west side of the Crater. Jerusalem Plank Road lies approximately five hundred yards to the west, and Cemetery Ridge (Blandford Church and Cemetery) rises to the northwest.[424]

In 1905, one year after installing a monument at Antietam, the 48th Pennsylvania Regiment Veterans Association assigned a committee to memorialize the Petersburg campaign where they were responsible for excavating the mine tunnel.[425] The creation of this monument was intended

[424] *CLI for Crater Battlefield*, 71, 126; National Register Nomination (Draft), sec. 7, 21; Layton and Foulds, *CLR for Crater Battlefield*, 32.

[425] The 48th Pennsylvania Veteran Volunteers invited ex-Confederate guide C.A. Clarke and his wife to attend their

as a sort of vindication for a similar monument constructed previously at Antietam by the state of Pennsylvania, but the veterans were evidently displeased with the design. Overseeing the monument at Petersburg were Colonel Daniel Nagle of Pottsville, PA, serving as president; R.A. Reid, of Pottsville, VA, as secretary; and Lieutenant Joe Gould, of Mount Carmel, PA, assigned as historian. Major Frank Leib of Harrisburg, PA, chaired the committee and was tasked with raising money for the monument.[426] By September 1905, they had raised $1,200 for the monument. The Gowen Post Ladies' Circle contributed $25.

Two years later, on June 20, 1907, they installed the Gowen Monument, which honors Colonel George W. Gowen, leader of the 48th Regiment, and his troops who were killed during the general assault on the Confederate lines on April 2, 1865. The unveiling commenced at 5:30 a.m. when Pennsylvania Governor Edwin S. Stuart arrived from Washington. Governor Stuart was accompanied by staff officers including Adjutant General Thomas J. Stewart, Colonels Frank K. Pattern, Sheldon Potter, Albert J. Logan, and Edward Morrell; Lieutenant Colonels Lewis T. Brown, Walter T. Bradley, Fred Taylor Pusey, C.A. Rook, H.L. Haldeman, Lewis E. Beitler, John R. Wiggins, J. Warner Hutchins, and James Archibald; and Color Sergeant Jacob Greene. Another three hundred or more attendees were members of the 48th Pennsylvania Regiment Association and their families and friends. They first gathered at the Stratford Hotel.[427]

September 1905 reunion in Pottsville, Pennsylvania. "To Reorganize the Committee," *Richmond Times-Dispatch*, August 12, 1905; Joseph Gould, *A Record of the Campaigns of the Forty-Eighth Regiment Pennsylvania Veteran Volunteer Infantry during the four eventful years of its service in the war for the preservation of the Union* (Alfred M. Slocum Co., 1908), 368.

[426] "Major Leib to Raise Money," *Harrisburg Daily Independent*, November 6, 1905. Additional members included veterans who had since moved to different parts of the country: Lieutenant T.J. Bohannon (Philadelphia); Lieutenant J.H. Fisher (Philadelphia); Sergeant Sam Beddall (Tamaqua); Colonel P.H. Monaghan (Girardville); C.C. Wagner (Frackville); Captain F.A. Stitzer (Laramie, WY); Lieutenant Henry Krebs (San Francisco); Captain Clay Evans (St. Clair); Sergeant D. Donne; Sergeant D. Bausmann; Sergeant Henry Shay; Lieutenant George Farne; Sergeant R. Smith; Sergeant A. Wren; Sergeant George Christian; William Stevenson; W.F. Scheerer; Frank Symons; Captain Koch Conshohocken; and Sergeant Professor William Wells (Norristown). "Petersburg Monument," The Miners Journal, September 5, 1905.

[427] Gould, *A Record of the Campaigns*, 368.

Figures 5-6 and 5-7: Gowen Monument. Source: Petersburg National Battlefield

At the hotel, Governor Stuart met Virginia Governor Claude Swanson and Congressman Frances Rives Lassiter. They gathered for a parade at 9:30 a.m. that commenced on Bollingbrook Street between Sycamore and Second Streets.[428] The parade turned onto Sycamore Street until the corner of Sycamore and Wythe Streets. There the Pennsylvania veterans A.P. Hill Camp disembarked and rode the electric railway to Blandford terminus. They then got onto wagons that transported them to the monument grounds. Along the way, the roads and sidewalks were lined with cheering onlookers.

Approximately 1,200 people attended the unveiling. Major Frank R. Leib of the 48th Pennsylvania Veteran Association oversaw the ceremony, and Reverend A.A. DeLong, chaplain of the 48th Regiment, began with a prayer. Following prayer, General Stith Bolling offered an address of welcome. Among General Bolling's comments, he spoke about the presence of Bessie Reid,

[428] The parade lined up in the following order: General Stith Bolling, Chief Marshall, and aides of the A.P. Hill Camp drum corps; Petersburg Greys; and Governor Stuart and Governor Swanson atop carriages accompanied by their staff officers (Governor Swanson's staff officers included Adjutant General Charles J. Anderson, Eugene Massuchip, Chief of Staff and Colonel George E. Cameron, James V. Bickfield, Colonel A.R. Moody, and Colonel Charles Bowie). Following them was another carriage, carrying Otelia Mahone McGill, Bessie B. Reid, Congressman Frances Rives Lassiter, Confederate veterans of the A.P. Hill Camp, White Ribbon Cadet Band, and members of the 48th Pennsylvania Regiment Association. Gould, *A Record of the Campaigns*, 370.

daughter of R.A. Reid of the 48th Regiment of the Pennsylvania Volunteers, and Otelia Mahone McGill, daughter of General William Mahone, conveyed the bridging of past sectional differences.[429] "Nothing has done more to obliterate sectional feelings between the North and South than the exchange of visits and the mingling together of the soldiers of the blue and gray," Bolling remarked.

Following General Bolling's welcome, Adjutant General Stewart offered a brief response. Bessie Reid and Otelia Mahone McGill unveiled the monument. Monument acceptance speeches were then delivered by Colonel Daniel Nagle, president of the 48th Pennsylvania Regiment Association, and Governor Stuart of Pennsylvania. The Pennsylvania men explained the process of planning for and funding the monument. The Association organized a fundraiser with support from the children of Schuylkill County and worked with landowners Griffith, Davis, and Gray of Prince George County to secure a plot for the monument.[430]

Governor Swanson then gave a speech to accept custody of the monument. His remarks reflected the racism of Jim Crow Virginia in the early twentieth century, stating that

> The peculiar virtues of the Anglo-Saxon Race from whom we Americans are descended, the race which to-day holds in its hands the destiny of the world are, the purity of its womanhood and the courage of its manhood; with these virtues it has nearly conquered the world.[431]

In drawing connections between Virginia and Pennsylvania's roles in the founding of America, Governor Swanson underscored the contributions of white men like Benjamin Franklin and Thomas Jefferson in authoring and framing the Declaration of Independence. Swanson suggested parallels between these eighteenth-century men and the veterans that gathered there in 1907, indicating that they upheld the "virtuousness" of an "Anglo-Saxon Race."

Following music from the Petersburg Band, Professor S.A. Thurlow read an oration and Reverend W. MaC. White offered a prayer and benediction, marking the end of ceremonies. Following the ceremony, some attendees gathered at the Crater, where they listened to William J. Wells of Norristown, Pennsylvania and a veteran of the 48th Pennsylvania Regiment, deliver a speech about the battle.[432]

The Jno. Williams, Inc. Foundry of New York City produced the bronze cast of the sculpture by Norwegian-American Sigurd Neandross (1871–1958). The monument is situated on a 36 sq. ft. pad on a small plot of grass at the northwest corner of the intersection of South Crater Road (formerly the Jerusalem Plank Road) and Sycamore Street (Route 301A) in the City of Petersburg, near the site of Confederate Fort Mahone. Modern urban development completely sur-

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[429] Gould, *A Record of the Campaigns*, 371-76.
[430] Gould, *A Record of the Campaigns*, 381.
[431] Gould, *A Record of the Campaigns*, 386. A full transcription of Governor Swanson's speech can be found on pages 384-86.
[432] Gould, *A Record of the Campaigns*, 391-98.

rounds the site. It consists of an 8 ft. tall bronze figure of an officer standing at parade rest atop a smooth granite pedestal. The figure faces north toward the site of Fort Mahone. The 4 sq. ft. pedestal rises 6 ft., 7 in. from a stepped base composed of two square granite slabs with rough sides and polished tops. The total height of the monument is 20 ft., 8 in. The pedestal's east face, looking toward South Crater Road, is the most decorated. Beneath a bronze plaque depicting the IX Corps badge, which portrays a cannon and fouled anchor, a rectangular bronze plaque has the following inscription:

48TH REGT.
PENN. VET. VOL. INF.
1ST BRIG. 2ND DIV.
BURNSIDE'S 9TH A.C.
MUSTERED IN
SEPTEMBER 30, 1861
MUSTERED OUT
JULY 17, 1865

A circular bronze medallion centered on a bronze palm frond below the plaque bears a relief of the likeness of Brigadier General Henry Pleasants and the raised lettering "BREVET BRIGADIER GENL HENRY PLEASANTS OF THE 48 REGT. P.V.V." around the perimeter. The base of the pedestal features a central triangular slab with a bronze medallion of the Pennsylvania coat of arms surrounded by bronze oak and laurel branches. Sponsored through funds raised by residents of Schuylkill County, Pennsylvania, a rectangular bronze plaque on the pedestal's north face bears the following inscription:

ERECTED BY THE SURVIVING
COMRADES, SCHOOL CHILDREN AND
CITIZENS OF SCHUYLKILL COUNTY,
PENNSYLVANIA, AND DEDICATED TO
THE MEMORY OF THE DEAD OF
THE 48TH REGIMENT PENNSYLVANIA
VOLUNTEERS.
COL. GEORGE W. GOWEN,
KILLED IN ACTION IN FRONT OF
FORT MAHONE, APRIL 2ND, 1865
AGED 25 YEARS

The south face of the pedestal features a bronze plaque with a relief depicting the opening of the tunnel at the Crater. The pedestal's west face is blank.

According to contemporary newspaper reports, the present 48th Pennsylvania veterans marched to the Crater after the Gowen Monument ceremony to lay two markers, one at the entrance to the mine and another at the Crater. However, newspapers did not report the inscription upon the former, and the latter's text is not the same as what appears on the Crater of Mine Monument.

Sergeant W.J. Wells delivered a dedication speech. The *Virginia Gazette* reported the Crater marker read:

COLONEL HENRY PLEASANTS
ENGINEER OF THE PETERSBURG MINE
OPERATION COMMENCED 25TH DAY OF JUNE, 1864
EXPLOSION TOOK PLACE 30TH DAY OF JULY, 1864[433]

The association also erected two small markers at the Crater Battlefield. The Entrance to Mine Monument was initially sited southeast of the mine portal. The small, rough-cut, monolithic granite block measures 12 in. long, 13 in. wide, and 15 in. high. The finished top face of the monument features an inscription:

ENTRANCE
TO MINES
48TH REGT.

This monument was temporarily removed in 1967 when the mine tunnel was reconstructed, and the NPS reinstalled it in 1980. The monument is currently located along the Mine Tunnel loop walkway.

The second monument constructed by the Survivors of the 48th Pennsylvania Veteran Volunteer Infantry, the Crater of Mine Monument, was installed along the east rim of the Crater near the terminus of the mine tunnel. The rough-cut monolithic shaft of granite is 30 in. long, 18 in. wide, and 51 in. high. The top of the shaft is cut on an angle and has a finished face with an incised inscription.[434]

CRATER OF MINE
EXCAVATED BY
THE 48TH REGT. PENN. VET. VOL. INF.
BURNSIDE'S 9TH CORPS,
JULY 30, 1864.[435]

[433] "Unveil Monument to 48th PA. Vols," *Virginia Gazette*, June 29, 1907.

[434] *CLI for Crater Battlefield*, 71, 126; National Register Nomination (Draft), sec. 7, 20; Layton and Foulds, *CLR for Crater Battlefield*, 32.

[435] "Crater of Mine Monument Classified Structure Field Inventory Chart," Department of the Interior/National Park Service Petersburg National Battlefield Resource Management Records, 1873, 1922-2004, Series 1: Park Central Files, 1934-2004, undated, G. Area and Service History (H), 1944, 1954-2004, undated, PETE 20003, Box 7 Folder 5 "Area and Service History (H) (H30) Crater of Mine Monument 1976."

Figure 5-8: Crater of Mine Monument. Source: Petersburg National Battlefield

An unusual feature of these mine monuments was that the 48th Pennsylvania did not actually participate in the fighting at the Battle of the Crater but instead were key to the digging of the mine shaft and placement of the explosives. Lieutenant Colonel Henry Pleasants, commanding the 48th Pennsylvania, is credited with developing the idea for mined explosives and oversaw his soldiers in the construction of the innovative project. He also received orders to fire the mine in the early morning hours of July 30, 1864. After the Crater explosion, the 48th Pennsylvania participated in more battles at Petersburg and remained in the general vicinity until Grant secured a surrender from Lee. The installation of these monuments was part of a broader effort by the veterans of the 48th Pennsylvania to commemorate their bold actions on that day.[436]

Constructed in November 1910, the first Confederate monument at the Crater Battlefield was Mahone's Brigade Monument. Sponsored by the Petersburg chapter of the UDC, they held a dedication ceremony on April 28, 1911. The highlight of the event was when Confederate Colonel William H. Stewart unveiled the statue alongside Otelia Butler Mahone McGill, General Mahone's granddaughter and Petersburg resident. Stewart also delivered a speech "on the spot from

[436] Oliver Christian Bosbyshell, *The 48th in the War* (Avil, 1895), 163-189; Joseph Gould, *The Story of the Forty-Eighth* (Regimental Ass., 1908).

which he charged at the head of his regiment" in response to the Crater explosion.[437] Speaking of the UDC, Stewart proclaimed

> it is a glorious picture to witness an organization of ladies teaching patriotism by placing an ever-lasting marker at the line where duty stood in the presence of danger… It is fully in keeping with the heroines of beleaguered Petersburg who heard the solid shot and shells crushing through their homes, and stood by their altars while dangerous mortar shells were shining and sparkling overheard like meteors in the sky. Not ashamed of antiquated bonnets and faded dresses, they reported daily at the sewing circles to make garments for the soldiers in the trenches or cooked at home such food as was obtainable for the sick in the hospitals.[438]

Past Commander of the A.P. Hill Camp, George S. Bernard, presided over the ceremonies which also included an invocation by Reverend Charles R. Stribling, SCV Past Commander P.H. Drewry (representing the UDC), and Assistant Attorney General R.B. Davis. Around two hundred individuals attended the ceremony, including representatives from the UDC, the Ladies' Memorial Association, and the A.P. Hill Camp of Confederate Veterans and Sons of Veterans. Several veterans of Mahone's Brigade were also present, including Colonel Robert Henry, Major R.W. Jones, and Private Samuel Walker Williams (who also served as Virginia's Attorney General from 1910 to 1914).[439]

This monument marks the position of Brigadier General William Mahone's brigade during the battle. It is installed west of the Crater and Trench Cavalier. Constructed of rough-cut granite, it measures 30 in. long, 20 in. wide, and 43 in. high with a polished, slightly slanted top. The top face bears an inscription denoting the position of Mahone's brigade during the battle:

THIS STONE MARKS
APPROXIMATELY THE EXTREME
RIGHT OF MAHONE'S BRIGADE
VIRGINIA VOLUNTEERS
WHEN IT RE-CAPTURED THE
CONFEDERATE BREASTWORKS
ON THE 30TH. OF JULY 1864.

A small, polished inset on the south face is inscribed: PLACED BY THE PETERSBURG/ CHAPTER U.D.C. NOVEMBER 1910. The monument is presently along the Crater perimeter walkway.[440]

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[437] "Col. Stewart at Petersburg," *The Portsmouth Star*, April 28, 1911.

[438] "Marker for Mahone's Brigade at Crater: Extracts from Address by Col. W.H. Stewart in Dedicating It," *Confederate Veteran* 19 (1911): 389.

[439] "Samuel W. Williams Papers," Finding Aid, Virginia Tech Special Collections, https://aspace.lib.vt.edu/repositories/2/resources/1438; "Marker Unveiled on Battlefield," *Richmond Times-Dispatch*, April 29, 1911; "Tabley is Unveiled in Old Blandford," *Richmond Times-Dispatch*, July 31, 1911.

[440] *CLI for Crater Battlefield*, 71, 124; National Register Nomination (Draft), sec. 7, 22; Layton and Foulds, *CLR for*

On November 26, 1923, the South Carolina Chapter of the UDC dedicated the South Carolina Monument. Located on the northern rim of the Crater, the monument commemorates soldiers who served at Elliott's Salient at the time of the explosion. The rough-cut granite base measures 60 in. long, 24 in. wide, and 15 in. high. A vertical-set, rough-cut granite slab extends from the base and measures 48 in. long, 12 in. wide, and 36 in. high. A bronze plaque, 30 x 22 in., is attached to the north side of the slab and bears an inscription in raised letters.

ON THIS HILL FOR ONE MONTH
SOUTH CAROLINA TROOPS GUARDED THE ENTRANCE
TO PETERSBURG AND HERE JULY 30, 1864,
SUFFERED DEATH FROM A MINE EXPLODED BY THE FEDERALS.
HERE THE SURVIVING CAROLINIANS
UNDER THE COMMAND OF
STEPHEN ELLIOTT
BY THEIR VALOR
TURNED A DREADFUL DISASTER INTO A GLORIOUS VICTORY.
ERECTED BY
THE SOUTH CAROLINA DIVISION,
UNITED DAUGHTERS OF THE CONFEDERACY,
1923.[441]

Crater Battlefield, 32.

[441] "South Carolina Monument Classified Structure Field Inventory Chart," Department of the Interior/National Park Service Petersburg National Battlefield Resource Management Records, 1873, 1922-2004, Series 1: Park Central Files, 1934-2004, undated G. Area and Service History (H), 1944, 1954-2004, undated, I: Supplies, Procurement and Property (S), 1965-1967, 1977-1989, PETE 20003, Box 8 Folder 9, "Area and Service History (H) (H30) South Carolina Monument 1976."

Figure 5-9: South Carolina Monument. Petersburg National Battlefield

The Mahone Monument, sponsored by the Petersburg chapter of the UDC, was dedicated on July 30, 1927. On the day of the ceremony, Mrs. William L. McGill, daughter of General Mahone unveiled the obelisk, and former governor William Hodges Mann delivered a speech about the Mahone Brigade.[442] Mann is reported to have said,

> We are standing on holy ground, ground soaked with the blood of men who in courage and character could not be surpassed. Many of them in that charge up this hill laid down their lives in defense of our mothers and wives. They were skillfully and gallantly lead [sic] by Gen. William Mahone, and this monument is but a weak expression of the love and gratitude which the Daughters of the Confederacy can give for his splendid service.[443]

Plans to erect a monument to Mahone dated to 1906 among Petersburg residents. The local chapter of the UDC launched fundraising efforts in 1915, with an early design concept referenced in a trade magazine published that year. Located west of the Crater and the Trench Cavalier, along the perimeter walkway, the monument consists of a 4 sq. ft. granite-block obelisk that rises 24 feet from a stepped granite base. The obelisk consists of rusticated granite blocks that taper and terminate in a smooth-cut, pyramidal top. A smooth granite panel marks each face of the obelisk's first and largest course. The panel on the west face bears an inscription honoring William Mahone:

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[442] "General Mahone Honored With Shaft at Crater," *Virginian-Pilot*, July 31, 1927.
[443] *Confederate Veteran* 35 (1927): 352.

TO THE MEMORY OF
WILLIAM MAHONE
MAJOR GENERAL C.S.A.
A DISTINGUISHED CONFEDERATE
COMMANDER, WHOSE VALOR AND
STRATEGY AT THE BATTLE OF THE
CRATER JULY 30, 1864, WON FOR
HIMSELF AND HIS GALLANT
BRIGADE UNDYING FAME.
A CITIZEN OF PETERSBURG, VIRGINIA,
BORN DEC. 1, 1826,
DIED OCT. 6, 1895.
ERECTED BY PETERSBURG CHAPTER
U.D.C.

Raised lettering on the smooth west face of the stone above reads "MAHONE". It was designed by Burns & Campbell of Petersburg.[444]

Figure 5-10: Mahone Monument. Petersburg National Battlefield.

[444] *CLI for Crater Battlefield*, 48, 70-71,125; National Register Nomination (Draft), sec. 7, 22; Layton and Foulds, *CLR for Crater Battlefield*, 32-33; "Monument is Unveiled to the Crater's Hero," *Washington Post*, July 31, 1927.

In the years prior to the fall 1911 unveiling of the Massachusetts Monument at PETE, Massachusetts and Virginia veterans had cultivated a relationship of reconciliation. On July 4, 1910, members of the A.P. Hill Camp traveled to Springfield to celebrate America's birthday with the Massachusetts veterans. Later that year, Major Robert E. Green, a member of Massachusetts Governor Eugene Foss's administration, traveled to Virginia to gift a medal clock to the A.P. Hill Camp in December 1910. Along with the clock, the Confederate veterans received a table inscribed with Governor Foss's name. Newspapers reported that Major Green offered the clock as a token of "endearing testimony of the people of Massachusetts of their regard and love for the people of Virginia," while Judge J.M Mullen of the A.P. Hill Camp "spoke of the blessings of a united and common country under one flag, a union he hoped that might abide forever." Following the gift ceremony, they dined at the Chesterfield Field Hotel.[445]

Earlier that year, on April 18, 1910, the Massachusetts State Legislature had allocated $5,000 to construct a monument dedicated to the Commonwealth's soldiers and sailors who served in Virginia. The A.P. Hill Camp, SCV, donated a tract east of South Crater Road that abutted Jerusalem Plank Road on the Griffith Farm Property for the monument. John Lawler & Sons, a contractor from Springfield, Massachusetts, constructed the Massachusetts Monument. The contractor received granite from Johns Brothers Company of Barre, Vermont, while the Petersburg-based company Burns & Campbell installed the monument. Before the unveiling in fall 1911, two members of the Massachusetts commission overseeing the design process, James Anderson of Springfield and E.T. Raymond of Worcester, traveled to Petersburg that July to inspect the completed monument. They were accompanied by members of the A.P. Hill Camp, as well as the monument's designers Mr. and Mrs. John Lawler. That evening, they lodged at a Petersburg hotel, dined with Governor Mann and his wife, and received entertainment from Mrs. Annie E. Wingfield, widow of Bishop John Henry Ducachet Wingfield of Virginia.[446]

Held on a cool and damp day in November 1911, the ceremony and parade were presided over by Robert Gilliam, clerk of the Petersburg Court. Members of the A.P. Hill Camp were tasked with escorting guests to the Washington Street Methodist Episcopal Church, where they heard Reverend G.E. Booker deliver a sermon. A parade then launched the event, commencing on Bollingbrook Street before continuing to the monument site at the Crater battlefield. Addresses were delivered by Colonel Alfred S. Roe, former commander of the Massachusetts Grand Army. Dr. Charles R. Stribling offered prayers, followed by schoolchildren who sang the "Star Spangled Banner." Governor Mann of Virginia was accompanied by Colonel Edmund Berkeley, Captain Westwood Hutchison, and Lieutenant George C. Round. Governor Mann was reported to have said, "The only time that Massachusetts was ever wrong was from 1861 to 1865."[447] Otelia Mahone McGill, granddaughter of William Mahone, was tasked with the unveiling. More songs and prayer followed, including "Nearer My God to Thee," "America" and a benediction delivered by

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[445] "Local Intelligence: Accept State Monument for Petersburg battlefield – Big Plans for its Dedication," *Springfield Weekly Republican*, July 14, 1911; "A.P. Hill Camp Again is Honored," *Richmond Times-Dispatch*, December 29, 1910.

[446] "Petersburg Monument Design," *Springfield Weekly Republican*, January 19, 1911.

[447] "Blue and Gray Unite. Monument is Unveiled. Exercises at Petersburg. Thousands View Procession," *Springfield Weekly Republican*, November 16, 1911.

Reverend Father O'Farrell of the A.P. Hill Camp. Members of the A.P Hill Camp of Petersburg, as well as the R.E. Lee and George E. Pickett Camps of Richmond and the Picket-Buchanan Camp of Norfolk, attended. Reported attendance ranged from one thousand to three thousand. The day concluded with an exclusive banquet hosted by Mayor George Cameron, Jr., on Sycamore Street.[448]

In a speech delivered by Governor Foss of Massachusetts, his remarks harked on the reconciliationist sentiment that aimed to mend sectional differences and minimize the racist origins of the Civil War:

> To a northerner of open mind, it is a privilege here to pay a tribute to the earnestness of purpose, the nobility of character and the consecration of sincere conviction which marks every act of Robert E. Lee. Those who took up arms against him vie with his friends in recognition of his sterling manhood, the purity of his motives and his loyalty to the cause which he espoused. When we seek examples of that exalted manhood which has made glorious the name of America, we cannot think in terms of North and South, or East and West. We must think in terms of Washington and Lincoln, of Grant and Lee. Here the indomitable Grant threw his tremendous energies into the campaign, and here Lee matched his consummate strategy against heavy odds.

He continued:

> We must work together, with no sectional prejudices, and with ever-increasing rivalry to build up the industrial future of our country. We must have closer co-operation among the separate states, for more uniform legislation on progressive lines. We must co-operate at Washington to advance our industrial and commercial relations with the world, so that Boston, Norfolk, Galveston and San Francisco may be equally stimulated, and so that all our green seaports shall send out and receive increasing freights. The past achievements of our race and country are but a beginning.[449]

Such remarks indicate the desires of the Massachusetts and Virginia state governments to resolve the tensions of historical violence by invoking the Lost Cause nostalgia of Robert E. Lee, and thus distorting Virginia's past commitments to upholding the institution of slavery. This speech, as well as the events that unfolded between the Massachusetts and Virginia veterans were not remarkable. This event marked only one of many of its kind: in the days that follow, the Massachusetts attendees traveled to Richmond, Washington, Gettysburg, and Valley Forge before returning home.[450]

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[448] "Massachusetts Monument at Petersburg Will Be Unveiled With Appropriate Exercises on Monday," *Richmond Times-Dispatch*, November 12, 1911; "Blue and Gray Unite. Monument is Unveiled. Exercises at Petersburg. Thousands View Procession," *Springfield Weekly Republican*, November 16, 1911.

[449] "Blue and Gray Unite. Monument is Unveiled. Exercises at Petersburg. Thousands View Procession," *Springfield Weekly Republican*, November 16, 1911.

[450] "Shaft Unveiled to Federal Dead," *Richmond Times-Dispatch*, November 14, 1911. The following month, Governor Foss thanked Carter R. Bishop of Virginia for the gift of a Minie ball. The secretary of Governor Foss wrote

The monument consists of a granite base and two-part shaft topped by a bronze sculpture of an eagle with its wings spread. The base is a stepped pedestal measuring 9 ft. long, 5 ft. wide, and 5 ft. high with "MASSACHUSETTS" inscribed on the north face. The 22 ft. high shaft tapers slightly upward and at its base and features bronze plaques on the north and south faces with inscriptions. Originally located within a 56 sq. ft. plaza off the road, it was intended to resemble a star-shaped fort. The Commonwealth of Massachusetts dedicated the monument on November 13, 1911. In 1939, the monument was relocated south to a grassy expanse that divides the entrance and exit lanes to the Crater. In April 1962, it was again relocated to the south side of the road to the Crater, as part of Mission 66 alterations to the park Tour Road. In its present location, visitors access the monument via a pedestrian elliptical walk that extends from a vehicular pull-off on the Tour Road.[451]

On May 24, 1973, the Massachusetts monument was vandalized. PETE Superintendent reported to Massachusetts Governor John Droney that two bronze plaques had been removed, and only one of them was retrieved. The missing plaque was 44 7/8 in. long, 10 1/2 in. wide, and 5/8 in. deep with the inscription:

IN MEMORY OF THE SOLDIERS AND SAILORS FROM MASSACHUSSETTS [sic]
WHO LOST THEIR LIVES IN THE ARMIES OF THE POTOMAC AND JAMES
IN VARIOUS BATTLES IN VIRGINIA
1861 – 1865
THIS MONUMENT ERECTED BY THE COMMONWEALTH OF MASSACHUSSETTS [sic]

The plaque was later replaced.[452]

that, "should the spot ever be assaulted again, the sons of Virginia will stand on soil owned by the Commonwealth of Massachusetts and fight behind the granite battlements of the Old Bay State."

[451] *CLI for Crater Battlefield* 51, 71; Layton and Foulds, *CLR for Crater Battlefield*, 32; "Local Intelligence: Accept State Monument for Petersburg battlefield – Big Plans for its Dedication," *Springfield Weekly Republican*, July 14, 1911.

[452] Letter from Larry L. Hakel, Superintendent to Honorable John Droney, Governor of Massachusetts, June 6, 1973, Department of the Interior/National Park Service Petersburg National Battlefield Resource Management Records, 1873, 1922-2004; Series 1: Park Central Files, 1943-2004, undated; E. Maintenance (D), 1941, 1951-1994, 2002 undated; F. Fiscal (F), 1981; G: Area and Service History (H), 1944, 1954-2004, undated, Box 6, Folder 2 "Development and Maintenance (D) (D6215) Vandalized Plaque Massachusetts Monument 1973."

Figure 5-11: Massachusetts Monument. Petersburg National Battlefield

On July 30, 1964, Petersburg citizens erected the Commemorative Crater Monument, also known as the 100th Anniversary marker, dedicated to the one hundredth anniversary of the battle. Located along the perimeter walk west of the Trench Cavelier, the monument consists of a small granite slab with an arched top set on a granite base. The base measures 3 ft. long x 1 ft. wide. The arched slab is 28 in. long, 6.5 in. wide, and 34.5 in. high. The sides of the slab are rough cut, while the two faces are finished. The east face features an inscription with crossed Confederate and US flags:

COMMEMORATING THE 100TH ANNIVERSARY
OF
THE BATTLE OF THE CRATER
JULY 30, 1864
ERECTED BY THE CITIZENS OF PETERSBURG
JULY 30, 1964[453]

[453] *CLI for Crater Battlefield*, 52, 125, 126; National Register Nomination (Draft), sec. 7, 27.

Fort Stedman Battlefield

Fort Stedman marks the location of some of the earliest monuments constructed at PETE. As early as the 1890s, surviving veterans of the First Maine Heavy Artillery maintained a regimental history and raised funds for a memorial. Under the leadership of Captain Horace H. Shaw of Portland, Maine, the Maine Veterans Association purchased five acres of land in Petersburg, located two hundred yards northwest of Fort Stedman on the site of the former Hare Farm. Resident Francis Lathrop transferred this tract to a trust for the association on October 13, 1893. The monument and land were originally deeded to the State of Maine as a cemetery.

Three months after the thirtieth anniversary of the June 1864 battle, the association dedicated the First Maine Artillery Monument on September 14, 1894.[454] According to Major J.A. Doole,

> It was our intention to dedicate the monument on that date (June 18). The monument was in position, but too late to arrange for a dedication from this long distance, therefore it was postponed until September 14. Owing to the hard times and our State election occurring at that time, we did not have as many present of the regiment and friends present as we had hoped.[455]

Major J.A. Doole wrote that, upon the Maine veterans' arrival in Petersburg, they "[got] a colored man to cut us a flagstaff which we set up with the Stars and Stripes at the head."[456] Ceremonies began at 11:00 in the morning, where survivors gathered and delivered speeches. Lieutenant A.P. Eastman called the gathering to order, followed by prayers offered by Reverend S. Whitcomb of Maine. Among those in the First Maine Artillery who delivered speeches, there were Major Fred Low of Gloucester, MA; Major Horace H. Shaw of Portland, ME; H.P. Smith of Brooklyn, NY; Henry L Thomas, of Sangerville, ME; F.R. Knowton of Acton, MA.; L.K. Marston of Boston, MA; Lieutenant A.P. Eastman of Washington; and J. Albert Doe of Bangor, ME. Additional speeches were offered by US District Attorney F.R. Lassiter and Mr. George S. Bernard of A.P. Hill Camp. Before closing the ceremonies, the crowd sang two verses from "America," then Reverend Whitcomb offered a benediction.[457]

Ceremonies were attended by many residents of Petersburg, including members of the A.P. Hill Camp of Confederate Veterans. Commander George H. Thomas Post of the Grand Army of the Republic, and George S. Bernard, a lawyer in the city of Petersburg and member of the A.P. Hill Camp of Confederate Veterans, also delivered speeches, described as being in the "most fraternal spirit."[458] According to Major J.A. Doole of Maine, "The members of A.P. Hill Camp Confed-

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[454] For more on the First Maine Heavy Artillery, including primary sources related to the transfer of property and monument construction, see "The First Maine Heavy Artillery," Clarence L. Woodcock (2006), accessed July 25, 2025, https://cwoodcock.com/firstmaine/.

[455] "Interesting Account," *Bangor Daily Whig and Courier*, December 25, 1894.

[456] "Interesting Account," *Bangor Daily Whig and Courier*, December 25, 1894.

[457] "The Monument Dedicated," *Richmond Times-Dispatch*, September 15, 1894.

[458] "Dedication of a Shaft to Maine Soldiers," Norfolk Landmark, September 16, 1894. Evidently a Petersburg photographer captured an image of the George H. Thomas Post, Grand Army of the Republic, and A.P. Hill Camp of Confederate Veterans beside the Maine monument. "The Monument Dedicated," *Richmond Times-Dispatch*,

erate Veterans called on us the evening of our arrival, attended and took part in the dedicatory exercises the next day, and showed us marked attention while in the city."[459] Toward the end of the ceremonies, Major Shaw of Maine invited the A.P. Hill Camp to erect their own monument on the site. A few weeks later, the A.P. Hill Camp reached the following resolution:

> Resolved, That this camp, appreciating and reciprocating the patriotic and fraternal spirit with which Major Shaw has made this tender, hereby return him the thanks of the members of the camp therefor [sic], and express the hope that at some early day there will be erected upon the ground as proposed a monument to the memory of the dead Confederates, whose blood, with that of the men of the First Maine Heavy Artillery, made this spot of earth truly sacred soil.[460]

The monument, a granite monolith from Hallowell, Maine, was designed and produced by Badger and Brothers of Quincy, Massachusetts. Association members split the $1,200 cost with the State of Maine and covered the additional $1,200 cost for the two bronze tablets on the east face of the monument.[461] The 2 ft. high base and three sides of the 6 ft., 10 in. high stone slab are rough cut, and the peak is gabled. Two arched bronze plaques on the east face of the slab bear the corps insignia and lists of the unit members who were mortally wounded or killed here. The polished west face of the slab bears the state seal of Maine and the inscription:

MAINE.
FIRST HEAVY ARTILLERY
IN MEMORY OF
604 BRAVE MEMBERS WHO FELL
CHARGING HERE
JUNE 18, 1864
UNION
MAINE---------VIRGINIA
PEACE

September 15, 1894.

[459] "Interesting Account," *Bangor Daily Whig and Courier*, December 25, 1894.

[460] "Fort Steadman Site," *Richmond Times-Dispatch*, October 5, 1894.

[461] "The Monument Dedicated," *Richmond Times-Dispatch*, September 15, 1894.


MAINE
FIRST HEAVY ARTILLERY
IN MEMORY OF
604 BRAVE MEMBERS WHO FELL
CHARGING HERE
JUNE 18 1864
MAINE
UNION
PEACE
VIRGINIA

Figures 5-12 and 5-13: Maine Monument. Petersburg National Battlefield

In 1933, Maine transferred the parcel to the Petersburg National Park Commission. This monument is sited near the park boundary along the "Colquitt's Salient Path," that leads down a small hill from Fort Stedman into a wooded area. A residential development is located less than fifty yards from the monument. Photographs from the September 14, 1894, dedication ceremony show that the area was generally open with tree growth only along the Prince George Court House Road.[462]

In 1907, the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania enacted the Battlefield Commission of the Third Division, Ninth Corps, composed of one surviving veteran from each of the six regiments of Pennsylvania Volunteers. Passage of the bill followed on the heels of the seventh annual reunion at Harrisburg.[463] The Battlefield Commission was tasked with developing plans for a monument to be funded by the commonwealth. The commission consisted of treasurer George W. Aughen-

[462] *CLI for Fort Stedman*, 50-51; National Register Nomination (Draft), sec. 7, 20, sec. 8, 117.
[463] Milton A. Embick, *Military History of the Third Division, Ninth Corps, Army of the Potomac* (C.E. Aughinbaugh, 1913), 61.

baugh, 200th Regiment; Captain James H. Frederick, 20th Regiment; secretary Milton A. Embick, 209th Regiment; president Major Isaac B. Brown, 211th Regiment; Reverend Henry Whitaker, 205th Regiment; and W.W. Seabold, 208th Regiment.[464] The Commission contracted the Jones Brothers of Boston and F.W. Ruckstuhl as sculptor.[465] Because the Fort Stedman site was largely overgrown, the Commission settled on the site of Fort Mahone, opposite Fort Sedgwick, and negotiated with landowners to purchase a 50 sq. ft. plot of land.[466] The states of Pennsylvania and Virginia invited the newly elected President William Taft to join the ceremony, which the president accepted.[467]

The Pennsylvania regiments embarked from Harrisburg and York on May 18, 1909, traveling in three Pullman sleeping cars to Petersburg. All six regiments stayed in a Petersburg hotel. Beginning at 8:00 a.m. veterans marched to Fort Stedman after a brief train ride with Norfolk and Western Railroad. George W. Aughenbaugh presided over the ceremony, with an invocation provided by Reverend J.B. Shontz. Mabel Elizabeth Jones of Boston, MA, granddaughter of Lieutenant Hugh Jones, unveiled the tablet. Milton Embick provided an oration, followed by a benediction offered by Reverend William W. Houck, Chaplain of the 209th Regiment. The Cadet Band of Petersburg then performed TAPS and other music.

The parade to Fort Mahone included the Chief Marshal and Staff, President Taft, the governors of Virginia and Pennsylvania with their staff, members of the A.P. Hill Camp, Petersburg Greys, Battalion of Coast Artillery of Fortress Monroe, and the Fortress Monroe Military Band and the Cadet Band of Petersburg.[468]

At the ceremonies for the Third Division, Dr. Root W. Barnwell of St. Paul's Church in Petersburg offered an invocation. The statue was unveiled by several individuals, described in the proceedings as Mrs. Harold Arthur Gilbert of Williamsport (daughter of Major Isaac B. Brown), Mrs. General William Mahone, Mrs. Arthur C. Huidekoper, Mrs. W.H. Magill, and Mrs. C.G. Flower.[469]

Major Isaac B. Brown, president of the Third Division and Battlefield Commission, then provided an oration before inviting Chief Marshal Major A.C. Huidekoper to introduce the president of the United States. President Taft addressed the attendees, remarking

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[465] Embick, *Military History of the Third Division*, 63. The Jones Brothers Company was managed by the sons of Lieutenant Jones of the 209th Regiment, who was killed in action at Fort Stedman. Embick, *Military History of the Third Division*, 68.

[466] Embick, *Military History of the Third Division*, 65; According to Embick's record, "A committee of [A.P. Hill Camp] Confederate Veterans had visited the battlefield soon after Fort Mahone was leveled to the earth, and had placed a marker on the site of this well known fort."

[467] Embick, *Military History of the Third Division*, 67; The president was accompanied by his military aide Major Archibald Butt, the French Ambassador, two former governors of Virginia, presidents of universities, and Congressional members.

[468] Embick, *Military History of the Third Division*, 72.

[469] Embick, *Military History of the Third Division*, 72.

> That we can come here to-day and in the presence of thousands and tens of thousands of the survivors of the gallant Army of Northern Virginia and of their descendants, establish such an enduring monument by their hospitable welcome and acclaim, is conclusive proof of the uniting of the sections and a universal confession that all that was done was well done; that the battle had to be fought; that the sections had to be tried; but that in the end the result has inured to the common benefit of all.[470]

Governors Stuart of Pennsylvania and Swanson of Virginia followed President Taft's address, as they respectively delivered and accepted the monument. A bugler then played TAPS before a parade formed, concluding the ceremony.

The two monuments, Third Division, IX Corps Monument and Pennsylvania Volunteers Monument, appear as follows. The latter monument is composed of a large granite block that is rough-cut on three sides but polished on the north side, where a bronze plaque is affixed. The monument measures 52 in. x 24 in. x 70 in. The plaque is 45 in. x 55 in. and has raised lettering. The plaque bears the IX Corps badge with the following narrative text:

FORT STEDMAN
IN THE LAST GRAND OFFENSIVE MOVEMENT OF LEE'S
ARMY OF NORTHERN VIRGINIA, FORT STEDMAN, WITH ADJACENT
WORKS, WAS CAPTURED AT 4:30 A.M., MARCH 25, 1865, BY
A WELL SELECTED BODY OF CONFEDERATES, UNDER THE
COMMAND OF GENERAL JOHN B. GORDON.
AN ADVANCE WAS MADE WITH GREAT DETERMINATION OVER
THE BROKEN UNION LINES, THEN THROUGH THE RAVINE AND UP
THE RISING GROUND TO THE EASTWARD, FOR THE PURPOSE OF
CUTTING THE U.S. MILITARY R.R. AND THUS MAKE SUCCESSFUL
THE CONFEDERATE PLAN OF SEVERING THE ARMY OF THE POTO-
MAC AND DESTROYING ITS BASE OF SUPPLIES AT CITY POINT.
THIS MOVEMENT WAS CHECKED, AND THE DIRECT ASSAULT
IN THE RECAPTURE OF THESE EMBATTLEMENTS, WAS MADE BY
THE THIRD DIVISION NINTH CORPS ARMY OF THE POTOMAC IN
WHOSE MEMORY THIS TABLET IS ERECTED BY THE COMMON-
WEALTH OF PENNSYLVANIA.[471]

The Third Division IX Corps Monument stands near the intersection of Wakefield Avenue and

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[470] A.C. Huidekoper cited in Embick, *Military History of the Third Division*, 90-91.

[471] *CLI for Fort Stedman*, 51; National Register Nomination (Draft), sec. 8, 119; "Third Division, IX Corps Monument Classified Structure Field Inventory Chart," Department of the Interior/National Park Service Petersburg National Battlefield Resource Management Records, 1873, 1922-2004, Series 1: Park Central Files, 1934-2004, undated G. Area and Service History (H), 1944, 1954-2004, undated, I: Supplies, Procurement and Property (S), 1965-1967, 1977-1989, PETE 20003,, Box 8, Folder 12, "Area and Service History (H) (H30) Third Division, Ninth Corps Monument, 1976."

Walnut Boulevard in the City of Petersburg, on the site of Confederate Fort Mahone, opposite Federal Fort Sedgwick. It occupies the concrete median of a two-lane side road at the edge of a commercial and residential area and is surrounded by a 50 sq. ft., 2 ft. high granite post and metal rail fence. The monument consists of a 60 ft. tall, 6 sq. ft. obelisk of rusticated Barre granite rising from a stepped granite base with a 6 ft. tall bronze statue of a young soldier on a square pedestal on the north side. The soldier, sculpted by F.W. Ruckstuhl, has an open shirt and grasps a rifle in his left hand and the US flag in his right. The pedestal is inscribed with the names of the important sites where the Third Division fought, including Bermuda Hundred, Weldon Raid, Hatcher's Run, Petersburg, Fort Stedman, and Fort Mahone. A bronze plaque at the west base of the obelisk displays a bronze IX Corps badge above a roster of the 1st Brigade of the 3rd Division, which included the 200th, 208th, and 209th Pennsylvania Infantry Regiments. The roster lists the muster dates along with the numbers of men enlisted, killed, wounded, captured, died in prison, and died of disease, deaths in service, and total casualties for each regiment. A similar plaque at the east base of the obelisk provides a roster of the same information for the 2nd Brigade of the 3rd Division, which included the 205th, 207th, and 211th Pennsylvania Infantry Regiments. A small set of granite steps cuts through the center of the bottom base on the south side of the monument, where the upper granite base is inscribed "3RD DIVISION, 9TH CORPS, ARMY OF THE POTOMAC." A small bronze plaque placed near the bottom of the south obelisk face features the Pennsylvania state seal and the raised lettering "ERECTED BY THE COMMONWEALTH OF PENNSYLVANIA."

In 1911, the A.P Hill Camp, SCV, installed the Colquitt's Salient Marker.[472] Located directly west of Fort Stedman, the Colquitt's Salient Marker consists of rough-cut granite that measures 20 x 14 x 35 in. The polished face of the monument is cut at a 45-degree angle and has incised lettering bearing the following inscription:

COLQUITT'S SALIENT
ON JUNE 18 1864 THE
CONFEDERATES ON THIS
HILL REPULSED THE
CHARGE OF THE FIRST
MAINE REGIMENT
ON MARCH 25 1865 FROM
THIS SALIENT GENERAL
JOHN B. GORDON LED A
BODY OF PICKED MEN
TO SURPRISE AND
CAPTURE FORT STEADMAN [sic].[473]

[472] *CLI for Fort Stedman*, 51; National Register Nomination (Draft), sec. 7, 19.
[473] *CLI for Fort Stedman*, 89.

Figure 5-14: Colquitt's Salient Monument. Petersburg National Battlefield

The A.P. Hill Camp, SCV, also installed the Gracie's Salient Marker in 1912, dedicated to the memory of Brigadier General Gracie. Located east of the creek near Colquitt's Salient, the rough-cut shaft of granite measures 20 x 14 x 35 in. and has a polished, sloped face. The inscription on the face is

GRACIE'S SALIENT
THIS SALIENT, NAMED FOR
BRIG. GENL. ARCHIBALD
GRACIE OF ALABAMA,
FACED THE FEDERAL FORTS
STEDMAN AND HASKELL
AND WAS SUCCESSFULLY
HELD BY THE CONFEDERATES
DURING THE ENTIRE SIEGE
OF PETERSBURG.[474]

[474] *CLI for Fort Stedman*, 90.

In addition to the memorial landscape, additional contributing resources – ranging from evidence of antebellum life to early NPS development efforts – scatter the PETE Eastern Front landscape. Each informs the evolution from battlefield to national park unit. See the draft National Register nomination for further detail.

Approximately 1.5 miles of World War I Training Trenches – generally more traversed, wider, and deeper than Civil War trenches – are located within the district. Constructed during World War I (1917-1920) for training exercises at Camp Lee (now Fort Lee), the running lines of traversing trenches with squared, U-shaped offsets are located in the woods to the east of the Tour Road between the Route 36 entrance and the Living History Site. This land became part of PETE in 1929.

The Utility Building No. 1, completed by CCC workers in December 1941, was built in stages to house fire equipment and repair shops. It is located in a clearing in the woods south of the Tour Road, near Harrison Creek. The one-story, concrete-block building measures approximately 25 x 70 ft. and has a gable roof covered with asbestos shingles. It has an interior and an exterior chimney. Two garage doors are located at the south end of the east elevation. Most of the windows are covered with bars. A fenced horse corral is located to the east of the building, which is used for maintenance equipment storage and meetings.

Commemorative Events

Alongside the installation of physical monuments, PETE has, since its founding in 1926, hosted events that honor those who fought. These events, including dedication ceremonies, reenactments, pageants, and living history programs, also document an evolution in memorialization practices at the park in particular and across battlefields more broadly.

Founding Years, 1920s-1930s

Petersburg National Battlefield was designated on July 3, 1926, under the auspices of the War Department. Immediately, conservation work commenced in the lead-up to a 1932 dedication ceremony. According to Virginia Congressman Patrick Henry Drewry in Fall 1927, "A sum of $15,000 has been appropriated by the War Department for beautification of the park."[475] Tasked with designing the park, the Petersburg National Battlefield Park Commission was composed of Captain Carter R. Bishop, Petersburg Confederate Veteran; Captain H.N. Comey of Danvers, MA, Union veteran; and Colonel Jewett, US District Engineers. By 1928, the Petersburg National Military Park Commission announced their plans to include "a rambling road between the two lines of fortifications with foot paths and roads leading off to works of lesser importance." Working with existing county and state road systems, the Commission drew plans to build additional roads to connect historic resources for visitor access.[476]

[475] "Drewry Talks on Park Here," *The Petersburg Progress-Index*, October 6, 1927.

[476] "Start Work Tomorrow on Military Park Here," *The Petersburg Progress-Index*, May 6, 1928; "National Military Park Result of Half Century of Labor," *The Petersburg Progress-Index*, June 20, 1932.

On June 20, 1932, the military park hosted a dedication ceremony for the public. From the outset, staff at the military park underscored for visitors the unique quality of this battlefield, in that the siege of Petersburg was the lengthiest of Civil War battles and that here tourists could encounter extensive fortifications and earthworks. According to *The Petersburg Progress-Index*, the fact that this battlefield was planned by Union and Confederate veterans also set this park apart from other battlefields.[477] As part of the dedication ceremony, the program featured a reenactment of the Battle at Fort Stedman and the Battle of the Crater. A pageant, held in episodes depicting the siege, ran continuously until the grand finale. The episodes were titled: Before the Storm, Defense of Petersburg, Battle of the Crater, The Blessed Well, Capture of Fort Stedman, After Five Forks, After Appomattox, and First Memorial Day. The pageant also featured men and women in period costume who danced to national and Confederate music, as well as coach liveries and rounds of ammunition demonstrations. Speeches were given by Virginia Congressman Patrick Henry, US Assistant Secretary of War Frederick Payne, Petersburg Mayor John R. Jolly, and the SCV. Fifteen-thousand visitors were reported to have attended the dedication ceremony, arriving by car, bus, train, taxi, and on foot. Over one thousand people participated in the pageant's cast.[478]

After the Petersburg dedication ceremony, the forty-second reunion of Confederate veterans occurred in nearby Richmond. It may be assumed that the date selection for the Petersburg dedication ceremony intentionally coincided with the planned reunion. *The Petersburg Progress-Index* reported that thousands attended the Petersburg dedication ceremony, with "many of them in route to the Confederate Reunion in Richmond."[479]

In 1933, Petersburg National Military Park was transferred from the War Department to the NPS. By 1936, visitors oriented themselves to the park via two new contact stations, one located at the northern and the other at the western ends of the city (both outside the boundary of PETE Eastern Front). Staff reported increased numbers following the federal acquisition of Crater battlefield. In April 1936, 3,243 tourists were reported to have visited that month alone, compared with 1,924 visitors in all of 1935. Nearby battlefields boasted significantly larger numbers, with Fredericksburg welcoming thirty-four thousand visitors and Chancellorsville thirty thousand. Yet the relatively new park at Petersburg continued to draw crowds in greater numbers.[480]

Perhaps more significant in local public memory than the 1932 park dedication ceremony was the May 9, 1937, reenactment that commemorated the Crater Battlefield and its recent acquisition by the federal government. Residents, still rejoicing that the battlefield site did not succumb to golf course construction, seemed eager to celebrate the site's preservation. The reenactment

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[477] "National Military Park Result of Half Century of Labor," *The Petersburg Progress-Index*, June 20, 1932; "Symbolize Union of Blue and Gray," *The Petersburg Progress-Index*, June 20, 1932.

[478] "National Military Park Result of Half Century of Labor," *The Petersburg Progress-Index*, June 20, 1932; "Symbolize Union of Blue and Gray," *The Petersburg Progress-Index*, June 20, 1932.

[479] "Gray Vets in Richmond for Reunion," The *Petersburg Progress-Index*, June 21, 1932; "Colorful Pageant Seen by Thousands," The *Petersburg Progress-Index*, June 21, 1932.

[480] "Park Station Opens," *Richmond News-Leader*, April 28, 1936; "Big Increase Noted in Park Visitors Here," *The Petersburg Progress-Index*, May 3, 1936.

drew national attention, with the New York Times featuring a two-page illustrated spread about the event.[481] The program featured a concert performed by the US Marine Band at Quantico, speeches from Virginia Congressman Patrick Drewry and Dr. Douglass S. Freeman, and the reenactment battle itself.[482]

Great Depression and the Wartime Era, 1930s-1940s

Despite the flurry of activity that unfolded with Petersburg National Military Park's opening. Petersburg struggled under the weight of the Great Depression, which began in fall of 1929. While Virginia experienced hardship during the Great Depression with rising unemployment and falling farm prices, its economic diversity and a high rate of subsistence farming lessened the immediate severity compared to other states. Unemployment peaked significantly, and many faced reduced incomes and relied on economizing measures and assistance from rural relatives. Black Virginians disproportionately suffered the most due to discriminatory hiring practices and limited access to relief. Given the large Black population in Petersburg, it was certainly one of the hardest-hit communities.

The city of Petersburg benefited economically from the installation of a CCC unit at PETE. The CCC was a popular New Deal agency designed to provide employment for out-of-work young men, with all either between 18 and 25 years old or veterans. Camps were segregated by race. The Army provided day-to-day management, while a partner agency, such as the NPS, managed special projects. The CCC eventually would employ 2.5 million individuals between 1933 and 1942 and peaked at about five hundred thousand employees.[483] At NPS sites throughout the country, CCC enrollees provided invaluable service requiring heavy labor, such as clearing land, building roads, and stabilizing buildings.

Unlike other camps of CCC members, which were composed of men aged eighteen to twenty-five, the Petersburg unit consisted completely of veterans. These men hailed from different parts of Virginia, where they were initially based at Fort George G. Meade in Maryland before being relocated to construct and rehabilitate Fort Stedman. Together they lived among forty-five to fifty tents and constructed a 120 x 24 ft. mess hall. Assigned in June 1932, they were originally slated to complete six months of work at Fort Stedman before proceeding to work at Fort Howard, Fort Gregg, and Fort Fisher. An additional twenty men were sent to Fort Lee and nineteen men assigned to reforestation work.[484] In 1934, the Petersburg CCC unit was designated as an

[481] "The Battle of the Crater: History Re-enacted on a Virginia Field," *New York Times*, May 9, 1937.

[482] Program: "Battle of the Crater Re-Enactment, Petersburg, Virginia, Friday, April 30, 1937," Under Auspices of the Petersburg Battlefield Park Association and the National Park Service (Petersburg National Military Mark)," Department of the Interior/National Park Service Petersburg National Battlefield Resource Management Records, 1873, 1922-2004, Series 4: History Division Files, 1873, 1922-1979, 1999-2003, undated; Series 5: Photographs, 1929-1948, 1955, 1981-1982, undated, PETE 20003, Box 15, Folder 1, "Brochures, 1937-1959, 1973-1975, 1999-2003, undated"; "Re-Enactment Comments," *The Petersburg Progress-Index*, May 9, 1937.

[483] Ronald Heinemann, "Civilian Conservation Corps," *Encyclopedia Virginia* (December 2020), https://encyclopediavirginia.org/entries/civilian-conservation-corps/.

[484] "C.C.C. Force to Begin Work," *The Petersburg Progress-Index*, July 13, 1932.

"outstanding camp in the sub-district" and selected to "represent the district in the third corps area inspection."[485]

In addition to the CCC, the WPA appropriated $483,000 in funds in 1933 for road construction and other improvements. According to *The Petersburg Progress-Index*, these funds would enable "the construction of probably 17 additional miles of roadway. The road will extend through the 520 acres of the park, leading to the more important points. It is probable that markers will be placed and fitting headquarters erected." Comparatively, Fredericksburg received $1,021,000 from the WPA.[486]

Despite economic woes of the 1930s, the park continued to welcome an increased number of visitors, largely due to the features constructed by the CCC. Of the 43,105 visitors who visited PETE in 1936, over 11,000 sought guide services from WPA and CCC workers. By 1936, the CCC had constructed 2.81 miles of roadway, planted 1,500 trees, sloped and graded 500 acres of roads, planted 500 shrubs and plants, seeded and sodded 50 acres, surveyed 71 miles of territory, erected 88 markers, developed 2 picnic areas with tables and fireplaces, and installed a replica of a federal mortar at Battery 5. They had also built a machine shop, garage, and three guide shelters. New roadways, constructed from crushed concrete salvaged from former Camp Lee structures, connected the areas around Batteries 5, 8, and 9. By 1937, the CCC had completed a colonial-style contact station near Battery 5, becoming the first station within park boundaries.[487]

Under the direction of NPS historians in 1936, CCC workers uncovered a half mile of Confederate trenches, as well as a musket and uniform buttons, between Batteries 8 and 9.[488] The following year, they found several relics amid low-lying land a half mile east of Fort Stedman. Supervised by landscape foreman Norman Buckley, the CCC workers discovered a spring about four feet beneath the surface encased in a wooden keg or barrel. The workers also uncovered other artifacts, including a three-inch projectile, remnants and soles of shoes, shards of three green glass bottles, rusted handcuffs, a lower portion of a spade, fragments of an exploded shell, and two cartridge cases. Other such finds by CCC workers would occur periodically throughout excavations. These and other objects were added to the Crater Museum, where an exhibit opened in 1939. The exhibit displayed between seventy-five to one hundred guns used by both Confederate and Union soldiers. Installation of this exhibit served as another means to draw visitors, with the park reporting tourists hailing from thirty-six states, France, Ireland, Palestine, and Alaska in 1939.[489]

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[485] "Fechner to Inspect CCC Camp Today," *The Petersburg Progress-Index*, March 22, 1936.

[486] "Works Fund to Complete Project in next 18 months," *The Petersburg Progress-Index*, October 20, 1933.

[487] "Station Nearly Complete," *Richmond News-Leader*, June 25, 1937.

[488] Park Growing in Importance: Summary of Year Shows 31,029 Persons visited Petersburg area," *The Petersburg Progress-Index*, October 1, 1936; "Half-Mile of Confederate Trenches Added to Park," *The Petersburg Progress-Index*, December 27, 1936.

[489] "Old Spring and Relics Found Near Crater Site," Richmond News Leader, July 20, 1937; "Refilled Confederate Works Uncovered at Petersburg," *Richmond News Leader*, December 25, 1937; "Old Artillery to be Placed About Crater," *Richmond Times Dispatch*, November 3, 1939.

Four artists – two men and two women – hired by the WPA complemented all this CCC construction. The artists prepared five pictorial maps, twenty paintings of uniforms, two large outdoor maps, four maps showing the war's progress, one diorama showing soldier life, a map of the park, and the general redesign of the Crater Museum. Staff also hosted lectures and offered specialized tours to schools and clubs.[490]

On the sixth anniversary of the CCC at PETE, Company 1364 held an open house at Fort Stedman. They welcomed the public to visit their buildings, including the mess hall, rec hall, workshops, and educational classrooms. They showcased the miles of rehabilitated earthworks and over twenty-four thousand trees planted, as well as the improved roadways, picnic grounds and campsites, contact stations, and installation of the replica Dictator as it was used by Company G, 1st Connecticut Heavy Artillery. Programs included demonstrations from the vocational and recreational activities, like bugle and drum corps, orchestra music, and furniture-making.[491]

Mission 66: 1950s and 1960s

The Mission 66 initiative, a ten-year program launched in 1956, aimed to modernize visitor facilities and infrastructure within the National Park System in anticipation of its fiftieth anniversary. This initiative led to the development of a new architectural style historian Sara Allaback termed "Park Service Modern," which "eschewed the overt rusticity of pre-war 'parkitecture' and embraced modern materials, modern aesthetics, and modern conceptions of space and movement." This shift significantly altered the visitor experience and the built environment of many national parks.[492]

Apart from Mission 66 planning, PETE was also busy throughout the 1950s and 1960s preparing for various anniversaries. In the lead-up to the 1956 thirtieth anniversary of park establishment, PETE staff installed new signage throughout the park. These white-painted five-foot-tall signs were placed at Battery 5, Battery 25, Fort Stedman, Fort Wadsworth, Poplar Grove National Cemetery, Squirrel Level Road, Boydton Plank Road, Church Road, Halifax Road, Flank Road, Defense Road, Vaughan Road, Attack Road, Siege Road, and the Jordan House. During the 1956 anniversary ceremony, attendees heard music of the Civil War era and addresses delivered by PETE Superintendent Floyd B. Taylor, Reverend Hampden H. Smith, Jr., Regional Director of the NPS Elbert Cox, NPS Director Conrad Wirth, and Franklin W. Smith of the Petersburg Battlefield Park Association.[493]

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[490] "Park Growing in Importance: Summary of Year Shows 31,029 Persons visited Petersburg area," *The Petersburg Progress-Index*, October 1, 1936; "News Release," Petersburg National Military Park, DOI, NPS (December 28, 1936), Department of the Interior/National Park Service Petersburg National Battlefield Resource Management Records, 1873, 1922-2004, Series 1: Park Central Files, 1934-2004, undated, B. Publicity and Statistics (500), 1934-1947, C. Lands, Buildings, Roads, and Trails (600), 1938-1953, D. Administration and Management (A), 1954-1962, PETE 20003, Box 2, Folder 9, "Publicity and Statistics (500) (501-03) Newspaper Clippings 1934-1947"; "Art Project is Complete," *The Petersburg Progress-Index*, September 8, 1937.

[491] "CCC Will Hold Open House at Ft. Stedman," *The Petersburg Progress-Index*, April 2, 1939.

[492] Sara Allaback, *Mission 66 Visitor Centers: The History of a Building Type* (Government Printing Office, 2000).

[493] "New Signs to Mark Trails Throughout Military Park," *The Petersburg Progress-Index*, August 23, 1953; Program: Petersburg National Military Park: Thirtieth Anniversary of Establishment (July 3, 1956), Department of

In the years leading to Mission 66, PETE also prepared for the hundredth anniversary of the battles between 1861-1865. In 1962, it was redesignated as Petersburg National Battlefield. But it was not just the name that received a facelift. The park spent $1,379,350 to renovate its resources, with $237,500 allocated from the federal budget to improve roadways. In addition to trail rehabilitation, installation of signage, and new paintings throughout the park, PETE prepared for the construction of a new visitor center and museum at Battery 5, estimated at $190,000.[494]

News of park remodeling reached national headlines in the *New York Times* in 1967. A lengthy article highlighted the park's many attractions, informed by the "'new interpretive program' of the Park Service. Under the program, exhibits are first devised and arranged into an integrated display; then, a building is designed to accommodate the display. The Petersburg center is the first example of this program in action."[495] A twenty-seven-mile motor tour encouraged visitors to explore the park at their own pace. At the visitor center, tourists could view twenty-five upright panels, six curved panels, a diorama, and plexi-glass cases that featured illustrations, interpretive labels, and artifacts. The six panels featured images that depicted soldier life, siege warfare, medical care, artillery, logistics and communications, and the Battle of the Crater. Still under construction, PETE planned for a War Room which would allow visitors to view a topographical map of the siege and battle area while music played overhead. Outside the visitor center, tourists could watch demonstrations of 1863 Harpers Ferry musket-firing at Battery 5, offered three to five times a day. They could then drive to Batteries 8 and 9 to understand supply along Grant's Railroad. The tour ended at the Crater, where visitors could examine the trenches and tunnels.[496]

A year after the *New York Times* feature, PETE officially celebrated the new facilities with a dedication ceremony on April 27, 1968. NPS Director George Hartzog and Secretary of the Interior Stewart Udall both offered remarks, as well as Virginia senators and congressmen.[497]

Apart from the formal ceremonies, PETE continued to introduce new programming to broaden visitor demographics. In 1969, they initiated an outdoor classroom project for local schools. According to PETE superintendent Martin S. Conway, "We of the National Park Service believe that environmental awareness through education is one of the best approaches towards the eventual solution of many of our critical and complex problems." As part of this initiative, PETE set aside five hundred acres for environmental study.[498] A year later, they dedicated a trail for blind

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the Interior/National Park Service Petersburg National Battlefield Resource Management Records, 1873, 1922-2004, Series 4: History Division Files, 1873, 1922-1979, 1999-2003, undated; Series 5: Photographs, 1929-1948, 1955, 1981-1982, undated, PETE 20003, Box 15, Folder 1, "Brochures, 1937-1959, 1973-1975, 1999-2003, undated."

494 "Petersburg Planning Centennial Primping," *The Petersburg Progress-Index*, March 19, 1961.

495 Gordon C. Bennett, "A New Interpretation for a Civil War site in Virginia," *New York Times*, October 29, 1967.

496 Bennett, "A New Interpretation for a Civil War site."

497 Program for Dedication of New Facilities, Petersburg National Battlefield, April 27, 1968, Department of the Interior/National Park Service Petersburg National Battlefield Resource Management Records 1856, 1865-1877, 1892, 1873, 1903, 1916-2004, Series 1: Park Central Files, 1934-2004, undated D: Administration and Management (A), 1954-1962 PETE 20003, Box 22, Folder 19, "Administration and Management (A) A8215 Special Events Brochures and Correspondence, 1966-1971."

498 "As Outdoor Classroom: Battlefield Park Opens to Schools," *The Petersburg Progress-Index*, November 23,

visitors. Both initiatives – the outdoor classroom and the trail for blind visitors – reflected a common practice across the national park system in the late 1960s and early 1970s.[499] In an attempt to bring "parks to the people," the NPS strove to diversify its demographics through outreach to urban communities and underserved populations. The agency also began to dismantle barriers to accessibility, as parks increasingly welcomed visitors with disabilities who sought equal access to public lands.[500]

The 1976 Bicentennial

Petersburg had much to celebrate in 1976: not only was the park celebrating its fiftieth anniversary, but it was also the year of the nation's bicentennial. The NPS played a significant role in the American Bicentennial celebrations of 1976, highlighting historical sites and offering commemorative programs nationwide. Furthermore, the Bicentennial spurred increased visitation and renewed interest in the nation's heritage, leading to greater public awareness and support for national parks. The NPS capitalized on this revived interest in America's founding by championing parks with a direct connection to 1776 and the American Revolution, such as Minute Man and Saratoga.

As part of the fiftieth anniversary festivities, the park hosted an open house on July 3 and 4, 1976 for visitors to see behind-the-scenes of park operations. A fife and drum corps from the Honor Guard, 392nd Army Band, and Quartermaster Sergeant of Fort Lee played Revolutionary and Civil War-era music while a color guard and drill unit performed. The park's living history interpreters were on site, portraying a Union Camp, Confederate and Union cavalry, and a Confederate field artillery team. Actors also performed in the 1840 comedy "Box and Cox." The day concluded with a torchlight tour of the Union camp of the 200th Pennsylvania Volunteers. The July 3 and 4 daytime events welcomed fifteen thousand visitors. The July 3 evening torchlight tours were attended by two hundred people, and, on July 4, four hundred people attended. Planning for the day's event was coordinated by PETE staff Neil Mangum and Larry Hakel, as well as members of Chamber of Commerce, faculty at Richard Bland College, staff at the Historic Petersburg Foundation, Joe Cullen with Richmond National Battlefield, faculty at Virginia State College, a member of Petersburg City Council, staff from the Petersburg Tourism Department, and staff at the Quartermaster Museum.[501]

1969.

[499] Letter from J. Leonard Volz, Director of NPS Southeast Region, to PETE Superintendent about July 15, 1970 dedication of trail for the blind at Petersburg, Department of the Interior/National Park Service Petersburg National Battlefield Resource Management Records 1856, 1865-1877, 1892, 1873, 1903, 1916-2004, Series 1: Park Central Files, 1934-2004, undated D: Administration and Management (A), 1954-1962 PETE 20003, Box 22, Folder 19, "Administration and Management (A) A8215 Special Events Brochures and Correspondence, 1966-1971."

[500] Barry Mackintosh "An Administrative History-The Urban Challenge," Rock Creek Park, National Park Service, published 1985, last modified April 10, 2015, https://www.nps.gov/rocr/learn/historyculture/adhi4a.htm; Ellie Kaplan, "Guidebooks and Accessibility: Tools By and For Disabled Visitors, Past, Present, and Future," National Park Service, last modified January 9, 2025, https://www.nps.gov/articles/000/nps-guidebooks-and-accessibility.htm.

[501] "News Release, U.S. Department of the Interior, National Park Service, 'Celebrate the 3rd at Peterburg'," Depart-

The July 3 and 4 celebration was nestled within a summer full of Bicentennial commemorations. PETE staff selected the theme of "Rebels in Two Wars" to kick off their 1976 programming. As part of this initiative, PETE hosted various programs and created new exhibits for the Visitor Center. The "Rebels in Two Wars" exhibit displayed Revolutionary-era and Confederate soldiers' uniforms and weapons, while the slide program "Revolution & Rebellion" illustrated camp life in the two wars.

Beyond park boundaries, PETE staff also served on community-oriented projects, including participation in the Colonial Heights and Petersburg Bicentennial Commissions and speaker programs at Fort Lee.[502] The PETE superintendent also received an invitation from Virginia State College to participate in their 1976 programming. According to the "1976 Bicentennial Calendar for Petersburg & Vicinity," residents had the opportunity to attend a Performing Arts Festival, various county events, and a lecture led by Dr. Edgar A. Toppin on "Blacks in the Revolutionary Era" held at St. Stephen's Episcopal Church. It is not clear who held onto this flyer, but a member of PETE staff circled the latter event and wrote in pen "plan to attend."[503]

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ment of the Interior/National Park Service Petersburg National Battlefield Resource Management Records 1856, 1865-1877, 1892, 1873, 1903, 1916-2004, Series 1: Park Central Files, 1934-2004, undated D: Administration and Management (A), 1954-1962 PETE 20003, Box 22, Folder 23, "Administration and Management (A) A8215 50th Anniversary of Petersburg National Battlefield, 1974-1976"; "Minutes of Petersburg national Battlefield 50th Anniversary Committee," Petersburg National Battlefield, National Park Service, DOI, November 14, 1974," Department of the Interior/National Park Service Petersburg National Battlefield Resource Management Records 1856, 1865-1877, 1892, 1873, 1903, 1916-2004, Series 1: Park Central Files, 1934-2004, undated D: Administration and Management (A), 1954-1962 PETE 20003, Box 22, Folder 23, "Administration and Management (A) A8215 50th Anniversary of Petersburg National Battlefield, 1974-1976"; Letter from Wallace B. Elms, Superintendent to Regional Director, Mid-Atlantic Region, Subject: Report of Bicentennial Activities, August 13, 1976, Department of the Interior/National Park Service Petersburg National Battlefield Resource Management Records 1856, 1865-1877, 1892, 1873, 1903, 1916-2004, Series 1: Park Central Files, 1934-2004, undated D: Administration and Management (A), 1954-1962 PETE 20003, Box 22, Folder 21, "Administration and Management (A) A8215 1973-1976";

[502] Letter from Wallace B. Elms, Superintendent to Regional Director, Mid-Atlantic Region, Subject: Report of Bicentennial Activities, August 13, 1976, Department of the Interior/National Park Service Petersburg National Battlefield Resource Management Records 1856, 1865-1877, 1892, 1873, 1903, 1916-2004, Series 1: Park Central Files, 1934-2004, undated D: Administration and Management (A), 1954-1962 PETE 20003, Box 22, Folder 21, "Administration and Management (A) A8215 1973-1976", Letter from Wallace B. Elms, PETE Superintendent to Regional Director of Mid-Atlantic Region, July 7, 1976, Department of the Interior/National Park Service Petersburg National Battlefield Resource Management Records 1856, 1865-1877, 1892, 1873, 1903, 1916-2004, Series 1: Park Central Files, 1934-2004, undated D: Administration and Management (A), 1954-1962 PETE 20003, Box 22, Folder 21, "Administration and Management (A) A8215 1973-1976."

[503] PETE archival material from the 1970s indicates that PETE staff expressed interest in broadening narratives to include Black contributions to military history. Apart from the circling of the 1976 "Blacks in the Revolutionary Era" event and the invitation from Virginia State College, PETE superintendent Larry Hakel communicated with a Myrna D. Harris, Assistant to the Director of the Afro-American Bicentennial Corporation. It appears that Superintendent Hakel loaned books from the park collection and sent park maps to members of the Afro-African Bicentennial Corporation. Letter from Myrna D. Harris, Assistant to the Director of Afro-African American Bicentennial Corporation, to Larry L. Hakel, PETE Superintendent, n.d, received January 11, 1974, Department of the Interior/National Park Service Petersburg National Battlefield Resource Management Records 1856, 1865-1877, 1892, 1873, 1903, 1916-2004, Series 1: Park Central Files, 1934-2004, undated D: Administration and Management (A), 1954-1962 PETE 20003, Box 22, Folder 21, "Administration and Management (A) A8215 1973-1976"; Letter from Mrs. Celia D. Younger and Dr. Edgar A. Toppin, Virginia State College Bicenten-

Living History, 1970s-1990s

Central to PETE's Bicentennial activities was its expansion of a living history program. According to Director's Order #6, "third-person" living history is common practice at national parks, whereby individuals do not attempt to re-create history but instead offer educational demonstrations. In contrast, "first-person" living history portrays a specific individual. In the 1970s and 1980s, when living history expanded at PETE in particular and the national parks in general, first- and third-person depictions of living history were common for battlefield reenactments and demonstration.[504]

As mentioned previously, battle reenactments were popular from the outset of park establishment, as demonstrated by the crowds that attended the 1937 Battle of the Crater event. By 1976, PETE identified itself as a "Living History Park," where the

> story of the 10 month seige [sic] is told through the eyes of the men and women who were here at the time. Rangers in period dress portray the activities of the soldiers and civilians, the artillerists and camp-followers of 1864-65. Our programs are kept as informal as possible. Except for the scheduled demonstrations and talks the living history soldiers and civilian will spend most of their day doing chores common to their 19th century counterparts.[505]

According to a Bicentennial brochure at PETE, staff welcomed visitors to interact with the living history interpreters and ask them about life in the Civil War era. Living history programs included: a Union soldier or nineteenth-century woman based at Battery 5, "Cavalry in the War" described by Union and Confederate soldiers, a demonstration of musket firing, a Union Camp managed by the 200th Pennsylvania volunteers, and a Union field hospital.

From the late 1960s to the 1980s, PETE offered an array of living history programs. As early as 1969, "Civil War soldiers" managed an 8 x 11 x 7 ft. hut located off the Meade Station Trail. Managed by six students, the young men built the hut, a fireplace with a mantel, four bunk beds, and a table and chair. They wrapped their hut in tent canvas. As a modern convenience, cement

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nial Committee to Wallce B. Elms, June 10, 1976, Department of the Interior/National Park Service Petersburg National Battlefield Resource Management Records 1856, 1865-1877, 1892, 1873, 1903, 1916-2004, Series 1: Park Central Files, 1934-2004, undated D: Administration and Management (A), 1954-1962 PETE 20003, Box 22, Folder 21, "Administration and Management (A) A8215 1973-1976."; Flyer for "1976 Bicentennial Calendar for Petersburg & Vicinity," Department of the Interior/National Park Service Petersburg National Battlefield Resource Management Records 1856, 1865-1877, 1892, 1873, 1903, 1916-2004, Series 1: Park Central Files, 1934-2004, undated D: Administration and Management (A), 1954-1962 PETE 20003, Box 22, Folder 21, "Administration and Management (A) A8215 1973-1976."

[504] Josh Howard, "Equality in Living History," National Park Service, last modified January 22, 2025, https://www.nps.gov/articles/equality-in-living-history.htm; "Director's Order #6: Interpretation and Education" National Park Service, U.S. Department of the Interior, 2005.

[505] Program "Petersburg National Battlefield 1976 Summer Schedule," Department of the Interior/National Park Service Petersburg National Battlefield Resource Management Records, 1873, 1922-2004, Series 4: History Division Files, 1873, 1922-1979, 1999-2003, undated; Series 5: Photographs, 1929-1948, 1955, 1981-1982, undated, PETE 20003, Box 15, Folder 1, "Brochures, 1937-1959, 1973-1975, 1999-2003, undated."

was used to hold logs in place rather than mud and straw, to ensure longevity of the structure. In rotations of four at a time, the six soldiers interpreted life as Union soldiers during the 1864-65 siege. When not speaking with visitors, they continued to build other resources, including *cheveaux de frise,* or defenses against cavalry horses, and wickerware baskets used to fortify earthworks.[506]

By summer 1973, PETE submitted a press release about new living history programs. They were pleased to announce three new features: a field hospital, cavalry-mounted troops, and introduction of the first women to the Living History Program. The latter program intended to shed insight on women's daily experiences during wartime. Portrayed by two women, one woman depicted a Union officer's wife visiting the frontline, while another presented as a Petersburg lady on a social visit to the Confederate line.

An enduring favorite for visitors, the Napoleon cannon, managed by a six-horse team and a crew of eight men, complemented musket-firing demonstration and activities at the Sutler Store. As part of the field hospital, PETE historian Neil Mangum hired college students to act as Civil War surgeons and injured soldiers. While they promised not to display amputated limbs, they wanted to ensure visitors understand medical treatment options and did not plan to shy away from the "gory and gruesome" reality of warfare. At the Cavalry feature, visitors encountered artillery, infantry, and cavalry. Union and Confederate soldiers rode around the park on horseback, speaking with visitors about their experiences. Soldiers carried a saber and Spencer-repeating carbine.[507]

Whereas most living history interpreters were white, PETE made concerted efforts to recruit Black students to depict USCT in the 1970s and 1980s. Over the years, at least three Black students participated in the living history program. Kelvin Miles and Robert Robertson were both students at Virginia State University (VSU), where Miles was working toward his master's degree in education administration and Robertson studied agriculture. At PETE, both served at Battery 5, where they interpreted USCT life for the public. Miles would go on to become the driving force behind the Decatur Dorsey Institute and PETE's USCT statue. Robertson's interest in working for the NPS stemmed from his grandfather's thirty-five-year career at PETE. In addition to Miles and Robertson, PETE also hired a student at Petersburg High School, Kimberly Whitaker. Whitaker was hired to play a "runaway slave in a Union encampment," as part of her experiential learning while in high school. She received guidance from PETE park ranger Chris Calkins and Lucious Edwards, archivist at VSU.[508] Considering VSU's enduring working relationship with PETE, further research should be conducted at VSU on their collaborations with PETE.

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[506] Jeff Chase, "Battlefield Hut, Guns Reveal Life During City Siege," Tri-City News, June 30, 1969; "Reproduction Built at Battlefield: Hut Reflects Soldiers' Way of Life," *The Petersburg Progress-Index,* November 3, 1969.

[507] "Press Release: Battlefield Expands Summer Living History Program, Petersburg National Battlefield, DOI, NPS (February 12, 1973)," Department of the Interior/National Park Service Petersburg National Battlefield Resource Management Records, 1873, 1922-2004, Series 1: Park Central Files, 1934-2004, undated, B. Publicity and Statistics (500), 1934-1947, C. Lands, Buildings, Roads, and Trails (600), 1938-1953, D. Administration and Management (A), 1954-1962, PETE 20003, Box 2, Folder, "Publicity and Statistics, Press Releases, 1974-1974."

[508] Linda J. Johnson, "Being Civil War blacks gives unique challenge," *The Petersburg Progress-Index*, August 7, 1988; M.W. Goodwyn, "Role heightens student's learning," *Richmond Times-Dispatch*, July 5, 1992.

1980s–2000s: Enduring Traditions and New Interpretation

First celebrated nationally in 1976, Black History Month would not become codified in law until 1986.[509] It appears that the City of Petersburg celebrated Black History Month as early as 1982, and PETE participated in special programming. At the visitor center, an exhibit depicted the life of USCT soldiers, while a display on Black cavalry in the American West was featured at the Quartermaster Museum at Fort Lee.[510]

While PETE introduced new interpretive lenses to diversify its storytelling and visitor demographics from the 1970s onward, the park also continued to host reenactments in a tradition similar to those long practiced at the park. In July 1985, the George E. Pickett Camp, SCV hosted a Battle of the Crater commemoration during which the UDC, Children of The Confederacy, Sons of the American Revolution, SCV, Friends of Virginia Civil War Parks, Petersburg Ladies Memorial Association, and Stuart-Mosby Historical Society laid twenty-four memorial wreaths. Many attendees dressed in period costume, with two hundred spectators reported to have attended.[511]

In July 1989, PETE planned multiple events to commemorate the 125th anniversary of the siege of Petersburg. A living history program would feature cannon and marching demonstrations from Mahone's Brigade and period music performed by the Fort Lee army band. The park also planned to invite back the SCV to commemorate the Crater battlefield, as they had four years previous in 1985. Organized in collaboration with Virginia Civil War Parks and Eastern National, PETE would develop commemorative memorabilia like medals, cachets, and programs."[512]

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[509] Carter G. Woodson first announced a Negro History Week in February 1926. Daryl Michael Scott, "The Origins of Black History Month," ASALH (2025), https://asalh.org/about-us/origins-of-black-history-month/; Gerald R. Ford, "Message on the Observance of Black History Week," UC Santa Barbara, The American Presidency Project, February 3, 1975, https://www.presidency.ucsb.edu/documents/message-the-observance-black-history-week; 100 Stat. 6 - Joint resolution to provide for the designation of the month of February, 1986, as "National Black (Afro-American) History Month," 99th Cong., 2nd Sess. (1986), https://www.govinfo.gov/app/details/STATUTE-100/STATUTE-100-Pg6.

[510] Kent Booty, "Petersburg Shows Black History: Tour Highlights Black Events Here," *The Petersburg Progress-Index*, February 14, 1982.

[511] Brochure: "The Battle of the Crater: The Story and the Meaning: A Commemoration," July 27, 1985, 5:00 pm, Sponsored by George E. Pickett Camp, Sons of Confederate Veterans, Department of the Interior/National Park Service Petersburg National Battlefield Resource Management Records 1856, 1865-1877, 1892, 1873, 1903, 1916-2004, Series 1: Park Central Files, 1934-2004, undated D: Administration and Management (A), 1954-1962 PETE 20003, Box 22, Folder 19, "Administration and Management (A) A8215 Special Events Brochures and Correspondence, 1966-1971"; "Crater remembered in wet ceremony," *The Petersburg Progress-Index*, July 29, 1985.

[512] Letter from Glenn O. Clark, Superintendent at PETE, to Regional Director Mid-Atlantic Region and Chief of Interpretation & Visitor Services, January 6, 1986, Department of the Interior/National Park Service Petersburg National Battlefield Resource Management Records 1856, 1865-1877, 1892, 1873, 1903, 1916-2004, Series 1: Park Central Files, 1934-2004, undated D: Administration and Management (A), 1954-1962 PETE 20003, Box 22, Folder 19, "Administration and Management (A) A8215 Special Events Brochures and Correspondence, 1966-1971."

Conclusion

As John Bodnar argues in *Remaking America: Public Memory, Commemoration, and Patriotism in the Twentieth Century*, "public memory is not simply a recitation of the past but rather a complex negotiation between official and vernacular expressions of that past." Commemorating Civil War landscapes is complex due to the deeply contested memories held by diverse groups, as these sites become "multivocal" spaces where differing interpretations of the war and its causes coexist. Early American battlefield commemoration was limited and localized, with national investment and interest growing slowly in the early nineteenth century, often tied to burgeoning national identity. The Civil War marked a turning point, leading to widespread public memorialization as Americans grappled with immense loss and a fractured nation, with monuments serving to solidify narratives of identity. The emergence of the "Lost Cause" ideology in the South significantly shaped commemoration, reframing the war as a defense of their way of life and downplaying slavery, influencing the types of monuments and historical interpretations that prevailed. While Unionist perspectives also existed, the reconciliationist spirit often overshadowed the role of slavery and the experiences of African Americans in the war's memory. These commemorative events have further evolved within the NPS and continue to do so today.

Chapter VI: Preservation

Introduction

Since 1933, the NPS has preserved PETE as a critical historic landscape used to memorialize, interpret, and commemorate a unique Civil War battle. Under NPS stewardship, the park changed significantly over the years, including but not limited to the removal of a golf course, construction of a Mission 66 visitor center, and creation of a unique living history complex. The Civil War has been the primary interpretive story told within the Eastern Front Unit of PETE, but the park itself fits within a larger context of the Civil War battlefield preservation movement within the United States that began well before the establishment of the NPS. This chapter explores and contextualizes this pre-1933 history along with all projects affecting historic resources conducted by the NPS within the Eastern Front.

Immediately after the battles at Petersburg ended in 1865, tourists regularly visited the battlefield to view the uniqueness of trenches, forts, and other earthworks. As discussed in Chapter IV, there was no significant effort during the nineteenth century to preserve the battlefield landscape except for the Crater and its immediate surroundings. Lee Wallace's 1957 administrative history of the park noted that Eastern Front battle lines were obscured or erased by at least 1867 as people returned to the area to cultivate the land just as they had prior to the war. In contrast, the Crater's owner William H. Griffith recognized the resource's importance and potential as a tourist attraction. Griffith and his family gathered historical artifacts from the Crater, built a small museum and relic shop, and charged admission for visitors. Now, the only people visiting the site would be paying customers and the Griffith family.[513]

A movement to commemorate battlefields began even as the Civil War raged throughout the fractured nation in the early 1860s. Most commemorative efforts immediately following wartime focused on monuments and memorials (see Chapter V), but the beginnings of a true park movement had roots in cemeteries. In the 1860s, federal officials recognized a need for a national cemetery program. Civil War soldiers who perished during the war were buried during and immediately after battles with many interred near where they fell, but the sheer scale of caring for Union dead led to the National Cemetery Act of 1867, which provided funding for National Cemeteries under the auspices of the War Department. By the end of the 1860s, the War Department managed dozens of National Cemeteries, including Poplar Grove National Cemetery now managed by PETE and not part of the Eastern Front.[514]

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[513] Wallace and Conway.

[514] Robert Poole, *On Hallowed Ground* (Walker & Company, 2009), 76-90; Micki McElya, *The Politics of Mourning* (Harvard University Press, 2016); "National Cemetery Administration History and Development," National Cemetery Administration, last modified October 18, 2023, https://www.cem.va.gov/facts/NCA_History_and_Development_1.asp; "National Cemetery Administration Dates of Establishment," National Cemetery Administration, last modified November 2, 2023, https://www.cem.va.gov/facts/Dates_of_Establishment_1.asp.

Broadening Battlefield Preservation

Over the next two decades, the Civil War commemoration movement changed as powerful individuals, many of whom were Civil War veterans, argued for conserving the rapidly deteriorating battlefields. The first such battlefield authorized by Congress was Chickamauga and Chattanooga National Military Park (CHCH) on August 19, 1890, quickly followed by a park at Antietam just eleven days later, with both placed under War Department administration. Over the next ten years, Congress authorized War Department parks at Shiloh, Gettysburg, and Vicksburg.

The impetus for these five parks all came from joint campaigns of Union and Confederate veterans. Formerly enemies, both sides of aging veterans united in a spirit of reconciliation. Motivated by a mutually shared fear that their military service from 1861 to 1865 would soon be forgotten, veterans sought to preserve battlefields as they became rapidly overgrown, faced risk of private development, or were repurposed into farmland. Further driving this interest in reconciliation were the dual forces of Jim Crow and a revived celebration of American nationalism. Memories of sectional animosities based in African American slavery fell away from popular discourse amongst white Americans to be replaced by a harmonious reunion of brothers in a segregated, rapidly industrializing nation. The 1890 announcement by the US Census Bureau of the "closing of the frontier" only caused white Americans to further look inward; there were no more western lands into which to expand. White Southerners and white Northerners, having resolved America's race problem in their minds, fell into a sentimental, broadly popular conviction that bridging regional divides was a worthy national pursuit that served the goals of American progress.[515]

The park movement at Petersburg must also be placed within the broader Civil War battlefield movement emerging from the reconciliationist, sentimental discourse of the 1880s and 1890s. CHCH was created as the first War Department park largely because of its postwar history as a site of Union nostalgia and early battlefield innovation. As such, it was primary in establishing the War Department approach to battlefield preservation. The Society of the Army of the Cumberland, a Union veteran organization, held a reunion of officers at Chattanooga in 1881, where members noticed the poor condition of the battlefield landscape. With politically influential members, such as then Senator Benjamin Harrison and Representative Charles H. Grosvenor, these veterans were well-positioned throughout the 1880s to campaign for change.[516] In May 1888, US Army veterans Ferdinand Van Derveer and Medal of Honor Recipient Henry Van Ness Boynton revisited the battlefield and, supposedly while strolling through the landscape, conceived of a military park funded by the US government. Rather than a national shrine for Union victory, the pair argued that both Union and Confederate veterans should share in erecting a battlefield park.[517]

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[515] Silber, *The Romance of Reunion*; Michael Kammen, *Mystic Chords of Memory* (Vintage Books, 1993), 106-115; David W. Blight, Race and Reunion: The Civil War in American Memory (Harvard University Press, 2001); Timothy Smith, This Great Battlefield of Shiloh (University of Tennessee Press, 2004), 17-22; Jennifer Murray, On A Great Battlefield (University of Tennessee Press, 2014), 10-18.

[516] Twentieth Reunion of the Society of the Army of the Cumberland, September 1889 (Robert Clarke & Co., 1890).

[517] John C. Paige and Jerome A. Greene, *Administrative History of Chickamauga and Chattanooga National Military Park,* National Park Service (1983).

Within a year, a reconciliationist vision championed by Boynton secured the support of former Union and Confederate generals. A new organization – the Joint Memorial Battlefield Association – rallied in Washington D.C. in September 1889 to garner legislative support. With seeming inevitability, Boynton wrote and delivered a bill to Representative Charles H. Grosvenor, himself a Chickamauga veteran, authorizing "Chickamauga and Chattanooga National Military Park." President Benjamin Harrison signed the bill into law on August 19, 1890, thus setting aside a 7,600-acre boundary under War Department stewardship.[518]

The precedents set by CHCH creation established procedures that other War Department parks would follow, including PETE thirty-five years later. State and local power brokers acquired land and encouraged local landowners to sell while the federal government acted as a passive observer. Condemnation lawsuits were typically not used, though local landowners generally understood it as a possibility were they to resist governmental acquisition. Additionally, CHCH established the War Department's approach to historic battlefield conservation by restoring the landscape to pre-battle conditions with few exceptions. Reforming the landscape in this way, it was believed, would invite visitors to recall a time before the Civil War. By crafting an antebellum-era cultural landscape, the War Department believed it could foster reconciliation in a more peaceful, seemingly natural landscape. Monuments, memorials, and clear rural fields would only emphasize this point.[519]

The story of lobbying to establish a Petersburg battlefield park initially resembled that at Chattanooga, though Petersburg boosters were unsuccessful in their efforts for decades despite obtaining significant Congressional support. Representative Sydney Epes, serving in his first term of office representing a district including Petersburg, introduced legislation on January 6, 1898, during the 2nd Session of the 55th Congress to establish "Petersburg National Park."[520] Civil War veterans in the Petersburg area led by veteran Confederate cavalry officer Stith Bolling formed the Petersburg National Battlefield Association in early 1898 to lobby for the park idea, stage reenactments, raise money, and help manage commemoration efforts (see Chapter V). Generally, the organization was composed of Confederate and Union veterans, as well as Petersburg locals, who supported Representative Epes' bill. Two petitions were also received by Senator John W. Daniel of Virginia in support of the park with one from "common council" and another from Confederate veterans.[521]

However, Representative Epes' bill was sent to the House Committee on Military Affairs, and there it died. Three major reasons undergirded this inaction: as a relatively new Congressional Representative, Epes lacked the powerful allies necessary to back his bill; the Spanish-American

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[518] Henry V. Boynton, "The Chickamauga Memorial Association," *Southern Historical Society Papers* 16 (1888): 340; Paige and Greene, Administrative History, Ch. 1.

[519] Paige and Greene, *Administrative History*; Timothy Smith, *The Golden Age of Battlefield Preservation* (University of Tennessee Press, 2008), 36.

[520] "January 6, 1898, Vol. 31, Part 1 — Bound Edition," Congressional Record, 414.

[521] Layton and Foulds, *CLR for Crater Battlefield*; Wallace and Conway, 24-25; "Index to the Congressional Record, 55th Cong., 2nd Sess., From December 6, 1897, to July 8, 1898," 145.

War drew funding and attention away from domestic issues; and most importantly, Epes suddenly departed from Congress. The youthful Epes – elected to Congress in 1896 at thirty-one years old – was replaced by Robert Taylor Thorp when, at Thorp's challenge, the Committee on Elections found numerous voting irregularities in Epes' favor. The House voted to officially replace Epes with Thorp on March 23, 1898, just ten weeks after the bill's introduction. Without Representative Epes on Capitol Hill whipping votes, the Petersburg battlefield park idea withered for the time being.[522]

What befell the park idea next was a tragedy. Epes returned to his district, immediately began campaigning for the 1898 election, and again won a seat in the House of Representatives. Epes introduced a new Petersburg bill early in the session, but it never emerged from the Committee on Military Affairs. Again, Epes suddenly departed from the House, though this time it was because of his unexpected death. Epes fell ill in early March 1900 and died of appendicitis on March 3 just one day short of serving a year of his second term of office.[523]

Petersburg battlefield boosters persisted despite the failure of Epes' legislation and his death, though their efforts during the 1900s repeatedly fell through.[524] For example, Representative Francis Lassiter, who was elected to fill Epes' former seat in 1906 and 1908, worked with Army staff in 1909 to study troop locations and movements at Petersburg while unsuccessfully lobbying for the park idea within the House.[525] Despite this revived momentum for a park, the deaths of two more major Petersburg battlefield supporters further doomed the project. Representative Francis Lassiter died suddenly on October 31, 1909, at just forty-three years old, and his successor did not take up the park idea. Civil War historian Archibald Gracie IV, whose father was killed at Petersburg in 1864, worked to conserve battlefields including Petersburg during this era. However, Gracie boarded the ill-fated *RMS Titanic*. Though he survived the freezing Atlantic Ocean, he never recovered from hypothermia-related physical injuries. Gracie suffered and died of complications from diabetes on December 4, 1912.[526]

A Legislative Backlog

From about 1910 to the early 1920s, Petersburg battlefield legislation dissipated, though this was not a unique phenomenon for Civil War commemoration. After the initial legislative rush during the 1890s, Congress slowed in developing War Department parks. Just three were created from

[522] Layton and Foulds, *CLR for Crater Battlefield*; Wallace and Conway, 24-25; Dictionary of Virginia Biography "Sydney Parham Epes," Library of Virginia, published 2015, https://old.lva.virginia.gov/public/dvb/bio.asp?b=Epes_Sydney_Parham.

[523] Layton and Foulds, *CLR for Crater Battlefield*; Ronald F. Lee, *The Origin and Evolution of the National Park Idea* (Office of Park Historic Preservation, National Park Service, 1973).

[524] A joint resolution passed the Senate in 1906 authorizing a commission to study the Petersburg battlefield and create a report. However, identical legislation was put forward in 1908, suggesting the 1906 legislation was not enacted. "Congressional Record – House," 59th Cong., 2nd Sess., June 29, 1906, 9724; "January 16, 1908, Vol. 42, Part 1 — Bound Edition," 60th Cong., 1st Sess., 771.

[525] Wallace and Conway, 27.

[526] Layton and Foulds, *CLR for Crater Battlefield*; Lee, *Origin of the Military Park Idea*; "Col. Gracie Dies, Haunted by Titanic," New York Times, December 5, 1912.

1900 to 1925, and only one – Kennesaw Mountain (1917) – was a Civil War battlefield. Meanwhile, Congress continued to authorize national parks within the Department of the Interior at a blazing speed, while also developing legislation to centralize the now-sprawling system. To illustrate this disparity, it took Congress just over nine years to authorize the five original battlefield parks. In contrast, from just 1900 to 1910, the federal government authorized the creation of twenty-six national parks and monuments.

The reasons for Congressional inaction were multifaceted. After authorizing Vicksburg in 1899, no single battlefield rose in obvious importance above the rest. First, battlefield preservation was politically popular, so nearly every Senator and Representative with a battlefield in their state or district stumped for their respective locale. This drove competition between bills, meaning that no single bill could gain a legislative majority without major political compromise that never came to fruition. Second, there were fewer people alive who carried firsthand knowledge of the war and could thus advocate for park creation. Third, America's preparation and eventual entry into World War I necessitated that the War Department allocate its time and finances elsewhere. Finally, the arrival of fiscal conservatism with the election of President Warren G. Harding in 1920 resulted in even less government expenditure. Thus, from 1900 to 1925, Members of Congress filed dozens of bills for national military park appropriations with just two (Kennesaw Mountain and Guilford Courthouse) managing to pass successfully across the President's desk.[527]

The Drewry Plan

Starting in the 1920s, a new generation of leaders revived Petersburg conservation efforts on the national level. Virginia House of Delegates member Patrick Drewry voiced his support for commemorative efforts as early as 1910, though these efforts were limited to local discussions and never received serious legislative consideration within Congress or the Virginia General Assembly. However, Drewery's political star continued to rise through the decade, leading to his election to the House of Representatives in 1920. Beginning in 1923, Representative Drewery revived the Petersburg park idea based on a North-South reconciliationist approach. Rather than simply proposing yet another bill doomed to fail, a new legislative strategy took hold.[528]

Representative Drewery conferred in 1923 with Confederate veteran Carter Bishop and Union veteran James Anderson regarding a battlefield survey in advance of legislation proposing a park. The goal was to professionally survey the acreage and costs of all desirable lands, then incorporate such figures into new legislation. Anderson – given his connections to Massachusetts politicians, would then present said legislation to Speaker of the House Frederick Gillett of Massachusetts as a bill with both Southern and Northern support. This plan played out exactly as designed in 1924, though it nearly came to a crashing halt when Secretary of War John Weeks announced his opposition to the creation of new battlefield parks.[529]

Despite War Department opposition, Representative Drewery's bill to "inspect the battle fields of

[527] Lee, *Origin of the Military Park Idea*, 47.
[528] Layton and Foulds, *CLR for Crater Battlefield*; Lee, *Origin of the National Park Idea*; Wallace and Conway, 33.
[529] Layton and Foulds, *CLR for Crater Battlefield*; Lee, *Origin of the National Park Idea*; Wallace and Conway, 34.

the siege of Petersburg, Virginia, in order to ascertain the feasibility of preserving and marking for historical and professional military study such fields" was signed into law on February 11, 1925. Despite a tight ten-month deadline, a three-person commission got to work and submitted their report by November 1925, in which they recommended a 185-acre park with interpretive signage.[530]

One reason for the rapid passage of this legislation was because the battlefield at Petersburg faced an imminent risk of permanent damage due to golf course construction. The Griffith family heirs, having managed tourism at the Crater site since the war, sold the property to the Crater Battlefield Association in 1925. The Association intended to generate income through battlefield tourism and the development of a new golf course throughout the Eastern Front area, though they planned to leave the Crater undisturbed. The relic museum built at the Crater by the Griffith family was converted into a clubhouse.[531]

Battlefield survey completed, Representative Drewry submitted a new battlefield park bill on January 16, 1926, which proposed the establishment of Petersburg National Military Park. Backed by both the survey results and broad political support secured the previous year, the bill quickly passed both chambers of Congress. President Calvin Coolidge signed the bill into law on July 3, 1926. The Secretary of War was to appoint three commissioners who were given a budget of $25,000 to develop the park.[532] It is worth noting that President Coolidge signed the Petersburg bill just days after signing legislation commissioning a War Department survey of American battlefields. The War Department organized a team led by Colonel C.A. Bach of the Army War College to develop a system that categorized parks based on preservation and memorialization importance. In Bach's reports from 1928 and 1929, Petersburg was identified as one of sixteen locations placed within Class IIa, meaning locations "of such great military and historic interest as to warrant locating and indicating the battle lines…by a series of markers or tablets, but not necessarily by memorial monuments." The study approved Petersburg National Military Park, with only five battlefields ranked by Bach to be of greater importance (Saratoga, Yorktown, Gettysburg, Vicksburg, and Chickamauga-Chattanooga).[533]

The War Department Years

With Petersburg National Military Park newly formed in 1926, the authorized commission immediately developed plans for repairing roads within park boundaries and marking historical sites. Temporary workers began clearing land in the park in 1929 and within months had cleared Fort Walker, Fort Haskell, Fort Stedman, and Confederate Batteries 4, 5, and 6. By 1930, the com-

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[530] "Battlefield Related Legislation," Petersburg National Battlefield, National Park Service, last modified July 3, 2022, https://www.nps.gov/pete/learn/management/battlefield-related-legislation.htm.

[531] *CLI for Crater Battlefield.*

[532] The first three commissioners were Confederate veteran Carter Bishop, Union veteran Henry Comey, and Lt. Col. Henry Jewett. Wallace and Conway, 35-8.

[533] Lee, *Origin of the Military Park Idea*, 47-48; U.S. Congress, Senate, Study of Battle Fields in the United States for Commemorative Purposes, Senate Doc. No. 46, 71st Cong., 2d Sess., 1929.

mission completed all field surveys, cleared the central 179 acres, and established land acquisition plans, all of which were approved by War Department officials. Part of the Crater tunnel collapsed in 1930, though it was unclear if this was caused by increased activity in the area. The first roads within the park – a 2.5-mile loop within the Eastern Front – were initiated with a ceremonial groundbreaking at Fort Stedman on May 14, 1932.[534] The War Department held a formal dedication ceremony for Petersburg National Military Park on June 20, 1932. Several thousand attendees and nearly two thousand vehicles gathered near Battery 5 for the event.[535]

Around the time of the 1929 Wall Street Crash and subsequent Depression, all land parcel information was passed on to the private Petersburg Battlefield Park Association for acquisition (since legislation did not authorize direct federal land purchase). The War Department still expected the park would be fully operational by about 1934. However, War Department officials found the original estimate of 179 acres insufficient to properly tell the full story of the battle. Updated land estimates came to 607 acres in 1930, later reduced to 507 the following year and slightly modified in subsequent years. By mid-1933, the War Department had acquired control of about 346 acres. In the meantime, the private association worked to purchase land.[536]

President Franklin Delano Roosevelt entered the White House in 1933 with an overwhelming mandate to reform and expand the federal government. A major agenda of the president's first year in the White House was to centralize and modernize the executive bureaucracy. At the President's behest, Congress passed the Reorganization Act of 1933, which authorized the President to transfer national monuments between federal departments. The FDR Administration swiftly exercised this authority by transferring parks within War Department jurisdiction to the Department of the Interior, thus centralizing management of America's national historic sites under the banner of the NPS. One of the transferred parks included Petersburg National Military Park (PETE), officially entering NPS management on August 10, 1933, after just over seven years of War Department leadership.

The FDR Administration also created a new agency in 1933 that significantly impacted the PETE landscape – the CCC. The CCC provided jobs most often located within parks, forests, or land management areas to men primarily between the ages of eighteen and twenty-five. A federal partner agency supervised all projects conducted by CCC, while the US Army oversaw day-to-day activities such as barracks construction, simple maintenance, and cooking meals. The CCC grouped enrollees into segregated companies of about two hundred men stationed at Camps throughout the country. Each enrollee was typically limited to serving for about two years with few exceptions.[537]

The NPS broadly utilized CCC labor whenever possible, and PETE was no exception. CCC Camp MP-2 (nicknamed Camp Stedman) began operations near Fort Stedman on Hare House

[534] Wallace and Conway, 38-42.
[535] Wallace and Conway, 46.
[536] Wallace and Conway, 43-46
[537] Neil M. Maher, *Nature's New Deal: The Civilian Conservation Corps and the Roots of the American Environmental Movement* (Oxford University Press, 2008).

Hill on July 13, 1933, in preparation for the official switch to NPS management. The company assigned to Camp Stedman, Company 1364, consisted of white, unemployed World War I veterans, meaning that, unlike most CCC companies, the men working at PETE were exempt from the age ceiling of twenty-five years old. The arrival of Company 1364 initiated a nine-year CCC presence at Petersburg battlefield, a period that saw the most landscape transformation since the Civil War battle itself.[538] Projects generally focused on improving park access for the public, like clearing brush and building roads. CCC laborers also erected structures to house enrollees and facilitate work, as well as planted trees throughout the park. Some enrollees, unable to perform heavy labor, were instead trained in providing guide services as tourists regularly visited to view the battlefield.[539]

The NPS placed B. Floyd Flickinger in charge at PETE as the battlefield's first acting superintendent. However, Flickinger was based in Yorktown, as he also served as superintendent of Colonial National Monument. With Flickinger physically removed from the park, most on-site decisions were overseen by John V. Colston, project superintendent for the CCC. Flickinger retained administrative control of the site, but Colston often made day-to-day decisions without the superintendent's input.[540]

The first on-site NPS official at PETE arrived in December 1933 with historical technician Branch Spalding. The NPS charged Spalding with all historical work at the park and with carrying out an agenda designed by Flickinger. This changed again when the NPS named the park's first on-site superintendent, J. Walter Coleman, as acting superintendent on September 4, 1935, and then superintendent on July 1, 1936.[541]

Early NPS management at PETE again changed during 1936 when agency officials developed a plan to place all Civil War parks in Virginia, including PETE, under a management framework. Spalding relocated to Fredericksburg, where he was named coordinating superintendent of this new management entity. In one more managerial change during these early years, the NPS was divided into four regions during 1937. PETE fell within Region One with regional oversight provided by staff based out of Richmond. Finally, the park was withdrawn from the Spalding-led coordinating management framework on July 1, 1940. From this point forward, all decisions at PETE were made by on-site superintendents, on-site staff, or handed down by administrators in the regional or national office.[542]

Throughout all these administrative changes, the NPS's first major planning document regarding the Eastern Front at PETE was finalized in 1941 as the park's first Master Plan. Notable high-

[538] Wallace and Conway, 77-8.
[539] Wallace and Conway, 88-9.
[540] Note that in some records the CCC is referred to as "Emergency Conservation Work" because the Congressional legislation authorizing the agency was named the "Emergency Conservation Work Act of 1933." Wallace and Conway, 81.
[541] Wallace and Conway, 82-3. Josh Howard, *Thinking Beyond the Surrender Grounds: An Administrative History of Appomattox Court House National Historical Park, National Park Service* (2002), 59.
[542] Wallace and Conway, 82-3. Howard, *Thinking Beyond the Surrender Grounds*, 59.

lights included plans for more roads throughout the park, removal of trees to create new viewsheds, and land acquisition initiatives with special attention given to the Taylor Farm east of Poor Creek. Other NPS reports generated in the 1930s about PETE focused on the site's history with one notable exception being Nanning Voorhis' 1936 report on creating a replica of the Dictator. However, prior to this 1941 document, the PETE landscape had, in comparison to the War Department years, already radically changed by the CCC working under NPS leadership. Plans guiding the CCC were largely philosophical and followed national trends toward clearing land, stabilizing earthen structures, and developing automobile access routes. To understand the actions completed exclusively by the NPS in the 1940s, one must first explore those undertaken by the CCC in the 1930s.[543]

Civilian Conservation Corps (1933)

The most important CCC projects related to the modern PETE landscape involved the construction of one structure and the destruction of another. The lone remaining structure built by the CCC within the Eastern Front is Utility Building No. 1, built from 1940 to 1941. The structure was altered in the 1970s, though garage areas on either building end have not been modified. The building is still used as of 2024 by NPS maintenance staff. Utility Building No. 1, which is today a vehicle repair garage, has been significantly altered in the subsequent decades.[544]

A much more involved project was the removal of the golf course and the acquisition of its land. Even though the federal government did not own the Crater in 1933, the NPS effectively took over management of the property by developing plans for access roads, landscaping, clubhouse alterations, and the tunnel.[545] After the Crater Battlefield Association financially collapsed in 1934, the association's land became part of the park's landholdings in 1936, along with all remaining artifacts collected by the Griffith family. Once the golf course land came under NPS management in 1936, plans were developed to remove the course and all supporting infrastructure. The CCC executed this plan throughout 1937. The NPS transformed the relic house-turned-clubhouse into the park's first visitor center. On April 30, 1937, the park held a reenactment on the anniversary of the Crater battle, which attracted at least fifty thousand visitors.[546] The only remaining evidence of the golf course as of 2024 is a well house foundation constructed in 1926 or 1927. The NPS likely removed this structure in 1955 when the clubhouse ceased functioning as a visitor center.[547]

Per agency regulations, the US Army managed all other CCC structures at Camp Stedman. All CCC structures were supposed to be dismantled upon the company's departure, but World War II

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[543] Layton and Foulds, *CLR for Crater Battlefield*, 61; Nanning Voorhis, "Report on the Reproduction of 'The Dictator' or 'Petersburg Express'," National Park Service (Summer 1936); Raleigh Taylor, "The Battle of the Crater, Hammering Fails for the Last Time," National Park Service (October 1938).

[544] *CLI for Initial Assaults*.

[545] Wallace and Conway, 96.

[546] Wallace and Conway, 15, 17-19, 55; Joseph Cullen, *The Siege of Petersburg* (Eastern Acorn Press, 1981), 1-8. *CLI for Crater Battlefield*, 50.

[547] *CLI for Crater Battlefield*, 50, 98.

and the near proximity of Camp Lee prolonged their presence. Instead of removing these structures when the CCC phased out starting in 1941, the US Army directly managed Camp Stedman from 1942 to 1944. US Army personnel from Camp Lee occupied the location shortly after CCC departure until 1944. Formal withdrawal orders from Camp Stedman were issued in November 1946.[548] The largest remaining structure was a park field office at Camp Stedman, which would later be used by the NPS as a superintendent's residence and visitor center.[549]

For most other structures, the Federal government began removing evidence of the CCC at Fort Stedman in 1948 by selling structures. Buyers swiftly removed structures from the area, though a few remained in place that were not purchased by the public. The next year, all CCC materials were removed from Camp Stedman and the NPS restored Hare House Hill to its appearance immediately prior to CCC arrival in 1933.[550] As of 2024, there is no visible evidence of Camp Stedman. There may presumably be some archeological evidence yet to be discovered, but such findings are relatively uncommon at CCC sites.[551]

After the CCC

The general lack of NPS activity at the park from 1942 through the end of the decade was a common story within the agency largely due to increased post-war visitation and a failure to increase budgets. Writing in 1949, NPS Director Newton Drury used the phrase "victims of the war" to describe the moribund agency, whose budget had fallen from about $29 million in 1939 to just $4,740,000 in 1945. Of course, national priorities shifted dramatically with the bombing of Pearl Harbor. Work at dozens of NPS sites immediately ceased. The CCC left, many of its enrollees trading in their shovels and picks for military garb, and most NPS sites entered a mothballing period of varied lengths. When the war ended in 1945, these years of inactivity required significant work to again make parks desirable tourist destinations in a prosperous, affluent post-war America.[552]

Observers beyond the NPS also noted visible issues in America's parks. To put it simply, the parks were rapidly becoming out-of-step with a modernizing, post-war America. Rustic minimalism that once characterized parks became out of vogue. America's vehicular culture necessitated the construction of amenities like parking lots, campgrounds, and centralized visitor centers, something that many national parks simply could not offer.[553] Shopping malls and plazas developed throughout America's suburbs, further redefining what was expected in a consumer's republic. The continual increase of American car culture further threatened natural and historic resources as tourists would, for example, park on a battlefield or pull off along a roadway. As

[548] Wallace and Conway, 89-92.
[549] Wallace and Conway, 82.
[550] Wallace and Conway, 92.
[551] See Camp NP-1 and Camp NP-2 near Carderock, MD, where the only remains are a concrete slab and a small number of glass and metal refuse found nearby.
[552] Allaback, *Mission 66 Visitor Center,* 1; Conrad Wirth, *Politics, Parks, and People* (University of Oklahoma Press, 1980).
[553] Paul S. Sutter, *Driven Wild: How the Fight against Automobiles Launched the Modern Wilderness Movement* (University of Washington Press, 2002).

federal officials deliberated the Interstate Highway System as a potential national project in the early 1950s, it became obvious that this problem would only grow.[554]

The situation at PETE was much the same as the rest of the nation with one exception. Most parks witnessed declining activity with America's entry into World War II, but PETE differed somewhat because of the military activity at Camp Lee. Traffic within and around PETE grew exponentially within the Eastern Front because of heavy military activity. Because of this, the Army agreed to assume road maintenance in this area from 1941 until the termination of this agreement in 1947.[555]

Otherwise, the NPS did not conduct any major projects within PETE from 1942 until the mid-1950s. When CCC structures were finally removed from the park in 1949, there was a period of little change at PETE beyond regular maintenance. One major exception was when PETE staff removed all post-Civil War structures at the Taylor Farm in 1950, though they left intact the brick foundations and a brick chimney of a single structure.[556] Prior to 1955, PETE administrative offices were located in the Petersburg Post Office building, but during that year staff moved headquarters into the Crater House visitor center.[557]

Mission 66

Mission 66 was a NPS program initiated in 1956 with the intent of modernizing, upgrading, and otherwise beautifying all of America's national park units.[558] The impetus and urgency of Mission 66 came from both internal and external sources. Internally, the Department of the Interior began a reorganization program during 1954, which aimed at streamlining the weighty bureaucracy that had ballooned during the New Deal. According to NPS Director Conrad Wirth, this restructuring led to many open meetings where staff could develop new ideas. In February 1955, Wirth proposed one such idea to submit a ten-year budgetary request and plan rather than the conventional annual requests. In Wirth's view, this would enable long-term planning and could prevent construction cost overruns. Further, the ten-year idea had symbolic importance in that it would, if approved, conclude on the NPS's fifty-year anniversary. Approved by Department of Interior officials, the NPS and Interior staff got to work developing a Mission 66 budget and marketable concept.[559]

According to Wirth, the Mission 66 Committee worked full-time to generate a nationwide plan and ten-year budget. Among their first achievements, they produced a memorandum outlining the initiative's goals, which were in part:

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[554] Liz Cohen, *A Consumer's Republic* (Vintage, 2004), 261-278.
[555] Layton and Foulds, *CLR for Crater Battlefield*, 63
[556] *CLI for Crater Battlefield*, 51-3.
[557] *CLI for Crater Battlefield*, 51; Wallace and Conway, 83-4.
[558] Allaback, *Mission 66 Visitor Centers*, 2.
[559] Wirth, *Politics, Parks, and People*; Allaback, *Mission 66 Visitor Center*, 1-2; Ethan Carr, *Wilderness By Design* (University of Nebraska Press, 1999), 135; Ethan Carr, *Mission 66* (University of Massachusetts Press, 2007).

> The purpose of MISSION 66 is to make an intensive study of the problems of protection, public use, interpretation, development, staffing, legislation, financing, and all other phases of park operation, and to produce a comprehensive and integrated program of use and protection that is in harmony with the obligations of the National Park Service under the Act of 1916.The immediate objective of MISSION 66 is the development of a dynamic program to be presented to the Secretary for consideration by the Bureau of the Budget and the Congress beginning with the 1957 fiscal year estimates. The ultimate objective is the complete execution of the program by the time the Service celebrates its Golden Anniversary in 1966.[560]

Even though it was but a short passage, Wirth identified President Eisenhower's 1955 State of the Union address to promote Mission 66. "In the interest of their proper conservation, development, and use," said Eisenhower, "continued vigilance will be maintained over our fisheries, wildlife resources, the national parks and forests, and the public lands."[561]

The NPS further expanded the Mission 66 guidelines as it became clear that Congress and the White House were receptive to the plan. Initially, the NPS hoped for a small funding appropriation in 1955 to demonstrate proof-of-concept at a few smaller park units, but this request was denied. In preparation for submitting the ten-year budget request that would start in 1956, the NPS generated a booklet, *Our Heritage*, explaining Mission 66, overall budgetary and planning data, and a prospectus for each park unit. The NPS presented the Mission 66 proposal at a Cabinet meeting in January 1956. This went so well that, according to Wirth, President Eisenhower's final words were "This is a good project; let's get on with it." President Eisenhower informed Congress of his support, and legislation authorizing expenditures for the program passed.[562]

Leaders of Mission 66 made the program's top guideline: "Preservation of park resources is a basic requirement underlying all park management." In addition, Wirth noted that the committee believed many parks needed new "housing, visitor centers, roads, trails, campgrounds, whatever was necessary."[563] Other Mission 66 priorities included public access, interpretive services, concessioning, camping, and large-scale events, but each of these activities was restricted as to not encroach upon natural resources, cultural resources, or "the wilderness atmosphere."

Each park used the Mission 66 prospectus to guide their site-based work. These guidelines built on the planning documents produced primarily during the 1930s – including at Petersburg – that sat unexecuted due to a lack of funds. Considering that PETE's visitor center was located within a former golf clubhouse, the park was rife for Mission 66 support and innovation.

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[560] Wirth, *Politics, Parks, and People*, Ch. 9.

[561] "34th President of the United States: 1953 - 1961 Annual Message to the Congress on the State of the Union," UC Santa Barbara, The American Presidency Project, January 6, 1955, https://www.presidency.ucsb.edu/documents/annual-message-the-congress-the-state-the-union-12.

[562] Wirth, *Politics, Parks, and People*, Ch. 9.

[563] Wirth, *Politics, Parks, and People*, Ch. 9.

Central to the Mission 66 agenda was the need for building new, modern park visitor centers, and PETE certainly fit the bill. A contact station, built by the CCC in 1937, existed near Battery V, and it was at this location that the NPS decided to construct the new visitor center. Construction of the new Eastern Front Visitor Center began during the 1960s and concluded in May 1967. When the park published an updated Development Plan in 1960, it offered a new tour route that, because the new visitor center was located within the park boundaries, used mostly existent park roads and thus allowed visitors to stay within the park for the tour's entirety.[564] The visitor center is in the northeastern corner of the Eastern Front near Route 36 and Battery V.[565] The building itself is a two-story octagonal structure intended to resemble a fort.[566]

According to historians Sarah Allaback and Ethan Carr, the modern architectural design of visitor centers (as seen at PETE) was controversial during the Mission 66 era, as was its perceived greater infringement upon the natural landscape. Angular and brick in design, the Eastern Front Visitor Center departed significantly from earlier structures, so thought critics at the time. Instead, critics favored rustic designs that more easily blended into the landscape. The NPS, by contrast, felt these new visitor center designs did in fact blend into the landscape. Locations and designs were carefully chosen to minimize impact within most parks. The NPS, by necessity so argued leaders, used modern building materials like steel and large panes of glass. Mission 66 visitor centers were intended to last while they served ever-increasing numbers of tourists. Further, modern architecture evoked the new park service that Director Wirth and supporters desired would emerge from Mission 66.[567]

Mission 66 was of course far more than the construction of visitor centers. Other important components of the initiative included modernizing NPS facilities, improving historic resources, and guiding the flow of visitors throughout the park. Beginning in 1966, PETE staff began construction on the Carpenter Shop and the Maintenance Shed. Both were completed in 1968 on a site commonly referred to as the Maintenance Complex west of the park entrance and north of the Park Entrance Station. Both structures are one-story rectangular and oriented north-to-south, though the Maintenance Shed (97 x 32 ft.) is larger than the Carpenter Shop (73 x 24 ft).[568]

The Crater was a historic resource that received significant attention during Mission 66, especially as staff phased out the old visitor center. The NPS had previously conducted archeological excavations at the Crater in 1937 without any follow-up. Mission 66 allowed staff to conduct new excavations in 1958 and 1962. Among their findings, they uncovered a tunnel entrance located roughly where a Union stone marker was placed in 1909. Armed with this new information, park staff rebuilt and stabilized the tunnel entrance and removed the Entrance to Mine Monument

[564] Layton and Foulds, *CLR for Crater Battlefield*, 66, 76.
[565] Layton and Foulds, *CLR for Crater Battlefield*, 66.
[566] National Register Nomination (Draft).
[567] Allaback, *Mission 66 Visitor Centers*, 11-14; Carr, *Mission 66*.
[568] National Register Nomination (Draft).

(though it was returned to its original location during the 1980s).[569] The old visitor center, garage, and well house at the Crater were all removed by the NPS during the 1960s.[570]

With the visitor center and facilities in new locations, the NPS also restricted visitor flow within PETE. During 1964, PETE staff restructured the tour road and vehicular flow pattern in anticipation of the Eastern Front Visitor Center. A new curving route guided visitors from the visitor center area down a one-way road to a newly constructed Crater parking area with many stops along the way. The park installed more than fifty interpretive waysides including audio stations, all of which received approval from NPS historian Ed Bearss and staff at both PETE and the Harpers Ferry Center.[571] The NPS secured an easement in 1962 from the Norfolk and Western Railway Company to construct an overpass for the Eastern Front Tour Road at the former Baxter Road trail crossing, which they completed the following year.[572]

Mission 66 energized visitors nationwide to engage with park resources in new ways. Visitors to PETE flocked to the open field west of the Crater for recreational purposes, usually picnicking and playing games. Visitors also began using the tour road as a "hang out" spot, where they parked to socialize or fix up their cars. The NPS did not do anything during this period to discourage such activities.[573]

Living History After Mission 66

Upon the official conclusion of the Mission 66 program at PETE, the park was able to successfully capture the program's momentum by obtaining funding for several large projects. Most of these efforts began in 1969 under the Superintendency of former park historian Martin Conway. Given Conway's historian background, he tended to focus on interpretive projects, such as reconstructing a soldier's hut to provide a new interpretation tool and placing a greater emphasis on African American soldiers who fought at Petersburg. Park staff also acquired and relocated a seacoast mortar from Fort Sumter to the Dictator Site in 1969 since the original Dictator was likely never to be found. Park staff argued that the Dictator Site could not be properly interpreted using the concrete replica installed in 1936. A major contributing motivation for acquiring this cannon was a newfound desire for authenticity at all Civil War battlefields, and this was reflected nowhere better than the NPS's broad movement towards living history programming.[574]

Built from 1969 to 1973, the Living History Site at PETE best articulates this drive to interpret the past with living history demonstration. This site marks one of the earliest examples by the

[569] Cullen, *The Siege of Petersburg*, 9; CLI for Crater Battlefield, 52.
[570] *CLI for Crater Battlefield*, 52.
[571] *CLI for Crater Battlefield*, 52.
[572] *CLI for Crater Battlefield*, 51.
[573] *CLI for Crater Battlefield*, 52.
[574] Note the concrete Dictator replica was cast by CCC enrollees. Superintendent Conway acquired the Dictator replica from Fort Sumter upon learning the site had two 13 in. seacoast mortars with no historic significance to the fort. He brokered a deal with Fort Sumter to exchange an eighteen-pound bronze siege gun for the mortar. National Register Nomination (Draft); Conway and Conway, 7-10, 67,110.

NPS to invest in permanent programs. While living history interpretation is a rich and complex tradition that well precedes PETE's investment, examples of such activity at NPS sites performed

by NPS employees are few and far between.[575] Given this fact, the Living History Site is yet another unique feature of the PETE landscape with historical significance.

Living history is, like the writing of history, an artistic performance constrained by the interpretation of the past. It requires the artist to utilize both primary and secondary sources in telling a story. Good living history, like good written history, is informed by sources, grounded in previous research, and effectively delivers interpretation to the desired audience. However, as argued by Lara Rutherford-Morrison in the *Public Historian*, modern viewers judge living history differently. Living history is constantly at tension with itself: what is "history" cannot be "living." Modern consumers are highly sensitive to authenticity because of exposure to theater, film, and play. To achieve this authenticity, the audience must be placed within a reasonably historically accurate setting that facilitates an immersive experience. In other words, you can perform living history on a replica battlefield, but you could not do so on a golf course.[576]

Living history interpretation within the United States truly took hold in the public's imagination during the late 1960s, but public history workers have long integrated this technique into their practice. Civil War reenactments are among the most obvious examples, with one of the first held at the Gettysburg Reunion of 1913 to commemorate the battle's fiftieth anniversary. Though commemoration motivated the goals of this 1913 reenactment – over fifty thousand Civil War veterans attended – other Civil War-related living history was performed either for historical interpretation, interest in tactics and technology, or occasionally out of neo-Confederate ideologies. As the living memory of the Civil War literally died out, the next generation took up replica arms and uniforms. For example, the North-South Skirmish Association formed in 1958 out of the National Muzzle Loading Rifle Association to focus exclusively on Civil War weaponry. However, the hobby of Civil War reenactment had all but faded away by the 1970s.[577]

Reenactment saw a significant boost-then-collapse from Civil War centennial events between 1961 and 1965. Early in centennial planning, organizers recruited North-South Skirmish Association members to perform reenactments with a goal of recreating the battles without live ammunition (but plenty of powder smoke). However, the Centennial itself was widely regarded as a controversial failure in interpreting the Civil War. Leadership generally shied away from topics in current events, such as racism and slavery as a cause of the war, to instead allow localities to dictate their own events. This decision-making posed increasing issues given most major Civil War battles took place in the South, a region still fraught by Jim Crow ideology.

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[575] For recent literature on the state of living history, see Martha B. Katz-Hyman et al., eds, *The Living History Anthology: Perspectives from the ALHFAM* (Routledge, 2019).

[576] Lara Rutherford-Morrison, "Playing Victorian: Heritage, Authenticity, and Make-Believe in Blists Hill Victorian Town, the Ironbridge Gorge," *Public Historian* 37, no. 3 (2015): 91.

[577] Christopher Bates, "What They Fight For: The Men and Women of Civil War Reenactment," (PhD diss., University of California-Los Angeles, 2016).

With the rise of the 1960s civil rights movement and its southern white backlash, centennial planning struggled with issues of race and the legacy of African American enslavement from the outset. In February 1961, white residents of Montgomery, Alabama, celebrated the inauguration of Jefferson Davis as the president of the Confederate States of America. According to Robert Cook's authoritative work on the centennial, locals "took part in beard-growing contests, dressed up in period costume, purchased tickets for a Confederate belle beauty contest, and flocked to see a week-long secession pageant that culminated in a rousing fireworks display over the city's Coliseum building." Many of the same men who demonized and attacked Martin Luther King Jr. and other civil rights leaders also organized and celebrated these Lost Cause events. The centennial also promoted a reenactment of the First Battle of Bull Run in July 1861, which outraged the national press upon seeing the combination of segregationist, neo-Confederate rhetoric alongside fast food stalls placed upon the battlefield itself. Despite efforts to save the events by hiring new Centennial administrators (Allan Nevins and James I. "Bud" Robertson), interest in the events quickly died out, and most centennial events attracted rather small audiences.[578]

The centennial all but ended interest in reenactment, but not in the Civil War. "By the time the centennial drew to a close in the spring of 1965 most Americans had forgotten about it," argued Robert Cook.[579] The NPS was also partially responsible for the decline in battlefield reenactments due to official opposition from many in leadership alongside renewed interest in interpreting battlefields beyond the battle itself. Ed Bearss, for example, began his career with the NPS in 1955 and would eventually become chief historian from 1981 to 1994. Bearss, a World War II veteran, asserted that simulated reenactment of death disrespected those who experienced the horror of war. According to Bearss, NPS living history must attempt to be fully authentic; a battle reenactment that included scenes of blood, gore, and death can obviously not. A new generation of NPS employees during the 1960s also expressed interest in telling non-military stories, as demonstrated by investment in renovating structures and the centralization of interpretive planning.[580]

At the end of Mission 66, the NPS encouraged living history interpretation in settings beyond battlefield demonstrations, typically using third-person interpretation, when dealing with topics of war or combat. Still, to properly develop a living history program, a setting was needed with the potential for immersivity. Prior to the Mission 66 era, most NPS sites, including battlefields, simply were not designed as proper environments for imagination. For example, the Eastern Front was an obviously poor location for living history in 1933 because of the presence of a golf course. Similarly, Appomattox Court House (APCO) struggled to interpret McLean House and the Courthouse – the site's most critical structures – as both lay in ruins. At Stones River National Battlefield, NPS staff focused almost exclusively on the National Cemetery with almost no attention given to battlefield conservation. There was also the problem of modern highways, which bisected the central Stones River battlefield.[581]

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[578] Robert Cook, *Troubled Commemoration* (LSU Press, 2011).

[579] Cook, *Troubled Commemoration.*

[580] James Bigley, "Living History and Battlefield Reenactment," *History News* 46, no. 6 (1991): 16; "Comprehensive Interpretive Planning," National Park Service (Government Office Printing, 2000).

[581] Angela Sirna and Rebecca Conard, *Stones River National Battlefield: Administrative History* (National Park Ser-

Despite public interest in living history, the NPS did not embrace this approach until the late 1960s, with some exceptions such as aforementioned battle reenactments and Native American encampments.[582] Non-reenactment activities were limited affairs generally performed by volunteers under general NPS guidance on an annual or temporary basis. For example, non-battle reenactments at APCO occurred regularly during the 1940s and 1950s, usually as part of a ceremony or annual event. In 1948, television network CBS filmed a reenactment of General Ulysses S. Grant and Robert E. Lee meeting within the village. APCO staff regularly granted access to Union and Confederate reenacting organizations throughout the 1950s to perform historical military demonstrations and sharpshooting competitions using historic weapons.[583]

By the late 1960s, living history had become a popular activity throughout the nation, though most of this energy focused upon America's battlefield parks and colonial historic sites. College-aged hobbyists often visited battlefield parks dressed in-character as Union and Confederate soldiers. The 3rd Arkansas reenactor group from Detroit, for example, spent the summer of 1970 visiting Gettysburg, Antietam, and other Civil War parks in full costume including historic firearms. The group would appear at each park, usually unannounced, before meeting with NPS staff and performing volunteer interpretation and demonstrations. APCO also dabbled with living history interpretation in 1970 by hiring an interpreter for one season to perform first-person interpretation as a surrendered Confederate soldier. The program was such a success that APCO continued the program into the 2020s.[584]

Several reasons guided some NPS units' embrace of living history during the late 1960s and early 1970s. Primary amongst these reasons was the sudden drop in visitation upon the conclusion of the Civil War Centennial. From 1965 to 1966, some parks experienced nearly a 60 percent decline in visitation, and some park administrators worried this trend would persist. Therefore, new interpretive models were developed to attract visitors in the aftermath of the poorly received Centennial. Additionally, the NPS felt the need to stay relevant as other non-federal historic sites developed living history. Colonial Williamsburg, for example, employed living history in an unofficial capacity for decades.[585]

It was in this cultural climate that PETE constructed the Living History Site near Confederate Battery 9 between 1969 and 1973. The largest feature of the site is the replica fortification – a lunette built with fraise (horizontal stakes on the outer side of the earthworks to prevent climbing) and a picket trench. A replica bombproof was also constructed on the southeast side of the replica

vice, 2016), 50-54.

582 For more, see Laura Peers, "'Playing Ourselves': First Nations and Native American Interpreters at Living History Sites," Public Historian 21, no. 4 (1999).

583 Howard, *Thinking Beyond the Surrender Grounds* (National Park Service, 2022), 181, 225.

584 Howard, *Thinking Beyond*, 266-267.

585 Howard, *Thinking Beyond*, 264; Richard Handler and Eric Gable, *The New History in an Old Museum: Creating the Past at Colonial Williamsburg* (Duke University Press, 1997); Cary Carson, "Colonial Williamsburg and the Practice of Interpretive Planning in American History Museums," *Public Historian* 20, no. 3 (1998); Ywone Edwards-Ingram, "Before 1979: African American Coachmen, Visibility, and Representation at Colonial Williamsburg," *Public Historian* 36, no. 1 (2014).

fort along with a sutler's store, lean-to sunshades, and a soldier's hut. The tour road passing by this area was re-routed in 1974 to better accommodate visitors.[586]

The intention was to create a facility where park staff and volunteers could provide living history interpretation and demonstrations of life in the trenches for regular soldiers who fought at Petersburg. Park staff recruited individuals to portray soldiers, cavalrymen, and women starting in 1973. The success of the program led to its expansion throughout the rest of the decade. By the 1980s, the falling NPS budgets led to a slow phasing out of all but summer programming, when living history resumed at Stop 3 and the Hare House hill. Hare House hill living history featured Confederate horse-drawn artillery demonstrations, while Stop 3 featured Union infantry living history along with Northern civilians who represented a sutler, laundresses, and members of the US Sanitary and/or Christian Commissions. This era of summer programming, which lasted until 2000, allowed visitors to experience Confederate horse-drawn artillery demonstrations at Hare House hill and, at Stop 3, engage with a variety of educators depicting Union infantry and Northern civilians. Periodic demonstrations, ongoing into the 2020s, replaced the official living history program after its conclusion in 2000 due to budget challenges. While living history activities do not depict combat, interpreters have been known to engage in snowball fights over the years.[587]

Moving beyond living history, the preservation approach toward the Crater changed in 1975 when visitors were barred from entering the resource. Instead, the park constructed a fenced overlook. Visitors would be guided to this location to view the topography and receive park interpretation. By keeping visitors out of the Crater, this would both reduce future erosion as well as provide park staff space to execute preservation plans. Park staff added plantings and turfgrass to both stabilize the Crater slopes and repair paths trodden by visitors in the intervening 110 years. Around the same time, the park allowed grass at the Crater to grow tall to deter picnicking and public gatherings.[588] The park has also implemented other restrictions in response to public vandalism. For example, when an arsonist set fire to the Mine Tunnel in the late 1990s, the NPS was forced to close the resource while damages were assessed and repairs completed. Full rehabilitation was completed in 2000.[589] In 2002, park staff initiated and completed a project to remove the Crater parking lot from the viewshed between the Crater and Fort Morton. This also included the installation of accessible, hard-surfaced trails near the Crater.[590]

From 1989 to 1997, the NPS made several alterations to the Maintenance Complex. Equipment Parking Shed 1 was built slowly from 1989 to 1997, a one-story rectangular building designed similarly to Mission 66 maintenance structures. Both the Maintenance Shed and Carpenter Shop were modified during this time as well. According to the National Register nomination:

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[586] National Register Nomination (Draft); "Petersburg Living History," Liberty Rifles, https://www.libertyrifles.org/photos/2013/petersburg.
[587] Conway and Conway, 8-10. National Register Nomination (Draft); "Petersburg Living History," Liberty Rifles.
[588] Layton and Foulds, CLR for Crater Battlefield, 73, 78.
[589] *CLI for Crater Battlefield,* 53.
[590] *CLI for Crater Battlefield,* 53.

> The two southernmost bays of the Maintenance Shed were enclosed with a wooden wall. A lean-to structure was added at the south end of the building, and a paint shed was added to the north end. A room was added on the east side (rear) of the building, beginning at the north end and extending half the length of this elevation. The south bay of the Carpenter Shop was also enclosed with a wooden wall, a pedestrian door added, and two additional open bays were constructed at the north end. A roof overhang was added on the west side to cover fuel storage and the furnace room. The fourth bay from the south end was enclosed with a wooden wall. The interiors of both buildings have been altered to create office space. These changes included the addition of plasterboard walls. Later changes included the construction of the Vehicle Repair Building and Equipment Parking Shed 2 within the Maintenance Complex between 2009 and 2012.[591]

Otherwise, much of the park's maintenance has been in response to events beyond the park's control. For example, the increasing frequency of extreme weather events has caused hardship to park resources and the park's budget. Two significant wind weather events in 2000 damaged areas around Battery XIII with large trees felled and holes in the earthworks.[592] During 2003 and as park staff initiated a project to clear trees from earthworks, Hurricane Isabel hit the area and knocked down over 1,847 trees. Many earthworks and the Crater tunnel were severely damaged.[593]

Periodic changes have also been made to the park's interpretive resources in line with NPS national and regional standards. The NPS installed interpretive markers in 1997 and 1998 with audio interpretation at eight driving tour stops along the tour road to enhance the preexisting self-guided tour.[594] In 2008-9, the tour road was re-routed from northeast of Fort Morton to southeast.[595] The Park Entrance Station, a 6 x 10 ft. brick structure, was built during the early 1990s and is located along the drive to the Eastern Front Visitor Center. The Eastern Front driving tour as of 2024 is a four-mile path with audio stations and wayside exhibits at eight primary stops.

Finally, from the 1970s into the twenty-first century, PETE incorporated ten structures into the Eastern Front that would become known generally as the Administrative Complex. These are modern structures and not considered part of the park's historic resources and are then subgrouped in the following manner:

- First Driveway [Three employee residences and two garages]
  - 1429 Hickory Hill Road [Quarters #29], c. 1955
  - Quarters #29 Garage, c. 1955
  - 1431 Hickory Hill Road [Quarters #77], c. 1967
  - 1445 Hickory Hill Road [Quarters #34], c. 1950
  - Quarters #34 Garage, c. 1950

[591] National Register Nomination (Draft).
[592] PETE State of the Park, November 17, 2000.
[593] *CLI for Crater Battlefield*, 53.
[594] *CLI for Crater Battlefiel*d, 53.
[595] *CLI for Crater Battlefield*, 54.

- Second Driveway [Office buildings]
  - 1505 Hickory Hill Road [Ranger Station]
  - Ranger Station Storage Building
  - Pump House Tack Room
  - 1539 Hickory Hill Road [Headquarters Building]
- Easternmost Driveway
  - 1835 Hickory Hill Road [Resource Management][596]

Conclusion

Multiple studies have been conducted on the Eastern Front of PETE, including the CLIs and CLRs prepared by the Olmsted Center for Landscape Preservation (2017-2021). NPS staff should actively seek out and assess cultural resources to determine their potential significance, whether within the historical contexts defined in this HRS or within emerging frameworks. Efforts to document and evaluate these resources should be closely coordinated with GIS mapping of both confirmed and potential historic sites, ensuring that geospatial data is fully incorporated into preservation and project planning. It is also essential that all planning activities take into account the continuing risks to cultural resources posed by changing environmental conditions, infrastructure expansion, and other forms of development. Finally, all resources should be evaluated with the consultation of the park's established tribal contacts.

National Register Status

Upon passage of the National Historic Preservation Act on October 15, 1966, PETE was administratively listed on the National Register of Historic Preservation. To date, the Battlefield has not been approved by the Virginia State Historic Preservation Office (SHPO), though the park contains several sites with individual documentation within the Regional Register. These include Five Forks Battlefield (National Historic Landmark December 19, 1960; listed July 2, 1975), Appomattox Manor at City Point (listed October 1, 1969), and Grant's Headquarters at City Point (listed October 15, 1979). There are no individual listings in the Eastern Front unit.
Completed on February 18, 2000, a multiple property documentation "The Civil War in Virginia, 1861-1865: Historic and Archeological Resources" identified six property types: battlefields, earthworks, campsites, military hospitals, military headquarters, and military prisons. Petersburg National Battlefield was recognized for its battlefields and earthworks property types, listed under Criterion A.

Mission 66 development at PETE is not eligible for listing on the National Register of Historic Places, as determined on April 6, 2004, by the NPS and the SHPO. Between 2022 and 2024, the park had contractors conduct multiple determinations of eligibility which were reviewed by the Virginia SHPO. It has been determined that the Entrance Sign on the south side of Virginia Route 36 and the Eastern Front Visitor Center are individually eligible for the National Register

[596] National Register Nomination (Draft).

of Historic Places and that the maintenance facility in the Eastern Front could be a contributing resource for Mission 66 resources. The Eastern Front Tour Road was determined eligible for the National Register of Historic Places as well.

The Public Archeology Lab prepared a National Register nomination for the entire battlefield in March 2014, but it has not been submitted to the Virginia SHPO for review. The nomination identifies significance under Criteria A, B, C, and D in the areas of military, politics/government, conservation, ethnic heritage-Black, landscape architecture, engineering, other (commemoration), architecture, and archeology. Significance was also noted under Criterion B for Robert E. Lee and Ulysses S. Grant. The periods of significance were listed as 11,000 BCE–1600 CE, c.1650–1750, and 1763–present.

The following information is drawn from the draft National Register nomination for PETE:

> Petersburg National Battlefield is eligible for listing in the National Register under Criteria A, B, C, and D. The district derives its primary national significance under Criterion A in the area of Military History as the site of the 10-month-long Civil War campaign that culminated in the Union's capture of the Confederate capital city of Richmond on April 2, 1865, and led directly to the surrender of Robert E. Lee's Army of Northern Virginia at Appomattox Courthouse one week later. Poplar Grove National Cemetery is nationally significant under Criteria A and C in the areas of Military History, Architecture, and Landscape Architecture and meets Criteria Consideration D. Established in 1866 for the reburial of Union soldiers who died during the Petersburg Campaign, the cemetery is associated with the early development of the National Cemetery System and contains a relatively rare surviving intact example of a Second Empire-style Cemetery Lodge constructed on the design developed by U.S. Army Quartermaster General Montgomery Meigs and a circular plot layout that distinguishes it as rare, if not unique, among the early national cemeteries. The district has additional national significance under Criterion A in the area of Conservation for its association with the national movement in the late nineteenth and early twentieth century to preserve Civil War battlefields. The collection of markers and monuments erected on the battlefield during that period meet Criteria Consideration F for their association with the national trends in Civil War battlefield commemoration. Grant's Headquarters at City Point is nationally significant under Criterion B for its association with Major General Ulysses S. Grant, who commanded the Union forces during the Petersburg Campaign. Appomattox Manor is significant under Criterion C as a locally important example of vernacular Tidewater architecture. Under Criterion D, the district possesses national significance in the area of Archeology for the information its numerous archeological sites have yielded and have the potential to yield about the Petersburg Campaign. The Appomattox Plantation Complex is a locally significant archeological site that has yielded substantive information about Native American occupation of the area from the Paleoindian through the Late Woodland periods, as well as the initial European settlement of the site during the seventeenth century.[597]

[597] National Register Nomination (Draft), sec. 8, 81.

> The Petersburg National Battlefield Historic District has several distinct periods of significance. Under Criteria A and B for Military History, the period of significance extends from 1864 to 1876 and includes the period of the Petersburg Campaign (June 9, 1864, to April 2, 1865) and the development of Poplar Grove National Cemetery (1866 to 1876). The period of significance for Criterion A in the areas of Conservation and Commemoration begins in 1894 with the erection of the first commemorative monument in the district (the First Maine Artillery Monument) and ends in 1942, when the National Park Service completed the majority of the War Department's initial park development plan and essentially ceased development of the park until funding was provided under the later Mission 66 program. The period of significance for locally significant architectural resources eligible under Criterion C encompasses development associated with Appomattox Plantation between c. 1763, when Appomattox Manor was constructed, and c. 1845, the construction date of Bonaccord. Native American occupation of the Appomattox Plantation Complex site, which is significant under Criterion D, occurred during the Paleoindian Period (13,000 B.C.) through the Late Woodland (1600 A.D.) periods.[598]

Given all of this information, our recommendation is for the park to continue pursuit of National Register status for the full battlefield.

Study Gaps and Opportunities

This HRS includes several topics not addressed in depth throughout other NPS reports related to PETE and should be considered a starting point for additional future research. The Civil War is the park's primary purpose, as described in the enabling legislation, and the research presented here should be considered inspirational for new angles in interpretation and future research. However, there are other topics that could be considered by park staff going forward.

Indigenous History

The park should conduct further inquiry into archeological remains of Indigenous peoples in consultation with the Virginia Council on Indians. The information in Chapter I presents a broad overview of Indigenous history in relation to the park, but greater depth would be needed to better incorporate this information into the park. Archeological reports, for instance, could be synthesized. The Civil War is PETE's primary interpretive focus because of the historical events that took place within the Eastern Front and because of the legislation creating the park, but the NPS must continue to expand research into Virginia's Indigenous peoples. Virginia's seven federally-recognized and eleven state-recognized Tribes are best positioned to offer guidance on further inquiry into PETE's Indigenous past. Through continued collaboration with the Commonwealth of Virginia and federal agencies, Tribal partners strengthen approaches to conservation, historic preservation, and co-stewardship of cultural and natural resources. Many indigenous-run cultural resources management firms, including in Virginia, offer culturally-sensitive and context-specific strategies for planning, documentation, grant writing, and policy development. As both federal

[598] National Register Nomination (Draft), sec. 8, 82.

law and best practice, Tribal consultation can expand understandings of the place designated as Petersburg National Battlefield. Through purposeful engagement and partnership, staff should invite Indigenous knowledge-keepers and cultural resources specialists to provide expertise on the Indigenous communities who came to this area long before the Siege of Petersburg.

World War I and World War II History

As discussed in Chapter IV, numerous resources within the Eastern Front are identifiable as a result of US Army training exercises for either World War I or World War II. Scholarship on these programs is also growing, though there are still significant gaps. The Eastern Front offers a unique physical location for potential future research into these programs, especially the construction of mock trenches for training exercises. Continued research into these records, including those likely held by the Army or within Army records at the National Archives, would prove a boon to telling richer historical stories about this episode of land use at the Eastern Front.

Commemorative History

Park staff should continue to incorporate new interpretations of all topics, especially the Civil War, into commemorative events such as anniversaries and other regular celebrations or commemorations. This would include voices of communities who may not have been included previously, including women, African Americans, and disabled veterans. The park should also consider documenting and commemorating the park's events too, such as Mission 66 activity or the living history program. Staff could expand research into these events by capturing oral histories with individuals, both within the NPS and external partners, who contributed to the changing commemorative landscape. This may include former living history interpreters, members of partner organizations, military officers and veterans, and government officials from the City of Petersburg and Commonwealth of Virginia involved in cultural resource management.

Treatment

There is no approved landscape treatment for the Eastern Front project area, excepting treatment for the Crater Battlefield. For a complete overview of the Crater Battlefield landscape's treatment considerations, see pages 138-196 of the Cultural Landscape Report for the Crater Battlefield at PETE.[599]

We recommend the following treatment be considered for the historic resources within the Eastern Front unit of PETE:

1. Continue using modern technologies to document earthworks within the Eastern Front. This study understands the difficulties in determining, for instance, what was a foxhole built by a Civil War soldier versus a hole in the ground caused by an uprooted tree.
2. Assess any potential damages that could be caused by changing environmental conditions

[599] Layton and Foulds, *CLR for Crater Battlefield*,138-196; *CLI for Eastern Front*, 27.

in the Petersburg region. This would likely involve higher probability of damaging thunderstorms and more waterway volatility. Outdoor signage should be planned with these considerations in mind. Park staff should also assess which historic resources may come under threat if, for instance, any of the creeks within the park should experience major flooding.

3. The park's four units are separated by physical distance, thus making it difficult for NPS employees to effectively assess and implement maintenance. Ideally, the park's budget would allow for higher staffing levels, but programs to increase local volunteerism and engagement should be encouraged to prevent vandalism, identify pressing concerns, and reduce labor demands of NPS employees.
4. The park should make investments in persons skilled in GIS to document the numerous combat trenches created especially during the June 16-18, 1864, fighting. There was some voluntary effort made by the Washington Office's Geographic Information Specialist, David Lowe. However, since his retirement and the loss of a GIS employee at the park, this information is largely unknown to many staff.

PETE is a nationally significant site for its association with military site preservation, Civilian Conservation Corps work, and as a military park that entered NPS stewardship with little War Department landscape modifications. The park is an example of the national movement to preserve battlefields, especially during the long window when national anxieties manifested over the war fading from living memory.

The battlefield itself came under War Department control in 1926 after a lengthy, star-crossed legislative process. During these years, much of the battlefield was severely damaged due to relic hunters, tourists, and an ill-fated golf course venture. Nevertheless, with the transfer of the battlefield park to the NPS in 1933, the NPS along with the CCC rapidly returned the park to a condition in line with conservation standards of the era.

Also relevant to the park's significance are efforts by the NPS to further develop the park, especially during the Mission 66 era and its immediate aftermath. Few parks represent the transformation wrought by Mission 66 planning better than PETE. In 1955, the park's visitor center was in a multi-use structure at the Crater, centrally located within the park and removed from standard tourism flow. By the end of the 1960s, PETE boasted a modernized visitor center at an accessible location near a major thoroughfare from which visitors could easily explore the park.

PETE is a key example of American battlefield preservation, especially in the context of its uniqueness as a site of siege warfare and numerous earthen historic resources. The Petersburg battlefield is a genuinely unique military site in an international context as well with few examples of such combat occurring prior to the American Civil War, much less preserved historic resources related to that combat. Were it not for NPS stewardship, it is likely that the Petersburg battlefield would have long faded into the rural Virginian landscape.

Appendix

Major Legislation

For more legislative information about the battlefield park, visit https://www.nps.gov/pete/learn/management/battlefield-related-legislation.htm

1925 An Act To provide for the inspection of the battle fields of the siege of Petersburg, Virginia, approved February 11, 1925 (43 Stat. 856)

1926 On July 3, 1926, President Calvin Coolidge signs a bill authorizing the creation of Petersburg National Military Park. In drafting the legislation, Congress specifically established the park "…in order to commemorate the campaign and siege and defense of Petersburg, Virginia, in 1864 and 1865 and to preserve for historical purposes the breastworks, earthworks, walls, or other defenses or shelters used by the armies therein…."

1929 An Act "to authorize appropriations for construction at military posts, and for other purposes," approved February 25, 1929 (45 Stat 1301,1305: Sec.4). That the Secretary of War be, and he is hereby, authorized to transfer to the Petersburg National Military Park such portion of the Camp Lee Military Reservation, Virginia, as in his discretion may be required in connection with the establishment of the Petersburg National Military Park, as authorized in the Act of Congress approved July 3, 1926.

1933 On August 10, 1933, stewardship of the park is transferred from the War Department to the National Park Service (NPS). At this time, Petersburg National Military Park encompasses 346 acres. Monuments, military parks, and the National Capital Parks administered by other Federal agencies are transferred to the NPS by the terms of Executive Order 6166 of June 10, 1933.

1942 Public Law 585 [HR 5287] June 5, 1942, Land Transfer approved that the Secretary of the Interior "shall transfer to the secretary of war jurisdiction over all lands owned by the United States line South and east of Hickory Hill Road within the Petersburg National Military Park." This land was hereafter administered for military purposes.

1949 An Act to add certain surplus land to Petersburg National Military Park, Virginia, to define the boundaries thereof, and for other purposes, is approved September 7, 1949 (63 Stat 691). The Act authorizes the transfer of two tracts of land, comprising two hundred six acres, more or less, situated on either side of Siege Road adjacent to the park from the Department of Army to the NPS.

1962 An Act To change the name of the Petersburg National Military Park, to provide for acquisition of a portion of the Five Forks Battlefield and for other purposes approved August 24, 1962 (76 Stat. 403), which resulted in the redesignation of Petersburg National Battlefield.

1966 Petersburg National Battlefield was administratively listed on the National Register of

Historic Places on October 15, 1966, with the passage of the National Historic Preservation Act. Although the Virginia State Historic Preservation Office has not formally approved National Register documentation for the entire park to date, several sites in the park are listed individually with documentation in the National Register. Designations include: Five Forks Battlefield designated a National Historic Landmark on December 19, 1960 and listed on July 2, 1975; Appomattox Manor complex at City Point listed on October 1, 1969; Grant's Headquarters at City Point listed on October 15, 1979. The Eastern Front unit currently contains no individual listings.

1978: Eppe Plantation House is added to Petersburg National Battlefield, approved by Congress November 10, 1978.

2016 Congressional legislation authorizes expansion of Petersburg National Battlefield by 7,238 acres.

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Resources Associated with PETE Eastern Front

CRIS	Resource	Contributing?	Battle
	Seacoast Mortar at Dictator Site	Y	Initial Assaults
	Powder Magazine at Dictator Site	Y	Initial Assaults
123-0071-0021	Dimmock Line - Confederate Batter 5 / federal Battery IV	Y	Initial Assaults
	Dimmock Line - Confederate Battery 6	Y	Initial Assaults
	Dimmock Line - Confederate Battery 7	Y	Initial Assaults
	Dimmock Line - Confederate Battery 8 / Union Fort Friend	Y	Initial Assaults
	Dimmock Line - Confederate Battery 9	Y	Initial Assaults
	Dimmock Line - Confederate Battery 10	Y	Initial Assaults
	Dimmock Line - Confederate Battery 11	Y	Initial Assaults
	Dimmock Line - Confederate Battery 12	Y	Initial Assaults
	Dimmock Line - Confederate Battery 13	Y	Initial Assaults
	Hagood Line (Second Confederate Line)	Y	Initial Assaults
	Confederate Earthwork Reversed Later by Federal Infantry	Y	Initial Assaults
	Federal Earthwork, June 16-17, 1864	Y	Initial Assaults
	Federal Artillery Lunettes	Y	Initial Assaults
	Federal Covered Way	Y	Initial Assaults
	Federal Double Combat Trenches, June 17, 1864	Y	Initial Assaults
	Dam	Y	Initial Assaults
123-0071-0015	Utility Building No. 1	Y	Initial Assaults
	World War I Training Trenches	Y	Initial Assaults

CRIS	Resource	Contributing?	Battle
	Eastern Front Civil War Road Network - Prince George Courthouse Road Trace (portion)	Y	Initial Assaults
	Eastern Front Civil War Road Network - Jordan Point Road Trace	Y	Initial Assaults
	Boundary Lane Trace	Y	Initial Assaults
	Eastern Front Civil War Road Network - Shand House Road Segment	Y	Initial Assaults
	Harrison Creek	Y	Initial Assaults
	Fields and Meadows	Y	Initial Assaults
	Woodlands with Stream Corridor	Y	Initial Assaults
	Tactical views west to Fort Stedman from the Initial Assault Battlefield	Y	Initial Assaults
	Soldiers' Spring Monument	Y	Initial Assaults
	Eastern Front Tour Road	N	Initial Assaults
	Park Administration Access Roads from Hickory Hill Road	N	Initial Assaults
	Successional Woodland	N	Initial Assaults
123-0071-0040	Confederate Unknown Monument	N	Initial Assaults
123-0071-0041	USCT Monument	N	Initial Assaults
123-0071-0044	Jordan Family Cemetery	N	Initial Assaults
123-0071-0063	Revetment	N	Initial Assaults
123-0071-0042	Mather Monument	N	Initial Assaults
	Fixed Artillery, Artillery Tube, Bronze, 12 pdr. Napoleon, visitor center	N	Initial Assaults
	Fixed Artillery , Carriage, Steel, Type 1,., 5.72 FT, 7.25 FT, Visitor Center	N	Initial Assaults
	Fixed Artillery , Carriage, Steel, Type 1., 5.72 FT, 7.25 FT, Battery 5	N	Initial Assaults
	Fixed Artillery , Carriage, Steel, Type 1., 5.72 FT, 7.25 FT, Battery 8	N	Initial Assaults
	Fixed Artillery , Carriage, Steel, Type 1., 5.58 FT, 8.16 FT, Battery 5	N	Initial Assaults

CRIS	Resource	Contributing?	Battle
	Fixed Artillery, Other, Concrete, Small Cannon Block, 2.83, 3.67 LF, Battery 5 (14)	N	Initial Assaults
	Fixed Artillery, Other, Concrete, Med. Cannon Block, 3.33 FT, 4.25 FT, Battery 5 (4)	N	Initial Assaults
	Reproduction Fencing near batteries and along Paths	N	Initial Assaults
	Wayside, Upright, Aluminum, Laminate Plastic, “Siege of Petersburg Grant’s Offensive”	N	Initial Assaults
	Wayside, Low Profile, Aluminum, Fiberglass, “Battery 5 Trail”	N	Initial Assaults
	Wayside, Low Profile, Aluminum, Fiberglass, “Uprooted by War’	N	Initial Assaults
	Wayside, Low Profile, Aluminum, Fiberglass, “Battery 5 of the Dimmock Line”	N	Initial Assaults
	Wayside, Low Profile, Aluminum, Porcelain Enamel, “Opportunity Lost (Battery 5)”	N	Initial Assaults
	Wayside, Low Profile, Aluminum, Laminate Plastic, “A Prelude to Petersburg”	N	Initial Assaults
	Sign, Identification, Other, Aluminum, ADA Restroom Signage, VIsitor Center	N	Initial Assaults
	Sign, Metal, Earthworks, Battery 5 Interpretive Trail	N	Initial Assaults
	Sign, Aluminum, Wheelchair Pic, Visitor Center	N	Initial Assaults
	Additional Interpretive and Directional Signage	N	Initial Assaults
	Pedestrian Trails	Undetermined	Initial Assaults
	World War I Era Concrete Reservoir and Building		Initial Assaults
123-0071-0011	Park Entrance Station		Initial Assaults
123-0071-0005	Eastern Front Visitor Center		Initial Assaults

CRIS	Resource	Contributing?	Battle
123-0071-0026	Carpenter Shop	N	Initial Assaults
123-0071-0027	Maintenance Shed	N	
123-0071-0025	Vehicle Repair Building	N	Initial Assaults
123-0071-0028	Equipment Parking Shed 1	N	
123-0071-0029	Equipment Parking Shed 2	N	
123-5425	1429 Hickory Hill Road [Quarters #29]	N	Initial Assaults
	Quarters #29 Garage	N	Initial Assaults
123-5426	1431 Hickory Hill Road [Quarters #77]	N	Initial Assaults
123-5427	1445 Hickory Hill Road [Quarters #34]	N	Initial Assaults
	Quarters #34 Garage	N	Initial Assaults
123-0071-0031	1505 Hickory Hill Road [Ranger Station]	N	Initial Assaults
	Ranger Station Storage Building	N	Initial Assaults
123-0071-0032	1539 Hickory Hill Road [Headquarters Building]	N	Initial Assaults
123-0071-0033	Pump House Tack Room	N	Initial Assaults
123-0071-0030	1835 Hickory Hill Road [Resource Management]	N	Initial Assaults
	Resource Management Storage Building	N	Initial Assaults
123-0071-0043	Living History Site Replica Structures	Y	Initial Assaults
123-5020-0001	Federal Earthwork, Fort Haskell to Federal Battery XIII	Y	Crater
123-5020-0002	Federal Bombproofs	Y	Crater
123-5020-0004	Federal Covered Way, East of Federal Battery XIII	Y	Crater
123-5020-0005	Federal Battery XIV Tracery	Y	Crater
123-5020-0006	Fort Morton Site	Y	Crater
123-5020-0007	Federal Covered Way, East of Fort Morton	Y	Crater

CRIS	Resource	Contributing?	Battle
123-5020-0008	Federal Covered Way Further East of Fort Morton	Y	Crater
123-5020-0009	Federal Battery XVI	Y	Crater
123-5020-0010	Federal Zig Zag Trench	Y	Crater
	Union Picket Line Tracery	Y	Crater
	Confederate Picket Line	Y	Crater
123-5020-0013	Confederate Counter Mines	Y	Crater
123-5020-0014	Confederate Trench Cavalier	Y	Crater
123-5020-0015	Union Mine Tunnel Entrance	Y	Crater
123-5020-0016	The Crater	Y	Crater
123-5020-0017	Taylor House Site and Kitchen Ruins	Y	Crater
123-0071-0020	Baxter Road Trace	Y	Crater
123-0071-0072	Poor Creek	Y	Crater
	Fields and Meadows	Y	Crater
	View from Fort Morton to the Crater	Y	Crater
	View from Fort Morton to the USCT Rallying Point	Y	Crater
	Tactical View from the Cornfield Battery to the Crater	Y	Crater
123-0071-0055	Mahone's Brigade Monument	Y	Crater
123-0071-0056	Mahone Monument	Y	Crater
123-0071-0057	Massachusetts Monument	Y	Crater
123-0071-0059	Pennsylvania Volunteers Heavy Artillery Monument	Y	Crater
123-0071-0053	South Carolina Monument	Y	Crater
123-0071-0051	Entrance to Mine Monument	Y	Crater
123-0071-0052	Crater of Mine Monument	Y	Crater
123-5020-0026	Crater Battlefield Golf Course Well House Foundation	N	Crater
123-5020-0027	Comfort Station	N	Crater
	Eastern Front Tour Road	N	Crater
123-5020-0029	Equipment Road, East of Poor Creek	N	Crater

CRIS	Resource	Contributing?	Battle
123-5020-0030	Elliptical Walk, Massachusetts Monument	N	Crater
123-5020-0031	Pedestrian Walks	N	Crater
123-5020-0032	Interpretive Trails	N	Crater
123-5020-0033	Multi-Use Trails	N	Crater
123-5020-0034	Hike/Bike Trails	N	Crater
	Successional Woodlands	N	Crater
	Two Mulberries near Taylor Kitchen Ruins	N	Crater
	Sycamore south of Taylor Kitchen Ruins	N	Crater
	Eastern Redcedars and Deciduous Tree growing over Mine Tunnel	N	Crater
	Southern Red Oak Growing over Mine Tunnel	N	Crater
	Eastern Redcedars around the Crater and on the Trench Cavalier	N	Crater
123-0071-0039	Commemorative Crater Monument	N	Crater
123-5020-0036	Federal Battery XIV Cannon (2)	N	Crater
123-5020-0037	Fort Morton Cannon (5)	N	Crater
123-5020-0038	Cannon at the Crater (2)	N	Crater
123-5020-0039	Three-Rail Post and Rail Fence, around Crater	N	Crater
123-5020-0040	Worm Fence, Tour Road Exit to South Crater Road	N	Crater
123-5020-0041	Vehicular Gate, Tour Road Exit to South Crater Road	N	Crater
123-5020-0042	Wood Stake Troop Markers (in successional woods north of Crater)	N	Crater
123-5020-0043	Fort Morton Directional Sign	N	Crater
123-5020-0044	Interpretive Waysides	N	Crater
123-0071-0048	First Maine Heavy Artillery Monument	Y	Fort Stedman
123-0071-0047	Third Division IX Corps Monument	Y	Fort Stedman
123-0071-0049	Colquitt's Salient Marker	Y	Fort Stedman

CRIS	Resource	Contributing?	Battle
123-0071-0050	Gracie’s Salient Marker	Y	Fort Stedman
	Wilcox Tree Trail Bridge	N	Fort Stedman
	Fort Haskell Moat Bridge	N	Fort Stedman
	Concealment North Foot Bridge Noncontributing - Compatible7 n/a n/a Location 242846 Yes	N	Fort Stedman
	Concealment East Foot Bridge	N	Fort Stedman
	Concealment West Foot Bridge Noncontributing - Compatible9 n/a n/a Location 242848 Yes	N	Fort Stedman
	Birney Trail Foot Bridge	N	Fort Stedman
	Poor Creek Trail Foot Bridge	N	Fort Stedman
	Friend Trail Vehicle Bridge	N	Fort Stedman
	VA 36 Highway Overpass Bridge - RT 4770-002P	N	Fort Stedman
	Fixed Artillery, Carriage, Steel, Type 1., 5.72 FT, 7.25 FT, Fort Stedman and Colquitt’s Salient	N	Fort Stedman
	Fixed Artillery, Carriage, Steel, Type 1., 5.72 FT, 7.25 FT, Fort Stedman and Colquitt’s Salient	N	Fort Stedman
	Fixed Artillery, Carriage, Steel, Type 1., 5.72 FT, 7.25 FT, Fort Stedman and Colquitt’s Salient	N	Fort Stedman
	Fixed Artillery, Carriage, Steel, Type 1., 5.72 FT, 7.25 FT, Fort Stedman and Colquitt’s Salient	N	Fort Stedman
	Fixed Artillery, Carriage, Steel, Type 1., 5.72 FT, 7.25 FT, Fort Stedman and Colquitt’s Salient	N	Fort Stedman
	Fixed Artillery, Carriage, Steel, Type 2., 5.58 FT, 8.16 FT, Fort Stedman and Colquitt’s Salient	N	Fort Stedman
	Wayside, Low Profile, Aluminum, Fiberglass, “Lee's Last Offensive”	N	Fort Stedman
	Sign, Metal, Keep Off Works, Colquitt’s Salient	N	Fort Stedman

CRIS	Resource	Contributing?	Battle
	Additional Interpretive and Directional Signage	N	Fort Stedman
	Wooden Replica Fencing around Batteries and Forts	N	Fort Stedman