

United States Department of the Interior
National Park Service

National Register of Historic Places Registration Form

This form is for use in nominating or requesting determinations for individual properties and districts. See instructions in National Register Bulletin, *How to Complete the National Register of Historic Places Registration Form*. If any item does not apply to the property being documented, enter "N/A" for "not applicable." For functions, architectural classification, materials, and areas of significance, enter only categories and subcategories from the instructions.

LISTED
VLR: 3/19/2015
NRHP Pending

1. Name of Property

Historic name: Appomattox Court House

Other names/site number: Appomattox Court House National Historical Park

Name of related multiple property listing:

N/A

(Enter "N/A" if property is not part of a multiple property listing)

2. Location

Street & number: Appomattox Court House National Historical Park

City or town: Appomattox State: Virginia County: Appomattox

Not For Publication:

Vicinity:

3. State/Federal Agency Certification

As the designated authority under the National Historic Preservation Act, as amended,

I hereby certify that this X nomination ___ request for determination of eligibility meets the documentation standards for registering properties in the National Register of Historic Places and meets the procedural and professional requirements set forth in 36 CFR Part 60.

In my opinion, the property X meets ___ does not meet the National Register Criteria. I recommend that this property be considered significant at the following level(s) of significance:

X national X statewide X local

Applicable National Register Criteria:

X A X B X C X D

Signature of certifying official/Title:	Date
State or Federal agency/bureau or Tribal Government	

In my opinion, the property X meets ___ does not meet the National Register criteria.

Signature of commenting official:	Date
Virginia Department of Historic Resources	
Title : State Historic Preservation Officer	State or Federal agency/bureau or Tribal Government

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4. National Park Service Certification

I hereby certify that this property is:

- entered in the National Register
- determined eligible for the National Register
- determined not eligible for the National Register
- removed from the National Register
- other (explain:) _____

Signature of the Keeper

Date of Action

5. Classification

Ownership of Property

(Check as many boxes as apply.)

- Private:
- Public – Local
- Public – State
- Public – Federal

Category of Property

(Check only **one** box.)

- Building(s)
- District
- Site
- Structure
- Object

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Number of Resources within Property

(Do not include previously listed resources in the count)

Contributing	Noncontributing	
<u>0</u>	<u>16</u>	buildings
<u>12</u>	<u>0</u>	sites
<u>4</u>	<u>9</u>	structures
<u>1</u>	<u>1</u>	objects
<u>17</u>	<u>26</u>	Total

Number of contributing resources previously listed in the National Register 68

6. Function or Use

Historic Functions

(Enter categories from instructions.)

AGRICULTURE/agricultural field

AGRICULTURE/processing

COMMERCE/TRADE/professional

COMMERCE/TRADE/specialty store

DEFENSE/battle site

DOMESTIC/single dwelling

DOMESTIC/secondary structure

DOMESTIC/hotel

GOVERNMENT/correctional facility

GOVERNMENT/courthouse

FUNERARY/cemetery

RECREATION AND CULTURE/monument/marker

Current Functions

(Enter categories from instructions.)

LANDSCAPE/park

RECREATION AND CULTURE/outdoor recreation

RECREATION AND CULTURE/museum

RECREATION AND CULTURE/monument/marker

FUNERARY/cemetery

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7. Description

Architectural Classification

(Enter categories from instructions.)

EARLY REPUBLIC/Federal

MID-19TH CENTURY/Greek Revival

OTHER/I-house

OTHER/Split-log cabin

Materials: (enter categories from instructions.)

Principal exterior materials of the property: STONE, BRICK, WOOD, ASPHALT, METAL

Narrative Description

(Describe the historic and current physical appearance and condition of the property. Describe contributing and noncontributing resources if applicable. Begin with a **summary paragraph** that briefly describes the general characteristics of the property, such as its location, type, style, method of construction, setting, size, and significant features. Indicate whether the property has historic integrity.)

Summary Paragraph

The Appomattox Court House National Historical Park (NHP) Historic District (District) encompasses 1,775.01 acres in the Clover Hill Magisterial District of Appomattox County, nestled in the rolling Piedmont foothills of the Appalachian (Blue Ridge) Mountains in south-central Virginia, approximately 92 miles west of Richmond and 18 miles east of Lynchburg. The District includes a re-created nineteenth-century town; resources associated with the April 9, 1865, Battle of Appomattox Court House and the subsequent surrender of Confederate Army General Robert E. Lee to Union Army General Ulysses S. Grant that effectively ended the Civil War; and a series of late nineteenth- to early twentieth-century monuments commemorating the site.¹ The paved, two-lane, curvilinear corridor of Old Court House Road (State Route 24) bisects the larger 1,773.26-acre portion of the District into two discontinuous sections. The District also includes a smaller 1.75-acre parcel located three miles to the northeast along Route 24.

¹ The District's present appearance is largely the result of the preservation and commemoration efforts undertaken by the National Park Service between 1940 and 1968, which included the stabilization, rehabilitation, and restoration of existing nineteenth-century resources as well as the reconstruction of missing or damaged resources. This registration form uses the terms indicated on construction drawings or completion reports prepared by the Park Service to describe the work relating to individual resources.

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The District boundary follows the authorized boundary of Appomattox Court House NHP and encompasses a total of 85 contributing resources (30 buildings, 4 structures, 9 objects, and 42 sites), of which 68 were previously listed.² The contributing resources include 14 reconstructed and 15 restored buildings and consist of residences; outbuildings; businesses (law offices and stores); institutions (a courthouse and jail); roads and road traces; fencing (reconstructed); a lamp post (reconstructed); military breastworks; culverts; memorial tablets and monuments; designed, vernacular, and historic landscapes; building ruins; and cemeteries. This nomination also identifies 26 non-contributing resources (16 buildings, 9 structures, and 1 object) primarily consisting of early to late twentieth-century residences and outbuildings and mid- to late twentieth-century park buildings that lack associations with the District's significant historic contexts.

Summary of Previous Documentation

By an Act of the United States Congress on August 13, 1935 (49 Stat. 613), the Secretary of the Interior was authorized to acquire title to all the land, structures and other property within a distance of 1.5 miles from the Appomattox Courthouse site for the establishment of a national historical monument to be administered by the National Park Service. On August 15, 1954, the property was re-designated as Appomattox Court House NHP by an Act of the United States Congress "for the purpose of commemorating the termination of the War Between the States which was brought about by the surrender of the army under General Robert E. Lee to Lieutenant General U.S. Grant at Appomattox Court House in the State of Virginia on April 9, 1865, and for the further purpose of honoring those who engaged in this tremendous conflict" (68 Stat. 54). Appomattox Court House NHP was administratively listed in the National Register of Historic Places (National Register) with the passage of the National Historic Preservation Act on October 15, 1966. National Register documentation for Appomattox Court House NHP was accepted by the Keeper on June 26, 1989.³ Since the 1989 documentation, the boundaries of the historic district have increased, warranting an updated nomination form. This Registration Form not only redefines the boundaries of the District but also updates the areas of significance and lists of contributing and non-contributing resources and extends the period of significance to 1968 to incorporate the mid-twentieth-century restorations and reconstructions that contribute to the District's significance with respect to historic preservation.

² The National Park Service publication NPS-28: Cultural Resource Management Guideline Appendix Q provides guidance for preparing National Register documentation for historical units of the National Park System. In accordance with the guidance, the Park Service is responsible for evaluating the entire area contained within a park's authorized boundaries. All of a park's historic resources, including those resources that are not specifically related to aspects of history noted in the park's enabling legislation, should be documented in a single National Register form. National Register boundaries for historical units of the national park system may not exceed the boundary authorized by legislation. The National Register boundary may, however, be less than the authorized park boundary to exclude, for example, non-historic buffer zones or areas that have lost historical integrity.

³ The 1989 Registration Form included 96 contributing resources (31 buildings, 18 structures, 8 objects, and 39 sites) and 18 non-contributing resources (3 buildings, 14 structures, and 1 object). The Jones Law Office, Well House, and Fence were listed in that form as the Kelly House, Well House, and Fence. One previously contributing building (the J. N. Williams Cabin) is now in ruins and is counted as a contributing site. Each fence and road previously listed as an individual contributing structure is treated in this Registration Form as a historic associated feature of either the System of Reconstructed Fencing or the Civil War Road Network. Five previously listed historic sites with no identified aboveground or archeological resources (the Surrender Triangle, Lee's Headquarters, the Apple Tree Site, the Poplar Tree Site, and the Confederate Artillery Park) are encompassed by the Appomattox Court House Restored Landscape contributing site. The Herman Methodist Church Cemetery listed as a contributing site in the 1989 form is located outside the authorized boundary of the NHP and, therefore, is not included in this Registration Form.

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Narrative Description

Setting

The roughly oval-shaped Appomattox Court House NHP Historic District spans a distance of 2½ miles between the northeast border of the Town of Appomattox to the southwest and the south side of Anderson Mill Road (State Route 701) to the north. The District occupies a broad, relatively level plateau between the Appomattox River, which traverses the District east of the Appomattox Court House Village (Village), and Plain Run Branch, which empties into the river east of the Memorial Bridge crossing at Route 24. For the most part, privately held parcels characterized by wooded slopes edge the District on all sides. Plain Run Branch edges portions of the southern boundary, while tributaries of the Appomattox River lie along the District's northwestern margins. Two main roads travel through the District: State Route 24 (excluded from the District boundary) bisects it on a northeast to southwest axis, primarily following the historic alignment of the Richmond-Lynchburg Stage Road except where it bypasses the Village, and Horseshoe Road (State Route 656) intersects a small portion of the District's northeastern corner. Other primary road corridors that extend through the region within close proximity to the park include Richmond Highway (U.S. Route 460), River Ridge Road (State Route 627), and Anderson Mill Road (State Route 701). The area surrounding the District is rural and agricultural in nature, with light residential development to the north, east, and south and increasing commercial development to the west impinging on the main entrance to the NHP and on land that was fought over and maneuvered upon in the closing struggle. The 2010 census recorded the population of Appomattox County as approximately 14,973. The town of Appomattox (approximately 2.2 square miles) immediately southwest of the District supported a population of approximately 2,043 in 2010.

CONTRIBUTING RESOURCES⁴

The 85 contributing resources within the District fall within the period of significance defined in Section 8 and retain sufficient integrity to convey their historic associations with the areas of significance defined in Section 8. The majority of the contributing resources are located within the Village at the center of the District, along or just off the historic Richmond-Lynchburg Stage Road. The subsequent descriptions of the contributing resources begin with the overall landscape then continue with the resources in the Village followed by the resources located in outlying areas.

Appomattox Court House Landscape

The **Appomattox Court House Landscape (LCS No. none, contributing site)** encompasses the entire National Register district and is largely the result of the major effort undertaken by the National Park

⁴ Portions of the subsequent resource descriptions are adapted from existing cultural resource documentation for the park, including the Appomattox Court House National Register of Historic Places Registration Form, Jon B. Montgomery, Reed Engle, and Clifford Tobias, on file with the National Register Information System, 1989; the *Appomattox Court House National Historical Park: Cultural Landscape Report*, John Milner Associates, Inc., in association with HNTB Corporation, 2009; the *Cultural Landscapes Inventory: Appomattox Court House Landscape*, Appomattox Court House National Historical Park, National Park Service, Appomattox Court House, VA, 2000; the *Cultural Landscapes Inventory: Appomattox Court House Village*, Appomattox Court House National Historical Park, National Park Service, Appomattox Court House, VA, 2000; and the *Bocock-Isbell House and Dependencies*, Appomattox Court House National Historical Park, *Historic Structures Report (100% Draft)*, John Milner Architects, Inc., Chadds Ford, PA, July 2012.

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Service between 1940 and 1968 to recreate the historic landscape of the rural courthouse village as it appeared in April 1865. The site includes restored, reconstructed, vernacular, and commemorative components. Its rural character and composition gradually shifts from the Village at its center, a pastoral nineteenth-century settlement on a mown-grass landscape dotted with mature deciduous trees, to an agricultural matrix of pastures and woodlands with scattered rural cabins, ruins, homestead sites, and cemeteries. The 1.75-acre discontinuous parcel located three miles northeast of the Village consists of a wooded, undulating lot on the south side of Route 24.

The site's topography and natural systems have changed little since 1865. From the west the land falls gently toward the Appomattox River valley and rises again to the east of the river. To the south and southwest of the river, the land rises more steeply to a series of knolls and ridges overlooking the Plain Run Branch tributary, and then falls away to the west. The land north of the river and Route 24 is less steep and characterized by a broad, gently sloping upland plateau. The Village, the site's focal point, sits atop the crest of the plateau near the center of the District at an elevation of 770 ft. Gently rolling hills of pasture and woodland surround the plateau, and six unnamed seasonal creeks also feed the river. The hilly terrain to the north and east rises from the river at approximately 600 ft above sea level to wooded high ground at approximately 820 ft. A thickly wooded ridge rises along the District's southern boundary.

The historic spatial organization of the site also remains largely unaltered, with the exception of Route 24 cutting across it from east to west. The Village core forms a distinctive cluster of buildings at the center of the District that stands out in marked contrast against the surrounding landscape. It is generally oriented east-west and north-south, with orthogonal patterns of fencing, roads, trees, and groupings of built resources that become more scattered at the periphery. As the Village plateau slopes away, a more rural homestead pattern is evident, characterized by open pastures and wooded stream corridors. Outlying historic resources are widely dispersed and located adjacent to current or former agricultural fields and roads.

Temperate mixed hardwood forests extend over much of the site, with a patchwork of open fields and woodlands stretching across the rolling topography. Hedgerows of mature red cedar and other trees and shrubs help to define the fields. Some of the agricultural fields are fenced for livestock pasture (approximately 32%); fescue hay (approximately 35%); native grass (14%); lawns, roadsides, and power lines (18%); or other uses (1%), but in general the area is less intensively farmed than it was historically. Additional forest has grown on disused farmland or been planted, resulting in a more wooded landscape than existed in 1865. The existing configurations of open fields throughout the District primarily date to extensive clearing and selective cutting undertaken by the National Park Service between 1940 and 1968. Hardwood forest is dominated by native oaks, hickory, and tulip poplar, with a dense understory that includes eastern redbud, sassafras, flowering dogwood, red maple, and black gum. Dense belts of Virginia pines have been planted near the Grant's Headquarters site at the western edge of the site and near the O'Brien Cemetery at the northeastern edge to screen views of adjacent twentieth-century development. Mature red cedars are scattered in pastures around the Village. Ornamental plantings at house and grave sites range from mature trees to flowers and herbs. A row of four black locust trees (two mature and two more recently planned) run from the northeast corner of the McLean House toward the Richmond-Lynchburg Stage Road, replicating conditions shown in historic photographs of the house.

Sweeping panoramic views of the surrounding pastoral landscape, largely unbroken by twentieth-century development, are afforded from the Village and from parking pull-offs along Route 24. However, the growth of forests on former farmlands has reduced the number of broad vistas that historically existed. The Courthouse at the center of the Village provides a focal point for views from the Lee's Headquarters

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pull-off and from the Confederate Cemetery. Views along the Richmond-Lynchburg Stage Road through the Village frame the east and west entrances to the Courthouse, and reciprocal views from the top of the exterior stairs at each entrance look over the Village and along the Stage Road. The dense pine plantings along the eastern and western edges of the District minimize the visual impact of adjacent development.

Circulation within the site consists of historic and modern roads, pedestrian paths and trails, and seven paved pull-offs and associated parking areas. The **Civil War Road Network (LCS No. none, contributing structure)** includes reconstructed segments and traces of several significant roadways used during the historic events of April 1865. The **Richmond-Lynchburg Stage Road and Road Trace (LCS No. 000047, ASMIS No. APCO00024.000, historic associated feature)**, the primary historic roadway constructed between 1790 and 1799, extends for approximately one mile through the site along its original alignment and functions primarily as a pedestrian path.⁵ It parallels Route 24 for much of its route but travels straight through the Village where the highway curves to the south. When Route 24 was rerouted to bypass the Village in 1956, the Stage Road through the Village was restored; it was further rehabilitated in 1973–1974. As the grassy and exposed-soil roadbed climbs the hill from the Appomattox River to the Village, its width ranges from 12 to 35 ft. Near the level terrain of the Village, the road continues at a width of 30 ft; and through the Village, the width varies between 9 and 13 ft. The road approaches the Courthouse at the center of the Village on axis with the east and west entrances, then divides and encircles the building. Within the Village, the road is surfaced with clay and sand with a subsurface treatment of gravel and asphalt. Beyond the Village, it exists as a grass-surfaced trace corridor.

Additional components of the Civil War Road Network form primary and secondary circulation routes through the Village. **Prince Edward Court House Road (LCS No. 007793, ASMIS No. APCO00025.000, historic associated feature)**, also established between 1790 and 1799, runs in a roughly north-south direction at the east end of the Village; the road was altered in 1954 and preserved from 1973–1974. The approximately 1,200-ft segment between the Richmond-Lynchburg Stage Road and Route 24 doubles as a pedestrian route and access drive restricted to park vehicle use. Portions of this segment are paved in gravel and stone dust, while other sections are surfaced with asphalt or grass. A line of five mature red cedar trees indicates the Prince Edward Court House Road trace as it angles away from the road's intersection with Back Lane. Immediately south of Route 24, the original trace is lost under the asphalt-paved Route 627. **Market Lane (LCS No. 007795, ASMIS No. APCO00027.000, historic associated feature)** is a 350-ft-long, 25-ft-wide pedestrian corridor between the Richmond-Lynchburg Stage Road and the visitor parking area south of the Village. Established c. 1800, the road currently serves as the primary visitor access to the Village and is surfaced with a mixture of clay, stone, and sand on top of asphalt and gravel. A 1977 archeological excavation uncovered evidence of the **Pryor Wright Lane (LCS No. none, ASMIS No. APCO00018.001, historic associated feature)** running parallel to Market Lane west of the site of the Pryor Wright House, which stood southwest of the Courthouse by 1849. Some contours of the lane are still clearly visible aboveground despite many years of agricultural use. **Back Lane (LCS No. 007794, ASMIS No. APCO00026.000, historic associated feature)** bisects

⁵ “Historic associated feature” is a term used to enumerate and describe small-scale component features of a landscape, or a system of features, that are not individually countable according to National Register guidelines but that collectively constitute a single countable resource. The term was developed to reconcile the requirements of the National Park Service List of Classified Structures (LCS) and Cultural Landscapes Inventory (CLI) with National Register documentation guidelines. The LCS is an evaluated inventory of all historic and prehistoric buildings, structures, and objects that have historical, architectural, and/or engineering significance. The CLI is an evaluated inventory of all cultural landscapes within the National Park System that have historical significance. All LCS and CLI entries must be included in National Register documentation either as a countable resource (building, district, site, structure, or object) or as a historic associated feature.

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the Village on a northwest to southeast axis between the Richmond-Lynchburg Stage Road and Prince Edward Court House Road and runs along the southern edge of the McLean and Bocoock-Isbell properties. Established sometime between 1835 and 1850 and rehabilitated by the National Park Service in 1973–1974, the 1,800-ft-long road is only partially discernible at its western end, having been ploughed under in field operations. Where it reaches the area behind the McLean House, it has a mainly grassy surface on top of stone and asphalt. The grassy roadbed is readily visible further east, after the intersection with Market Lane, but as it nears Prince Edward Court House Road, it is much less discernible. **Bocoock Lane (LCS No. 007796, ASMIS No. APCO00028.000, historic associated feature)**, also established between 1835 and 1850 and rehabilitated by the National Park Service from 1973–1974, is an informal 10-ft-wide road that runs south from the Richmond-Lynchburg Stage Road for approximately 650 ft to the Mariah Wright House. The road, used as both a pedestrian and vehicular route, is paved in asphalt where it intersects with the access road leading to the Bocoock-Isbell House. North of the intersection, it has a crushed stone, clay, and sand surface over a gravel base; to the south, it is grass surfaced. Bocoock Lane extends north past the Stage Road as the c. 1860 **Williams Lane Trace (LCS No. 671489, historic associated feature)**, which continues across the river to the site of the former J. N. Williams House. A rough approximation of the lane's course is currently known, although its physical presence is difficult to detect; the date of the lane's abandonment is unknown.

The site also contains several Civil War-era road traces located outside the Village, primarily to the west. The **Wright Lane Trace (LCS No. 671509, historic associated feature)**, established in 1850 and abandoned at an unknown date, parallels the western District boundary south of Route 24, near the Grant's Headquarters site. It is difficult to detect on the landscape, but a break in the worm fencing marks the general location of the lane that led to the former Wright farm and is presently used as a hiking trail. The **Oakville Road Trace (LCS No. 288900, ASMIS No. APCO00030.000, historic associated feature)** cuts through woodland from the Richmond-Lynchburg Stage Road, between the former Coleman and Tibbs properties, to the District's northwest boundary. The hard-packed earth road, established c. 1840–1856, historically connected the Stage Road to the James River Canal at Bent Creek but was abandoned c. 1894. The hard-packed earth **Trent Lane Trace (LCS No. 288845, ASMIS No. APCO00031.000, historic associated feature)** marks the location of a road established between 1810 and 1860 to access the former Trent farmstead and abandoned during the first half of the twentieth century. It runs south from the Stage Road to the east of the North Carolina Monument. Further east, the **Sears Lane Trace (LCS No. 288824, ASMIS No. APCO00029.000, historic associated feature)** runs south from the Stage Road toward the former site of the Sears farm. Established c. 1810–1850 and abandoned during the late nineteenth century, the 10-ft-wide road trace is now used as a hiking trail. It is surfaced with grass and hard-packed earth and edged with a berm and swale. The **Tibbs Lane Trace (LCS No. 704413, ASMIS No. APCO00032.000, historic associated feature)** is an approximately 12-ft-wide earthen trace that runs northwest from the Stage Road to the former site of the Tibbs farmstead. Established in 1860 and abandoned at an unknown date, the trace is now used as a hiking trail. The **Conner Cabin Road (LCS No. 282943, historic associated feature)**, established c. 1800–1840, leads from Route 24 northeast of the Village to the Claudine O'Brien property as a gravel-surfaced road. The 10-ft-wide road then continues as a trace through fields past the Sweeney-Conner Cabin to connect with Route 656 (Horseshoe Road).

The National Park Service built the site's **System of Reconstructed Fencing (LCS No. none, contributing structure)** between 1950 and 1968 to define historic roadways and property boundaries throughout the Village. The **Richmond-Lynchburg Stage Road Fence (LCS No. 080322, ASMIS No. APCO00024.001, historic associated feature)**, reconstructed between 1959 and 1968, varies along the length of the Stage Road corridor. Picket fencing edges the road where it passes by Village properties.

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Split-rail worm fencing is used northeast of the Peers House near the Grant & Lee Meeting Tablet. Post-and-board fencing follows the road between Tibbs Lane and the intersection with Route 24 and marks the road's curve around Route 24 near the Apple Tree site. The **Prince Edward Court House Road Fence (LCS No. 080323, historic associated feature)** is a post-and-board fence along the east side of the road north of Route 24, reconstructed between 1965 and 1968 based on historic photographs and rehabilitated in 1998. The **Market Lane Fence (LCS No. 080325, ASMIS No. APCO00027.001, historic associated feature)**, built between 1965 and 1968, consists of post-and-board fencing along the east side of the lane and capped picket fencing along the west side. The post-and-board **Back Lane Fence (LCS No. 080324, ASMIS No. APCO00026.001, historic associated feature)**, reconstructed between 1965 and 1968 based on 1867 photographs, lines both sides of the road for most of its length. The post-and-board **Bocock Lane Fence (LCS No. 080326, ASMIS No. APCO00028.001, historic associated feature)**, built between 1965 and 1968, runs along both sides of the road segment north of the Bocock-Isbell House Stable. The **Courthouse Yard Fence (LCS No. 080310, ASMIS No. APCO00005.002, historic associated feature)** is an octagonal fence around the perimeter of the Courthouse green with breaks at the center of the north, south, east, and west segments. The post-and-board fence, reconstructed in 1964–1965 based on historic photographs and archeological excavation, has heavy posts supporting five rails and a board cap covering the top rail and posts. Three-step stiles are located at the east, north, and south fence openings, with the latter leading up to the Well House located adjacent to the fence.⁶

Reconstructed picket fencing and post-and-board fencing delineate the boundaries of residential and commercial properties in the Village. The **McLean Fence (LCS No. 080299, ASMIS No. APCO00006.006, historic associated feature)**, reconstructed in 1959–1965 based on an 1865 photograph, is primarily composed of pointed pickets supported by square posts with a top rail below the tops of the pickets and a bottom rail. It runs for approximately 350 ft along the Stage Road in front of the house and along the east and west edges of the property to Back Lane. A portion of the east fence is capped, and a picketed gate supported by larger posts with square caps marks the entrance to the yard in the north fence. The **Plunkett-Meeks Fence (LCS No. 080311, ASMIS No. APCO00003.004, historic associated feature)**, reconstructed in 1959 based on historic photographs, consists of a pointed-picket fence that encloses the yard directly west of the Plunkett-Meeks Store and a post-and-board fence that encloses a portion of the fields associated with the store to the north. The Woodson Law Office and the Plunkett-Meeks Storage Building are located inside the picket fence, which includes several gates. The post-and-board fence begins at the Stage Road slightly west of the picket fence and runs north to the Plunkett-Meeks Store Stable (with a three-step stile located about halfway along the length), then extends east from the stable to connect with the post-and-board section of the Clover Hill Tavern Fence. The **Clover Hill Tavern Fence (LCS No. 080310, ASMIS No. APCO00001.005, historic associated feature)**, reconstructed in 1959 from an 1865 photograph, consists of a capped-picket fence that extends for 200 ft along the Stage Road in front of the tavern and 550 ft of post-and-board fencing that encloses the associated tavern outbuildings. The picket fence is supported by square posts and features top and bottom rails, a skirt board at grade, and a gate opposite the tavern entrance. The post-and-board fence extends around the Patteson-Hix Cemetery to the north of the tavern and connects to the north post-and-board section of the Plunkett-Meeks Fence. The **Bocock-Isbell House Fence (LCS No. 080312, ASMIS No. APCO00007.004, historic associated feature)**, reconstructed in 1950 based on 1892 photographs, is similar to the Plunkett-Meeks picket fence but includes a skirt board at grade. It encloses the Bocock-Isbell House, Smoke House, and Outside Kitchen, with a small jog to form a drying yard south of the kitchen. The west fence extends south to Back Lane, and a section extends east from the east fence to

⁶ Historical documentation indicates that the stiles originally had four steps and were located at each fence opening, but the National Park Service reconstruction reduced the number of steps to three and left the west opening without a stile for accessibility.

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Bocock Lane. The **Jones Law Office Fence (LCS No. 080304, ASMIS No. APCO00021.002, historic associated feature)**, built in 1963, consists of 200 ft of capped, unpainted picket fence along the road in front of the law office and nearly 1,200 ft of post-and-board fence enclosing the remainder of the lot bounded by Bocock Lane on the west, the paved access road to the Bocock-Isbell House on the south, and Prince Edward Court House Road on the east. Additional post-and-board fencing forms a smaller yard behind the house that includes the Robinson Cemetery at the southwest corner. The **Peers Fence (LCS No. 080303, ASMIS No. APCO00036.001, historic associated feature)**, reconstructed in 1963 based on c. 1865 and 1892 photographs, is approximately 800 ft of pointed-picket fence that encloses a portion of the Peers House property, including sections along Prince Edward Court House Road and the Stage Road and one section between the Stage Road and the front of the house.

Appomattox Court House Village

The following descriptions of the Village resources begin with the Courthouse at the center then proceed clockwise around the Courthouse from the McLean House to the New County Jail and continue east to the edge of the Village. Unless otherwise noted, reconstructed resources replaced historic resources that most likely deteriorated and collapsed at an undetermined time.

The Stage Road forms a round-about that encircles the **Appomattox Courthouse (LCS No. 000038, ASMIS No. APCO00005.000, contributing building)** at the very center of the Village. The original building was constructed in 1846 as the county courthouse but burned to the ground in 1892. The National Park Service reconstructed the building in 1963–1964 to function as the park visitor center. The two-story, hip-roofed, running-bond brick Courthouse measures 50 ft on its main east/west elevations and 40 ft on each side. An elaborate two-level cornice, with a crown mold and dentils at the head of the fascia on each level, supports the flat-seamed metal roof. Four internal chimneys with three-course corbelled drips project above the roof from the planes of the north and south side walls. Raised entry porches are centered on the second story of the east and west elevations, approached by flights of 16 cast-stone steps on high brick foundation walls with cast-iron stair rails, newels, and balusters. Each porch features a pedimented roof supported by two slightly tapered Doric columns and two half columns. Paired, four-panel doors are located within the porches, which are flanked by 12-over-12 double-hung sash windows adorned with two-panel, non-operable, louvered shutters. Smaller paired, four-panel doors are centered on the first story of the east and west elevations between eight-over-eight double-hung sash windows with two-panel, non-operable, louvered shutters. All the windows feature wood lintels with protruding rosettes and limestone sills. Fenestration on the identical side elevations of the Courthouse consists of two symmetrically arranged, eight-over-eight double-hung sash on the first story and three on the second story.

The interior of the building is used as the park visitor center and contains exhibits, a theater, and information desk. Although the Courthouse presents an exterior appearance in keeping with that of the surrounding Village landscape, the building shares many characteristics with other Mission 66 visitor centers on the interior. The centralized facility, located in close proximity to the park's primary historic resources, incorporates multiple visitor and administrative functions within a single floor plan. The open lobby on the ground floor contains a visitor information desk, restrooms, and interpretive displays. The second story houses additional displays and museum exhibits, as well as a theater. The design accommodates circulation and visitor flow—key concerns of Mission 66 planners—through wide entrances and exits, ramps, and inclined planes. The interior finishes are modern. Because the Courthouse is significant as a reconstruction of a nineteenth-century building and not as an example of Mission 66 architecture, the interior layout is not considered to contribute to the building's significance.

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The **Courthouse Well House (LCS No. 007780, ASMIS No. APCO00005.001, contributing building)** stands south of the Courthouse within the fence-enclosed green. The 10-ft by 8-ft, 6-inch wood building was reconstructed in 1964 over the c. 1865 well, which is no longer extant. Eight square posts carry the round-butt, wood-shingled ridge roof. The gable ends are finished in random-width weatherboards, and two diagonally applied trellises join the posts at all but two open entrances. The wood-enclosed well housing sits atop a butted plank floor on a brick foundation.

The **McLean House (LCS No. 000050, ASMIS No. APCO00006.001, contributing building)** and its associated outbuildings are located southwest of the Courthouse. Beginning in 1948, the National Park Service reconstructed the McLean House, which had been dismantled in 1893, on its original site. The two-story, brick building with a raised basement, originally built in 1848 by Charles Raine as a tavern, measures 50 ft by 22 ft and faces north toward the Stage Road. The side-gable roof is covered with square-butt wood shingles and has a box cornice with crown molding and returns at the eaves and a molded rake on the gables. Internal end chimneys with four-course corbelled drips are centered on the ridge. The walls are laid in a common bond, except the upper two levels of the facade (north) elevation, which are laid in a Flemish bond. The three-bay facade is dominated by a full-length porch supported by brick columns that extend from a full cellar areaway to six 12-inch-square box columns at the first-floor level. A plain rail supporting slender balusters joins the columns and continues down a 15-ft-wide porch staircase composed of eight steps. The Park Service is currently restoring the front porch, including the roof balustrade of open, horizontal, diamond lattice design. A pair of two-panel doors in the center bay of the first story, surmounted by a 15-light transom, opens onto the porch, and a four-panel cellar door is located directly beneath the porch entrance. The rear (south) elevation features a central pedimented entry porch supported on the first floor by four box columns and at the cellar level by two half-column pilasters bearing brick piers, with paneled doors at both levels. Fenestration on both the facade and rear elevations consists of three eight-over-eight, double-hung windows on the second story; 12-over-12 windows flanking the first-story entrances; and eight-over-eight windows flanking the cellar entrances. The side elevations have no fenestration. The interior of the McLean House is furnished with items typical of those owned by Wilmer McLean at the time of the surrender. The first-floor parlor, or "Surrender Room," is a reconstruction based on research and a contemporary oil painting, and many of the parlor furnishings are copies of the originals.

The **McLean Well House (LCS No. 007781, ASMIS No. APCO00006.001, contributing building)**, located in the yard directly north of the McLean House, is a 1950 reconstruction of an 1848 building. The building measures 10 ft by 9 ft. It has a wood-shingled, side-gable roof with a broad butted cupola centered on the ridge and weatherboard siding in the gable ends. Eight square posts support the roof and are set on a brick foundation laid over and around the well. A low picket fence spans the opening between the southeast corner post and the south center post. The other openings are screened with a full-height, wood lattice trellis applied diagonally toward the center posts to create a "V" pattern.

The National Park Service reconstructed the 1848 **McLean Ice House (LCS No. 000042, ASMIS No. APCO00006.002, contributing building)** in 1964 within and upon the original pit directly east of the McLean House (outside the fence) and recently restored the building. The end-gabled roof, covered in wood shingles, extends downward almost to grade and has a slight gable overhang. A decorative bargeboard formed of two rows of saw-tooth planks adorns the north roof edge. The roof rests on two courses of logs supported by fieldstones that extend 2 ft above grade and form a foundation 16 ft wide by 18 ft long around the pit. The gable ends are sheathed in random-width weatherboards, with a short

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opening centered in the north gable. The pit is approximately 5 ft deep, lined with logs, and has a sand floor.

The **McLean Outside Kitchen (LCS No. 000043, ASMIS No. APCO00006.003, contributing building)**, a 1964–1965 reconstruction of an 1848 building, is located in the yard southeast of the McLean House and faces north. The one-story, exposed “V”-notch, log building measures 20 by 16 ft under a side-gable roof and has a one-story, frame rear addition of the same dimensions but with a shed roof. Both roofs are clad in wood shingles. A common-bond brick chimney with one inward step and a four-course corbelled drip is centered on the main west side elevation, and a similar but smaller chimney is centered on the addition’s west wall. The main side walls above eave level and the addition walls are sheathed in weatherboards. The building rests on six courses of stretcher-bond brick laid upon a rough fieldstone foundation. A shed-roof porch supported by four solid square posts spans the width of the facade (north) elevation and shelters a centered board-and-batten door. Similar doors are located in the walls north of both chimneys. The building has four six-over-six, double-hung windows (west of the front entrance and centered in the main east side elevation and the east and south walls of the addition). Four-light casements flank the larger chimney, and another is centered in the east gable. The south room on the first floor is interpreted conjecturally as a kitchen, the north space as a weaving room, and the second story as a residence.

The **McLean Slave Quarters (LCS No. 000044, ASMIS No. APCO00006.004, contributing building)**, located directly west of the kitchen but facing south, is also a 1964–1965 reconstruction of an 1848 building. The one-story, double-crib log building has a side-gable roof covered with clipped-corner wood shingles. A brick chimney with a corbelled drip is centered on the ridge. The walls are constructed of logs with “V”-notched corners and an interior transverse log partition, all supported on brick piers, with weatherboards in the upper gable ends. Board-and-batten doors are centered in each bay of the facade (south) elevation, and each bay of the north (rear) elevation contains a six-over-six, double-hung window. A four-light casement is centered in the west gable, while the east side elevation has no fenestration.

The **McLean Privy (LCS No. 007782, ASMIS No. APCO00006.005, contributing building)** in the southwest corner of the McLean yard is a 1968 reconstruction of an 1848 privy. The 4-ft, 2-inch square “one-holer” has a square-butt, wood-shingled, end-gable roof and on-grade, butted, vertical board walls with a board-and-batten door in the north wall.

John H. Plunkett constructed the **Plunkett-Meeks Store (LCS No. 000051, ASMIS No. APCO00003.006, contributing building)**, at the northwest corner of the Courthouse round-about, in 1852. The two-story, 36-by-20-ft, post-and-beam building, restored in 1959, has a full attic and a full cellar. Round-butt wood shingles cover the end-gable roof, which features returned box cornices with cove moldings on the eaves and rakes with coves on the gables. An internal brick chimney with a five-course corbelled drip is centered on the roof ridge. The building is sheathed in weatherboards with a 6-inch exposure, and the cellar foundation of deeply pointed rubble fieldstone is exposed for approximately 32 inches above grade. A one-story, temple-form porch spans the facade (east) elevation. The porch gable is faced with weatherboards, and the fascia on the eaves and gable are capped with a crown mold. Four equally spaced square posts set on brick piers and connected by square balusters and a shaped handrail support the roof. The center entrance consists of a pair of four-panel doors flanked by nine-over-nine, double-hung sash windows. An exterior wood staircase leads along the north side elevation to a small, enclosed, shed-roof porch at the second story, supported by six square columns. An eight-panel single door at the west end of the south elevation opens onto a small stoop reached by five open-riser steps. A

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cellar bulkhead, covered with a pair of board and batten doors, penetrates the foundation at the center of the west (rear) elevation. The building's fenestration consists of six-over-nine or nine-over-nine, double-hung sash and two four-light casements in the north porch. The first-story windows feature three-panel solid wood shutters. The single first-floor room is furnished and interpreted as a general store and post office, with period shelving and counters and a depleted stock of goods intended to show the effects of the Civil War on the rural village. The upper level is used as staff quarters and administrative offices.

Plunkett also constructed the one-story **Plunkett-Meeks Storage Building (LCS No. 007784, ASMIS No. APCO00003.001, contributing building)**, located slightly northwest of the Plunkett-Meeks Store, c. 1850. The 14-by-16-ft, post-and-beam building was relocated a small distance on the same property and restored in 1959. Its clipped-corner, wood-shingled roof has slightly tapered rake boards at the gables. The building is sheathed in weatherboards with approximately 5½-inch exposure and elevated on deeply pointed, rough-cut sandstone piers. Single four-panel doors are located in the north end of the west elevation and the east end of the south elevation. A six-over-six, double-hung sash window is centered in the west and east elevations. The north elevation has no openings. The building's one room is furnished as a museum exhibit of period store goods.

The **Woodson Law Office (LCS No. 007786, ASMIS No. APCO00004.000, contributing building)** is a small, one-story building located directly north of the Plunkett-Meeks Store. Constructed in 1851–1856 and restored in 1959, the end-gabled building measures 12½ ft by 14½ ft and faces east toward the Courthouse. The standing-seam metal roof features a rake with bead and canted molding in the gables and a box cornice with bead and crown molding that returns at the eaves. An external common-bond brick chimney with a single step and a five-course corbelled drip is centered in the west (rear) elevation. The post-and-beam building is sheathed in weatherboard with a 6-inch exposure and supported on brick piers. The facade (east) elevation has an eight-panel door with a simple 4-inch-wide surround. A single six-over-six double-hung sash window with a single full-width shutter constructed of diagonally laid beaded boards is centered in each of the north and south side elevations. The building's one room is plainly furnished as a museum exhibit of a typical nineteenth-century country lawyer's office found in Virginia county seats.

The **Plunkett-Meeks Store Privy (LCS No. 007785, ASMIS No. APCO00003.003, contributing building)**, reconstructed in 1968, is located in the grassy field north of the fenced Plunkett-Meeks property. The 4-ft, 2-inch-square "one-holer" has a gabled roof covered with square-butt wood shingles, walls of vertical butted boards, and a board-and-batten door in the south-facing elevation.

The **Plunkett-Meeks Store Stable (LCS No. 017260, ASMIS No. APCO00003.002, contributing building)**, located northwest of the store in the northwest corner of the area enclosed by the Clover Hill Tavern Fence, is a 1949 reconstruction of a c. 1850 building that was dismantled by the National Park Service in 1946 due to public safety concerns. The two-story, wood-frame stable measures 21 ft wide by 20½ ft long and faces south. The end-gable roof is clad in wood shingles with square butts, and the walls are covered with weatherboards. One-story sheds attached to the east and west elevations have exposed rafters and butted vertical board walls. Board-and-batten doors centered in both gables provide access to the loft haymow.

The **Grave of Lafayette Meeks (LCS No. 007791, ASMIS No. APCO00017.000, contributing site)** is located beneath an Eastern red cedar tree in the field northwest of the Plunkett-Meeks Store. The grave, which is surrounded by a board fence erected by the National Park Service in the 1960s, is in fair condition. A white marble headstone, 24½ inches wide and 50 inches high (arched to 53 inches) and set in

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concrete, carries a badly eroded bas-relief at the top that appears to be the “tree of life” design. The inscription on the headstone reads:

LAFAYETTE W. MEEKS
Son of
Francis & Maria Meeks
Born March 2, 1843
And died in the defence of his Country Oct 4, 1861
at Fairfax C.H., Va.
He was a member of the Appomattox Rangers, in
which Company he served faithfully in the battles
Bull Run and Manassas

A gray granite footstone, 13¼ inches wide, 17 inches high, and 2 inches thick, is incised with the initials “L. W. M.”

The Clover Hill Tavern complex occupies the area north of the Courthouse. At the entrance gate to the complex, the 3-ft, 2-inch metal **Clover Hill Lamp (LCS No. 080302, contributing object)** stands on a 6-ft, 4-inch wood pole. The National Park Service reconstructed the lamp in 1958 based on an 1865 photograph taken by Timothy O’Sullivan. The **Clover Hill Tavern (LCS No. 000049, ASMIS No. APCO00001.011, contributing building)**, built by Alexander Patteson in 1819 for travelers on the Richmond-Lynchburg Stage Road, was restored in 1954. A new roof was installed in 2003. Constructed of local brick laid in Flemish bond, the 39-by-23-ft, two-story building has a full attic and no cellar. The wood-shingled roof features a corbelled brick cornice on the main elevations and denticulated rakes on the east and west gable ends. External brick chimneys centered in the side elevations feature single steps at the attic level and four-course, corbelled drips. A one-story, shed-roof porch spans the full width of the four-bay facade (south) elevation. Five square box columns on brick foundation piers support the porch roof, which is clad in wood shingles and has random horizontal boards enclosing each end. The entrance in the third bay from the west contains a five-panel door surmounted by a six-pane fanlight. Identical doors are located in the third bay from the west on the north elevation and to the north of the chimney in the west elevation; the east elevation has no openings. The north and south elevations contain four six-over-nine, double-hung sash windows at the second story and three nine-over-nine windows at the first story. All the double-hung windows have two-panel, non-operable, louvered shutters. Nine-light, inward-opening casements flank the two end chimneys.

On the interior, the tavern’s first story is partitioned into two rooms. The stairs are unusual, as they are centered on the dividing partition and can be approached from both rooms. Within the smaller west room, random vertical boards enclose the staircase, which is accessed through a five-panel door. The staircase is open in the east room and features turned balusters, a handrail with a fluted edge, and a turned newel with a flared cap. The treads have fretted stair brackets and cove moldings below their nosing. The western room has a brick fireplace with a wood surround featuring a fluted mantel and dentils. The interior trim on the fanlights above all three exterior doors features transverse fluting on the soffits and seven simple, chisel-cut, eight-pointed stars. The original stenciling and painting is exposed on the plaster and in the western room stair enclosure, and the evidence of original graining is visible on all interior trim. The building houses a representative exhibit of the printing of thousands of parole passes for the surrendered Confederate soldiers.

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The **Clover Hill Tavern Guest House (LCS No. 000053, ASMIS No. APCO00001.002, contributing building)**, directly west of the tavern, is aligned perpendicular to the other buildings in the tavern complex. The two-story masonry building, constructed in 1819 and restored in 1959, has a finished attic and no cellar. A complexity of stairs, porches, roof overhangs, and support posts designed to facilitate its access by multiple tavern guests define the building. The two-bay by two-bay masonry core measures 20 ft by 22 ft. The wood-shingled gable roof has a 5-ft overhang on the east and west elevations and a 4-ft, 6-inch overhang on the south, supported by cantilevered joists and octagonal wood posts or columns formed from chamfered squares. An external brick chimney with two steps and a corbelled drip is centered in the north elevation, which has a full masonry gable. The masonry walls stop at the third-floor joist level on the other three elevations, with wood framing above. The brick is laid in common bond; penciled joints highlight all but the east and a portion of the south elevations, which are whitewashed. The dominant feature on the facade (east) elevation is a two-story integral porch with an exterior staircase centered on the building's roof rather than the masonry core. The staircase has 13 open treads and simple beaded handrails that continue around the second-story deck. At the south end of the porch, stairs extend from the second level along the south elevation to a balcony beneath the roof overhang, supported at the west end by a two-story octagonal column. The gable corners and the portion above the balcony ceiling are sheathed with random horizontal beads. The guest house facade contains two doors with five flush-beaded, recessed panels on the second level and a similar, but larger, door in the south bay on the ground level. A similar door is centered in the third-story balcony on the south wall, and a recessed board-and-batten door is located in the south bay of the west elevation's first story. Fenestration consists of six-over-six double-hung sash, with the exception of two four-light casements flanking the chimney in the north gable. The interior has been extensively adapted since construction and the restoration/rehabilitation of 1959, which converted the building for use as staff quarters.

The two-story **Clover Hill Tavern Kitchen and Guest House (LCS No. 000052, ASMIS No. APCO00007.001, contributing building)** is located northwest of the tavern. Built in 1846–1848 and restored in 1953–1954, the 32-by-18-ft, masonry building has a full attic but no cellar. The clipped-corner, wood-shingled gable roof features simple beaded rake boards on the gable ends and a box cornice with applied molding at the eaves. Internal chimneys with four-course corbelled drips are centered on the ridge near each end of the building. The walls are constructed of local brick laid in common bond with the mud/lime mortar joints highlighted by white penciling. The facade (south) elevation features board and batten doors with exterior face beads in each of the two inner bays on the first and second levels. A flight of 13 exterior wood steps provides access to an open second-story porch supported by three 8-inch-square box columns. Six-over-six, double-hung windows fill the outer two bays on the second story, and a six-over-nine window is located at the west end of the first story. All the windows have two-panel, non-operating, louvered shutters. The side elevations have no fenestration or door openings. On the interior, the first and second stories are divided into two rooms each, with no interior staircase. The park bookstore currently occupies the first floor, which originally served as the tavern kitchen. Staff quarters are located in the rooms on the second floor, which provided additional lodging for tavern guests.

The **Clover Hill Tavern Slave Quarters (LCS No. 007783, ASMIS No. APCO00007.003, contributing building)**, originally constructed in 1819 and reconstructed in 1953–1954, is located directly north of the tavern and east of the kitchen/guest house. The one-story, 15-by-28-ft, frame building has a gable roof clad in square-butt wood shingles and finished with plain box cornices and rake boards. The central internal brick chimney has a two-course drip. The walls are sheathed in random boards and battens. Two board-and-batten doors are located in the outer bays of the four-bay facade (south) wall, and a board-and-batten door is positioned slightly to the east of center in the north (rear) wall. The two inner bays of the facade contain four-over-four double-hung windows, and a single window is located to the

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west of the rear entrance. Louvered gable openings are centered above a single window in the identical east and west side elevations. Each double-hung window features a single full-width board-and-batten shutter. The building houses public restrooms and a utility room.

Originally built in 1819 and reconstructed in 1968, the **Clover Hill Tavern Privy (LCS No. 080300, ASMIS No. APCO00007.004, contributing building)** is located to the east of the slave quarters. The 4-by-6-ft, two-compartment privy has a square-butt wood shingle roof, vertical butted board walls, and two board-and-batten doors. Ventilation is provided through the space between the rafters on the eaves, and no cornice is present.

The **Patteson-Hix Cemetery (LCS No. 289303, ASMIS No. APCO00009.000, contributing site)** is a small family burial ground established in the 1840s at the north edge of the Clover Hill Tavern property. Grave markers are arranged in two rows and range from marked headstones and footstones to unmarked fieldstones. Research indicates that there are 13 interments.

The **New County Jail (LCS No. 000036, ASMIS No. APCO00019.000, contributing building)**, completed c. 1867, is located east of the Courthouse on the south side of the Stage Road, directly opposite the site of the first county jail. The three-story, 20-by-40-ft, masonry building, restored between 1964 and 1965, faces north. The side-gabled, standing-seam metal roof, installed in 1978, has a corbelled brick cornice along the eaves and plain wooden rakes along the gables. Internal end chimneys with two-course corbelled drips are centered on the ridge. The exterior walls are of local brick laid in common bond with half-brick vent holes into the crawl space below the first-floor level. A four-panel raised door is centered in the three-bay north (facade) and south (rear) elevations; the north entrance has a rectangular four-light transom above it. Each entrance is flanked by a six-over-six double-hung window with a wood sill and lintel, and similar windows are centered above the door in the second and third stories of the north elevation. The windows in the two outer bays on the second and third floors are faced with horizontal iron bars set into iron frames tied to the lintels and sills, which are constructed of cut local sandstone. There are no openings in the east and west side elevations. The fenestration on the building reflects the interior layout composed of a center stair hall flanked by two rooms on each floor, with the sheriff's office and quarters located on the first floor and cells on the upper floors. The building is currently used as a museum exhibit and contains period furnishings appropriate to the historic functions of each room.

The politicians and brothers Thomas S. and Henry F. Boccock constructed the **Boccock-Isbell House (LCS No. 007787, ASMIS No. APCO00007.006, contributing building)**, set well back from the Stage Road in an open field southeast of the jail, in 1848–1851. The National Park Service restored the building in 1948–1949 for use as a staff residence and has since converted it to park offices. The two-story, post-and-beam house measures 19 ft by 50 ft and faces north toward the Stage Road. The side-gable roof features a simple box cornice with crown molding along the eaves and a rake board with crown on the gables. External brick chimneys with single steps and corbelled drips are centered at each gable end. The frame is sheathed with weatherboards above a raised basement of local brick laid in a common bond. A one-story entry porch accessed by nine wood steps is centered on the three-bay facade (north) elevation. Four paired square columns raised on brick piers support the porch's flat-seam metal roof, which has a simple box cornice and fascia beneath a balustrade that matches the porch railing. The centered four-panel entry door is surmounted by a 15-light transom divided into a border of square and narrow rectangular panes and larger inner panes. In the center bay of the second story, a half-glass door with a narrow single-light transom opens onto the porch roof deck. The south (rear) elevation features a raised center entry porch with a low-pitch, wood-shingled shed roof supported by four square columns. The two central columns flanking a flight of seven closed-riser steps are offset to the east, as is the four-panel door within the

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porch. A set of brick steps leads down to a basement-level door adjacent to the porch. The remaining bays of the front and rear elevations contain six-over-six, double-hung windows on each floor, including the cellar. The west elevation is without fenestration, while the east has a single, double-hung window to the north of the chimney. A two-story, shed-roof addition projects outward 2 ft, 2 inches from the east elevation on the south side of the chimney. Probably not original (the original corner board is still in place), the extension provides space for closets in the southeast rooms.

Three outbuildings associated with the Bocock-Isbell House are arranged in an east-west row to the south of the house. All three are currently used for storage. The **Bocock-Isbell Smoke House (LCS No. 007788, ASMIS No. APCO00007.001, contributing building)**, built c. 1849–1850 and restored in 1948–1949, is the western-most outbuilding. The 12-by-12-ft, post-and-beam building has a high-pitched, side-gable, wood-shingle roof with a plain box cornice along the eaves and plain rakes along the gables. The walls are clad in weatherboard sheathing, and the building is raised on brick piers. A door of random-width butted boards with interior battens is slightly offset in the north elevation. The **Bocock-Isbell Outside Kitchen (LCS No. 007789, ASMIS No. APCO00007.002, contributing building)** is a slightly larger building to the east, built c. 1849–1850 and restored in 1948–1949. The 16-by-18-ft, post-and-beam building's side-gable, wood-shingle roof has a plain box cornice with shaped end boards at the eaves and rakes with quirk beads on the gables. A single-step brick end chimney with a corbelled drip is centered on the east side elevation. The kitchen has weatherboard walls set on brick piers. The front (north) elevation contains a four-panel door and a single, four-over-four double-hung window. A similar window is centered in the south (rear) elevation. The easternmost outbuilding, the **Bocock-Isbell House Stable (LCS No. 000037, ASMIS No. APCO00007.003, contributing building)**, is a 1963–1964 reconstruction of a c. 1849 stable located outside the Bocock-Isbell fence. The 24-by-21-ft, wood-frame building faces east toward Bocock Lane. The end-gable roof is clad in square-butt wood shingles and has a simple box cornice and tapered rake boards. The walls are clad in weatherboards, and the building rests on a fieldstone foundation. Two paired board-and-batten stable doors are located in the east elevation, beneath a centered board-and-batten haymow door. The west (rear) elevation has an identical haymow door and a board pedestrian door on the lower level, offset to the south. The side elevations have no openings.

The **Mariah Wright House (LCS No. 000041, ASMIS No. APCO00041.002, contributing building)**, built by Pryor Wright in 1823 and inherited by his wife, Mariah, on his death in 1851, is located in an open grassy meadow near the south end of Bocock Lane and faces west. The one-story post-and-beam building measures 40½ ft by 18 ft. It has a side-gable roof clad in wood shingles, beaded pine weatherboard siding, and a raised foundation of rubble stone with raised grapevine pointing. The centered external end chimneys are constructed of fieldstone to the attic level, step back in stone, and continue upward as freestanding brick stacks with corbelled drips accented with a whitewashed course just below the drip. A full-length, shed-roof porch spans the five-bay facade (west) elevation. Six square posts bearing on stone piers separated by diagonal lattice trellises support the porch's shallow-pitched, wood-shingled roof. Four centered steps lead up to the porch, which is surrounded by plain square balusters and railing. Six-panel doors that feature raised panels with concave quarter-circle corners are located in the second and fourth bays. A smaller shed-roof porch is centered on the east (rear) elevation, enclosing two side-by-side six-panel doors. An additional entrance approached by six open treads is located in the south wall, against the east side of the chimney. The front and rear elevations each contain three six-over-six, double-hung windows. Four-light gable casements flank the north and south chimneys; and narrow, four-over-four double-hung windows are adjacent to the chimneys on the first story. The National Park Service restored the exterior of the building in 1964–1965 and added a concrete foundation and chimney footings. The interior is largely unfinished.

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The **Wright Cemetery (LCS No. none, ASMIS No. APCO00041.000, contributing site)** is reputedly located in the field south of the west porch of the Mariah Wright House. Any graves here, though once marked with stones, are now unmarked.

The **Jones Law Office (LCS No. 000396, ASMIS No. APCO00021.000, contributing building)** is situated at the southwest corner of the intersection of the Richmond-Lynchburg Stage Road and Prince Edward Court House Road and faces north. The one-story, post-and-beam building, constructed as the law office of Crawford Jones between 1845 and 1860 and restored in 1959–1960, measures 21 ft, 6 inches by 17 ft, 6 inches. Round-butt wood shingles cover the side-gable roof, which has a box cornice with crown molding at the eaves and a rake with a simple ogee on the gables. An external chimney centered on the west side elevation is constructed of rough-dressed sandstone up to the attic level, with a freestanding, common-bond, brick stack above that terminates in a three-course corbelled drip. The walls are sheathed in unpainted weatherboards, and the foundation is rough-dressed sandstone. A simple gabled entry porch with a facing pediment covered in weatherboards is centered on the facade (north) elevation, sheltering a four-panel door. Two square posts on brick piers and two pilasters, connected by simple balusters and a heavy rounded rail, support the porch roof. A second four-paneled door is centered in the south (rear) elevation, and a small shed-roof vestibule adjacent to the south side of the chimney provides access to the cellar. Fenestration consists of a single six-over-nine, double-hung window to the west of the front porch; a similar window centered in the east side elevation beneath a six-over-six, double-hung gable window and above a pair of four-light, upward-swinging casements in the foundation; square four-light casements in the west gable flanking the chimney; and a pair of three-light cellar casements in the south foundation. The restored interior of the building is furnished and interpreted as a typical late nineteenth-century residence.

The **Jones Law Office Well House (LCS No. 000040, ASMIS No. APCO00021.001, contributing building)**, located in the enclosed yard to the west of the law office, is a 1963 reconstruction of a c. 1858 open well covering. The end-gable roof is clad in round-butt wood shingles, with weatherboard sheathing in the gables. Square corner posts with chamfered edges and plain upper braces rest on a wood deck on grade.

The **Robinson Cemetery (LCS No. 289455, ASMIS No. APCO00021.003, contributing site)** is enclosed within a low board fence in the southwest corner of the Jones Law Office property. Five small unmarked fieldstones set directly into the ground demark family burials dating from the mid-nineteenth century.

The **Presbyterian Church Cemetery (LCS No. none, contributing site)** is a single unmarked grave located in the field east of the Prince Edward Court House Road. The **Forest Cemetery (LCS No. 666426, ASMIS No. APCO00046.000, contributing site)** consists of several, unmarked, crudely dressed stones in the woods northeast of the Union Academy site.

The **Peers House (LCS No. 007790, ASMIS No. APCO00036.003, contributing building)**, built by 1855 and restored for staff housing in 1954, is located on the east side of Prince Edward Court House Road, diagonally northeast of the Jones Law Office, and faces west. The two-story, post-and-beam house measures 34 ft by 18 ft and is very similar to the nearby Boccock-Isbell House. It has a side-gable roof clad in square-butt wood shingles, a box cornice with crown molding at the eaves and a rake with quirk molding at the gables, single-step external end chimneys with three-course corbelled drips, narrow wood siding, and a raised brick basement. A temple-form entry porch centered on the facade (west) elevation

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features a simple pedimented gable supported by square box posts on brick piers, connected with simple balusters and a plain handrail. The porch covers an offset four-paneled door. The rear (east) entrance is offset beneath an offset shed-roof porch raised on brick piers, and a cellar bulkhead is located to the east of the south chimney. Fenestration on the facade consists of eight-over-twelve, double-hung windows flanking the porch, with eight-over-eight, second-story windows above. The rear elevation contains a single six-over-nine window north of the porch on the first story, two six-over-six windows on the second story, and a six-over-six window at the north end of the raised basement. The south side elevation has a single six-over-nine window on the first story, west of the chimney, while the north elevation has no fenestration.

Four of the twelve cast-iron markers installed at Appomattox Court House in 1893 by the U.S. War Department remain extant. Two of these markers are located within the Village. Each marker consists of a cast-iron plaque with raised letters, approximately 2½ by 3 ft in size, mounted on a low metal post. The **Last Shot Fired Tablet (LCS No. 080309, contributing object)**, located on the east side of the Prince Edward Court House Road immediately outside the Peers Fence, reads:

FROM THIS SPOT WAS FIRED
LAST SHOT FROM THE ARTILLARY [*sic*]
OF THE ARMY OF NOTHERN [*sic*] VIRGINIA,
ON THE MORNING OF APRIL 9TH,
1865.

The **Grant & Lee Meeting Tablet (LCS No. 080308, contributing object)** is located at the north edge of the Richmond-Lynchburg Stage Road Trace, northeast of the Peers House. It reads:

ON THIS SPOT LIEUTENANT-
GENERAL ULYSSES S. GRANT, U.S.A.,
AND GENERAL ROBERT E. LEE, C.S.A.,
MET ON THE MORNING OF APRIL 10TH
1865.

Outlying Areas

The following descriptions begin at the far west end of the District and proceed eastward.

The **Coleman Outbuilding (LCS No. 289285, ASMIS No. APCO00057.002, contributing structure)** is a low one-story, wood-frame structure located in the woods just north of Route 24 near the western end of the District. Built c. 1863–1865 possibly as a corn crib, the 11-by-17-ft agricultural outbuilding appears to have been altered at some point for use as a smoke house. It has an end-gable roof covered with sheet metal, walls of half-dovetail-notch log planks with no daubing and weatherboard siding in the gable ends, and a stone foundation. The single opening is centered in the east elevation.

The **Burruss Tract Cemetery (LCS No. 671482, ASMIS No. APCO00076.000, contributing site)**, c. 1810, lies one mile west of the Village on a knoll approximately 780 ft above sea level. The burial ground, just west of the course of the Oakville Road Trace, measures approximately 50 by 40 yards and is estimated to contain at least 50 grave sites. Twelve to 15 grave markers in at least four rows are visible, along with several depressions that are likely grave sites. Most of the markers (both head and foot) are fieldstone; at least two have been shaped and inscribed, although the inscriptions are not entirely legible.

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One inscription refers to “Nathan A ...,” who was born in 1786 and died October 10, 1813. Young trees and vines currently grow throughout the site. The cemetery is in poor condition and difficult to locate.

In 1905, the State of North Carolina erected the only state-sponsored monument at Appomattox Court House. The **North Carolina Monument (LCS No. 007792, contributing object)** is located in a small clearing in the woods approximately 700 ft south of Route 24. The tripartite monument measures 7 ft long, 3 ft wide, and 5 ft tall and is composed of a pair of crenellated carved granite piers framing a rough-cut pedimented granite tablet, each set on a 1-ft-high, rough-cut granite base. Both faces of the tablet and the side faces of the piers are polished and inscribed.

The North Carolina legislature also placed two smaller commemorative tablets along the north side of the Richmond-Lynchburg Stage Road Trace in 1905. Both tablets are 8-inch-thick, rough-hewn granite slabs, measuring approximately 3 ft by 2 ft, with polished and inscribed faces that are set at a slight tilt on concrete bases embedded in the ground. The **North Carolina Tablet No. 1 – West (LCS No. 007792, contributing object)** is located approximately 425 ft west of the Confederate Cemetery. The stone’s inscription reads:

NORTH CAROLINA
THE LAST FEDERAL BATTERY TAKEN BY THE
CONFEDERATES WAS CAPTURED BY THE
NORTH CAROLINA CAVALRY BRIGADE
OF BRIG-GEN. W.P. ROBERTS AT
THIS PLACE.

The nearly identical **North Carolina Tablet No. 2 – East (LCS No. 007792, contributing object)** is located approximately 850 ft to the east of the first tablet. Its inscription reads:

NORTH CAROLINA
AT THIS PLACE WAS FOUGHT THE LAST SKIRMISH
BY CAPTAIN WILSON T. JENKINS OF THE 14TH
NORTH CAROLINA REGIMENT COMMANDING 25
MEN OF THE 4TH AND 14TH N.C. REGIMENTS.

The Ladies Memorial Association of Appomattox established the **Confederate Cemetery (LCS No. none, contributing site)** in 1866 in a small wedge of space between Route 24 and the Richmond-Lynchburg Stage Road Trace, approximately one-half mile west of the Village. The Appomattox chapter of the United Daughters of the Confederacy (UDC) owns the cemetery, but the National Park Service maintains it. A paved parking area edged by a concrete sidewalk is adjacent to the west side of the cemetery, and a brick walkway leads from the parking area to the cemetery gate. The site contains marble headstones marking the graves of 19 soldiers (18 Confederate and one Union) who died in the final fighting of April 8 and 9, 1865, within a rectangular wrought-iron perimeter fence. Only eight of the names of the interred soldiers are known; all eight are Confederates. Four mature Southern magnolia trees remain from what appears to have been a larger planting of two rows framing the east and west sides of the cemetery. Additional small-scale features within the fence consist of two flag poles, two granite slab benches, and a book-shaped stone podium at the west end.

The **Battlefield Markers Association/United Daughters of the Confederacy Marker (LCS No. none, contributing object)** is a rough-cut granite monument installed near the Courthouse site in 1926 and

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relocated in 1963 to its current site at the parking area for the Confederate Cemetery. A bronze plaque on the monument's south-facing, slanted top reads:

APPOMATTOX
HERE ON SUNDAY APRIL 9, 1865
AFTER FOUR YEARS OF HEROIC STRUGGLE
IN DEFENSE OF PRINCIPLES BELIEVED FUNDAMENTAL
TO THE EXISTENCE OF OUR GOVERNMENT
LEE SURRENDERED 9000 MEN THE REMNANT
OF AN ARMY STILL UNCONQUERED IN SPIRIT

A second bronze plaque located on the north (rear) face of the monument reads:

ERECTED JUNE 11 1926
BY
APPOMATTOX CHAPTER
UNITED DAUGHTERS OF CONFEDERACY

The **Raine Cemetery (LCS No. 288878, ASMIS No. APCO00043.000, contributing site)**, established by the Raine family in 1851, is located opposite the Confederate Cemetery in a field on the south side of Route 24. It is dominated by a 25-ft-tall granite obelisk at the center, erected in 1912 by Hunter Raine in memory of his father, Charles J. Raine, who died in the fighting at Mine Run on November 30, 1863. The obelisk consists of a tapering shaft with a pyramidal cap set atop a 5-ft concave curved section on an 8-ft-square base. A 34-ft-square exposed-aggregate concrete plaza surrounds the obelisk, and flat marble headstones and footstones embedded in the plaza identify eight additional Raine family burials, including Clover Hill Tavern owner John Raine (1795–1851). Twelve low concrete piers linked with metal pipe railing (missing in several places) form a fence around the plaza. The **Raine Slave Cemetery (LCS No. none, ASMIS No. APCO00072.000, contributing site)** is located approximately 250 ft east of the Raine Cemetery, along the east side of the Sears Lane Trace. It consists of a cleared field with unmarked shallow depressions, surrounded by a line of mature deciduous trees.

The **Apple Tree Tablet (LCS No. 080307, contributing object)**, a cast-iron 1893 War Department marker located in a field along the south side of Route 24 just east of the Appomattox River, reads:

NEAR THIS SPOT STOOD THE
APPLE TREE UNDER WHICH GENERAL
ROBERT E. LEE RESTED WHILE AWAITING
THE RETURN OF A FLAG OF TRUCE
SENT BY HIM TO GENERAL U.S. GRANT
ON THE MORNING OF APRIL 9, 1865.

The **Joel Sweeney Grave and Bohannon-Trent Cemetery (LCS No. 671476, ASMIS No. APCO00078.000, contributing site)** lies in a field on the north side of Route 24, just east of the Appomattox River. The cemetery includes the grave of Joel Sweeney (1810–1860), who popularized the five-string banjo, marked by a non-historic gravestone. Six other burials marked by low granite and marble headstones and footstones are located within the cemetery's board fence.

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The **Charles Sweeney Cabin (LCS No. 080015, ASMIS No. APCO00038.000, contributing building)**, constructed c. 1830–1840 and restored c. 1940 and again in 1988–1989, is located in a clearing on the northeast side of the intersection of Route 24 and the Conner Cabin Road. The one-story post-and-beam building measures 20 ft by 18 ft and faces south. It has a side-gable roof of square-butted oak shakes, supported along the eaves by a box cornice with scribed end boards and in the gables with tapered rake boards. A rough, crudely quoined, fieldstone chimney centered in the west side elevation extends upward to the top of the attic fireplace, where a brick stack corbels inward and away from the gable end to terminate in a four-course corbelled drip. The walls are covered with non-tapered, beaded weatherboards, and the house rests on rough fieldstone piers. A four-paneled door is centered in the three-bay facade (south) elevation and in the east side elevation. Six-over-six, double-hung windows flank the south entrance; and a similar window is offset slightly to the east of center in the rear (north) elevation. Small four-light, inward-opening casements flank the chimney in the west gable; and a single six-light casement is centered in the east gable. The interior of the one-room cabin, with a loft above, retains much of the original fabric. The structural frame is whitewashed and exposed to view with hewn oak L-form corner posts, knee braces, and principal studs alternating with secondary members of pine. The window and door casings and trim indicate the cabin was intended to be, but never was, plastered. The open dog-leg stairway in the northwest corner has many of the original balusters, trim on the stringers, and a square newel and rail formed from a planed oak branch. A small closet under the stairs has the original four-panel door with concave quarter-circle corners on the raised panels, an elegant detail also found on the doors of the Mariah Wright House.

The **Sweeney Cemetery (LCS No. 289497, contributing site)**, established c. 1895, lies in a small clearing about 100 yards north of the Charles Sweeney Cabin, adjacent to the Conner Cabin Road. The cemetery contains 13 Sweeney and Cyrus family burial plots marked with 11 headstones and 10 footstones. The stones are generally rough-hewn or polished granite with incised markings; some have etched bronze plaques.

The **Sweeney-Conner Cabin (LCS No. 080052, ASMIS No. APCO00039.000, contributing building)**, believed to have been built c. 1865 for Jennings W. Conner and his bride Missouri Sweeney, is located in an open field at the north end of the Conner Cabin Road and faces due east. The National Park Service restored the exterior of the building in 1986–1987, but the interior retains little historic fabric. The one-story log cabin measures 16 ft by 18 ft. The side-gable roof is covered with split wood shakes and has a plain box cornice at the eaves and a tapered rake board on the gables. A fieldstone chimney centered in the north side wall steps inward just above the attic fireplace and continues upward in stone to terminate in a fieldstone drip. The walls are constructed of 6-by-9-inch logs, V-notched at the corners, and originally shimmed and sheathed with ½-inch, non-tapered, sawn and random-width weatherboards. The cabin rests on a deeply pointed fieldstone foundation. Its only entrance is a single board-and-batten door roughly centered in the facade (east) elevation. The west (rear) elevation retains a central window frame suitable for a six-over-six sash, but the original sash is not extant. Two small four-light casement sashes flank the chimney in the north gable, and a similar casement is centered in the south gable.

The **Sweeney Prizery (LCS No. 000045, ASMIS No. APCO00037.000, contributing building)**, believed to be a tobacco packing house (or prizery) and residence built in the 1790s, is located at the southern edge of a large cleared meadow in the forest near the northeast edge of the District. The National Park Service stabilized and mothballed the building in 1975 and undertook additional stabilization work in 2013. The one-story wood-frame building, currently not in use, measures 36 ft by 16½ ft. It has a side-gable roof covered in standing-seam metal, and the weatherboard walls are also covered with protective metal sheeting. External stone, one-step chimneys without drips are centered on both gable ends. The

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prizery is built into a bank so that the grade on the facade (north) elevation is slightly below the level of the first floor, while the rear (south) elevation exposes the full height of the rough-hewn sandstone cellar walls. Two door openings are located in the facade, and two cellar door openings in the rear elevation. Only the frames remain of what appear to have been six-over-six, double-hung windows in the first-floor rear wall and a paired upward-opening casement in the cellar wall. The west side elevation retains only the form of a probable four-light casement on the first story south of the chimney. The interior studs indicate that each gable also originally had a small casement window. A narrow stair and horizontal plank partition divide each floor into two rooms. The ceilings are un-plastered, but the supports are heavily whitewashed. Board sheathing covers the interior walls: horizontally butted boards in the western first-floor room; vertical boards with battens, possibly not original, in the eastern.

The **Lee's Headquarters Tablet (LCS No. 080306, contributing object)** is a cast-iron 1893 War Department marker located in the woods south of Route 24 near the District's northeastern corner. It reads:

ON THIS SPOT WERE
ESTABLISHED THE HEADQUARTERS
OF THE ARMY OF NOTHERN [*sic*] VIRGINIA,
GENERAL ROBERT E. LEE, C.S.A.,
COMMANDING, FROM APRIL 8TH
TO APRIL 11TH, 1865.

The **O'Brien Cemetery (LCS No. 288679, ASMIS No. APCO00044.000, contributing site)**, located northeast of Route 656 near the District's eastern boundary, was established c. 1884–1885 and is still in use. It includes 32 interments, mostly from the O'Brien family, marked by headstones and footstones of various sizes, shapes, and materials. Many are rough-hewn or polished granite with incised and excised inscriptions. A portion of the cemetery is covered with a concrete slab and surrounded by a concrete pier and chain fence. Wood posts that may mark a former fence enclosure surround the larger site.

The discontinuous 1.75-acre parcel located three miles northeast of the main District encompasses the **Confederate Defensive Entrenchments (LCS No. 289966, contributing structure)**, hastily constructed in 1865 by Lee's troops under General James Longstreet's command. The unmarked earthworks are in the woods approximately 20 yards from the south side of Route 24, near a paved pull-off. The approximately 130-ft-long earthen structure was originally built up with felled trees and stones to form a 2-ft-high by 4-ft-wide fortification with inner and outer trenches. Sedimentation and vegetation now obscure most of the earth mound entrenchments.

Archeological Sites

NOTE: The following information printed in **bold-face type** contains location information for sensitive archeological sites within the Appomattox Court House NHP Historic District. Under the authority of Section 304 of the National Historic Preservation Act, the following text and site location mapping should be redacted from the document before it is released to the public. Many of the site locations are assumed or tentatively assigned based on surface materials rather than conclusively identified through systematic excavation. ASMIS records indicate that conditions assessments were conducted most recently at the sites between 2013 and 2014.

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The George Peers' c. 1890 sketch map of Appomattox Court House depicts what is believed to be the c. 1870 Charles H. Diuguid Blacksmith Shop (ASMIS No. APCO00049.000, contributing site) adjacent to the north side of the Richmond-Lynchburg Stage Road at the western edge of the Village, approximately 830 ft west of the Clover Hill Tavern. Archeological deposits identified at the site include a distinct concentration of slag potentially associated with the smithing operation and a concentration of nineteenth-century architectural and domestic artifacts that suggest the presence of what may have been Diuguid's residence immediately north and west of the slag concentration.

Archeological investigations at the c. 1819 Clover Hill Tavern Bar (ASMIS No. APCO0001.006, contributing site), formerly located immediately east of the Clover Hill Tavern, identified two piers believed to have supported the eastern wall of the building. The lack of corresponding western piers may have led to earlier assumptions that the bar originally was connected to the tavern, but archival photographs indicate that was not the case.

The c. 1819 Clover Hill Tavern Dining Room (ASMIS No. APCO0001.007, contributing site) was located immediately west of the Clover Hill Tavern and, like the bar, was physically detached from the tavern. Archeological evidence of the building included brick structural piers and possible brick wall alignments, but disturbances associated with the installation of a water main through the site make interpretation of the features problematic.

The c. 1819 Clover Hill Tavern Ice House (ASMIS No. APCO0001.008, contributing site) is believed to have been located just northwest of the slave quarters. No archeological evidence of the structure has been identified to date.

The c. 1819 Clover Hill Tavern Smoke House (ASMIS No. APCO0001.009, contributing site) was formerly located immediately north of the extant guest house. Features associated with the smoke house include a fire pit and an associated living/work surface containing numerous nineteenth-century artifacts.

The Confederate Encampment (ASMIS No. APCO00074.000, contributing site) is located southeast of the intersection of Route 656 and Route 24 in the northern part of the District. A metal detecting survey conducted by Chris Calkins recovered of a concentration of military artifacts attributed to the final bivouac of the Army of Northern Virginia.

As part of the same metal detecting survey that identified the Confederate Encampment, cultural material associated with the Final Battle Site (ASMIS No. APCO00052.000, contributing site) was identified north of the intersection of Oakville Road and Tibbs Lane.

Grant's Headquarters Site (ASMIS No. APCO00051.000, contributing site) was identified along a 400-ft-long segment of a proposed sewer line installation located south of the Grant's Headquarters marker at the west end of the District. Recovered materials included military hardware and accoutrements, most of which were attributable to the Confederate Army, suggesting the site name reflects its locational rather than functional attributes.

Located about 2800 ft north of the Courthouse, the c. 1850–1865 J. N. Williams Cabin (LCS No. 080313, ASMIS No. APCO00040.000, contributing site) is depicted on the 1865–1867 Weyss-Michler maps as the home of J. N. Williams, a carpenter and mechanic who was likely employed

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for a time in William Rosser's carriage shop. The cabin remained a tenant house well into the twentieth century but collapsed in recent years. No archeological work has been conducted at the site to date.

The c. 1848 McLean House Smoke House (ASMIS No. APCO00006.007, contributing site) is believed to have been located immediately southwest of the McLean House; no archeological evidence of the building has been identified to date.

The c. 1848 McLean House Stable (ASMIS No. APCO00006.008, contributing site) was located approximately 200 ft south of the McLean House; no archeological evidence of the building has been identified to date. Photographs of the original structure are on file at the park archives.

The Moffitt (Layne) House Ruins (ASMIS No. APCO00047.000, contributing site), believed to have been occupied from 1865–1915, are located in the Village east of Prince Edward Court House Road and comprise an oval depression approximately 38 ft long from north to south and 18 ft wide from east to west. A brick concentration at the north end of the depression suggests the former location of the chimney stack. No archeological work has been conducted at the site to date. A c. 1890 sketch of the house and outbuildings is on file at the park archives.

During excavations at the Clover Hill Tavern, an earlier footing aligned with the support piers of the south wall of the dining room porch were identified as possibly associated with the c. 1805 Mosely House (ASMIS No. APCO00001.010, contributing site); the limited extent of the excavations, however, makes the attribution speculative, as the piers could also be associated with another undocumented addition to the tavern or an altogether separate building.

The site of the c. 1850–1875 Nowlin-Sears Blacksmith Shop (ASMIS No. APCO00016.000, contributing site) is located on the south side of the Richmond-Lynchburg Stage Road approximately 200 ft west of the McLean House. Although John Walker excavated three 5-ft-square test units southwest of the site's approximate location in 1962, his report does not discuss the results of that work so there is currently no archeological information pertaining to the site.

The Old County Jail (ASMIS No. APCO00070.000, contributing site), built in 1845, is located on the Richmond-Lynchburg Stage Road outside the northeast quadrant of the Courthouse roundabout. The recovered archeological remains exposed the nearly complete two-room, 40-by-20-ft footprint of the building, including foundation trenches, fieldstone foundation walls, and the north and south chimney bases centered on the building's west elevation. Ash deposits associated with the 1864 fire reputed to have destroyed the jail also were recovered as were fragments of plaster and wooden planks associated with its subsequent demolition.

The location of the c. 1847 Old Raine Tavern (ASMIS No. APCO00006.009, contributing site) is presumed to be somewhere north of the extant McLean House adjacent to the Richmond-Lynchburg Stage Road. Archeological evidence for the building is limited to concentrations of rock identified during the 1962 excavations at the McLean House Complex. The rocks were interpreted provisionally as the northeast and southeast corners of the building, although the stones were smaller than typical of most footings/piers and their arrangement was not clearly cultural in origin.

The documentation prepared to accompany the 1942 Historical Base Map of the park indicates that the c. 1855 Peers House Outbuildings – Kitchen and Stable (ASMIS No. APCO00036.002,

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contributing site formerly stood approximately 75 ft southeast of the Peers House. This locational attribution is corroborated to some extent by historic maps and paintings that depict a number of outbuildings in that general location. David Orr reportedly conducted archeological investigation of the site in 1988, but no documentation concerning the results of his work exists.

Archeological investigations conducted 80–90 ft west of the Plunkett-Meeks Store identified a series of narrow trenches and other features at depths of 1 to 2 ft below grade that provided evidence of the c. 1850 **Plunkett-Meeks Store Outbuilding (ASMIS No. APCO00003.005)**. On the basis of the subsurface remains, the building was estimated to measure 9 ft wide by 9–12 ft long.

The remains of the **Prvor Wright House (ASMIS No. APCO00018.000, contributing site)**, built in 1849, are located approximately 115 ft southwest of the southwest corner of the Courthouse and 170 ft southeast of the Plunkett-Meeks Store. Archeological evidence of the site comprises a deposit of plaster and ash beneath the plow zone, a dense deposit of brick rubble presumably associated with the demolition of the house in 1890, and a concentration of nineteenth-century artifacts in the northwest portion of the site.

The site of the c. 1865 **Robertson-Glover Store (ASMIS No. APCO00002.000, contributing site)** is marked by an approximately 42-by-27-ft depression east of the Clover Hill Tavern, outside the extant tavern fence. David Orr reportedly conducted archeological investigation of the site in 1988, but no documentation concerning the results of that work exists.

The **Robinson-Hix Shop (ASMIS No. APCO00011.000, contributing site)** was located on the north side of the Richmond-Lynchburg Stage Road east of its junction with Back Lane and west of the Diuguid Blacksmith Shop. The shop reportedly was standing in 1865, but no archeological evidence of the building has been identified.

The **Samuel H. Coleman House Site (ASMIS No. APCO00057.000, contributing site)**, built in 1858 and standing until 1960, is located on the north side of the Richmond-Lynchburg Stage Road approximately 1¼ mile west of its junction with Back Lane. The site includes the aboveground fieldstone remains of the house measuring approximately 13 by 10 ft with the ruins of an exterior stone fireplace and indications of a brick chimney. Archeological data associated with the site is limited to several nineteenth-century artifact concentrations; no evidence of the slave cabin that housed the single civilian casualty of the Appomattox engagement has been identified to date.

The **Sweeney Dam and Mill Pond Complex (ASMIS No. APCO00068.000, contributing site)** is located on the North Fork of the Appomattox River. It includes the ruins of an approximately 100-ft-long by 8–10-ft-high earthen dam with stone infill crossing the Appomattox River and its associated mill race. The complex was built in 1826 and remained in use until 1863. No archeological work has been conducted at the site.

The **Tibbs-Tinsley-Scott Farm Complex (ASMIS No. APCO00056.000, contributing site)** is located one half mile northwest of the Courthouse on a small knoll near the Moon House; wood work from the Tibbs House, built in 1820, was salvaged and re-used in the construction of the Moon House. The surviving ruins at the site include a hand-made brick foundation measuring 48 by 53 ft with poured-in-place concrete piers that once supported a later wrap-around porch. Two smaller wood-frame tenant house ruins sit behind the main house, the materials for which may have been

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salvaged from earlier slave cabins. Archeological data associated with the site is limited to several nineteenth-century artifact concentrations.

The Union Academy (ASMIS No. APCO00048.000, contributing site), built in 1849, was formerly located on the east side of Prince Edward Court House Road near its intersection with Back Lane. Geophysical prospecting and ground-truthing excavations identified demolition debris associated with the removal of the building in 1900, a nineteenth-century artifact assemblage consistent with an institutional context, and portions of a stone foundation that conform to the building's reported 32-by-42-ft dimensions.

The Union Academy Dwelling Ruins (ASMIS No. APCO00010.000, contributing site) are located approximately 540 ft west of the Clover Hill Tavern across the Richmond-Lynchburg Stage Road from the McLean House; the east chimney of the residence remained standing until the mid-twentieth century and is depicted on early National Park Service plans of the Village. Based on documentary data, the building is believed to have measured approximately 18 by 42 ft when it was constructed in 1857. Geophysical prospecting and archeological excavations at the site have identified the house's western fieldstone chimney base laid directly on subsoil, a sheet refuse deposit containing later nineteenth-century domestic debris east of the house, and two drainage ditches likely dug to alleviate moisture problems associated with the house's location on a slope.

The William Rosser House and Shops Complex (ASMIS No. APCO00014.000/APCO00023.000, contributing site) is located just southeast of the Union Academy site and northwest of Route 24. Walker's 1962 excavations at the site, which was in use between 1856 and 1890, revealed a north-south walkway beneath an east-west walkway connecting Rosser's second house (the non-extant Rosser-Ferguson House) with the site of the wheelwright's shop and the remnant footing of the original house. A kitchen appended to half of the house's north wall also was identified, as was a concentration of ash, charred wood, and melted window glass reflecting the original house's destruction by fire. Rock alignments associated with the footings of the south walls of Rosser's wheelwright/cooper's shop and his blacksmith shop were located along the fence line at the north side of the Stage Road east of the house site, but no additional structural information was uncovered.

The Willis Inge Cabin Site (ASMIS No. APCO00020.000, contributing site), built in 1849 and standing until 1890, is located east of Bock Lane at the southwest corner of the Surrender Triangle. A 2½-ft-wide brick footing was identified during the installation of a water line in 1982 and interpreted as the likely remains of the cabin's chimney foundation.

Collections Statement⁷

The museum collections associated with the District are subdivided into four disciplines: history, archeology, archives, and rare books. The history collection is further divided into four categories: military, nineteenth-century village life, civilian, and slavery. The military collection includes items known to be associated with the Appomattox Campaign (the period of time beginning with the Battle of Five Forks and ending with the demobilization and subsequent return home of the soldiers of the Army of Northern Virginia). The nineteenth-century village life collection includes the material culture of people

⁷ The collections information is taken from the Scope of Collection Statement prepared in 2012 by the park's Chief of Museum Services, Joe Williams.

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in central Virginia and encompasses most of the furnishings (including clothing, housewares, and trade implements) on display throughout the park's nine furnished buildings. This collection also includes the Joseph Burn model of the Village of Appomattox Court House (c. 1888) and its accompanying documentation. The model is a unique and valuable resource providing much detail on the appearance of the village and the resources within it from the 1860s to the 1880s. The history collection also contains items directly attributable to specific civilians, ranging from local citizens to nationally prominent figures. The collection contains very few items related to slavery, as artifacts of this type are rare; however, the archival and library collections have letters and oral histories associated with slaves or former slaves.

The majority of the park's archeological collections are the result of mitigation involved with various construction or reconstruction projects over the course of the past half century. As of 2012, the archives numbered approximately 65,000 documents, photographs, maps, notes, deeds, letters, wills, tax records, and oral histories. The museum collections also contain numerous rare, out-of-print, and first-edition books, including many regimental histories. Many other reference materials on United States history and the Civil War are located at the park. As of 2012, the collections contain no natural history specimens. No collections fall within the scope of the Native American Graves Protection and Repatriation Act (NAGPRA), including unassociated funerary objects and objects of cultural patrimony, and the National Park Service does not anticipate acquisition of such objects in the future.

NON-CONTRIBUTING RESOURCES

The District's 26 non-contributing resources consist of early to late twentieth-century residences and outbuildings and mid- to late twentieth-century park buildings that lack associations with the District's significant historic contexts. The following descriptions begin with a cluster of residential buildings on Gordon Drive and continue east to the Claudine O'Brien property on Conner Cabin Road.

The Park Service uses two c. 1970 Colonial Revival houses located in a clearing near the west end of the District, at the north end of Gordon Drive, as temporary staff residences. The **Moon House (LCS No. none, non-contributing building)** at 815 Gordon Drive is a two-story wood-frame building set well back from the west side of the road, facing due south. A one-story, two-car garage oriented perpendicular to the house is attached to the east elevation via an arched breezeway. The house has a high-pitched, asymmetrical, side-gable roof with a center ridge chimney and asphalt shingles, weatherboard siding, and a brick-faced concrete foundation. The five-bay facade elevation features a central entrance in a surround with fluted pilasters and a wide entablature. The symmetrically arranged fenestration consists of six-over-nine, double-hung windows with simple molded wood frames in the first story and six-over-six windows above. The **Moon Storage Shed (LCS No. none, non-contributing building)** in the yard northwest of the house is a one-story wood-frame building oriented to face slightly northeast, with an end-gable roof and a shed-roof addition along the northwest elevation. The roofs have asphalt siding and exposed rafter tails, the walls are covered with unpainted weatherboards, and the foundation is concrete. Two board-and-batten doors are located in the northeast elevation, and the shed has several six-over-six, double-hung windows. The Moon house and storage shed contain some reclaimed materials such as wood floors, posts, beams, and doors from the nineteenth-century Tibbs house that formerly occupied the site.

Gordon Drive curves around to the east just past the Moon house. The **Matthews House (LCS No. none, non-contributing building)** at 896 Gordon Drive is set way back on the south side of the road and faces north. It is a one-story wood-frame building with one-story additions on either side. The asphalt-shingled side-gable roof on the main block has a central brick chimney and flares out along the facade to create a

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shallow full-width porch supported by narrow square posts. The facade (north) elevation is faced with brick, while the other walls are covered with a combination of vertical and horizontal boards. The brick-faced foundation extends to a full basement at the rear of the house, which is built into a slight slope. The main entrance is offset to the west end of the three-bay facade, adjacent to two sets of paired six-over-nine double-hung windows with louvered shutters. The **Matthews Garage (LCS No. none, non-contributing building)** is a one-story, two-car garage located slightly east of the house, with a metal-clad clipped-gable roof and vertical board walls. The **Matthews Wood Shed (LCS No. none, non-contributing structure)** is a long one-story rectangular structure located southwest of the house. It has a metal-clad side-gable roof, vertical board walls, and a concrete foundation.

The District includes a privately owned residence on an inholding directly opposite the Matthews House. The **Dr. Matthews House (LCS No. none, non-contributing building)** at 895 Gordon Drive is set back from the north side of the road and faces south. It is a one-story side-gable building with an asphalt-shingled roof that extends over a full-width front porch. A small screened-in porch extends from the east side of the house. The **Dr. Matthews Garage (LCS No. none, non-contributing building)** located slightly to the east of the house is a one-story, two-car garage with an asphalt-shingled side-gable roof, horizontal board walls, and a concrete foundation. The construction date for both buildings is unknown, with the house likely built c. 1980–1990 and the garage more recently.

The **Scott Chicken House (LCS No. 289254, non-contributing structure)** is located in the woods northeast of the Dr. Matthews property. Likely built c. 1910–1930, the one-story wood-frame outbuilding measures 5 ft by 8 ft and faces east. It has a sheet-metal shed roof, weatherboard walls, and a stone foundation. A single door opening is centered in the east elevation. The structure has slipped off the foundation at the southeast corner and is missing siding.

The **Visitor Entrance Drive and Parking Lot (LCS No. none, non-contributing structure)**, constructed in 1964, is a paved entrance drive leading north from Route 24 near the center of the District to form a loop just south of the Village that accommodates visitor parking. The National Park Service built the **Fee Collection Booth (LCS No. none, non-contributing building)** at the beginning of the loop in 1995 but does not currently use it. The 8-ft-square steel-frame building has a corrugated metal side-gable roof with overhanging eaves, vinyl siding, and a concrete slab foundation with a curved brick sill. A partially glazed metal door is centered in the east elevation adjacent to a sliding glass window. The **Visitor Entrance Flag Pole and Bench (LCS No. none, non-contributing object)**, erected in 1964 on concrete sidewalk at the east edge of the loop, consists of a metal flag pole mounted on one end of a low L-shaped brick seat wall with a slanted brick tablet podium at the other end. Although the entrance drive, parking lot, and flagpole/bench were constructed within the period of significance and are typical of Park Service Mission 66 development, they are not associated with the District's significance under Criteria A or C as a restored, reconstructed, and commemorative landscape and do not warrant any significance under a Mission 66 context.

The **CCC Dynamite Shed (LCS No. 290053, non-contributing structure)**, built between 1940 and 1942, is a small wooden shed located on a heavily wooded ridge near the confluence of Plain Run Branch and the Appomattox River in the eastern part of the District. The double-walled structure, believed to have been used by the Civilian Conservation Commission (CCC) as storage for dynamite, measures approximately 4 ft by 3 ft and stands 8 ft high. Metal sheets cover the wood shed roof and walls. A doorway in the west wall, less than 6 ft high and about 2½ ft wide, contains a metal plate door backed with wood. Small rectangular openings (6 by 5 inches) are located in the other three walls, two each on

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the north and south sides, one on the east (rear) side. The interior wall boards are laid diagonally, and the wood floor is raised approximately 12 to 15 inches off the ground. The structure is in poor condition.

A single **Fieldstone Culvert (LCS No. 67514, non-contributing structure)** is located just south of Route 24, near the west end of the Lee's Headquarters pull-off at the northeast edge of the District. While the exact construction date is unknown, the culvert appears to pre-date the later brick and metal culverts installed throughout the District during the 1960s. However, it is in poor condition and lacks any known historical associations.

The National Park Service maintenance yard is located northeast of the Village, accessed via an asphalt drive that leads north from Route 24 and through the center of the paved yard to connect with the Prince Edward Court House Road just north of the Peers House. The **Maintenance Warehouse (LCS No. none, non-contributing building)**, on the north side of the yard, is a one-story rectangular building built in 1954 with additions completed in 1970 and 1978. It has an asphalt-shingled side-gable roof. The west end of the eight-bay building is constructed of concrete block, and the east end is framed with wood and sheathed in fiberglass. The **Maintenance Service Repair Shop (LCS No. none, non-contributing building)**, also constructed in 1954 with additions in 1964 and 1971, is directly opposite and nearly identical to the warehouse. The **Maintenance Shed (LCS No. none, non-contributing building)**, constructed c. 1960, is a much smaller one-story concrete-block building to the east of the repair shop with an asphalt-shingled end-gable roof. Between the shed and the repair shop, the c. 1990 **Maintenance Propane Tank Shelter (LCS No. none, non-contributing structure)** is an open wood-frame shelter constructed of six square wood posts with angled braces supporting an asphalt-shingled end-gable roof that overhangs the north side. The structure covers two large gas tanks on a rectangular concrete slab.

A cluster of vacant early twentieth-century buildings and structures is situated on a wooded rise near the north end of the Conner Cabin Road, approximately one mile northeast of the Village. The **Claudine O'Brien House (LCS No. 279849, non-contributing building)** is a two-story frame house begun c. 1916 and enlarged and altered several times over the course of the twentieth century. The central block has a side-gable roof with a brick central ridge chimney. One- and two-story additions with varying rooflines (low-pitched gable, flat, and cross-gable) extend from the rear. A one-story enclosed porch with brick lower walls wraps around the front (west) and south elevations. The roofs are all clad in standing-seam metal, the walls have aluminum siding over weatherboards, and the foundation is stone and concrete. Window openings in the central block generally hold two-over-two, double-hung sashes. The additions have windows of various types. Extensive termite infestation has damaged the house's floor joists and studs, and the National Park Service plans to demolish the building in the near future. The **Claudine O'Brien Walkways (LCS No. 282763, non-contributing structure)** consist of two concrete walkways that lead from the vicinity of the road to the house's front and north side entrances, respectively.

The O'Brien property includes seven associated outbuildings, all likely constructed at the same time as the house or later. Several show signs of subsequent alteration, and all are in poor condition. The **Claudine O'Brien Garage (LCS No. 282439, non-contributing building)** is located to the north of the house and faces south. The one-story wood-frame building measures 20 ft by 24 ft. It has a standing-seam metal end-gable roof with exposed rafter tails, brick-patterned asphalt facing over flush board walls, and a poured concrete foundation. Two openings in the south wall each contain large metal doors with Z-brace frames. The **Claudine O'Brien Chicken House (LCS No. 282530, non-contributing structure)** is a one-story post-and-beam structure located slightly southwest of the garage and almost completely covered with vegetation. It measures 26 ft by 10 ft and has a standing-seam metal shed roof, board-and-batten

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walls, and a stone pier foundation. The south elevation contains two doors and four square, four-light, sliding windows. The **Claudine O'Brien Corn Crib (LCS No. 282295, non-contributing structure)** is a one-story wood-frame structure located slightly northeast of the garage, near the edge of the adjacent agricultural fields. It measures 10½ ft by 16 ft and has a standing-seam metal end-gable roof, walls of lapped wood siding with wide-spaced wood slats near the top for ventilation, and a wood post-in-ground foundation with concrete infill and a corrugated metal covering. A single entrance is located in the south gable end.

The **Claudine O'Brien Wagon Shed (LCS No. 282263, non-contributing building)** is situated southeast of the corn crib, on the opposite side of the road trace, and faces northwest. The one-story post-and-beam building measures 24½ ft by 18 ft. It has a standing-seam metal shed roof and vertical board walls with two large openings in the west elevation that suggest vehicle or farm equipment storage. The **Claudine O'Brien Stable (LCS No. 282355, non-contributing building)** is a three-stall post-and-beam building attached to the south end of the wagon shed. It measures 10 ft by 18 ft and has a metal shed roof and vertical board walls. The wagon shed and stable are both collapsing. Between the east side (rear) of the house and the wagon shed and stable, the side-by-side **Claudine O'Brien Storage Shed (LCS No. 282584, non-contributing building)** and **Claudine O'Brien Smoke House (LCS No. 282742, non-contributing building)** face west. Both are one-story, wood-frame buildings with side-gable roofs of standing-seam metal, brick-patterned asphalt facing on the walls, and poured concrete foundations. The storage shed on the north measures 17 ft by 14 ft and has a single entrance centered in the west elevation, with lap siding beneath the asphalt facing. The smoke house on the south measures 16 ft by 10 ft and has a single door and a small fixed window in the west elevation, with weatherboard siding beneath the asphalt facing. The wood at the interior gable ends shows evidence of charring and hanging bars associated with smoke house usage.

STATEMENT OF INTEGRITY

The District retains integrity of location, setting, design, materials, workmanship, feeling, and association. Its current appearance is the product of multiple layers of development, including the historic preservation and commemorative efforts undertaken during the latter years of the District's period of significance. Almost all contributing resources remain in their original locations; two have been relocated within the District. With the exception of the heavily traveled Route 24, the rural setting is consistent with mid-nineteenth- to mid-twentieth-century conditions. Development within the District and its viewshed since the end of the period of significance (1968) is minimal, although it is increasing along the edges. The District retains integrity of setting due to the careful screening of incompatible views associated with neighboring properties with vegetation. The landscape as a whole continues to evoke the historical rural character of the settlement as it appeared in April 1865, both within the Village and in outlying areas. The loss of several mid-nineteenth-century buildings and structures and of original fabric on those that remain has compromised the integrity of design, materials, and workmanship from the Civil War era. In addition, contemporary management and farming practices have altered the historic vernacular qualities of landscape, resulting in a more park-like appearance. A dramatic increase in woodland cover has occurred since 1865, and many former crop fields were converted to pastures during the 1980s. The exotic cool-season grasses used to pasture livestock today are not consistent with pastures and meadows in 1865 that featured primarily native grasses and forbs. The more manicured existing landscape, restored and reconstructed resources, and commemorative markers result in a stronger integrity of feeling for the commemorative period. However, the spatial arrangement of the Village complex along the Stage Road; the presence of historic cabins and agricultural buildings, such as the Sweeney-Conner Cabin and the

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Sweeney Prizery; the maintenance of large open areas in agricultural use; and the broad views within and from the District clearly convey the feeling of a nineteenth-century rural landscape. Most of the sites associated with the significant events of April 1865 survive and are recognizable within the District.

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HISTORIC DISTRICT DATA SHEET

CONTRIBUTING RESOURCES

NOTE: * This resource was previously listed in the National Register and documented as a contributing resource in a registration form accepted by the Keeper of the National Register.

RESOURCE NAME	LCS ID/ ASMIS ID	DATE(S)	MAP #	PHOTO #
BUILDINGS = 30				
Appomattox Courthouse*	000038/ APCO00005.000	1846; reconstructed 1963–1964	1	1, 4
Bocock-Isbell House*	007787/ APCO00007.006	1848–1851; restored 1948–1949	1	17
Bocock-Isbell House Stable*	000037/ APCO00007.003	c. 1849; reconstructed 1963–1964	1	17
Bocock-Isbell Outside Kitchen*	007789/ APCO00007.002	1849–1850; restored 1948–1949	1	17
Bocock-Isbell Smoke House*	007788/ APCO00007.001	1849–1850; restored 1948–1949	1	17
Charles Sweeney Cabin*	080015/ APCO00038.000	c. 1830–1840; restored c.1940, 1988–1989	9	27
Clover Hill Tavern*	000049/ APCO00001.011	1819; restored 1954	1	12
Clover Hill Tavern Guest House*	000053/ APCO00001.002	1819; restored 1956– 1958	1	15
Clover Hill Tavern Kitchen and Guest House*	000052/ APCO00001.001	1846–1848; restored 1954–1958	1	13
Clover Hill Tavern Privy*	080300/ APCO00001.004	1819; reconstructed 1968	1	14
Clover Hill Tavern Slave Quarters*	007783/ APCO00001.003	1819; reconstructed 1953–1954	1	13
Courthouse Well House*	007780/ APCO00005.001	by 1865; reconstructed 1964	1	5
Jones Law Office*	000396/ APCO00021.000	1845–1860; restored 1959–1960	1	19
Jones Law Office Well House*	000040/ APCO00021.001	c. 1858; reconstructed 1963	1	19

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RESOURCE NAME	LCS ID/ ASMIS ID	DATE(S)	MAP #	PHOTO #
Mariah Wright House*	000041/ APCO00041.002	1823; restored 1964– 1965	1	18
McLean House*	000050/ APCO00006.011	1848; reconstructed 1948–1949	1	6, 7
McLean Ice House*	000042/ APCO00006.002	1848; reconstructed 1964	1	6
McLean Outside Kitchen*	000043/ APCO00006.003	1848; reconstructed 1964–1965	1	6
McLean Privy*	007782/ APCO00006.005	1848; reconstructed 1968	1	None
McLean Slave Quarters*	000044/ APCO00006.004	1848; reconstructed 1964–1965	1	8
McLean Well House*	007781/ APCO00006.001	1848; reconstructed 1950	1	9
New County Jail*	000036/ APCO00019.000	c. 1867; restored 1964– 1965	1	16
Peers House*	007790/ APCO00036.003	c. 1855; restored 1954	1	20
Plunkett-Meeks Store*	000051/ APCO00003.006	c. 1852; restored 1959	1	10
Plunkett-Meeks Storage Building*	007784/ APCO00003.001	c. 1850; restored 1959	1	11
Plunkett-Meeks Store Privy*	007785/ APCO00003.003	reconstructed 1968	1	None
Plunkett-Meeks Store Stable*	017260/ APCO00003.002	c. 1850; dismantled 1946; reconstructed 1949	1	15
Sweeney-Conner Cabin*	080052/ APCO00039.000	c. 1865; restored 1986– 1987	5	28
Sweeney Prizery*	000045/ APCO00037.000	1790–1799; stabilized 1975, 2013	10	29
Woodson Law Office*	007786/ APCO00004.000	1851–1856; restored 1959	1	10
STRUCTURES = 4				

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RESOURCE NAME	LCS ID/ ASMIS ID	DATE(S)	MAP #	PHOTO #
Civil War Road Network	None	1790–1860	1, 5, 8, 9, 12- 14, 17, 18, 21	2, 3
<i>Historic Associated Features</i>				
Back Lane*	007794/ APCO00026.000	1835–1850; altered 1964; rehabilitated 1973–1974	1	2
Bocock Lane*	007796/ APCO00028.000	1835–1850; altered 1964; rehabilitated 1973–1974	1	None
Conner Cabin Road	282943	c. 1800–1840; altered 1890–1930	5, 9	None
Market Lane*	007795/ APCO00027.000	c. 1800; altered 1964; rehabilitated 1973– 1974	1	None
Oakville Road Trace*	288900/ APCO00030.000	c. 1840–1856; altered 1894; abandoned 1894– 1930	12, 13	None
Prince Edward Court House Road*	007793/ APCO00025.000	1790–1799; altered 1954; preserved 1973– 1974	1	None
Pryor Wright Lane*	APCO00018.001	by 1849	1	None
Richmond-Lynchburg Stage Road and Road Trace*	000047/ APCO00024.000	1790–1799; altered 1956; preserved 1973	1, 13	3
Sears Lane Trace*	288824/ APCO00029.000	c. 1810–1850; abandoned 1895	18	None
Tibbs Lane Trace*	704413/ APCO00032.000	1860; abandoned, date unknown	8, 13	None
Trent Lane Trace*	288845/ APCO00031.000	1810–1860; abandoned 1900–1940	18	None
Williams Lane Trace*	671489	c. 1860; abandoned, date unknown	1, 14	None
Wright Lane Trace*	671509	1850; abandoned, date unknown	17, 21	None
Coleman Outbuilding	289285/ APCO00057.002	1863–1865	16, 17	22

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RESOURCE NAME	LCS ID/ ASMIS ID	DATE(S)	MAP #	PHOTO #
Confederate Defensive Entrenchments	289966	1865	24	30
System of Reconstructed Fencing	None	1950–1968	1, 13	1-4, 10, 12, 21
<i>Historic Associated Features</i>				
Back Lane Fence	080324/ APCO00026.001	1965–1968	1	2
Bocock-Isbell House Fence*	080312/ APCO00007.004	1950	1	None
Bocock Lane Fence	080326/ APCO00028.001	1965–1968	1	None
Clover Hill Tavern Fence*	080301/ APCO00001.005	1959	1	12
Courthouse Yard Fence*	080310/ APCO00005.002	1964–1965	1	4
Jones Law Office Fence*	080304/ APCO00021.002	1963	1	1
Market Lane Fence	080325/ APCO00027.001	1965–1968	1	None
McLean Fence*	080299/ APCO00006.006	1959–1965	1	None
Peers Fence	080303/ APCO00036.001	1963	1	21
Plunkett-Meeks Fence*	080311/ APCO00003.004	1959	1	10
Prince Edward Court House Road Fence	080323	1965–1968	1	None
Richmond-Lynchburg Stage Road Fence	080322/ APCO00024.001	1959–1968	1, 13	3
OBJECTS = 9				
Apple Tree Tablet*	080307	1893	9	None
Clover Hill Lamp	080302	1865; reconstructed 1958	1	None
Grant & Lee Meeting Tablet*	080308	1893	1	None
Last Shot Fired Tablet*	080309	1893	1	21

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RESOURCE NAME	LCS ID/ ASMIS ID	DATE(S)	MAP #	PHOTO #
Lee's Headquarters Tablet*	080306	1893	3, 6	None
North Carolina Monument*	007792	1905	18	23
North Carolina Tablet No. 1 – West*	007792	1905	18	None
North Carolina Tablet No. 2 – East*	007792	1905	13	None
Battlefield Markers Association/United Daughters of the Confederacy Marker*	None	1926; moved 1963	18	25
SITES = 42				
Appomattox Court House Landscape	None	1940–1968	1	1, 2, 3, 4, 10, 12, 21
Burruss Tract Cemetery	671482/ APCO00076.000	1810	12	None
Charles H. Diuguid Blacksmith Shop*	APCO00049.000	c. 1870	1	None
Clover Hill Tavern Bar*	APCO0001.006	1819	1	None
Clover Hill Tavern Dining Room*	APCO0001.007	1819	1	None
Clover Hill Tavern Ice House*	APCO0001.008	1819	1	None
Clover Hill Tavern Smoke House*	APCO0001.009	1819	1	None
Confederate Cemetery*	None	1866–c.1954	18	24
Confederate Encampment	APCO00074.000	1865	6	None
Final Battle Site*	APCO00052.000	1865	13	None
Forest Cemetery	666426/ APCO00046.000	1860–1865	1	None
Grant's Headquarters Site*	APCO00051.000	1865	17	None
Grave of Lafayette Meeks*	007791/ APCO00017.000	1861	1	None
J. N. Williams Cabin*	080313/ APCO00040.000	1850–1865	9	None
Joel Sweeney Grave and Bohannon-Trent Cemetery	671476/ APCO00078.000	1860	9	None
McLean House Smoke House*	APCO00006.007	1848	1	None

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McLean House Stable*	APCO00006.008	1848	1	None
Moffitt (Layne) House Ruins*	APCO00047.000	1865–1915	1	None
Mosely House	APCO00001.010	c. 1805	1	None
Nowlin-Sears Blacksmith Shop*	APCO00016.000	c. 1850–1875	1	None
O'Brien Cemetery*	288679/ APCO00044.000	1884–1885 to present	3	None
Old County Jail*	APCO00070.000	1845–1866	1	None
Old Raine Tavern*	APCO00006.009	c. 1847	1	None
Patteson-Hix Cemetery*	289303/ APCO00009.000	1840–1850	1	None
Peers House Outbuildings – Kitchen and Stable*	APCO00036.002	c. 1855	1	None
Plunkett-Meeks Store Outbuilding*	APCO00003.005	1850	1	None
Presbyterian Church Cemetery*	None	c. 1870	1	None
Pryor Wright House*	APCO00018.000	1849–1890	1	None
Raine Cemetery*	288878/ APCO00043.000	1851–c.1920	18	26
Raine Slave Cemetery	APCO00072.000	c.1850s	18	None
Robertson-Glover Store*	APCO00002.000	c. 1865	1	None
Robinson-Hix Shop*	APCO00011.000	c. 1865	1	None
Robinson Cemetery*	289455/ APCO00021.003	1865–1870	1	None
Samuel H. Coleman House Site	APCO00057.000	c. 1858–1960	17	None
Sweeney Cemetery	289497	c. 1895	5, 9	None
Sweeney Dam and Mill Pond Complex	APCO00068.000	1826–1863	10	None
Tibbs-Tinsley-Scott Farm Complex	APCO00056.000	1820–1880	13	None
Union Academy*	APCO00048.000	1849–1900	1	None
Union Academy Dwelling Ruins*	APCO00010.000	c. 1857–1900	1	None

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RESOURCE NAME	LCS ID/ ASMIS ID	DATE(S)	MAP #	PHOTO #
William Rosser House and Shops Complex	APCO00014.000 APCO00023.000	1856–c. 1890	1	None
Willis Inge Cabin Site*	APCO00020.000	1849–c. 1890	1	None
Wright Cemetery*	APCO00041.000	1850–1887	1	None
TOTAL CONTRIBUTING RESOURCES = 85				

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NON-CONTRIBUTING RESOURCES

RESOURCE NAME	LCS ID/ ASMIS ID	DATE(S)	MAP #	PHOTO #
BUILDINGS = 16				
Claudine O'Brien House	279849	c. 1916	5	36
Claudine O'Brien Garage	282439	1920–1930	5	None
Claudine O'Brien Smoke House	282742	1920–1930	5	None
Claudine O'Brien Stable	282355	1910–1920	5	None
Claudine O'Brien Storage Shed	282584	1920–1940	5	None
Claudine O'Brien Wagon Shed	282263	1900–1910	5	None
Dr. Matthews House	None	c. 1980–1990	8	None
Dr. Matthews Garage	None	c. 2010	8	None
Fee Collection Booth	None	1995	1	None
Maintenance Service Repair Shop	None	1954; additions 1964, 1971	1	35
Maintenance Shed	None	c. 1960	1	None
Maintenance Warehouse	None	1954; additions 1970, 1978	1	None
Matthews House	None	c. 1970s	13	32
Matthews Garage	None	c. 1970s	13	32
Moon House	None	c. 1970s	13	31
Moon Storage Shed	None	c. 1970s	13	None
STRUCTURES = 9				
CCC Dynamite Shed	290053	1940–1942	10	None
Claudine O'Brien Chicken House	282530	1920–1930	5	None
Claudine O'Brien Corn Crib	282295	1910–1920	5	None
Claudine O'Brien Walkways	282763	1916–1920	5	None
Fieldstone Culvert	671514	1938–1950	6	None
Maintenance Propane Tank Shelter	None	c. 1990s	1	None
Matthews Wood Shed	None	c. 1970s	13	None

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RESOURCE NAME	LCS ID/ ASMIS ID	DATE(S)	MAP #	PHOTO #
Scott Chicken House	289254	1910–1930	8	None
Visitor Entrance Drive and Parking Lot	None	1964	1	34
OBJECTS = 1				
Visitor Entrance Flag Pole and Bench	None	1964	1	34
TOTAL NON-CONTRIBUTING RESOURCES = 26				

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8. Statement of Significance

Applicable National Register Criteria

(Mark "x" in one or more boxes for the criteria qualifying the property for National Register listing.)

- A. Property is associated with events that have made a significant contribution to the broad patterns of our history.
- B. Property is associated with the lives of persons significant in our past.
- C. Property embodies the distinctive characteristics of a type, period, or method of construction or represents the work of a master, or possesses high artistic values, or represents a significant and distinguishable entity whose components lack individual distinction.
- D. Property has yielded, or is likely to yield, information important in prehistory or history.

Criteria Considerations

(Mark "x" in all the boxes that apply.)

- A. Owned by a religious institution or used for religious purposes
- B. Removed from its original location
- C. A birthplace or grave
- D. A cemetery
- E. A reconstructed building, object, or structure
- F. A commemorative property
- G. Less than 50 years old or achieving significance within the past 50 years

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Areas of Significance

(Enter categories from instructions.)

MILITARY

CONSERVATION

OTHER: COMMEMORATION

LANDSCAPE ARCHITECTURE

ARCHITECTURE

ARCHEOLOGY – HISTORIC/NON-ABORIGINAL

Period of Significance

c. 1790–1968

Significant Dates

c. 1790–1799: Construction of Sweeney Prizery, the oldest extant contributing resource

April 8, 1865: Battle of Appomattox Station

April 9–12, 1865: Battle of Appomattox Court House and Surrender of Lee’s Army of Northern Virginia to Union Forces

1930: Authorization for War Department to erect monument at Appomattox Court House site

1933: Transfer of monument project oversight to National Park Service (NPS)

1935: Establishment of Appomattox Court House National Historical Monument as NPS unit

1940: Preparation of initial master plan for park unit

1968: Completion of NPS historic landscape development program

Significant Person

(Complete only if Criterion B is marked above.)

Grant, Ulysses S.

Lee, Robert E.

Cultural Affiliation

Euro-American

African-American

Architect/Builder

N/A

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Statement of Significance Summary Paragraph (Provide a summary paragraph that includes level of significance, applicable criteria, justification for the period of significance, and any applicable criteria considerations.)

The Appomattox Court House National Historical Park Historic District (District) 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 as the site of the surrender of the Confederate Army of Northern Virginia under General Robert E. Lee to Union forces under the command of Lieutenant General Ulysses S. Grant, April 9–12, 1865. The event effectively ended the American Civil War by removing the principal army of the Confederacy from action, ultimately prompting the surrender of the remaining Confederate forces in the ensuing few weeks. The District also encompasses the area of the Battle of Appomattox Court House, the final battle of the Appomattox Campaign (March 29–April 9, 1865), which convinced Lee he had no other option but to surrender. The District has additional national significance in the area of Military under Criterion B for its association with the culmination of the long and distinguished military careers of Lee and Grant.

The District has additional national significance under Criterion A in the areas of Conservation and Commemoration for its contributions to the field of historic preservation and to the evolution of commemoration at the national level. The District also has national significance under Criterion C in the area of Landscape Architecture for the historic landscape re-creation completed by the National Park Service between 1940 and 1968. Under Criterion D, the District is eligible for listing at the national level in the area of Archeology, Historic–Non-Aboriginal for its demonstrated and potential ability to contribute information about encampment locations, troop movements, and civilian and military personnel activities associated with the events surrounding the Battle of Appomattox Station on April 8, 1865, and the Battle of Appomattox Court House on April 9, 1865. The District also possesses significance under Criterion D at the state and local levels for its demonstrated and potential ability to yield archeological data about the settlement and development of Clover Hill/Appomattox Court House from 1805 to the mid-nineteenth century and to address questions about the changing dynamics of race, class, and gender from the antebellum to postbellum periods in Virginia, c. 1805–1890. The restored and reconstructed buildings within the District are significant at the local level under Criterion C in the area of Architecture as representative examples of the architecture of a rural county seat in Piedmont Virginia from the mid-nineteenth century.

The period of significance for the District begins c. 1790, the earliest construction date for a contributing resource under Criterion C in the area of Architecture, and extends through the completion of the National Park Service development program in 1968. This period encompasses the historic events of April 9, 1865, to April 12, 1865, that lend the District its primary national significance, as well as the series of commemoration and preservation activities that occurred from 1866 to 1968 and ultimately resulted in the creation of Appomattox Court House National Historical Park and the re-creation of the 1865 landscape within the District.

Criteria Consideration B applies to the District for the 1963 relocation of the Battlefield Markers Association/United Daughters of the Confederacy Marker, which continues to contribute to the property's commemorative significance. In addition, the restored Plunkett-Meeks Storage Building appears to have been relocated a short distance from its original location. The District includes multiple cemeteries that meet Criteria Consideration D because they derive significance from their associations with the historic military events of 1865 and as components of the restored landscape. The 14 reconstructed historic

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buildings within the District meet Criteria Consideration E as part of a thoroughly researched master plan intended to produce an authentic re-creation of the Village as it appeared on April 9, 1865. The reconstructed McLean House, in particular, is significant in its own right as the federal government's first historic reconstruction project and a model for best practices. The District meets Criteria Consideration F as a commemorative property that has achieved historical significance in its own right due to its age, tradition, and symbolic value. The commemorative resources within the District reflect contemporary thought regarding the commemoration and interpretation of properties associated with the American Civil War. Finally, the District meets Criteria Consideration G for those resources that are less than 50 years old but contribute to the District's significance in the area of Conservation as part of the development program initiated by the National Park Service in 1940 and completed in 1968.

Narrative Statement of Significance (Provide at least **one** paragraph for each area of significance.)

CRITERION A – MILITARY

Appomattox Court House National Historical Park is nationally significant under Criterion A in the area of Military for its association with the final events of the Civil War within Virginia. The Battle of Appomattox Court House on the morning of April 9, 1865, represented a last effort by Robert E. Lee's Army of Northern Virginia to escape westward, veering from their intended southern route, and link with Joseph E. Johnston's army in North Carolina. When Federal infantry was found to be blocking his advance, Lee determined that he had no choice but to surrender. He met General Ulysses S. Grant at the McLean House to work out the terms of the surrender during the afternoon of April 9. The Union victory over the Confederacy's principal army ultimately convinced other Confederate forces to surrender, thus bringing an end to America's most devastating war.

The Military Situation before the Appomattox Campaign, 1864–Spring 1865

On March 10, 1864, Ulysses S. Grant was promoted to the rank of Lieutenant General and given overall command of all Union armies. He came to the position with the outlines of a plan to launch a series of simultaneous offensives designed to destroy the Confederacy's capacity to wage war. Union forces in the West under Major General William T. Sherman were to march on Atlanta, destroy the main western body of the Confederate army under Major General Joseph E. Johnston, and devastate the resources of central Georgia.⁸ Major General Nathaniel P. Banks was to coordinate with the Union blockading force in the Gulf of Mexico under Admiral David Farragut to seize Mobile, Alabama, the last remaining Confederate port on the Mississippi River. In addition, these two operations would prevent the western Confederate armies from supplying reinforcements to Lee's Army of Northern Virginia, who would face Grant's main thrust aimed at capturing the Confederate capital city of Richmond. To accomplish this goal, Grant deployed the Army of the Potomac under Major General George C. Meade and Major General Ambrose Burnside's independent Ninth Corps to move across the Rapidan River toward Richmond in an attempt to draw Lee into a general and decisive battle. Major General Benjamin F. Butler's Army of the James and Major General Franz Sigel's Army of West Virginia were to play supporting roles. Butler was to land his force of about 33,000 troops at Bermuda Hundred to threaten Richmond from the south and take the vital rail center of Petersburg. Sigel, who had about 23,000 troops, was to operate in the Shenandoah Valley to

⁸ The full rank of generals and other officers is provided at the first mention of their names. Subsequent mentions include either the simple title of "General" or their names only.

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disrupt Confederate supply lines and draw troops away from the main body of Lee's army (Stewart 2009:284–285).

The Union offensive in the East got underway during the first week of May 1864. Grant decided to accompany and personally direct the operations of the Army of the Potomac, which had previously suffered a series of unsuccessful offensive campaigns against Lee in Virginia due to poor and indecisive leadership. The start of what became known as Grant's Overland Campaign occurred on May 4 when the army, consisting of about 120,000 troops, crossed the Rapidan River. Lee was waiting on the other side with about 70,000 troops. Grant's intention was to maneuver south by Lee's right flank in an effort to gain control of the route toward Richmond. Over the course of the next month, the two sides waged a series of fierce battles—including the Wilderness (May 5–7), Spotsylvania Court House (May 8–21), North Anna (May 23–26), and Totopotomoy Creek (May 28–30)—that brought the Army of the Potomac to the outskirts of Richmond. The climactic battle of the Overland Campaign was Cold Harbor (May 31–June 12), during which Grant ordered a general attack on June 3 against entrenched Confederate lines that resulted in a fearsome slaughter of Union troops. Grant later wrote in his memoirs that this was the one attack of the war he wished he had never ordered (Stewart 2009:287–290).

The gains of the Army of the Potomac during the Overland Campaign had come at a significant cost of approximately 55,000 casualties (killed, wounded, and missing), while the Confederates suffered about 32,000. In terms of relative attrition, the results of the campaign favored the Union because of its far greater capacity for troop replacement. The extensive casualty lists and apparent lack of progress in achieving strategic goals, however, added to growing disenchantment with President Lincoln's administration in the war-weary North. Lincoln, who supported Grant's strategy, faced serious political opposition from Radical Republicans and Copperhead Democrats that threatened his chances in the upcoming 1864 presidential election. With Lee pinned in the defenses around Richmond and unable to mount any prolonged offensive, the Confederacy's best hope rested on producing a stalemate that might tilt the election in favor of a Democratic candidate willing to negotiate peace on favorable terms. To turn the tide of public opinion back in favor of the war effort and Lincoln's re-election, the Union armies needed decisive battlefield victories to serve as proof of the war's imminent end (McPherson 1988:271; Stewart 2009:291).

Grant revised his strategy after the Battle of Cold Harbor. He was convinced that the casualties inflicted on the Army of Northern Virginia during the Overland Campaign had drastically reduced its ability to conduct offensive operations, but he also knew that Lee remained quite capable of defending Richmond behind the city's stout fortifications. He decided to hold the ground the Union occupied around Richmond so that he could take advantage of any opportunity for a breakthrough that might present itself, but switched the focus of his offensive operations to Petersburg, the Confederacy's vital supply and transportation nexus 23 miles south of the Confederate capital. Grant planned a secret withdrawal of the bulk of the Army of the Potomac from its position at Cold Harbor for a quick strike on the substandard and lightly defended defensive works around Petersburg. He hoped that by the time Lee discerned the Union's objective it would be too late for him to send reinforcements. The capture of Petersburg would "cut off all sources of supply to the enemy" from the south and force Lee to abandon Richmond. Although he was unaware of what Grant had in mind, Lee previously expressed his fears of just such a move in a note to one of his generals, stating that if the Confederates could not deter Grant from reaching the James River "it will become a siege, and then it will be a mere question of time" (U.S. War Department 1891:11–12; Simpson 2011:109).

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The Petersburg Campaign (June 1864 to April 2, 1865) was the longest and most complex campaign of the Civil War. Commonly referred to as the Siege of Petersburg, the campaign commenced with the First Battle of Petersburg on June 9, 1864, when Butler, presumably acting without Grant's knowledge, sent a 4,400-troop force from Bermuda Hundred that failed to carry the lightly defended fortifications around the southern perimeter of Petersburg manned primarily by home guard troops. The Second Battle of Petersburg on June 15–18 was a more concerted, but no more successful, attempt by combined forces of the armies of the Potomac and James to capture the city. Lee was able to respond to the threat by sending reinforcements from his Richmond lines. Although the Confederates were pushed back from their original defensive position, they were able to prevent the Union from taking Petersburg. Afterward, the Confederate and Union armies began to construct formidable systems of opposing entrenched lines that ultimately extended in a broad arc around the southeastern perimeter of the city and settled into what became a 10-month-long struggle punctuated by a series of full-scale battles and many lesser engagements. Eventually, the Union was successful in pushing its lines westward, severing most of Petersburg's rail connections and forcing Lee to extend his dangerously thin lines to the point of breaking. As the Federals tightened their grip, Lee's army and the citizenry of Petersburg and Richmond suffered through a winter of increasing privation. On March 25, 1865, Major General John B. Gordon led an attack that was designed to break the Union lines and allow Lee to take the bulk of his forces out of Petersburg to join with a Confederate force in North Carolina under Johnston's command. The so-called Battle of Fort Stedman produced more than 4,000 Confederate casualties and convinced Lee that he would soon have to evacuate Petersburg (Trudeau 1991:xi–xiii).

The military situation elsewhere took a decisive turn in favor of the Union during the fall and winter of 1864–1865. Sherman took Atlanta in September 1864 and, after completing his famous march through Georgia on Christmas Day, he continued on through South Carolina and North Carolina. By mid-March 1865, Sherman was in position at Goldsboro, North Carolina, to assist Grant if needed. Major General Phillip Sheridan thwarted a threat on Washington, DC, by Confederate forces under Major General Jubal Early and, after a decisive victory at the Battle of Cedar Creek on October 19, 1864, began a raid of the Shenandoah Valley similar to that of Sherman's in Georgia. Federal forces in the West under the command of Major General George B. Thomas devastated Lieutenant General John B. Hood's Army of Tennessee at the Battle of Nashville on December 15–16, 1864, forcing the Confederates to retreat into Mississippi. Federal forces under the command of Major General John Schofield seized the Confederacy's last open seaport in Wilmington, North Carolina, on February 22, 1865 (McPherson 1988:807–817).

Lincoln's overwhelming victory over his Democratic opponent, former Union Major General George B. McClellan, in the November 1864 election constituted a referendum by the people of the North in favor of continuing the war. On February 3, 1865, Lincoln and his Secretary of State William H. Seward secretly met with Confederate Vice President Alexander H. Stephens, (CSA) Senator Robert M. T. Hunter, and (CSA) Assistant Secretary of War John A. Campbell to discuss potential peace terms at what became known as the Hampton Roads Peace Conference. The negotiations broke down over Lincoln's insistence on the restoration of the Union and abolishment of slavery. Confederate President Jefferson Davis refused to accept either of those terms, thus ensuring that the war would continue until it was decided on the battlefield (McPherson 1988:817–819).

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Appomattox Campaign, March 29–April 9, 1865⁹

On March 24, 1865, Grant issued general instructions to the commanders of the Union armies around Petersburg for opening a coordinated spring offensive that later became known as the Appomattox Campaign. Grant feared that Sherman's advance northward from Goldsboro would prompt Lee to abandon Petersburg and attempt to join his army with Johnston's in North Carolina. If Lee was allowed to escape, the Federals would be forced to conduct another potentially long and expensive campaign that might revive calls in the North for a compromise peace. Grant decided to send Sheridan, who had recently completed his mission in the Shenandoah Valley, his two cavalry divisions, and a detached brigade of cavalry from the Army of the Potomac under Brigadier General Henry E. Davies to destroy the South Side and Richmond and Danville railroads, the only remaining supply lines open to Lee's army. Sheridan's initial objective was to gain control of Five Forks, a strategically important intersection of roads southwest of Petersburg that was the key to gaining the Confederate right rear. Meade was ordered to detach Major General Gouverneur K. Warren's Fifth Corps and Major General Andrew A. Humphreys' Second Corps to support Sheridan's operation. Major General Edward O. C. Ord was ordered to move with three divisions of the Army of the James behind the route taken by the Second and Fifth corps. The infantry movements were designed to force Lee to strip his defensive lines around Petersburg and Richmond to meet the threat to the Confederate right flank. In that event, Grant directed the commanders of the forces that were to remain in place to man the Union defenses south and east of Petersburg to be ready to exploit any weak point they could identify along their fronts. Even if the offensive did not produce all he hoped, Grant believed that the destruction of the Danville Railroad would retard the concentration of Lee's and Johnson's armies and put the Union armies in a better position to pursue the Confederates wherever they went (U.S. War Department 1894:50, 52; Grant 1990:694).

Battles of Lewis' Farm, White Oak Road, and Dinwiddie Court House, March 29–31, 1865

The offensive got underway on the morning of March 29 when Warren's and Humphreys' corps began their moves westward from their positions within the Federal lines. Sheridan advanced to the left of Warren's corps toward Dinwiddie Court House. The western flank of the Confederate defensive line, which extended west of Hatcher's Run along White Oak Road, was manned by Major General Bushrod Johnson's division of Lieutenant General Richard Anderson's Fourth Corps. During the day, advanced units of Warren's corps fought a brief engagement known as the Battle of Lewis' Farm that resulted in the Federals gaining control of the Boydton Plank Road, one of Lee's last direct supply routes (Hess 2009:255; Bearss and Calkins 1985:23–28; CWSAC 2009; U.S. War Department 1894:53).

The promising events of March 29 convinced Grant that the Confederate position had become untenable. That evening he sent a message to Sheridan stating, "I now feel like ending the matter [the investment of Petersburg]" and "I do not want you, therefore, to cut loose and go after the enemy's roads at present. In the morning, push around the enemy, if you can, and get on to his right rear." Warren was given instructions to move his corps into position to support Sheridan in his effort to take Five Forks. Lee, meanwhile, dispatched Major General George Pickett's infantry division and Major General Fitzhugh Lee's cavalry to protect Five Forks. He conceived a plan to have those forces, together with two brigades of Johnson's division, attack Sheridan at Dinwiddie Court House in an effort to secure the Confederate right flank (U.S. War Department 1894:53; Bearss n.d.: Part II, pp. 1–2).

⁹ Although they represented the final engagements that forced the Confederates to abandon Petersburg and Richmond and were fought on ground contained within Petersburg National Battlefield, the *Official Records of the War of the Rebellion* grouped the battles between March 29 and April 2, 1865, with the Appomattox Campaign.

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Federal movements on March 30 were hampered by a torrential rainfall that began the previous evening and continued throughout the day. Major General Romeyn B. Ayres' division of Warren's Fifth Corps conducted a reconnaissance in force that resulted in extending the Federal left to a point south of Claiborne Road, putting Ayres in position to threaten the right flank of the Confederate White Oak Line. The following day, Bushrod Johnson decided on his own to blunt the threat to his right by attacking Ayres with three brigades under the command of Brigadier General Samuel McGowan. While McGowan was in the process of placing his troops for the assault, Ayres advanced two brigades to drive the Confederate skirmishers back to the White Oak Road Line. Without waiting for orders, the three Confederate brigades attacked and drove Ayres' 2nd Division and a brigade from Major General Crawford's 3rd Division southward across Gravelly Run. The Confederate attack was finally checked by fire from Griffin's 1st Division. Warren requested aid from Humphreys, who sent two brigades from Major General Nelson Miles' 1st Division to attack Wise's Virginia brigade advancing in support of McGowan. Together Griffin and Miles forced the Confederates back to their White Oak Road Line. The Battle of White Oak Road resulted in the Federals gaining control of White Oak Road, thereby blocking communication between Anderson's and Pickett's forces (Bearss n.d.: Part III, pp. 11–20; Bearss n.d.: Part V, pp. 18–53; U.S. War Department 1894:53).

While Johnson was making his assault, Pickett began his attack on Sheridan. During the daylong Battle of Dinwiddie Court House, Pickett steadily drove Sheridan's advanced forces southward but was unable to strike the decisive blow that Lee had hoped (Figure 1). After darkness ended the attack, Pickett determined that his position was vulnerable and decided to retire northward to perform his primary responsibility of protecting the South Side Railroad. His force began retracing their steps back toward Five Forks at about 4:00 a.m. on April 1. During the previous night, Grant ordered Meade to reinforce Sheridan with the entire Fifth Corps, setting the stage for the decisive Battle of Five Forks later that day (Bearss n.d.: Part VI, pp. 1–23; Hess 2009:258–260).

Battle of Five Forks, April 1, 1865

Pickett sent word to Lee of his retrograde movement after reaching Five Forks on the morning of April 1. Lee was not pleased, responding tersely, "Regret exceedingly your forced withdrawal, and your inability to hold the advantage you had gained. Hold Five Forks at all hazards." Pickett obediently halted his force at Five Forks and ordered his men to construct a line of field entrenchments centered at the Five Forks intersection and extending east and west along the north side of White Oak Road for a total distance of about one and three-quarter miles. To protect his left flank, Pickett refused his line northward at a right angle to the east-west-running White Oak Road (Bearss n.d.: Part VII, pp. 1–5; Thompson 2013).

Sheridan devised a new plan of attack after receiving intelligence of Pickett's whereabouts at Five Forks. Major General Wesley Merritt was to make a feint on Pickett's right and center with two cavalry divisions while Warren's infantry would conduct the main attack on the refused northward return of the Confederate left flank. It took Warren nearly all afternoon of April 1 to concentrate his three divisions at Gravelly Run Church, and it was not until 4:15 p.m. that they moved forward in search of the Confederates (Figure 2). The Confederate left was a considerable distance farther west than Sheridan had led Warren to believe; as a result, Crawford's and Griffin's divisions veered off to the northwest and initially missed the Confederates completely. Ayres hit the angle where Pickett's line turned northward and, with exhortations from Sheridan who had accompanied the division, charged over the Confederate breastworks and gained the key objective of caving in Pickett's left flank (Bearss n.d.: Part VII, pp. 27–29, 36–47; Thompson 2013).

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After discovering that they had missed the Confederate lines, Griffin and Crawford redirected their divisions toward the action. Griffin came in on Ayres' right and took the Confederate trenches up to the Five Forks intersection. While Griffin was making his attack, Warren found Crawford in a position to assault the Confederates from the rear and ordered him to move southwest to cut off Ford's Road, one of two escape routes available to Pickett (Bearss n.d.: Part VII, pp. 62–65; Thompson 2013).

Pickett, who along with Fitzhugh Lee was enjoying a shad bake luncheon more than a mile away from his lines, was unaware of the Federal attack until it was too late to save his command. After a courier finally found him and alerted him of the danger, he was forced to make a daring dash through a hail of Federal bullets to reach his shattered lines at Five Forks. Pickett attempted to establish a new defensive line with the remnants of the brigades that had been forced westward as the Federals rolled up his left flank, but was unable to stall the Federal momentum. As Griffin's men moved westward clearing the Confederate trenches, the positions of the remaining troops became untenable; the Federal cavalry poured over the lines, capturing nearly 1,000 prisoners. Pickett had lost about half his infantry force, including 600 casualties and 2,500 men taken prisoner, and at dusk he withdrew what remained of his forces under cover provided by Fitzhugh Lee's cavalry. With the Federals holding Five Forks, Lee was forced to take emergency actions to execute a withdrawal of his forces from the lines they had held around the city for nearly 10 months (Bearss n.d.: Part VII, pp. 70–75; Thompson 2013).

Third Battle of Petersburg and Battle of Sutherland Station, April 2, 1865

Grant ordered a general assault along the Petersburg lines the day after the resounding Confederate defeat at Five Forks. The action opened with a prolonged artillery bombardment by 150 guns that lasted from 10:00 p.m. on April 1 to 1:00 a.m. on April 2. Major General John G. Parke's Federal Ninth Corps was assigned to take the portion of the Confederate line straddling Jerusalem Plank Road, which was thinly defended by what remained of Gordon's Second Corps. In fighting that involved hand-to-hand combat, Parke's men were able to carry and hold a large section of the Confederate's main defensive line. Major General Horatio Wright's Federal Sixth Corps succeeded in carrying the six-mile-long Confederate Boydton Plank Road Line defended by four brigades from Major General Ambrose Powell Hill's Corps. Hill was killed during an attempt to rally his men at the front. Wright was able to push his left flank to the Appomattox River and, in the process, cut the South Side Railroad (Hess 2009:266–274).

Farther west, the results of the Battle of Sutherland Station strengthened the Federal grip on the South Side Railroad (Figure 3). After hearing of the Federal breakthrough of the Confederate Boydton Plank Road Line, Confederate Major General Henry Heth moved a force of about 1,200 men to guard the South Side Railroad at Sutherland Station. A Union column commanded by Major General Nelson A. Miles of Humphreys' Corps moved north from White Oak Road and, after two unsuccessful frontal assaults, turned the Confederate left flank at Ocran Methodist Church. The Confederate defenders were scattered and driven northwestward. Wright's and Miles's actions in seizing the South Side Railroad finally achieved Grant's key objective of gaining control over all Petersburg supply lines (CWSAC 2009).

As the Federals began to mass for a final full-scale assault on Petersburg, Lieutenant General James Longstreet came to the front to organize what remained of the Confederate defensive lines. A small force of about 250 Confederates manning Fort Gregg, which along with neighboring Fort Whitworth was the last forward position outside the main Confederate line, put up a stubborn fight that provided Longstreet critical time to improve his defensive position and probably prevented the Federals from taking Petersburg that day (Figure 4). During the action, 122 Federal soldiers were killed and 592 wounded.

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Nearly the entire Confederate garrison of Fort Gregg was either killed or taken prisoner, and about 70 of the Fort Whitworth defenders surrendered (Hess 2009:274–276).

Grant considered the day's results to be one of the "greatest victories of the war." Federal losses amounted to 3,936 men, but they had inflicted more than 5,000 Confederate casualties, most of whom were taken prisoner. He was still unsure, however, what Lee would do next and began making plans for another assault the following day. Lee determined he had only one option and sent a message to the Confederate War Department stating that it "is absolutely necessary that we abandon our position tonight, or run the risk of being cut off in the morning...." Jefferson Davis and his cabinet left Richmond that night and headed for Danville, Virginia. The next day, Union troops north of the James River entered the Confederate capital unopposed (Hess 2009:279–281; Calkins 2011:55, 59).

Lee's Retreat from Richmond and Petersburg, April 3–April 5, 1865

After making the decision to evacuate, Lee's concern turned toward the logistics of the move. He needed to assemble a viable fighting force from the dispersed units spread out over more than 30 miles around Richmond and Petersburg, find provisions for the men and animals, and move rapidly enough to stay ahead of Grant. Lee selected Amelia Court House, a small village located about 36 miles west of Petersburg on the Richmond and Danville Railroad, as the initial rendezvous point (Figure 5). He had Colonel Thomas M. R. Talcott, commander of the Confederate engineer corps, identify the routes that the columns would take and ordered ordnance and rations sent ahead to meet the army. After reforming and resupplying at Amelia Court House, Lee planned to move southwest along the Richmond and Danville Railroad to link up with Johnston's army in North Carolina (NPS 2002:42; Calkins 2011:58).

The Army of Northern Virginia, numbering about 60,000 troops and officers, began its march in four major columns during the early morning hours of April 3. The northernmost column comprised a mixed force under Major General Richard Ewell that had manned the Richmond defenses. After crossing the James River, Ewell headed southwest toward the Genito Bridge over the Appomattox River, a few miles north of Amelia Court House. The next column south was William Mahone's division, which had manned the Confederate lines at Bermuda Hundred and was joined on the march by sailors and marines who had manned the Drewry's Bluff garrison. Mahone's route crossed the Appomattox at Goode's Bridge. Lee accompanied the largest force consisting of Longstreet's First Corps, Gordon's Second Corps, and A. P. Hill's Third Corps, which was put under Longstreet's command after Hill's death. The column first moved north from Petersburg, then headed west toward Bevil's Bridge. On finding that the bridge had been washed out, the column was diverted northward to the Goode's Bridge crossing. Anderson commanded the southernmost column, which consisted of the remnants of the Confederate forces under Pickett and Fitzhugh Lee that had been defeated at Five Forks, as well as Bushrod Johnson's men. Anderson followed a route west along the southern bank of the Appomattox River (NPS 2002:42, 44; Calkins 2002:63–67).

Federal pursuit of Lee's army began immediately after it was discovered that the Confederates were on the move. Sheridan's cavalry moved along the general route that Anderson took south of the Appomattox River, followed by Meade's Second, Fifth, and Sixth infantry corps commanded by Humphreys, Griffin,

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and Wright, respectively.¹⁰ Grant accompanied Ord's Army of the James and Parke's Ninth Corps on their route along the South Side Railroad to its junction with the Richmond and Danville at Burkeville. In all, the Federal forces pursuing Lee amounted to about 75,000 men, with troops left behind in Richmond and Petersburg and the Ninth Corps detailed to re-lay track on the South Side Railroad. Well-fed and equipped through the massive supply depot that had been established at City Point during the Petersburg Campaign, Grant's army was in far better condition than Lee's to conduct mobile operations. Over the next week, most Federal troops that did experience privation found the energy to carry on in the hope they would be participants in the final events leading to Lee's surrender (NPS 2002:45).

With nearly half a day's head start on the pursuing Federals, most of Lee's forces were able to move toward Amelia Court House unmolested. The only significant engagement on April 3 was the Battle of Namozine Church fought by Custer's Union cavalry division and elements of William H. F. "Rooney" Lee's Confederate cavalry division (Figure 6). At the head of Sheridan's column, Custer followed the Confederates moving west along Namozine Road and caught up to Anderson's rearguard under Brigadier General William P. Roberts at Namozine Creek. After a brief skirmish, during which Custer outflanked Roberts, the Confederates fell back toward Namozine Church, about five miles west. There, Brigadier General Rufus Barringer, who had replaced Roberts as the rearguard, posted three regiments of North Carolina cavalry, totaling about 800 men, around the intersection of roads near the church to stop the Union advance. Custer was again able to outflank the Confederates and, in the process, captured about 350 men and one artillery piece. Barringer became separated from those who were able to escape and was later captured by a Union scouting party dressed in Confederate uniforms (Calkins 2011:69-71).

When Lee reached Amelia Court House on April 4, he discovered that Ewell had been delayed and that the supplies he had ordered sent ahead from Richmond included ordnance, but no rations. He decided to wait for Ewell and sent a courier ahead to Danville with a message asking that 300,000 rations be forwarded to his army. Lee also sent out foraging parties to prevail upon local farmers to supply what they could. The already taxed farms yielded little, and Federal troops picked up many of the foragers. More importantly, the Confederates lost an entire day and allowed the Federals to gain a fix on their position. Sheridan reached Jetersville with the advanced troops of his main force on the afternoon of April 4 and intercepted a courier carrying Lee's request for rations from Danville. With the information that Lee was concentrating his force at Amelia Court House, Sheridan prepared to block his most direct route to North Carolina along the Richmond and Danville Railroad. Sheridan ordered his cavalry to construct a line of defensive earthworks. The advanced elements of Griffin's corps arrived later that afternoon and assisted in the preparations to meet the Confederates (Calkins 2011:75-76).

The Confederates moved out of Amelia Court House during the morning of April 5 and soon discovered Sheridan's position at Jetersville. Lee seriously considered an attempt to break through Federal lines, which he initially thought were held by only cavalry. Subsequent reports that Sheridan was supported by Griffin's infantry corps and that Humphreys and Wright were close by convinced Lee that an attack would be disastrous and that he must alter his route. He decided his best option was to outpace the Federals by making a forced march west to Farmville. Once there, he hoped to draw supplies from Lynchburg via the South Side Railroad and then turn south to North Carolina. The change in plans had a demoralizing effect on Lee's already exhausted army. As the main body of the army trudged west along a

¹⁰ With Grant's approval, Sheridan relieved Warren and put Griffin in command of the Fifth Corps immediately after the Battle of Five Forks because he was dissatisfied with the deliberateness that Warren displayed in moving his troops into position and pressing the attacks during the final battles around Petersburg. Warren demanded an immediate court of inquiry, but it was not until after his death in 1882 that a court was convened and cleared his name.

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single road in a line that stretched about 15 miles, many stragglers took the opportunity to desert (NPS 2002:52–53).

Lee was greeted with another piece of bad news on April 5 when he learned that Davies' Federal cavalry north of Painesville had wrecked a large portion of his wagon train. He sent Fitzhugh Lee to deal with Davies, who after the raid was moving back toward Jetersville. During the day, the two cavalry forces fought a running battle that covered some three miles and became known as the Battle of Amelia Springs. The climax of the engagement occurred at Amelia Springs, where Major General Thomas Rosser's division, supported by Brigadier General Thomas Munford's brigade, conducted a mounted charge that inflicted about 150 casualties on Davies' force. Fitzhugh Lee continued to pursue Davies to within a mile of Jetersville, where he discovered that the Federals had been reinforced by two cavalry brigades (Calkins 2011:88–89).

During the afternoon of April 5, Grant received a message from Sheridan requesting a meeting to discuss the pursuit of Lee. Meade had begun preparations to advance on Lee at Amelia Court House in the belief that the Confederates were digging in there. Sheridan, however, had received intelligence that suggested Lee was on the move toward Farmville and thought the Confederates should be pressed as much as possible. Grant left Ord's column and arrived at Sheridan's headquarters in Jetersville at about 10:00 p.m. The two generals then went to Meade's headquarters where Grant, as he later stated, explained, "we did not want to follow the enemy, we wanted to get ahead of him," and that Meade's orders would allow Lee to escape. At that point it was decided that Meade would move toward Amelia Court House during the morning of April 6 and then turn to follow Lee. Sheridan, with Wright's Sixth Corps, would advance west on a line parallel to and south of the Confederates in an effort to get ahead and block Lee's path. Ord would continue his march west along the South Side Railroad with orders to destroy any bridges that the Confederates might use (Grant 1990:717–718; NPS 2002:53–54).

Battle of High Bridge, April 6, 1865

During the early morning of April 6, with the intelligence that Lee was moving westward toward Farmville, Ord moved to destroy the strategically important High Bridge on the South Side Railroad (Figure 7). The massive bridge was one of the largest in the world at the time, spanning more than 2,400 feet over the Appomattox River. Fearing that the important bridge would be guarded by a sizable contingent of Confederate cavalry, Ord sent two infantry regiments, totaling about 800 men, under command of Lieutenant Colonel Horace Kellogg and three companies of cavalry under Colonel Francis Washburn to reconnoiter the bridge and destroy it, if possible. Soon after the force moved out, Ord sent his chief of staff Brigadier General Theodore Read to take command of the operation. When Read caught up with the column, he positioned the infantry along the road leading from Farmville to High Bridge and sent Washburn to scout the bridge. Washburn's cavalry was able to drive the bridge's defenders from their position in earthen redoubts that guarded the approach to the bridge from the southeast. Before anything could be done to the bridge, however, Washburn heard gunfire that signaled the infantry was under attack and ordered his men to move toward the fighting. The Confederate attacking force consisted of cavalry from Munford's and Rosser's brigades. When he reached the scene of the fighting, Washburn saw that the Federal infantry was beginning to fall back and immediately led his 80 troops in a suicidal mounted charge into three lines of advancing Confederate troops. During the desperate hand-to-hand fighting, the Union cavalry force was largely destroyed. Read was killed, and Washburn and Confederate Brigadier General James Dearing were mortally wounded. Rosser's and Munford's men continued to pressure the Federal infantry as it retreated northward toward High Bridge. Upon reaching the bridge, the entire Federal force, which by then numbered about 780 men, surrendered (Calkins 2011:101–104).

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Battle of Sailor's Creek,¹¹ April 6, 1865

While Ord was making his bid to take High Bridge, Meade's army was moving toward Amelia Court House. The advanced units of Humphreys' Second Corps observed the tail end of Lee's army, comprised of Anderson's, Ewell's, and Gordon's commands, along with the Confederate wagon train, moving west along the north side of Flat Creek. Sheridan instructed Major General George Crook to harass the Confederate wagon train with his cavalry division and gave Wright orders to follow behind. Crook assaulted Anderson's force at Holt's Corner but soon withdrew in the face of opposition from Pickett's and Bushrod Johnson's infantry. Continuing his march west, Anderson found his route blocked by Custer's cavalry and, after crossing Little Sailor's Creek, established a defensive position on a hill above the creek's west bank; he was later joined by Ewell. While the two commanders conferred about whether to assault the Union blocking force or to go overland to reach the road to Farmville, Wright's Sixth Corps came from the northeast onto Ewell's rear (Figure 8). Simultaneously, Merritt's cavalry prepared to assault Anderson from the south (Calkins 2011:99–100, 105–108).

Meanwhile, Major General Gersham Mott took his division northwest across Flat Creek to assault the Confederate rearguard under Gordon. During the move, Mott was shot in the leg and relinquished command of the division to Brigadier General Philip Regis de Trobriand. Major General Nelson Miles and Major General Francis Barlow followed with their divisions and came in on de Trobriand's right. During a running battle that lasted the entire day, the Federals steadily pressed the Confederates. The action finally ended at nightfall, after Gordon's men had crossed Big Sailor's Creek. During the day, the Federals captured about 1,700 prisoners and more than 300 supply wagons (Calkins 2011:97–98, 111–115).

Sheridan, who had accompanied Wright, took command over what would become the Battle of Sailor's Creek. At 6:00 p.m., after a half-hour-long artillery bombardment on Ewell's position, Sheridan sent two divisions of Wright's corps forward (Figure 9). Crossing Little Sailor's Creek with difficulty after rains had swollen its banks, the Federals were initially checked by heavy Confederate fire and then forced to retreat by a spirited counterattack that featured hand-to-hand fighting. Canister fire from Federal guns forced the Confederates back to their lines; after reforming, the Federal infantry advanced again. Ewell's badly outnumbered force again fought viciously but was ultimately overwhelmed. Ewell, along with five other generals including Custis Lee, and about 3,400 troops were captured and taken prisoner (Calkins 2011:108–111).

Merritt's attack had similar success for the Federals. Crook's dismounted cavalry scored a breakthrough on Anderson's right flank manned by Bushrod Johnson's infantry; Custer, after several tries, broke through Pickett's line on the left. These attacks were followed by a mounted charge that caused the Confederates to break in disorder and flee to the rear. The Federals rounded up 2,600 prisoners, including two more generals, and captured about 300 wagons and 15 pieces of artillery (Calkins 2011:111–112).

Lee had accompanied Longstreet at the head of the Confederate column and reached Rice's Depot, the point selected as the objective of the day's march, in the early afternoon of April 6. He became increasingly concerned as the hours passed and a large part of his army and supply train did not appear. Late in the day he went back to a point that overlooked Sailor's Creek. From there he could see the results of the day's events, which had cost him nearly a fifth of his men and a large portion of the army's leadership. "My God!" he exclaimed, "Has the army been dissolved?" (Calkins 2011:114–115).

¹¹ Alternatively spelled *Sayler's*, *Saylor's*, or *Sailer's Creek*.

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To Sheridan, the resounding victory portended a quick end to the war. That night he sent a message to Grant that concluded with the statement, "If the thing is pressed, I think Lee will surrender." Grant, who had arrived at Burkesville Junction on the Danville Railroad during the night, had the message forwarded to President Lincoln at City Point. At Grant's invitation, Lincoln had come to Grant's Petersburg headquarters on March 24 and stayed on to see the events that led to the fall of Richmond. Not wanting to be far from the front as Grant pursued Lee, Lincoln had remained at City Point and spent much of his time at the military telegraph station monitoring news from the front. Lincoln sent his reply to Sherman's message to Grant on the morning of April 7 and said simply, "Let the thing be pressed" (NPS 2002:57).

Throughout the day of April 7, the Federals kept up constant pressure on the Confederates. After reaching Farmville, Lee was distressed to learn that the Federals had prevented Gordon's troops from destroying the nearby wagon bridge at High Bridge, allowing the Federals to cross to the north side of the Appomattox River and get on the same side as Lee. Lee instructed Longstreet's chief of artillery, Brigadier General Edward Porter Alexander, to destroy the bridges at Farmville and went with Longstreet's troops on their march to a point about two and a half miles north. Nearby, Humphreys' Second Corps engaged Confederate forces under Gordon and Mahone that occupied an entrenched position on high ground around Cumberland Church. The Union attacking forces were repulsed twice before nightfall ended the battle (Figure 10). The Battle of Cumberland Church resulted in a Confederate victory during which the Federals suffered about 600 casualties (NPS 2011:60–61).

As the Confederate prospects grew more dire during the day of April 7, Lee uttered to his son Rooney Lee the first known allusion he made to surrender, telling the general to keep the spirits of his men up and "don't let them think of surrender—I will get you out of this." At the same time, Grant was thinking about raising the topic of surrender. Feeling that the Confederates had no chance of escape, he composed the following note to Lee after arriving at Farmville at about 5:00 p.m. on April 7:

General: The result of the last week must convince you of the hopelessness of further resistance on the part of the Army of Northern Virginia in this struggle. I feel that it is so, and regard it as my duty to shift from myself the responsibility of any further effusion of blood, by asking of you the surrender of that portion of the Confederate States army known as the Army of Northern Virginia (Grant 1990:842).

Lee's response to Grant later that day stated that while he did not agree that the situation of his army was hopeless, he too wished to avoid further bloodshed and asked Grant what terms he would offer in the event he agreed to surrender. While Grant was not satisfied with the response, he decided to write back the next day stating that his only condition was that the surrendered Confederates would be "disqualified for taking up arms against the Government of the United States until properly exchanged" and that he would be willing to meet with Lee anywhere he chose to define the final terms (Calkins 2011:135; Grant 1990:842).

Battle of Appomattox Station, April 8, 1865

On April 8, Lee's army conducted a forced march westward along the Richmond-Lynchburg Stage Road (present-day State Route 24) in an attempt to stay ahead of the Federals. During a stop in the march at New Store, Lee issued orders to relieve generals Anderson, Pickett, and Johnson from duty, assigning the remnants of their commands to Longstreet and Gordon. Humphreys' Second Corps continued in close pursuit of the Confederate column throughout the day but was unable to get close enough to force a

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general battle. About 3:00 p.m., Gordon, at the head of the Confederate column, stopped at a location about one mile east of Appomattox Court House. The rest of the army closed up during the day, and by nightfall it stretched back from Gordon's position to beyond New Hope Church. There, Longstreet ordered the construction of a line of earthworks (the **Confederate Defensive Entrenchments [LCS No. 289966, contributing structure]**) across the Stage Road to protect the rear of the army (Calkins 2011:150–153; NPS 2002:60–64).

South of the Appomattox River, Sheridan and Ord used the shorter route that had been left open to the Federals, traveling along the South Side Railroad toward Appomattox Station, about three miles southwest of Appomattox Court House (Figure 11). Custer's cavalry division arrived at Appomattox Station at 4:00 p.m. and found three Confederate supply trains loaded with rations and materiel that had been sent to Lee's army from Lynchburg. The trains were seized without a fight, but as Custer's men advanced northwest from the station they ran into a Confederate force consisting of Brigadier General Reuben Lindsay Walker's reserve artillery and Brigadier General Martin W. Gary's cavalry brigade, which consisted of about 500 troops. After several uncoordinated attacks by his advanced brigades were thrown back by canister fire from the Confederate artillery, Custer ordered his entire division forward at about 8:00 p.m. and overwhelmed the defenders. The victory at the Battle of Appomattox Station netted the Union the supply trains, 25 artillery pieces, nearly 1,000 prisoners, and all of their supplies. Finding that he was now ahead of the Confederates, Sheridan sent a message to Grant from Appomattox Station that evening that he was confident he could "finish the job" of compelling Lee to surrender the next day, provided Ord arrived in time to provide infantry support. Ord did all he could to keep up with Sheridan. The Army of the James came onto Sheridan's path ahead of Wright's Sixth Corps at Farmville and conducted a rapid march that had some of Ord's troops covering more than 30 miles during the day on April 8 to reach the outskirts of Appomattox Court House in the early morning on April 9 (NPS 2002:65; Calkins 2011:154–156).

On the night of April 8, Union campfires could be seen from Appomattox Station to the southwest, meaning that Lee's last possible link with the South Side Railroad had been lost. At some time late in the day or early evening, Lee received Grant's message with the proposed terms of surrender. He wrote back to Grant late that night, stating that he had not intended to propose the surrender of his army but only to ask about the terms Grant might offer. "To be frank," Lee wrote, "I do not think the emergency has risen to the call for the surrender of this army; but as the restoration of peace should be the sole object of all, I desired to know whether your proposals would lead to that end." Lee went on to say that he would be glad to meet Grant at ten o'clock the next morning between the lines of the opposing armies to discuss the restoration of peace, but not the surrender of the Army of Northern Virginia (Grant 1990:843; NPS 2002:64).

Shortly after sending his reply to Grant, Lee convened what proved to be his last council of war with his generals, including Longstreet, Gordon, and Fitzhugh Lee. Lee let them know about his correspondence with Grant and laid out the remaining military options. From the action at Appomattox Station, Lee knew that he was blocked by Sheridan's cavalry. As long as Federal infantry had not reached Sheridan's position, there was a possibility that the Confederates might break through and continue their march through Pittsylvania County into North Carolina to unite with Johnston. The council ended with the decision to have Fitzhugh Lee's cavalry, supported by Gordon's infantry corps, attack the Federals in an attempt to clear the **Richmond-Lynchburg Stage Road and Road Trace (LCS No. 000047, ASMIS No. APCO00024.000, historic associated feature)** to allow the army to continue its move west (NPS 2002:64–65).

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Grant received Lee's offer to meet around midnight on April 8 while he was at Curdsville with Meade's army. His Chief of Staff, Brigadier General John A. Rawlings, complained that the message was similar in tone to one sent by Lee in early March suggesting a meeting to discuss the restoration of peace between the Confederacy and the United States. During that negotiation, Grant was made aware by the Lincoln Administration of the limits of his discretion in dealing with Lee. On being informed of Lee's proposal, Lincoln directed Secretary of War Edwin Stanton to reply that Grant was not to meet with Lee unless it was to receive the surrender of the Confederate army and that he was not to "decide, discuss, or confer upon any political questions." As he had made clear to the Confederate Government's representatives at the Hampton Roads Conference, Lincoln would not agree to peace without assurances of the full restoration of the Union, emancipation of slaves, and a guarantee of at least limited equality for freed blacks. Those questions, Stanton stated, "the President holds in his own hands, and will submit them to no military conferences or conventions." Lincoln reinforced his position to Grant during several conferences they had during the President's visit to City Point later in March. The most notable discussion occurred on March 28 during Lincoln's visit to City Point when the President, Grant, Sherman, and Admiral David Porter met aboard the steamer *River Queen*. The meeting provided the two generals with insight into Lincoln's thinking on reconstruction, which included liberal terms for the surrender of the Confederate armies, general amnesty for the participants, immediate restoration of citizenship, and gradual transition for the state governments of the South. Grant and Sherman used that knowledge when it came time to dictate what would be considered liberal terms to their respective foes (McGovern 2009:138–139; NPS 2002:65–66; Sherman 1876:Vol. 2, 329).

Grant was nonetheless encouraged by Lee's April 8 offer, stating to Rawlings that he and Lee could "settle the whole business in an hour" if they were able to meet face-to-face. His response written during the early morning of April 9 stated that while he had no authority to negotiate a treaty that involved political questions, he was as anxious as Lee was for peace. "By the South laying down their arms," Grant wrote, "they will hasten that most desirable event [peace], save thousands of human lives, and hundreds of millions of property not yet destroyed." Grant ended with his sincere hope "that all our difficulties may be settled without the loss of another life...." After dispatching a courier with his reply to Lee, and with no intention of keeping the proposed 10:00 a.m. appointment, Grant set out on a circuitous ride to join Sheridan at Appomattox Court House (NPS 2002:66; Grant 1990:730).

Battle of Appomattox Court House, April 9, 1865

Before dawn on April 9, Gordon's Second Corps formed in a line that stretched across much of the **Appomattox Court House Landscape (LCS No. none, contributing site)** through the Village from Plain Run northwest to the Jacob Tibbs Farm, along many sections of the **Civil War Road Network (LCS No. none, contributing structure)**. Brigadier General Clement Evan's division of three brigades, placed south of the Richmond-Lynchburg Stage Road, anchored the left (Figure 12). Brigadier General James A. Walker's three-brigade division formed the center a few hundred yards west of the **Appomattox Courthouse (LCS No. 000038, ASMIS No. APCO00005.000, contributing building)** and south of the Richmond-Lynchburg Stage Road. Major General Bryan Grimes' division of four brigades extended north of the Stage Road along what is now the **Tibbs Lane Trace (LCS No. 704413, ASMIS No. APCO00032.000, historic associated feature)**. The remains of Bushrod Johnson's command under Brigadier General William Wallace were behind Grimes in a second rank. Fitzhugh Lee's cavalry divisions under Rooney Lee, Rosser, and Munford guarded the right flank of the infantry. In all, the Confederate lines comprised between 8,000 and 10,000 men (Calkins 2011:159–160).

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The Confederate column stepped off shortly after dawn on April 9 with Fitzhugh Lee's cavalry leading the way in a southwest pivoting movement toward the Stage Road. At that time, the only Federal force present was a brigade of Crook's cavalry division under the command of Brigadier General Charles H. Smith positioned on a low ridge along what is now the **Oakville Road Trace (LCS No. 288900, ASMIS No. APCO00030.000, historic associated feature)**. Roberts' two North Carolina cavalry regiments quickly captured Smith's pickets, along with two guns that had been advanced up the Stage Road, while the rest of Rooney Lee's division pressed the main body of the Federals, forcing them back onto the Samuel Coleman farm. As Smith slowly fell back, Crook sent reinforcements in the form of Brigadier General Ranald Mackenzie's undersized division and Samuel Young's brigade. As Rooney Lee's horsemen continued to push Smith and his reinforcements southward toward Appomattox Station, Fitzhugh Lee ordered Munford and Rosser to ride northwest to get on the Federal rear. Grimes' and Walker's divisions followed Rooney Lee's advance, wheeling left and facing south in a line that stretched from Plain Run across what is now the **Sears Lane Trace (LCS No. 28824, ASMIS No. APCO00029.000, historic associated feature)** to the **Trent Lane Trace (LCS No. 288845, ASMIS No. APCO00031.000, historic associated feature)** south of the Stage Road. Confident that his lines were secure, Gordon rested his men and sent word to Lee that the Stage Road was open (Calkins 2011:161–162).

Whatever hopes of escape the Confederates harbored were dashed when Brigadier General William R. Cox, whose brigade formed Gordon's right flank, observed the van of Ord's infantry under the command of Major General John Gibbon. Colonel Thomas O. Osborne led the first Federal brigade to reach the field. Osborne formed his men and attacked from a ravine west of Cox's position but was thrown back. Union soldiers sought protection in the buildings on the Coleman property. After this engagement, more Federal reinforcements, including three brigades of United States Colored Troops, came up and began massing for attack. Meanwhile, Griffin's Fifth Corps arrived and began skirmishing with the Confederates along Gordon's front. Realizing that his force was flanked and outnumbered, Gordon pulled back through Appomattox Court House Village to a line on high ground that had been established by artillery chief Porter Alexander on the eastern edge of the Appomattox River valley. Fitzhugh Lee found the Federal infantry arriving in force along the Stage Road and decided to take Rosser's and Munford's divisions on an overland route toward Lynchburg, rather than returning to Lee's army. Further bad news for the Confederates came from the east where Longstreet's troops were skirmishing with Humphreys' Second Corps at New Hope Church. Humphreys' corps was soon supported by Wright's Sixth Corps (Calkins 2011:162–164).

With strong Federal forces closing in from the west, south, and east, Lee determined that further resistance was futile. He sent word to his generals to send out couriers with flags of truce to the sectors of the Federal lines in their fronts and determined to keep his 10:00 a.m. appointment with Grant to arrange terms for the surrender of his army. Before he left, Alexander proposed an alternative; he believed that Grant would demand an unconditional surrender that would bring dishonor on the proud record of the Army of Northern Virginia. Instead of surrendering, Lee might tell the army to scatter in small units and re-form at their respective state capitals to keep up the fight for the Confederacy. Lee responded that such a move would only result in lawlessness by marauding troops and damage to areas of the country that had not yet been visited directly by the war. He also reassured Alexander that Grant would offer good terms that would not reflect poorly on the army. Alexander later wrote that Lee had "answered my suggestion from a plane so far above it, I was ashamed of having made it" (Alexander 1907:603–605).

At about 8:30 a.m., Lee rode with his staff to Longstreet's front at New Hope Church where he expected that Grant would meet him. After sending word through Humphreys' lines that he had arrived, Lee

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received a copy of the message that Grant had written to the Confederate commander earlier that morning. He was also informed that Grant was not with Meade's army, having left to travel to Sheridan's position. Lee then wrote the following to Grant:

General: I received your note of this morning on the picket-line whither I had come to meet you and ascertain definitely what terms were embraced in your proposal of yesterday with reference to the surrender of this army. I now request an interview in accordance with the offer contained in your letter of yesterday for that purpose (Grant 1990:731).

It took several hours for the message to catch up with Grant; in the interim, the Federal field commanders were unsure how to respond to the truce. Some Federals, such as Sheridan, feared it might be a ruse. Grant later claimed that when he finally received Lee's note at 11:50 a.m., a severe headache that had plagued him for two days instantly vanished. He immediately responded with a note stating his location near Walker's Church, about six miles from Appomattox Court House, and asking Lee to select a place where the interview might take place. Lieutenant Colonel Orville Babcock and Lieutenant William M. Dunn of Grant's staff took the reply and found Lee with his aide, Lieutenant Colonel Charles Marshall, at Sweeney's apple tree near the Appomattox River. Lee mounted his horse, "Traveller," and set off for the Village, sending Marshall ahead to find a suitable meeting place. Marshall came upon Wilmer McLean near the courthouse, which was locked because it was Palm Sunday. McLean first took Marshall to a dilapidated building that lacked furniture and was obviously not appropriate. McLean then offered his own house, the **McLean House (LCS No. 000050, ASMIS No. APCO00006.001, contributing building)**, located just west of the courthouse on the Richmond-Lynchburg Stage Road. Ironically, McLean had previously owned a farm near Manassas, Virginia, that had been used as a Confederate headquarters and was shelled during the First Battle of Bull Run (First Manassas), the first major battle of the war on July 21, 1861. Marshall accepted the offer and sent an orderly to inform Lee of the location (NPS 2002:69-70; Gallagher 2000:239-240; McPherson 1988:849).

Surrender at Appomattox Court House, April 9-12, 1865

Lee, Babcock, and Dunn arrived at the McLean House before 1:00 p.m. on April 9 and chatted as they waited for Grant. When Grant approached Appomattox Court House Village, he conferred first with Sheridan and Ord, who urged that the fighting continue to preclude the possibility of a Confederate escape. Grant told them that he was confident Lee would surrender and asked the two generals to accompany him to the meeting. At about 1:30 p.m., Grant entered McLean's parlor to greet Lee. The two commanders presented a stark contrast in appearance: Grant wore a simple field uniform, while Lee wore a new dress uniform replete with a presentation sword. Grant later recounted that the two had met before during their service under Winfield Scott during the Mexican War but doubted that Lee would remember. After talking for some time of their experiences in the pre-Civil War army, Lee recalled Grant to the subject of their meeting and asked about the terms of surrender. Grant repeated what he had written to Lee on the previous day. After some more conversation on other topics, Lee asked Grant to put the terms in writing. Hesitating at first to find the words, Grant began that rolls of all the officers and men of the Army of Northern Virginia were to be made. Officers were to give their individual paroles (pledges) not to take up arms against the United States unless exchanged, and company and regimental commanders were to sign general paroles for their troops. Arms, artillery, and public property were to be stacked and turned over. As he wrote, it occurred to Grant that the officers of the Confederacy often supplied their own equipment and, therefore, included that they could retain their sidearms and personal horses and baggage. He ended by stating that, once paroled, each officer and soldier could return home and would

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not be disturbed by United States authorities as long as they observed their paroles and local laws (Grant 735–736; NPS 2002:70,73).

Grant thought Lee seemed pleased with the terms, especially the portion relating to the officer's personal property, remarking "with some feeling that this would have a happy effect upon his army." The Confederate then told Grant that the enlisted cavalymen and artillerists also owned their own mounts and asked if they would be allowed to retain them. Grant declined but told Lee he would instruct his officers to allow those who claimed to own a horse or mule to take them home to work the family farm. Again, Lee was very gratified by Grant's decision and signed a short note stating his formal acceptance of the terms of surrender. The conversation between the generals then turned to the Confederates' lack of provisions. Lee was unable to even guess at the total number of troops still under his command. Grant then offered to provide 25,000 rations, which Lee gratefully accepted. Lee shook hands again with Grant, bowed to the other officers, and left to ride off to his army (Grant 1990:739–741).

Grant departed the McLean House and established his new headquarters just west of the Village. Along the way he stopped to write a telegram to be sent to Secretary of War Edwin M. Stanton to inform him of the surrender. As the news was delivered along the Union lines, the men "went perfectly crazy" cheering and throwing their hats. Shots were fired in the air, and a 100-gun artillery salute was arranged. Grant, however, ordered it stopped because, as he later wrote, "The Confederates were now our prisoners, and we did not want to exult over their downfall." The two lines began to mingle, and many Union soldiers shared their rations with their former enemies. At the McLean House, a few Union officers obtained mementoes of the historic event, by either buying items from Wilmer McLean or simply taking what they wanted (Gallagher 2000:242; Grant 1990:741; NPS 2002:76–77).

During the morning of April 10, Grant and Lee met again and had a half-hour conversation on horseback between the lines of the two armies. Lee suggested the need for parole passes to be issued, and Grant agreed. A printing operation to accomplish this task was established in the **Clover Hill Tavern (LCS No. 000049, ASMIS No. APCO00001.011, contributing building)**. Grant said he hoped that Lee would use his influence with the Southern people and soldiers to urge the other field armies to surrender, but Lee demurred, saying that he would have to consult with President Jefferson Davis first. After the meeting, Grant returned briefly to the McLean House and then set out for Burkesville Junction to make his way to Washington, DC. Lee returned to his headquarters and asked Marshall to prepare a farewell message to the troops. The message, which Lee edited and approved, was sent out as General Order No. 9. It praised the courage and devotion of the men and stated that the Army of Northern Virginia had been "compelled to yield to overwhelming numbers and resources." The order ended by stating, "With an unceasing admiration for your constancy and devotion to our Country, and a grateful remembrance of your kind and generous consideration for myself, I bid you an affectionate farewell" (Calkins 2011:185–186; Grant 1990:744; Maurice 2000:278; Nine and Wilson 1989:5).

Grant and Lee had each appointed three officers to meet on April 10 and arrange the details of the surrender. Union generals Gibbon, Griffin, and Merritt met Longstreet, Gordon, and Brigadier General William Pendleton at the Clover Hill Tavern. After some time, Gibbon suggested that the group adjourn to the parlor of the McLean House, where the final surrender agreement was prepared and signed. As Grant had allowed, the final terms included the provision that enlisted men could retain horses that they claimed to own (Calkins 2011:186–187; Gibbon 1928:332; Grant 1990:741).

The Confederate cavalry surrendered on April 10; the artillery, on April 11. The formal Confederate Infantry surrender ceremony was held on the morning of April 12. Union soldiers of the First Division of

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Griffin's Fifth Corps lined the Richmond-Lynchburg Stage Road from the western edge of the Village to a point near the river. Led by Gordon's Second Corps, the Confederates marched between the Union lines to stack their arms and their remaining flags along the road. Brigadier General Joshua Chamberlain was given the honor of commanding the Union forces at the surrender ceremony. Chamberlain ordered his men to "shoulder arms" as a salute of respect. Gordon acknowledged by dipping his sword toward the ground and ordered his men to return the salute as they passed. After surrendering their arms and equipment, the Confederates marched back to their camps. Once they had received their paroles, they started for home. That afternoon Lee left for Richmond. By April 15, all Confederate soldiers had been paroled; by April 17, all Union forces had departed (Calkins 2011:188–190).

After the surrender of the Army of Northern Virginia, the remaining Confederate forces in the field began to follow suit. On April 26, at Bennett's Place near Durham, North Carolina, Johnston surrendered to Sherman; by May 26, Confederate forces in the trans-Mississippi west had given up the fight. The example Robert E. Lee set at Appomattox by surrendering and refusing to fight a guerilla war was repeated wherever Confederate troops remained in the field.

CRITERION B – MILITARY: Lieutenant General Ulysses S. Grant and General Robert E. Lee

The District is nationally significant under Criterion B for its association with the culmination of the military careers of the principal commanders of the opposing forces, Lieutenant General Ulysses S. Grant (1822–1885) and General Robert E. Lee (1807–1870). The actions of the two commanding generals at Appomattox effectively brought the four-year Civil War to a close and ultimately did much to speed the reunification process. The event was pivotal in the careers of both men, marking the moment that put Grant on a trajectory to become President of the United States and ending Lee's illustrious military career.

As the leaders of their respective armies, the events that brought Lee and Grant together at the McLean House on April 9, 1865, were the direct result of each man's decisions and actions during the previous year. After establishing himself as the Union's most successful general by directing the operations in the Western theatre that led to the fall of Vicksburg and control of the Mississippi River in 1863, Grant was appointed General-in-Chief of the Armies of the United States in March 1864. Given complete military control of the Union armies in the field, Grant decided to place General William Sherman in charge of the Mississippi Department and come east to directly oversee the operations of General George Meade's Army of the Potomac. After the bloody engagements of the Overland Campaign, during which the Union suffered close to 50,000 casualties, Grant's reputation as a military strategist was called into question and the end of the fighting seemed a distant hope. Grant reformulated his strategy, moving his entire army south of the James River to attack the Confederate's central railroad hub at Petersburg. From his headquarters at City Point, Grant directed the Union effort from June 1864 to April 1865 to turn Lee out of his entrenchments around Petersburg and Richmond, finally succeeding in breaking the Confederate lines on April 2, 1865, and forcing Lee's capitulation at Appomattox Court House one week later. The news of Lee's surrender after four years of war catapulted Grant to the upper echelon of national heroes and contributed directly to his election as President of the United States three years later (Calkins 2013).

For Lee, Appomattox marked the end of a brilliant military career that earned him the reputation as one of the greatest field generals in history. His audacious tactics, which often went against military maxims, led to the string of impressive Confederate victories in northern Virginia in 1862 and 1863, but he was unsuccessful in taking the fight to the North, suffering major defeats at Antietam and Gettysburg. During

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the Overland Campaign, Lee orchestrated the string of tactical victories against Grant's forces but was unable to force the Union armies to pull back to the North. As Grant moved to invest Petersburg and Richmond, Lee was forced to defend some 30 miles of entrenched lines with a depleted and under-supplied army. Lee soon realized that the hopes of the Confederacy rested with his ability to confound the Federals to the point where public sentiment in the North turned against the war and utilized his only major advantage—the ability to move troops quickly on interior lines to various points north and south of the Appomattox River—toward that end. Although Lee was able to keep the Federals from taking Petersburg throughout 1864 and the winter of 1865, he was forced to match Union advances to the west by extending his defensive lines to the breaking point. After Sherman reached Savannah and started his move to join Grant in early 1865, Lee determined his only choice was to make a last-ditch attempt to break out of Petersburg and link up with Joseph Johnston's army in North Carolina. His first attempt failed when General John B. Gordon's assault during the Battle of Fort Stedman was turned back on March 25, 1865. Events moved swiftly afterwards, as Grant mounted his final campaign to complete the envelopment of Petersburg. On the evening of April 2, Lee evacuated his army from Petersburg and Richmond and, one week later, was forced to surrender at Appomattox Court House (CWSAC 2009).

After the war, Lee, whose home at Arlington, Virginia, had been seized by the federal government and developed as Arlington National Cemetery during the war, returned to his family in Richmond. Later in 1865, he accepted the position of president of Washington College in Lexington, Virginia (now Washington & Lee University), stating that he thought it “the duty of every citizen in the present condition of the Country, to do all in his power to aid in the restoration of peace and harmony.” Lee is credited for instituting new courses of instruction that put the small college on track to become one of the South's most prominent universities. He died in 1870 from a massive stroke (Washington & Lee University 2013).

Grant remained in the U.S. Army after the war and became the first four-star general in American history in 1866. In 1868, he was nominated as the Republican Party's presidential candidate and, despite doing no campaigning, was elected handily over the Democratic challenger, Horatio Seymour. Grant served two difficult terms in the White House that were marred by scandal and the effects of the Radical Republican agenda for Reconstruction. Following his presidency, Grant lost nearly all of his fortune when his partner in a Wall Street brokerage, Ferdinand Ward, bankrupted the firm. He spent the last few years of his life writing his memoirs in hopes they would sell well enough to provide for his family. He finished the work on July 19, 1885, and died four days later (The Ulysses Grant Homepage 2006:n.p.).

CRITERION A – COMMEMORATION AND CONSERVATION

Appomattox Court House NHP is nationally significant under Criterion A in the areas of Conservation and Commemoration as the site of pioneering efforts within the evolving field of historic preservation and as an early example of the use of a restored landscape rather than a monument to commemorate a historic event. Initial efforts to commemorate the site of Lee's surrender to Grant occurred within the context of the national Civil War battlefield preservation and memorialization movement of the 1890s. At the federal level, legislation created the country's first four national military parks, all at Civil War sites, under the management of the War Department. These designations prompted a flood of petitions in the early 1900s that requested Congress to establish additional parks for other deserving American battlefields. To assist in prioritizing the many petitions for creating national military parks and erecting memorials, Congress authorized a study of all the nation's battlefields in 1926, during a period of increased nationalism and prosperity in the United States. The Army War College conducted the study

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over the next several years and devised a classification system for providing Congress with a list of the battlefields ranked according to their relative importance. The study's findings recommended that a national monument, rather than a national military park, be established at Appomattox Court House and that the McLean House be reconstructed. In 1930, Congress passed legislation authorizing the War Department to erect a peace monument on the site.¹²

Intense emotional responses by Northerners and Southerners to the symbolic end of the bitter war influenced the debate that ensued concerning the most appropriate form of commemoration. In contrast to the emphasis placed at other battlefields on battle lines or troop positions, the focus at Appomattox remained on the buildings where historic events occurred, many of which no longer existed. After President Franklin D. Roosevelt transferred all the country's national military parks, including the proposed Appomattox monument, from the War Department to the National Park Service in 1933, the government changed its approach to a full-scale reconstruction of the Village buildings at the time of the surrender. The ambitious, privately sponsored architectural restoration programs underway at Colonial Williamsburg and Greenfield Village, together with the entrance of the Park Service into the arena of historic preservation, resulted in an influx of trained professionals who subsequently shaped the development of the field. The Historic Sites Act of 1935 gave the Park Service the legislative authority to develop historic sites through restoration and reconstruction for the purpose of interpreting them to the public. In preparation for the reconstruction of the McLean House at Appomattox Court House, the Park Service undertook a multidisciplinary study involving archeology, architecture, and history that became a model for future projects. The resulting report, the first collaborative document of its kind, represented a peak of professional competence within the Park Service and served to elevate the importance of historic accuracy in recreating missing features. Despite continuing debate among preservation professionals and delays resulting from World War II and the Korean War, the Park Service completed its Village reconstruction program in 1968 with the assistance of funding provided by the agency-wide Mission 66 program. The thoroughly researched reconstructions at Appomattox Court House exemplified the federal government's significant role in the formulation of a national historic preservation policy.

Civil War Commemoration and the American Battlefield Preservation Movement, 1865–1933

The unprecedented scale of the Civil War dramatically changed and expanded commemorative practices in the United States. Immediately after the war, Americans were occupied primarily with grieving for the immense numbers of dead. Especially in the South, people needed to come to terms with the magnitude of the death, defeat, and devastation that surrounded them. On a practical level, their first concern was collecting the corpses that scattered the landscape and providing them with decent burials. The federal government quickly mobilized to establish a National Cemetery System for handling the Union dead, but the responsibility for the Confederate soldiers fell primarily to local residents or soldiers' families, who buried their dead in cemeteries all across the South in town and churchyard cemeteries. Women's memorial organizations and other concerned groups and individuals assisted greatly with this arduous process. The first Ladies' Memorial Association formed in Winchester, Virginia, in the summer of 1865, and within a year, 70 such organizations existed throughout the South, including one in Appomattox. Although they never organized on a regional or statewide basis, each local association had similar goals of honoring the Confederacy's fallen soldiers by tending and decorating their graves and holding memorial services. During the difficult years of Reconstruction, these groups also aided in the care for,

¹² A national monument preserves at least one nationally significant resource, is generally smaller than a national park, and does not have a wide diversity of attractions. A national park, by contrast, contains a variety of resources and usually encompasses a large land and/or water area (Office of Public Affairs, *The National Parks: Index 2009-2011*, U.S. Department of the Interior, National Park Service, Washington, DC, 2009).

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and repatriation of, Confederate veterans and helped to shift the focus of public memory from grief and defeat to the patriotism of the Confederate leaders (Bodnar 1993; Janney 2008; O'Connell 2008).

The end of the Reconstruction Era (c. 1877) coincided with the centennial anniversary of the American Revolution and kicked off a period of renewed patriotic and nationalistic fervor that helped the entire nation to heal. Throughout the 1870s and 1880s, numerous local celebrations throughout the North and South marked the anniversaries of important battles and events from both the Revolutionary and Civil wars. These activities often consisted of gatherings of remembrance accompanied by speeches, parades, lectures, and battlefield reenactments. The immediacy of the more recent conflict brought with it a heightened sense of sacrifice and contributed to the creation of a new "cult of the veteran." Local and state veterans' groups, as well as larger, more broadly based veterans' associations that emerged after the war in both Northern and Southern states, played a critical role in promoting the memory of the common soldier. These organizations initiated reunions, usually held on the anniversary of a particular battle or on Decoration Day, in communities around the country. By the late 1870s, the Grand Army of the Republic, founded in 1866 in Springfield, Illinois, became the most influential of the Union veterans' associations, which also included the Society for the Army of the Tennessee and the Society for the Army of the Potomac. Confederate veterans organized more slowly, primarily because of the extremely difficult conditions in the postwar South. The Association of the Army of Northern Virginia was established in 1870, five years after the war, followed by others, including the United Confederate Veterans (UCV) established in 1889. The A. P. Hill Camp, Sons of Confederate Veterans (named in honor of a Confederate general) organized in Petersburg in 1886 and became one of the largest and most successful Confederate camps, boasting 275 members at one point. A number of women's patriotic groups—such as the United Daughters of the Confederacy (UDC) founded in 1894 and the Woman's Relief Corps in the North—supported the veterans' organizations. The Virginia division of the UDC formed in 1895, and the Appomattox chapter organized on August 22, 1895, becoming the sixth chapter in the state and the eleventh in the national organization. By 1897, chapters also existed in Lynchburg, Fredericksburg, Richmond, Petersburg, and Winchester, Virginia. The UDC chapters directed most of their efforts toward raising funds for Confederate monuments (Janney 2008; Sellars 2005).

The veterans' groups and their auxiliaries, along with the Ladies' Memorial Associations, contributed greatly to the Civil War battlefield memorialization movement that emerged soon after the fighting ended. As early as 1866, William Dean Howells addressed "The Question of Monuments" in an *Atlantic Monthly* essay, indicating a strong national sentiment to commemorate the historic events. Towns throughout the North and South quickly erected simple monuments to their dead, typically tributes to individual soldiers. Reunion, civic, and commemorative groups soon joined in the movement, creating a huge demand for memorial statues reflected in the growing number of companies mass-producing monuments erected on battlefields, in cemeteries, on state capitol grounds, and in front of courthouses. The first five Civil War battlefields set aside by the federal government in the 1890s are among the most monumented battlefields in the world, containing objects ranging from large monuments to smaller stone markers and troop-position tablets. Gettysburg and Chickamauga have more than 1,400 monuments and Vicksburg more than 1,300 (Jacob 1998; Savage n.d.).

Broad participation in activities such as reunions, encampments, and battle reenactments attended by veterans of both sides of the conflicts engendered public support for commemoration of the Civil War and helped to create a groundswell for the preservation of battlefields at the local and state levels. The Gettysburg Battlefield Memorial Association, formed in 1864 before the war ended, headed the movement. The organization raised more than \$1 million from the states of the North for purchasing lands associated with the Battle of Gettysburg and placing monuments. Gettysburg served as an example for

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other Civil War battlefields, as thousands of veterans backed by their national, state, and local organizations, especially in the 1890s, initiated similar efforts to preserve sites of other major engagements. By that time, the North and South were gradually reconciling their differences in the aftermath of the bitter and bloody war that took the lives of more than 600,000 combatants. Beginning in the early 1880s, Union and Confederate veterans gathered together on battlefields and in cities and towns around the country in what became known as Blue-Gray reunions. These events served to motivate Southerners to join their Northern compatriots in preserving battlefields, uniting them in their common desire to memorialize the glory, heroism, and sacrifice of the soldiers without addressing the moral and ideological differences that originally led to the conflict. The involvement of troops from many states in each of the major battles, plus the impact of each battle on the outcome of the war, made battlefield preservation a matter of importance to the nation as a whole, and ultimately to the national government itself.

By 1890, it became apparent that federal government involvement would be necessary to assemble and manage the vast acreage over which the major Civil War battles were fought. The creation of Yellowstone National Park in 1872, followed by Yosemite, Sequoia, and General Grant national parks in 1890, set a precedent for the establishment of scenic and natural national parks. By the end of the nineteenth century, the generation of political leaders that served during the Civil War and exerted their political might during the last quarter of the nineteenth century generally supported the notion of extending similar status to the historically significant battlefields of the Civil War. With the exception of Grover Cleveland, every United States president from Ulysses S. Grant through William McKinley was a veteran of the Union Army, as were many congressmen. Sectional reconciliation following Reconstruction paved the way for ex-Confederates and their political spokesmen in Washington to join Northern leaders in supporting battlefield preservation.

The inevitable connection between historic battlefields and tourism also shaped preservation endeavors at many Civil War sites, as marketplace threats to the integrity of the landscape increased. Development schemes sought to capitalize on a growing and increasingly mobile class of tourists interested in visiting battlefield sites. The popularity of places like Gettysburg attracted the attention of entrepreneurs, who marketed necessities such as room and board to the crowds, as well as guided tours, battlefield relics, and other souvenirs. Almost immediately, commercial interests and preservationists came into conflict. The most famous case was the Gettysburg Electric Railway Company's proposal to construct a line through the heart of Gettysburg Battlefield in 1893. Both the Gettysburg Memorial Association and the Gettysburg National Park Commission were strongly opposed to the railway and the real estate developments expected to accompany its completion because they threatened vitally important portions of the battlefield. They found support in Congress, which passed a joint resolution in June 1894 that granted the Secretary of War the power to acquire the railway's lands by purchase or condemnation. The Railway Company fought back, filing a lawsuit against the United States that ultimately wound up before the Supreme Court. The court's decision in favor of the government affirmed the constitutionality of acquiring private property by right of eminent domain and had a profound effect on the establishment of a coherent federal policy toward protecting significant battlefield sites as hallowed ground on behalf of the American people (Lee 1973).

Prominent Civil War veterans in Congress, including Representative Dan Sickles, a former Union general, and Senator Wade Hampton, a former Confederate general, sponsored a series of bills that resulted in the creation of the first four national military parks at the battlefield sites of Chickamauga and Chattanooga (1890), Shiloh (1894), Gettysburg (1895), and Vicksburg (1899). The creation of those parks established the precedents for setting aside land and using federal funds to acquire nationally significant

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historic sites for permanent preservation. The military parks were placed under the administration of the War Department. In addition to their preservation as historic sites, they were used by the Army and National Guard as training areas to study the tactics used during the engagements and to conduct military maneuvers. Other notable policy and management decisions resulted from this initial burst of battlefield preservation, including the ideas that battlefield lands should be preserved as nearly as possible in their condition at the time of the battle; that specialized knowledge was required to ascertain, mark, and preserve the main lines of battle and the cultural features of the terrain; and that states were expected to share the costs of preservation, marking, and monumentation (Lee 1973).

These groundbreaking federal designations prompted a flood of petitions to Congress in the late 1890s and early 1900s requesting the creation of additional national military parks. Between 1901 and 1904, legislators introduced 34 bills seeking authorization of 23 historic battlefield reservations. The scope expanded from Civil War sites to cover battlefields from other wars. Concerned about the potential costs of implementation, the House Committee on Military Affairs requested an accounting from the War Department of the amount expended in the creation of the four existing parks. Secretary of War Elihu Root responded that the amount came to more than \$2 million, which was considered exorbitant at the time. He estimated that, if enacted, the proposals before Congress would amount to at least that much again. The committee also struggled with the question of how to evaluate the merit of requests for battlefields and monuments from other wars. As a result, it held a series of hearings to gather information about the matter that ultimately shifted the government's approach to battlefield preservation (Lee 1973).

Army Judge Advocate General George B. Davis (1847–1914) testified as the chief witness before the committee on April 2, 1902. Through his work as Chairman of the Commission for Publication of the *Official Records of the War of the Rebellion* from 1889 to 1895, Davis had studied numerous battlefield sites firsthand and arranged the placement of historical markers at some, including Appomattox Court House. From 1894 to 1896, as President of the Antietam Battlefield Board tasked with marking the lines of battle at Antietam, he gained additional direct experience with the problems involved in marking and preserving historic battlefields. At Antietam, he determined that “to perpetuate this field in the condition in which it was when the battle was fought, it [Congress] should undertake to perpetuate an agricultural community” (quoted in Lee 1973). Thus, rather than acquiring large tracts of land as at Chickamauga and Gettysburg, Davis arranged for the government to acquire, at much less cost, narrow lanes along the lines of battle for the purpose of erecting tablets or monuments with fences on either side to preserve the existing farmland. Based on this experience, he advised the Committee on Military Affairs that “small tracts and markers should be sufficient in almost every pending case” (quoted in U.S. House 1906). Davis testified further before the committee on April 14, 1902, in support of general legislation that would provide for the establishment of a central national military park commission to replace the model of individual battlefield commissions established at the existing parks. He strongly felt that no further special acts should be passed to designate individual battlefields (Lee 1973).

Congress received Davis' testimony, which came to be known as the Antietam Plan, enthusiastically. Committee Chairman Richard Wayne Parker reported back to the House on May 14, 1902: “It is not desirable that all those battlefields should be turned into great military parks, adorned with monuments, and so changed as to be utterly unlike the country at the time of the battle” (quoted in Lee 1973). Parker subsequently introduced legislation to establish a central five-member commission appointed by the President and vested “with the general power to restore, preserve, mark and maintain, in commemoration of the valor of American arms and for historical, professional, and military study, such battlefields, forts, cemeteries, or parts thereof, of the colonial, Revolutionary, Indian or civil wars, or of any wars of the United States, as may hereafter be acquired by the United States, and to establish military parks thereon.”

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The bill included an appropriation of \$200,000 for the work of the commission. Other sections of the bill provided for the protection of historic property; cooperation with states, municipalities, and military societies; the lease-back of lands to former owners on historic preservation conditions; and permission for the commission to survey and investigate other worthy battlefields and make recommendations to Congress about the costs associated with preserving them. This far-reaching historic preservation legislation failed to pass in the House despite strong recommendation by its Committee on Military Affairs. The legislation experienced the same fate each of the five additional times that Parker introduced the bill over the next decade, before discussion finally ceased after Parker left Congress in 1911 (Lee 1973).

The unlikely prospects for the bill, along with the events surrounding U.S. involvement in World War I, stalled further significant action in creating the national military park system. As a consequence of Parker's proposal, Congress suspended action on special acts related to battlefield commemoration and preservation for many years, passing only five of the many introduced in the first quarter of the twentieth century. These were on a very limited basis but notably included engagements from wars other than the Civil War and monuments at the Revolutionary War King's Mountain Battlefield in South Carolina and the War of 1812 New Orleans Battlefield. The only additional national military park established during the period was the small 125-acre Guilford Court House National Military Park, created in 1917 to commemorate the largest and most hotly contested battle of the Revolutionary War's Southern Campaign (Lee 1973).

The victorious conclusion of World War I sparked a new era of nationalism and patriotism in the United States. During the prosperous decade of the 1920s, better pay, more vacation time, and increased mobility offered by the automobile combined to increase visits to, and appreciation for, national parks and historical sites. Concern also increased for the preservation of important natural and historic resources threatened by industrial, commercial, and residential expansion. These factors helped to revive the battlefield preservation movement, and Congress faced a backlog of potential preservation projects. Initially, legislators enacted a handful of special bills concerning studies of individual battlefield sites under consideration, including Chalmette (1921), Yorktown (1923), Fredericksburg (1924), Petersburg (1925), and Appomattox (1926). In May 1926, Noble J. Johnson, Chairman of the House Committee on Military Affairs, reported that Congress was then considering 28 bills relating to military battlefields and monuments. Fourteen of the bills called for the establishment of national military parks with appropriations amounting to nearly \$6 million, which led the committee to recommend strongly that a provision be made to conduct a national study of all battlefields to assist Congress in making informed decisions on how to act on these bills. H.R. 11613, enacted as Public Law No. 372 on June 11, 1926, authorized this study and placed the responsibility for completing the investigation under the Secretary of War (Lee 1973).

An extensive memorandum on the subject of battlefield preservation submitted by Lieutenant Colonel C. A. Bach of the Army War College in 1925 laid out the basic framework for the War Department's study of battlefields conducted from 1926 to 1932. The memorandum reviewed past actions of Congress relative to battlefields, established a system for classifying battles according to their importance, and proposed appropriate preservation actions corresponding to the relative importance of each class. Bach devised a four-tiered classification system based on past Congressional actions. Class I battlefields were those of exceptional political and military importance that had far-reaching effect on the outcome of the war during which they were fought. These battlefields were recommended as being worthy of preservation for detailed military and historical study and therefore were established as national military parks. Class II battlefields were of sufficient importance to warrant the designation of their sites as

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national monuments. This class was further subdivided into Class IIa battles (those of great military and historical interest that were worthy of locating and indicating the battle lines of the forces engaged by a series of markers or tablets, but not necessarily by memorial monuments) and Class IIb battles (those of sufficient historical interest to be worthy of some form of commemorative monument, tablet, or other marker to indicate their location). Bach's memorandum also included a preliminary ranking of battles fought on American soil during the various wars. By his conservative evaluation, he found only five that merited Class I distinction: the existing national military parks of Gettysburg, Chickamauga and Chattanooga, and Vicksburg, and two Revolutionary War battlefields—Saratoga and Yorktown. (He also acknowledged that Congress had placed Shiloh in this category.) The following were ranked as Class IIa battlefields: the New Orleans Battlefield and 15 Civil War battlefields, among them Manassas, Fort Donelson, Fredericksburg, Chancellorsville, Spotsylvania Courthouse, and the Wilderness. An additional 64 battlefields, including Appomattox Court House, representing all wars were placed in Class IIb (Lee 1973).

The responsibilities involved in the War Department study were spread out over several groups. The Historical Section of the Army War College conducted the historical research; the districts of the Army Corps of Engineers in which the battlefields were located carried out field investigations; and the Army's Quartermaster General directed any work performed through appropriations made by Congress to commemorate the battlefields. The two annual reports of the Secretary of War on the progress of the survey delivered in 1928 and 1929 dealt with most significant battlefields that had yet to be addressed by Congress. These included the Class I battlefields of Saratoga and Yorktown, as well as nine Class IIa battlefields, including Manassas, Chalmette (Battle of New Orleans), and Richmond. They also included recommendations for monuments at 50 of the Class IIb battlefields that were further subdivided relative to the cost of the proposed monuments, which ranged from a low of \$2,500 for the Civil War Balls Bluff Battlefield to a high of \$100,000 for Appomattox (Lee 1973).

While the study was underway, Congress passed a series of six bills creating four new military parks, one new national park, and one battlefields memorial. In 1926, Moores Creek National Military Park (Revolutionary War) in North Carolina and Petersburg National Military Park (Civil War) in Virginia were established, followed by the Fredericksburg and Spotsylvania County Battlefields Memorial (1927, Civil War) in Virginia (which specifically cited General Davis' Antietam Plan); Stones River National Military Park (1927, Civil War) and Fort Donelson National Park (1928, Civil War) in Tennessee; and King's Mountain National Military Park (1931, Revolutionary War) in South Carolina. Following an entirely different path, Yorktown Battlefield was designated a national historical reservation as part of the establishment of Colonial National Monument in 1930 (Lee 1973).

In 1930, Congress also took steps to address the wide range of monuments proposed by the study for Class IIb battlefields by drafting a huge omnibus bill that listed each project and its anticipated appropriation. The total came to \$624,400. During the discussion of the bill, the Historical Section of the Army War College provided estimates that placed the cost of implementing the entire program envisioned by the 1926 act at \$20 million. This daunting figure, combined with the growing economic calamity that followed the crash of the stock market in October 1929, caused the tabling of the omnibus bill after it was introduced on April 8, 1930. Congress continued, however, to make small appropriations for individual battlefield preservation efforts, authorizing monuments for six sites: the Civil War battlefields of Brices Cross Roads (1929), Tupelo (1929), Monocacy (1929), and Appomattox (1930); the Revolutionary War Battle of Cowpens (1929); and the French and Indian War Fort Necessity (1931). The Fort Necessity Monument constituted the last appropriation for battlefield commemoration or preservation during the period when the War Department administered the nation's historic battlefield system (Lee 1973).

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Commemorating Appomattox Court House, 1866–1930

As at most other Civil War battle sites, Appomattox residents came together soon after the war ended to provide appropriate burial arrangements for their Confederate dead. The Appomattox Ladies' Memorial Association (LMA) formed on May 18, 1866, to remove the bodies from their temporary graves on the battlefield and place them in a single cemetery.¹³ The group of women included Jennie Peers, Ella Flood, and other wives and daughters of many of the Village's civic leaders. John Sears donated a fraction of an acre at the end of his farm lane (Sears Lane), just west of where it intersected with the Richmond-Lynchburg Stage Road, to the group, and Francis Meeks cleared the lot in August. The women held a benefit lecture to raise funds to hire carpenters to build coffins. On November 30, 1866, they reburied 18 Confederate soldiers in a single row of graves at the **Confederate Cemetery (LCS No. none, contributing site)**. The LMA arranged simple wood boards (later replaced by marble slabs) to mark the eight identified bodies and left the ten unidentified ones unmarked. The women also had a plank fence installed to keep livestock out of the burial ground. They continued to hold annual spring meetings through 1870 and decorated the graves each May. After 1895, the Appomattox chapter of the UDC assumed ownership of the cemetery. Improvements they added throughout the twentieth century included a wrought-iron perimeter fence, brick walkways, two flagpoles, a book-shaped stone podium, stone benches, ornamental shrubs, and a parking lot and walkway (Marvel 2000:293–295).

Appomattox Court House played a key role in the narrative that accompanied the national reconciliation sentiment of the 1880s and 1890s. As noted previously, this narrative largely downplayed the contentious differences between the North and South that had led to the war, as well as the burdensome consequences of Reconstruction in the South. At the same time, it emphasized the goodwill and common valor on display at Appomattox through romantic and nostalgic retellings of the surrender story by participants and observers from both sides. One historian attributes the so-called "Myth of Appomattox" to "politicians in search of regional coalitions [who] were starting to pretend that these sentiments had flourished the instant Lee departed from McLean's dooryard" (Marvel 2000:307). Contemporary political rhetoric and published memoirs alike included descriptions of the magnanimity of the Union soldiers toward their Confederate compatriots, the generous terms of the surrender, and the mutual respect among those present. Confederate general John B. Gordon wrote in the early 1900s about how the "veterans in blue gave a soldierly salute to those vanquished heroes—a token of respect from Americans to Americans" (quoted in Janney 2011:95). This version of the surrender story fit easily into the Lost Cause construct espoused by many Southerners as a way to reframe the sacrifices made during the war. Appomattox, the story and the village, became a powerful symbol of a country reunited rather than the defeat of one group by another (Janney 2011:93–95; Marvel 2000:307–308).

As general interest in Civil War sites increased, several residents and entrepreneurs sought to capitalize on the tourism possibilities at Appomattox. Although evidence of the historic events had disappeared from many of the Village's significant sites within a year of the surrender, a map of the area published in 1866 identified several of the sites with labels and border engravings: Lee's headquarters "near Conner's House," Grant's headquarters "near Coleman's House," the "place where the Arms were stacked," the "famous apple tree, ... near Hix's house, where the first meeting between the Commanders was generally, but incorrectly, supposed to have taken place," and McLean's House, where "the articles of capitulation

¹³ The Union soldiers who died at Appomattox Court House were buried at Poplar Grove National Cemetery in Petersburg. A single unidentified Union soldier was later buried at the Confederate Cemetery in Appomattox.

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were signed” (Henderson & Co. 1866).¹⁴ Local residents later erected crude wooden signs at these and other sites of “real or imagined” historic events. However, the small village remained relatively remote from major thoroughfares, accessible only via rough country roads, and locating the sites remained difficult even if visitors reached the Village. Virginia Representative Henry St. George Tucker introduced a bill in the 1889–1890 session of Congress (H.R. 8988) to construct a road from Appomattox Station to the Village, but the bill never made it out of committee. County clerk George T. Peers, who resided at the Peers House within the current District, collaborated c. 1890 with Joseph Burn, a New York watchmaker, to create a map, a diorama, measurements, and drawings of the Village site in hopes of promoting tourism (Janney 2011:93; Marvel 2000:309–310; Schroeder and Frantel 2009:41).¹⁵

About the same time, Samuel S. Burdette, a Washington, DC, lawyer and former Congressman and commander-in-chief of the General Army of the Republic (GAR), formed the Appomattox Land Company, which acquired 1,400 acres of land in the Village. Burdette intended to create a “National Camp-Ground for reunion and other military exercises and purposes” and develop the remaining property into 9,000 building lots (Appomattox Land Company 1890:7–8). Myron E. Dunlap of Niagara Falls, New York, another former Union officer involved with the Appomattox Land Company, purchased the McLean House in 1891 for \$10,000. After the failure of Burdette’s campground proposal and the destruction of the courthouse in an 1892 fire, Dunlap planned to move the house to Washington, DC, where it would be on permanent display. He hired a local construction firm, C. W. Hancock and Sons, to prepare detailed measured drawings of the house before dismantling it, marking each floorboard, molding, and brick as they were packed for shipping. Unfortunately, Dunlap’s new development company, the Appomattox Land and Improvement Company, filed for bankruptcy after the financial panic of 1893, and the project remained unfinished with the components of the dismantled McLean House still on the original site. Residents subsequently decided to move the county seat about three miles west to Appomattox Station, and the village of Appomattox Court House entered a period of gradual decline (Janney 2011:93; Marvel 2000:309–310; Schroeder and Frantel 2009:41).

The first federal recognition of the Village’s significance occurred at this point, however, in conjunction with the War Department’s multi-year effort to publish the official records of the Civil War. While working on the records pertaining to the Appomattox Campaign in 1892, General Davis sent two employees to Appomattox Court House to verify the maps. When the commissioners discovered the courthouse burned, the McLean House in pieces, and Grant’s headquarters gone, they “regretted that steps had not been taken to prevent this act of vandalism, and measures taken to have the McLean House made a sort of memorial hall in perpetuity” (*New York Times* 1893). Davis agreed that these and other important sites in the Village should be marked with tablets similar to those already installed at Gettysburg and Chickamauga “while there were persons living who could verify the understanding of such witnesses as had been spoken with” (*New York Times* 1893). Secretary of War Daniel S. Lamont authorized the project, and in 1893 the War Department erected cast-iron tablets at 12 locations, of which four remain extant: **Lee’s Headquarters Tablet (LCS No. 080306, contributing object)** marks the site where Lee established his headquarters from April 8–12, 1865; the **Apple Tree Tablet (LCS No. 080307, contributing object)** marks the site where Lee purportedly awaited the return of the truce flag sent by him to Grant on the morning of April 9, 1865; the **Grant & Lee Meeting Tablet (LCS No. 080308, contributing object)** marks the site where Grant and Lee met for the last time on April 10, 1865; and the **Last Shot Fired Tablet (LCS No. 080309, contributing object)** marks the site of the last shot fired by

¹⁴ Generals who occupied the McLean House during the surrender proceedings cleared it of potential souvenirs. Soldiers cut branches from the apple tree as souvenirs, eventually removing even the stump and roots (*New York Times* 1893; Robinson & Associates, Inc. 2002).

¹⁵ The NPS acquired the diorama c. 1941 and maintains it as part of the collections.

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the Army of Northern Virginia on April 9, 1865.¹⁶ The tablets were all raised about three feet above the ground on iron posts and slanted slightly toward the light to improve readability. Smaller guideposts were also installed along the highway to direct visitors to those markers located at small distances from the road. The War Department produced more than 200 of these types of tablets during the 1890s, placing them on battlefield sites at Gettysburg, Chickamauga and Chattanooga, Shiloh, and Antietam (Borch 2010; Lee 1973; Marvel 2000:310–311; *New York Times* 1893).

Local promoters publicized the marker project in several major newspapers, hoping to encourage visitation. The *New York Times* reported, “Major Davis believes that the site of the McLean House should be marked with a permanent monument” and a “sculptor in the employment of Van Amringe & Co. ... is understood to be engaged in developing a design which provides for a pyramidal base supporting a fine figure of Peace, contemplated below by a figure of History, marking a period after the inscription: ‘Appomattox, April 9, 1865.’” In the newspaper’s opinion, “There is little doubt that ... the Congress could be induced to provide for the purchase of such a monument” (*New York Times* 1893). Over the next several years, Congress did consider various bills and resolutions associated with the commemoration of Appomattox Court House in the form of a peace monument and/or a national park. Following the successful establishment of national military parks at other Civil War battlefields, Union and Confederate veterans jointly endorsed proposals for a national park at Appomattox. Local residents formed the Appomattox National Park Association in February 1895 to organize the movement in favor of park legislation. Richmond’s R. E. Lee Camp of Confederate Veterans took up the cause, and the Union Veteran League (UVL) passed a resolution recommending the site as a national park and asked the GAR to join the effort. In December 1896, Major George Augustus Armes (1844–1919), a retired Union Army officer from Virginia, negotiated the purchase of a substantial amount of land in Appomattox from Burdette and other property owners in the area. After a visit to the Village in May 1897, Armes noted, “The more I see of this country the more I like it. It will eventually make a grand national park, and the Government should own it” (Armes 1900:697). He and several other GAR officers drew up a resolution, unanimously adopted in August 1897, recommending that the GAR purchase Appomattox for a national park (Armes 1900:690–697; Janney 2011:96; U.S. Historical Documents Institute 1970; *Washington Post* 1895a).

Despite the increasing groundswell of support for federal involvement at Appomattox, none of the bills before Congress passed at this time. The *Washington Post* offered an indication of the obstacles the park supporters faced: “It is true, indeed, that the list of memorial parks would be incomplete without Appomattox, and no doubt all objections to the project will be ruled out on a point of order; albeit something of a feeling has been engendered in Congress that there should be some limit set to further expenditures by the government in these commemorative directions” (*Washington Post* 1895b). Although a Senate committee reported favorably on an 1896 bill to procure a site and erect a peace monument at Appomattox, the full Senate never voted on it. Two years later, the GAR, UCV, and CVA endorsed another bill to establish a national park and erect a peace monument, with an associated appropriation of \$100,000. General Michael Griffin, a member of the House Military Affairs Committee, noted in an interview with the *Washington Post* that the country would not be able to fund all of the large appropriations required by such bills at that time. He felt that the bill for a national park at Vicksburg

¹⁶ No records have been found of the federal government’s purchase of property for this purpose; it is assumed that the tablets were erected on private or city-owned property, which may explain why many of them have disappeared. The tablets at the following sites are no longer extant: Grant’s headquarters; the McLean House; the courthouse; the left and right flanks of the Union army receiving the surrender of arms on April 11, 1865; the Union outposts on April 9, 1865; the Confederate outposts on April 9, 1865; and Lee’s alleged reading of his farewell order to the Army on April 10, 1865.

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would be most likely to pass soon but believed other battlefields would be preserved in the future. When the United States declared war against Spain on April 25, 1898, diverting the government's attention away from domestic preservation matters, the Appomattox bill may have remained in committee, along with those for other Civil War battlefields at Petersburg and Vicksburg (Armes 1900:690-705; U.S. Senate 1896; *Washington Post* 1898a, 1898b).

Support for a national park at Appomattox remained strong in 1902, when General Davis presented his critical testimony concerning national military parks before the House Military Affairs Committee. Davis and Secretary of War Root submitted specific recommendations to Congress regarding bills introduced that year by Virginia Representative Henry D. Flood (1865-1921), an Appomattox resident and son of a Confederate major in Lee's army, and Senator Matthew S. Quay of Pennsylvania for a 2,500-acre national military park and a peace monument at Appomattox Court House. Davis and Root both felt that a military park at the site would not be appropriate because, in their opinion, no general engagement suitable for studying military tactics occurred at Appomattox Court House. Davis stated that an area not exceeding 150 acres, rather than the proposed 2,500, would be sufficient "for the purpose of marking the very important events which took place there" (quoted in U.S. House 1906:14). He used the tablets he had installed at Appomattox as an example of the type of marking that he considered best for most historic battlefield areas. Root approved of the peace monument proposal, while Davis did not weigh in on that aspect. Both men considered the site of Lee's surrender to be a historically significant event that would warrant the reconstruction of the dismantled McLean House in commemoration. Davis noted that if the government were to take hold of the McLean House site, "they would, of course, have to re-erect a house on this site. The brick is all there" (quoted in U.S. House 1906:22). Ultimately, the Committee recommended that both the peace monument and national park proposals for Appomattox be postponed indefinitely. Representative Flood continued to introduce legislation in subsequent sessions of Congress related to the commemoration of Appomattox, including a proposal to purchase the McLean property and adjacent lots. However, his efforts, along with those related to most other battlefields, went nowhere while the government unsuccessfully attempted to create a central military park commission and later focused on American involvement in World War I (U.S. House 1906; U.S. Senate 1902).

Many Southern legislators actively supported the proposals for the preservation and commemoration of Appomattox, despite the potential for ambivalence in the South toward the site of their defeat. The spirit of reconciliation remained evident at Appomattox on April 9, 1905, the 40th anniversary of the surrender. The governors of both Virginia and North Carolina presided that day over a crowd numbering 3,000 at the dedication of the **North Carolina Monument (LCS No. 007792, contributing object)**, the **North Carolina Tablet No. 1 – West (LCS No. 007792, contributing object)**, and the **North Carolina Tablet No. 2 – East (LCS No. 007792, contributing object)**. Although the event was not without some controversy, it represented cooperation between North and South, as memorials celebrating the high tide of Confederate military advances at Appomattox and the symbolic point of the end of the Southern cause were placed on land gifted from a Northern veteran to the South.¹⁷ Major Armes, the retired Union officer who had not succeeded in transferring his Appomattox lands to the federal government, donated three lots on the battlefield to Henry A. London (1846-1918), a North Carolina attorney and newspaper editor who

¹⁷ The Appomattox chapter of the United Confederate Veterans voted not to attend the ceremony because the members disputed North Carolina's claim, defended by London in a 1904 essay and inscribed on the monument, to have been the "First at Bethel, Farthest to the Front at Gettysburg and Chickamauga, and Last at Appomattox." The North Carolina legislature also appointed commissions and appropriated funds in 1905 for the erection of tablets at Bethel, Virginia, where the first Confederate soldier (a private soldier from North Carolina) was killed in battle and at Chickamauga, Georgia, where the North Carolina troops made the farthest advance, to commemorate the rest of the saying (Marvel 2000:312; Womack, Gulley, and Rodman 1905:20).

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had served in the Confederate Army at Appomattox as courier to Robert E. Lee, for the purpose of placing permanent memorials at the three sites. North Carolina passed legislation in early 1905 authorizing the state's governor to accept the three parcels of land from London and to appoint five special commissioners every four years to be responsible for erecting monuments on them. The legislation also appropriated a maximum of \$1,000 to pay for the monument marking the spot from which a North Carolina infantry unit delivered its last volley. A commission composed of London, Colonel E. J. Holt, Captain W. T. Jenkins, Cyrus B. Watson, and A. D. McGill oversaw the installation of a single large monument at the last volley site and two smaller stone tablets marking the site of the last capture of a Union battery by a North Carolina cavalry brigade and the site where 25 men from the Fourth and Fourteenth North Carolina regiments made the last resistance while the rest of Gordon's force withdrew, surrendering the Village to Northern troops and ending the fighting at Appomattox Court House. The effort apparently provided some impetus to local residents, including the local UDC chapter, to erect a monument to Confederate soldiers at the new courthouse in Appomattox Station (outside the District), dedicated the following June (*Confederate Veteran* 1905:112; Marvel 2000:311–313; Powell 1991:85–86; Womack, Gulley, and Rodman 1905:19–20).

Over the next two decades, the village of Appomattox Court House gradually faded into relative obscurity and neglect. Several years after the dedication of North Carolina's monuments, the only state-sponsored markers ever placed on the Appomattox battlefields, a private individual chose to commemorate his personal association with the area. In 1912, Charles Hunter Raine (1857–1922) of Memphis, Tennessee, erected a monumental obelisk at the **Raine Cemetery (LCS No. 288878, contributing site)** in Appomattox Court House, in memory of the nine known Raine family members buried there between 1850 and 1863. Raine's father, Charles James Raine, served as a captain in the Lee Battery of Virginia Artillery and was killed in action on November 30, 1863, at the Battle of Mine Run, east of Culpeper, Virginia. In the nineteenth century, the Raine family owned much of the land that became Appomattox County, and John Raine at one time operated a tavern on the McLean House property in the Village.

More than ten years passed before any additional commemorative activity occurred at the site of the old Appomattox Courthouse. Dissatisfied with Virginia's progress in appropriately marking and commemorating its Civil War history, the Richmond Rotary Club embarked on a project in the spring of 1924 to identify and mark key Civil War sites. A group of members formed the Battlefield Markers Association and over the next three years erected 59 roadside markers in the Richmond area. Robert E. Lee's eminent biographer, Douglas Southall Freeman, wrote the inscriptions for most of the cast-iron tablets, which were set at an angle on granite bases so as to be read easily from an automobile. Inspired by the Richmond association's success, a group of Confederate veterans led by Col. C. B. Linney and Col. R. M. Colvin organized the Battlefield Markers Association, Western Division, at Charlottesville on September 14, 1925. The group raised money for inscribed tablets to be placed on bases provided by various other organizations such as the UDC, the Daughters of the American Revolution, and Memorial Associations. In 1925 and 1926, members of these groups installed 25 markers from Bull Run to Appomattox and throughout the Shenandoah Valley. Similar in design to the so-called Freeman Markers in Richmond, the slightly larger Western Division markers consisted of heavy bronze tablets on white granite block bases with tops inclined toward the reader. The Appomattox chapter of the UDC furnished the base for the tablet of the **Battlefield Markers Association/United Daughters of the Confederacy Marker (LCS No. none, contributing object)** installed originally at the site of the old Appomattox courthouse. When the National Park Service began to prepare for reconstruction of the courthouse in

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1963, the UDC had the marker moved to its current site near the Confederate Cemetery (Grose et al. 2001:30; RBA 2010).¹⁸

The installation of the courthouse marker at Appomattox coincided with the nationwide renewal of interest in battlefield preservation. Local residents revived their efforts to push for federal recognition of Appomattox Court House in the late 1920s, again hoping to boost tourism to the area. The Lynchburg chamber of commerce appointed a committee in 1925 composed of a local minister, the publisher of the town newspaper, and state senator S. L. Ferguson, a lifelong friend of the late Congressman Flood who also owned land within the present historic district at the time. The group hoped to generate support for a national park and village restoration. Other leading local advocates for the park included Flood's brother Joel West Flood (1894–1964), the Commonwealth attorney for Appomattox County from 1919 to 1932, and Eula May Burke (1888–1953), an active UDC member. At the federal level, progress continued as Congress attempted to define a national preservation policy for military sites. On the same day that Representative Johnson introduced national battlefield study legislation, February 25, 1926, Congress passed a bill authorizing and providing \$3,000 for a three-member commission to inspect “the battle fields and surrender grounds in and around old Appomattox Court House, Virginia” to “ascertain the feasibility of preserving and marking for historical and professional military study” (U.S. Secretary of State 1927:9). In reporting its recommendation on the bill, the Senate Committee on Military Affairs noted, “This survey would continue a plan for marking historical points of interest in Virginia which has been under way for some time and which has resulted in an inspection of battle fields at the siege of Petersburg, and in and around Fredericksburg and Spotsylvania Court House, Va” (U.S. Senate 1926; Marvel 2000:317; U.S. Secretary of State 1927:9; *Washington Post* 1926).

The 1928 report produced for the War Department battlefield study recommended the establishment of a national monument at Appomattox rather than a national military park, in line with the department's earlier findings. It proposed a \$100,000 appropriation for the monument, the highest amount recommended for such sites. Virginia Congressman Tucker introduced a joint resolution in 1929 for a three-member commission to report on the War Department's recommendation. The commission included a member of the Army Corps, a Union veteran, and a Confederate veteran. The local park committee attempted to persuade the men to suggest park designation, but the commission endorsed the War Department's position and proposed that an obelisk be placed on the empty courthouse site. The following year, although Congress tabled the omnibus bill addressing all the monuments proposed for Class IIB battlefields, they passed separate legislation related to Appomattox, again introduced by Tucker, calling for the War Department to acquire one acre of land at the old courthouse site through donation, fence it, and erect a monument for a total of \$100,000. President Hoover signed the bill authorizing a monument at Appomattox Court House on June 18, 1930 (Gurney 1955:9–10; Lee 1973; U.S. Secretary of State 1931:777).

A Decade of Debate, 1930–1940

The 1930 authorizing legislation finally provided federal support for commemorative efforts at Appomattox, but it marked only the beginning of a complex debate over the most suitable method of remembering Lee's surrender and acknowledging the end of the Civil War. At first, the War Department made progress, conducting surveys of the area in 1930 and 1931 in preparation for construction of a

¹⁸ The Battlefield Markers Associations may have provided the impetus for the state of Virginia to implement its own historical marker program in 1927. The Virginia Conservation & Development Commission installed two historical highway markers along Highway 460 in 1929 directing tourists to the sites of “The Last Fight” and the “Surrender at Appomattox” located two miles north (VA DHR 2014).

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monument. At the same time, the Virginia State Department of Highways regraded and resurfaced Highway 24 to improve access to the Village. The highway project included the construction of a memorial bridge (VDOT Structure No. 1002, VDHR Inventory No. 006-0048) carrying the road across the Appomattox River on the approach to the site from the east.¹⁹ The state added a wayside, or picnic area, along both sides of the highway near the bridge c. 1938 (Miller, Clark, and Grimes 2001:41).

The first complication arose when the Senate appropriated the initial funds to obtain a design for the monument in 1931. Congress attached a stipulation to the appropriation that the plan and design of the monument be subject to the approval of the federal Commission of Fine Arts (CFA), an agency established in 1910 to provide the government with expert advice on matters of design and aesthetics. On September 26, 1931, Brigadier General L. H. Bash of the War Department, Representative Tucker, and Virginia Governor John Garland Pollard joined five members of the CFA, including Chairman Charles Moore, on a visit to the site.²⁰ The CFA subsequently recommended the following to the War Department:

The rebuilding of the McLean House according to the extant plans should be the foundation of the memorial at Appomattox. If this is not done speculators certainly will seize the opportunity to reproduce the house; it will be exhibited under private control and will become the most important feature of Appomattox. The Commission feels that it will be a mistake to erect at Appomattox a Government Monument such as those at Jamestown and at Yorktown, both of which are obsolete architecturally and lack interest to the public (Moore to Bash, October 6, 1931, quoted in Hosmer 1981:621).

According to the local newspaper's report on the visit, residents of the area would also have liked to see a restored Village in addition to the planned monument. General Bash agreed that a reconstruction of the McLean House would be appropriate, but he intended to fulfill his Congressional mandate to erect a monument at the site without precluding potential future reconstruction efforts by the federal government. To that end, he announced a national design competition for the monument in November to be administered by a commission of five architects and sculptors. The following March, the commission (composed of William C. Noland, H. Van Buren Magonigle, Alexander B. Trowbridge, Charles Keck, and Horace W. Peaslee) selected from 186 entries a design by architects Harry Sternfield and J. Roy Carroll Jr. and sculptor Gaetano Cecere, all from Philadelphia. The winning design, estimated to cost \$92,000, consisted of two granite or marble pylons, joined with bands of laurel at the top, rising from a base symbolizing the nation's founding, with Grant's likeness on one side and Lee's on the other. Secretary of War Patrick J. Hurley announced the selection without first consulting the CFA, and Moore

¹⁹ The bridge is located on state property outside the authorized boundary of the NHP and the NR historic district defined in this nomination. The Historic Structures Task Group of the Virginia Department of Transportation (VDOT) recommended this bridge as eligible for listing in the National Register of Historic Places in November 1995, and the Virginia Department of Historic Resources (VDHR) and VDOT's Commissioner confirmed its eligibility by agreement dated October 23, 1997. The bridge was placed on the Virginia Landmarks Register on June 1, 2005 and listed on the National Register of Historic Places on July 27, 2005. (Miller, Clark, and Grimes 2001:41).

²⁰ At this time, Moore was also embroiled in a complicated reconstruction project at the site of George Washington's birthplace in eastern Virginia, the first historic site in the eastern United States added to the National Park System. Moore served as Vice President of the Wakefield Association that initiated the project to construct on War Department property a memorial replica of the house in which Washington was born. Numerous disagreements arose between the various members of the Wakefield Association and between the Association and the War Department over the project's historical accuracy. By 1931, the National Park Service had taken over the nearly completed Memorial House project, which became a flashpoint in future Park Service debates over reconstruction policy (Kline, Olausen, and Heitert 2012).

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ultimately refused to approve what he considered to be “simply an incongruous obstruction on a public highway; and therefore a waste of public money” (Moore to Bash, October 13, 1932, quoted in Hosmer 1981:622). Thus, the project entered a state of limbo, awaiting final approval and the availability of funds for construction (Gurney 1955:11–13; Hosmer 1981:620–626; Janney 2011:97,102–104; *New York Times* 1932; U.S. Senate 1931:387).

While the CFA objected to the type and design of the proposed monument, other critics directed more intense dissent toward its symbolism and meaning. Following the announcement of the winning design, C. A. DeSaussure, the commander-in-chief of the United Confederate Veterans (UCV), began corresponding with Bash in April 1932 to voice his fierce opposition to a single, federally sponsored monument at the surrender grounds commemorating the South’s “realization of blasted hope, sacrifice for naught, and ... humiliation and failure” (quoted in Janney 2011:106). Although he would approve of a military park at Appomattox or regimental monuments to honor those who fought there, he considered any celebration of Lee’s surrender to Grant to be an insult to the Confederacy. DeSaussure’s position reflected that of many Southern organizations. By the 1930s, the Myth of Appomattox had faded in the eyes of some Confederate sympathizers, who viewed any monument to both Grant and Lee as commemorating not peace but the subjugation of the South during Reconstruction. Notably, while so-called “peace monuments” had been erected at a few places (including the state-sponsored 1923 Unity Monument at the site of General Joseph E. Johnston’s surrender to General William T. Sherman in North Carolina), no efforts to create joint Grant-Lee monuments had yet succeeded. Reconciliationist sentiment in general disappeared from the national dialogue regarding the Civil War as the twentieth century progressed. The annual Blue-Gray reunions that had fostered fraternity between Union and Confederate veterans and their heirs subsided as many of those who had fought in and lived through the war died. Simultaneously, a new generation of white Southerners attempted to reframe the narratives associated with the war by focusing on Reconstruction’s damaging legacy. The 1915 release of the popular and controversial film *Birth of a Nation*, based on D. W. Griffith’s novel *The Clansman*, contributed to the widening divide between North and South views regarding the causes of the war and its aftermath, as pieces of the story that had long been ignored or dismissed resurfaced with renewed emotion. Appomattox in particular invited tension and conflict with respect to commemoration. While other Civil War battle sites could continue to appeal to the common sacrifices of the soldiers and their families, Appomattox represented to many in the South the defeat of the Confederate cause rather than the beginning of peace. DeSaussure spoke for many of his compatriots when he proposed instead the commemoration of the end of the “carpet bag rule and bayonet oppression” of Reconstruction (DeSaussure to Bash, May 26, 1932, quoted in Janney 2011:107; Hosmer 1981; Janney 2011:97–101, 104–107).

Some of the most virulent criticism of the Appomattox monument proposal came from vocal groups of white Southern women in organizations like the UDC. Many of these women had spearheaded movements to erect monuments to Confederate veterans throughout the region but had never joined fully in the spirit of sectional reconciliation, advocating instead for commemoration of the Confederacy’s past glories. In May 1932, Mary Davidson Carter, a UDC member from Upperville, Virginia, sent a letter to General Bash describing Appomattox as “the place where Constitutional Government and Lee were crucified in 1865” and lambasting the government for undertaking the costly monument project during the Depression (quoted in Janney 2011:91). Claudia M. Hagy, UDC publicity chairman, wrote in the August issue of the *Confederate Veteran* of how “the very name of Appomattox must forever bring a stab of pain to the heart of a Southerner” (quoted in Janney 2011:107). The following month, Carter wrote “An Open Letter to the Daughters of the Confederacy,” exhorting them to “show the country and the world, that no monument that insults the name of our great Confederate leader shall be erected on Virginia soil” (quoted

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in Janney 2011:110). Other UDC chapters, and members of other organizations such as the Confederate Southern Memorial Association (CSMA), joined her protests. At a meeting of UCV, SCV, UDC, and CSMA members in Atlanta in September 1933, the commander-in-chief of the SCV claimed the monument would undoubtedly “memorialize the subjugation of the South” and rekindle tensions between the North and South (quoted in Janney 2011:114).

General Bash’s responses to the monument’s opponents reiterated his belief that the monument was intended to rise above sectional divisiveness and commemorate “the ideals of both sides” (quoted in Janney 2011:105). He also reminded them that the plan for the monument had originated with Congressional representatives from the state of Virginia and that the chairman of the jury of architects that selected the design was a Virginian and the son of a Confederate soldier. Not all southerners disagreed with Bash. Virginius Dabney, a prominent Virginia journalist and historian, published editorials in various newspapers in the North and South maintaining that the monument was entirely inoffensive to either side, that the views of the Confederate women’s organizations did not represent those of most Virginians, and agreeing that the construction of a monument at Appomattox would serve to heal any remaining division. The local Appomattox community, in particular, supported the government’s plan, seeing it as a necessary boost to the area’s depressed economy. The Appomattox UDC chapter voted to oppose the resolution put before the state UDC to record opposition to the monument. The local newspaper editor wrote that the town could embody both the “unsullied character” of Lee and the “character in victory of U.S. Grant” and should market itself as the place “where a people chose peace and brotherhood rather than strife and hatred” (quoted in Janney 2011:114). Residents also continued to lament the condition of the dismantled McLean House, which many thought would be a more appealing symbol of the Village’s historic significance to tourists than a lone monument. The newspaper repeatedly urged the local UDC and others to raise funds to restore the Village’s lost buildings (Gurney 1955:13; Janney 2011:103–105,114–116).

As the War Department grappled with these complex issues surrounding the commemoration plans for Appomattox, larger developments related to the federal government’s preservation and management of historic sites occurred. Since the early 1920s, the National Park Service had been lobbying for the transfer of all historic parks and monuments managed by the War Department and other agencies to its jurisdiction. Horace M. Albright, Assistant Director and then Director of the Park Service from 1916 to 1933, was the leading proponent of expanding the bureau’s mission to include historic sites. He believed that the Park Service was the only agency in the government equipped to manage and interpret historic sites for public enjoyment. Despite support from the War Department, efforts in 1924 and 1928 to transfer the War Department’s historic reservations to the Department of Interior (the division that oversaw the Park Service) stalled, in part because of the ongoing Army War College study on historic battlefield sites.

In April 1933, Albright had the opportunity to bring up the subject to newly elected President Franklin D. Roosevelt. By that time, Roosevelt had asked for and obtained from Congress broad authority to reorganize the Executive Branch by proclamation to facilitate his efforts to combat the effects of the Great Depression. He showed great interest in the discussion of the historical sites and instructed Albright to provide information about a possible transfer of jurisdiction to his reorganization committee. On June 10, 1933, Roosevelt signed Executive Order No. 6166, which transferred to the National Park Service all the War Department’s historic sites, including battlefields, parks, monuments, and cemeteries, as well as the public parks and buildings in Washington, DC.²¹ It also gave the Secretary of the Interior authority over the National Capital Park and Planning Commission and the Commission of Fine Arts, which until that

²¹ The order also renamed the National Park Service the “Office of National Parks, Buildings, and Reservations,” but the following year the old name was restored.

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time had operated independently. After objections from both the Park Service and the War Department over the advisability of transferring active military cemeteries, Roosevelt issued a second clarifying order (Executive Order No. 6288) on August 10, 1933, that named 48 War Department properties (including the battlefield site at Appomattox) to be transferred to the Park Service. This major event in the evolution of the National Park Service dramatically broadened the scope of its mission and created the basis for the diverse system of federally managed parks that exists today. It also directly affected the future of the Appomattox monument (Albright 1971:n.p.; Lee 2001:n.p.; Mackintosh 1991:28–29; Unrau and Willis 1993:n.p.).

Two months after the transfer of the War Department properties, the National Park Service announced it had no intention of erecting the peace monument at Appomattox as long as there was any opposition in the South. Aside from wanting to avoid controversy, Park Service officials favored restorations and reconstructions over commemorative monuments in their approach to historic sites. B. Floyd Flickinger, the superintendent of Colonial National Monument at Yorktown who assumed responsibility for the Appomattox project, reported on his initial visit to the site that the Congressionally approved funding should be devoted to the restoration of “the most important buildings which stood there at the time of the surrender.” He recommended the restoration of the McLean House and “the very interesting group of Court House buildings which stood in and around the Court House Circle” (quoted in Gurney 1955:14). The Confederate organizations that had so strongly opposed the monument expressed no dissent toward the idea of a restored village. An editorial published in the Newport News *Daily Press* on March 5, 1934, reflected the general reaction of the public to the revised proposal:

In preserving the site at which the return to the Union was effected, the objectional interpretative aspect of the monument is removed. ... The simple restoration of Appomattox will be an adequate silent tribute. In eliminating the cold hard marble which would set for all time a stamp of finality upon the meaning of Appomattox, there remains to the Southern people themselves the opportunity of establishing its symbolic significance (quoted in Gurney 1955:15–17).

On March 27, 1934, Representative Patrick Drewry of Petersburg, Virginia, introduced legislation that would amend the provisions of the June 18, 1930, act to remove the language related to the erection of a monument and allow the Park Service to acquire additional land and buildings at Appomattox.²² Senator Carter Glass submitted a similar measure in the Senate the following day, supported by a joint resolution passed by the Virginia state legislature and forwarded to the U.S. Senate. The House Committee on Military Affairs reported favorably on Drewry’s bill on May 17, noting the “impracticability of the erection of a monument” and describing the proposed amendment as a “more logical method” (U.S. House 1934). However, Congress adjourned that year without passing the measure. Individuals and organizations from Appomattox and nearby Lynchburg, including Burke, Flood, and Ferguson, formed the Appomattox Historic Park Association on October 18, 1934, to enlist support for the park proposal. Representative Drewry re-submitted the legislation on January 23, 1935, and the House passed it in May. The same month, the Senate voted to concur with several amendments to the bill’s language.²³ The final bill, signed by President Roosevelt on August 13, 1935, authorized the acquisition of land, structures, and property within one-and-one-half miles of the courthouse site, as designated by the Secretary of Interior “as necessary or desirable for national-monument purposes,” and the establishment of the Appomattox Court House National Historical Monument when title to the land was received (U.S. Secretary of State

²² Drewry had previously sponsored a successful bill to establish a national military park at Petersburg in 1926.

²³ Hosmer notes that Joel Flood’s nephew, Senator Harry Flood Byrd (1887–1966), may have helped to get the legislation through Congress the second time.

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1936:613; Brock 1934; Gurney 1955:14–18; Hosmer 1981:622; U.S. House 1934; 1935:136,684,791; U.S. Senate 1934:178,268; 1935:413,555).

The 1935 bill retained the original 1930 authorization for a \$100,000 appropriation to carry out the act's provisions, which Congress furnished in the fiscal year 1937 and earmarked for improvement and development once the necessary lands were secured. To aid in the formidable task of land acquisition, the National Park Service enlisted the cooperation of another federal agency, the recently established Resettlement Administration (RA) within the Department of Agriculture.²⁴ In October 1935, the RA embarked on the Surrender Grounds Forest Project, which involved the purchase and redevelopment of 23,000 acres of fallow and eroded agricultural land in Appomattox and Buckingham counties for conservational and recreational use.²⁵ As part of the demonstration forest project, the RA also acquired approximately 964 acres of land situated within the area of the proposed national monument at Appomattox Court House, following the recommendations of a Park Service land acquisition plan based on preliminary studies prepared by historians at Colonial National Park. Executive Order No. 8057, dated February 23, 1939, formally transferred this land to the Department of the Interior "for use and administration as a part of the Appomattox Court House National Historical Monument" (U.S. Secretary of State 1939:105). Most of the property lay south of Route 24, which at that time cut directly through the Village along the alignment of the Richmond-Lynchburg Stage Road. The Park Service secured easements from landowners north of the highway to prevent commercial construction on the historic landscape and developed a plan to purchase that property at an appropriate time. In addition, it used a small portion of the 1937 congressional appropriation to acquire the title to the final piece of property deemed necessary for the establishment of the monument, the residence of state senator Ferguson's widow on the east side of the Courthouse green. On April 10, 1940, Secretary of the Interior Harold L. Ickes signed the official order designating approximately 970 acres of land around the Village as the Appomattox Court House National Historical Monument (Gurney 1955:19–22; Heinemann 1983:122–123; U.S. Secretary of the Interior 1940; Wagner and Meadows 2010).

During the five-year period in which the government acquired the land at Appomattox, the National Park Service formulated its top-level approach to the management of historic sites, partially in response to the influx of historical areas within its purview resulting from Roosevelt's 1933 transfer order. Chief Park Service Historian Verne E. Chatelain strongly encouraged the development of clear preservation and restoration guidelines based on thorough research supervised by trained personnel. The Historic Sites Act passed by Congress in 1935 provided for a comprehensive research program within the Park Service that would sanction and support the agency's expanded historic preservation activities. The act authorized the Park Service to "restore, reconstruct, rehabilitate, preserve, and maintain historic or prehistoric sites, buildings, objects and properties of national historical or archeological significance" (quoted in Mackintosh 1990:5). The agency considered both preservation and development as tools to achieve its primary goal of historic site interpretation. Superintendent Flickinger wrote in 1936, "Our first obligation, in accepting the custody of an historic site, is preservation. The second phase is physical development, which seeks a rehabilitation of the site or area by means of restorations and reconstructions" (quoted in Mackintosh 1987:52).

²⁴ The Farm Services Administration (FSA) assumed the RA's functions in 1937.

²⁵ The majority of this land became Virginia's largest state forest, Appomattox-Buckingham State Forest, and Holliday Lake State Park. Other conservation/recreation areas in the state created through Resettlement Administration acquisition included the 6,000-acre Prince Edward Forest in Prince Edward County, the 16,000-acre Cumberland Forest in Cumberland County, and the 7,500-acre Swift Creek Park in Chesterfield County (Heinemann 1983:122-123).

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Notwithstanding the broad authority of the Historic Sites Act, regular debates occurred within the National Park Service over the extent to which missing or altered historical sites and structures should be restored or reconstructed. Some people favored the approach taken at Colonial Williamsburg, the country's foremost preservation project of the 1930s, where the recreation of the eighteenth-century capital city included the painstaking restorations and reconstructions of hundreds of buildings. Others advocated for the use of interpretive materials such as photographs, drawings, models, and panels as a substitute for the physical resources. Chatelain argued that reconstruction might not always be the preferred alternative at sites lacking physical remains. Regarding Jamestown, where only the foundations of colonial buildings remained, Chatelain pointed out that a restoration to a particular time period would not only exclude later historical developments on the site but also destroy the extant archeological record. Architect Albert H. Good staunchly felt that most historical restorations or reconstructions suffered from a lack of authenticity and a misguided tendency to "gild the lily" (quoted in Mackintosh 1990:6). The noted architectural historian Fiske Kimball, a member of the Park Service Advisory Board, disagreed with this perspective, believing that "as far as practical, we should rebuild destroyed buildings on important historic sites." Other professionals suggested preserving building ruins *in situ* but reconstructing the buildings nearby as museums. The Park Service experimented with both methods at different sites it managed. It reconstructed earthworks on the Yorktown battlefield at Colonial National Monument, typical Revolutionary War soldiers' huts at Morristown National Historical Park, and various buildings and structures at the Hopewell Furnace iron-making complex in Pennsylvania. In contrast, at Jamestown, the Park Service decided against reconstructions and made the archeology part of the exhibit (Mackintosh 1990:5-6).

On May 19, 1937, the National Park Service established a formal restoration policy guided by the saying, "Better preserve than repair, better repair than restore, better restore than construct," but allowing that "tact and judgment" were required to be "the ultimate guide" in practical situations. On June 20, 1938, Park Service Director Arno Cammerer approved a policy statement for historic sites that clarified the agency's position on the subject. The policy set forth the fundamental principle that thorough research by trained and experienced personnel (ideally archeologists and historians working together) using modern and standardized methods should precede actual developmental work. In particular, Cammerer noted the following:

The Service should be capable of instantly proving the authenticity of its work. Accordingly, the policy is adopted of fully documenting the plans for each interpretative or developmental feature involving historic or prehistoric remains with a view to placing the Service in such a position of security that it can fully justify, at any time, any preservation, reconstruction or restoration project on areas under its jurisdiction (quoted in Unrau and Willis 1983).

This conservative approach to historic building restoration and reconstruction stemmed in large part from the complicated experiences the Park Service faced when developing its first historical programs at sites such as the George Washington Birthplace National Monument (also known as Wakefield). Relatively little documentary evidence existed for the house in which the country's first president had been born (destroyed by fire in 1779) or for its exact location on the property. Consequently, the architect hired to design the Memorial House for the site relied primarily on oral histories, estate inventories, and regional eighteenth-century architectural styles to re-create the building. Discrepancies between his plans and the results of prior excavations at the site raised serious questions about the reconstruction's accuracy and authenticity that remained unresolved when the Park Service took over the property in 1931. Further archeological work only increased speculation about the true location of the original birthplace and

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resulted in an ambiguous interpretation of the building to the public. Hoping to avoid similar situations at other historical sites, the agency professionals in the Washington, DC, office advocated for thorough archeological, physical, and documentary research in every circumstance. The Wakefield experience lent added weight to the recommendations of professional historians and archeologists in most cases and established the importance of historical archeology as a discipline for many Park Service officials (Mackintosh 1987, 1990:5, 2004:56; Sprinkle 2014:95–96; Unrau and Willis 1983).

Like George Washington Birthplace, Appomattox Court House lacked its most important feature, the McLean House. However, good evidence existed of the McLean House location and appearance, and some bricks and foundation ruins from the dismantled house remained on the site. Thus, the planned reconstruction of the McLean House appeared to be a straightforward project. The battlefield commemoration policy formalized in early 1937 by Director Cammerer and Branch Spalding, the coordinating superintendent of all Civil War battlefield parks in Virginia, codified the agency's preference for reconstructions rather than sculptural monumentation.²⁶ Charles W. Porter III of the Park Service's regional office in Richmond began preliminary studies for the master plan at Appomattox Court House in July 1937 and worked with Chatelain's successor as Chief Historian, Ronald Lee, in the Washington office through 1938 and 1939 on the assumption that the park area would be authorized for development. However, lingering doubts about the appropriateness of historic reconstructions and concerns related to the authenticity of such efforts continued to be raised while these plans were underway. When Spalding submitted a report on September 5, 1939, on the use of the planned reconstructed and restored village at Appomattox to interpret rural Virginia society, Lee's office said the reconstruction was still under debate. The following January, Lee and Thomas C. Vint, the Chief of the Division of Landscape Architecture, proposed instead in a memo to Cammerer the protection of the McLean House foundations and the use of drawings, photos, and a model. However, when Lee visited the site in February 1940, he encountered overwhelming support from local citizens for a complete reconstruction. Colleagues referred to his subsequent about-face as "the second defeat of Lee at Appomattox" (quoted in Hosmer 1981:625). After the official designation of Appomattox as a unit of the Park System that April, Lee began to coordinate an unprecedented intensive research effort to justify the reconstruction (Hosmer 1981:623–625).

Reconstruction of the McLean House, 1940–1950

The final decision to move ahead with the McLean House reconstruction provided the Park Service with an excellent opportunity to apply interdisciplinary research thoroughly at one site as an example of the type of preparation necessary to avoid outcomes like George Washington Birthplace. Hubert Gurney transferred from a historian position at Fredericksburg and Spotsylvania to the post of superintendent at Appomattox Court House, a position he held through 1961 (with the exception of his service in World War II from December 1943 to 1945). By October 1940, Gurney, Spalding, and the entire staff of the Richmond regional office finalized a comprehensive development plan for the site. They began by documenting all existing buildings, structures, and landscape features and preparing a historical base map for the year 1865. Architect Orin Bullock, landscape architect Walter Sheffield, associate engineer James Head, and assistant historical technician Ralston Lattimore assisted Gurney with the survey. The plan identified the McLean House, the Clover Hill Tavern, and the Bockock-Isbell House as the first three major buildings to be restored or reconstructed to their 1865 appearance. The park intended to use the

²⁶ From 1936 through 1940, Spalding (formerly the superintendent of the Fredericksburg and Spotsylvania County Battlefields Memorial National Military Park) served as coordinating superintendent for all Civil War areas in Virginia: the national battlefield parks at Manassas and Richmond, the national military parks in Petersburg and Fredericksburg/Spotsylvania, and Appomattox Court House National Historical Monument.

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latter as a residence for the superintendent and his family. It also planned to restore two extant but deteriorated outbuildings and reconstruct the stable on the Bocock-Isbell property to serve as “background for the historic scene” (quoted in JMA 2012:1.1-24; Hosmer 1981:948–950).

Historian Ralph Happel, archeologist Preston Holder, and architect Ray Julian then undertook a three-pronged investigation intended to support the McLean House reconstruction project. Happel and Holder resided at Appomattox, while Julian remained at the regional office in Richmond. Their work consumed \$7,000 of the park’s budget and culminated in the 1942 publication of a model report, “The Collaborative Justification for Reconstruction of the McLean House at Appomattox.” Numerous other Park Service professionals in Richmond and Washington, DC, advised the three authors, reflecting unprecedented interdisciplinary collaboration on the local, regional, and national levels. The investigation began with the authentication of the 1893 drawings of the McLean House, initially offered for sale to the Park Service by P. C. Hubard of Lynchburg in 1937. Before recommending that the Park Service go ahead with the purchase, Happel took the drawings to the Library of Congress, the National Archives, and the Federal Bureau of Investigation to confirm their authenticity. The Park Service then prepared a series of architectural drawings according to the standards of the Historic American Buildings Survey (HABS). Holder supervised archeological excavations at the McLean House site in 1941 aimed at providing additional information and corroborative evidence for the reconstruction of the house and its surrounding landscape (see the discussion under Criterion D for more detail). The team’s final report, called “the most complete and scholarly work yet undertaken” by the Park Service, included working drawings for the reconstruction; and plans were made to accept bids for the project (Hosmer 1981:620–626).

President Roosevelt’s New Deal relief and funding programs provided the Park Service with an influx of money and personnel that presented great opportunities for carrying out programs of preservation, restoration, planning, and interpretation of historical areas. The Civilian Conservation Corps (CCC), created by the Emergency Conservation Work (ECW) Act of 1933, played a particularly important role in the early work at most parks, including Appomattox. The Park Service employed the CCC, largely composed of unskilled laborers, to perform clearing, grading, and other activities at many of the historical parks where planning was underway. Most of the funding for CCC construction projects came through the Public Works Administration (PWA). At Appomattox Court House, the CCC carried out a variety of tasks designed to create the infrastructure of the park, such as clearing vegetation, dismantling dilapidated buildings, and crushing rock for highway realignment. CCC enrollees also participated in the more skilled labor of archeological excavations and the stabilization of historic structures (McClelland 1993:200–203; Unrau and Williss 1983).

On July 22, 1940, a group of approximately 190 African American veterans of CCC Company 1351 was transferred from Yorktown, where they had worked on the reconstruction of fortifications, to Camp NP-28 at the county seat of Appomattox, two miles distant from the historic courthouse. Most ECW and CCC enrollees lived in camps constructed on the park lands where they worked. The location of these camps was a controversial issue, especially when it involved African American workers. Some localities, and not just those in the South, did not want African American camps built nearby. To avoid confrontation, African American camps were usually built on land owned by the federal, rather than state or local, government and were frequently isolated from neighboring populations. Company 1351, however, occupied buildings on private land near the town of Appomattox previously used by a CCC camp performing work for the Soil Conservation Service. The camp consisted of 24 permanent and portable structures, including barracks, mess and recreation halls, sheds, shops, garages, and a grandstand (Robinson & Associates et al. 2002:75–86).

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The CCC enrollees began working at Appomattox on July 31, supervised by National Park Service staff. Park Service historians, engineers, landscape architects, archeologists, and geologists also inspected their work. They started with the removal of brush and trees from the landscape to return the area to an approximation of its appearance in 1865, when open farmland reached right up to the Village itself.²⁷ Years of neglect resulting from the Village's declining economic fortunes had allowed trees and undergrowth to cover buildings and fields. By the end of August 1940, Company 1351 had partially revealed the McLean House site, removed brush and small trees south of the courthouse site, and cleared a grove of trees from the old county jail site. Once the men cleared the areas, they prepared the soil, then seeded or sodded. Records show that plantings (corn, small grain, and grasses) were rotated in at least two areas and the created meadows contained mixed grasses, clover, and lespedeza. The CCC also worked on both historic and non-historic buildings in the park in preparation for the implementation of the master development plan. The men razed buildings considered non-historic, including tobacco barns, chicken houses, stables, a corn crib, a sharecropper's house, and buildings associated with a dance hall near the North Carolina Monument.²⁸ In the spring of 1941, they renovated the early twentieth-century Bessie Ferguson House (no longer extant) near the courthouse site for use as the superintendent's residence and temporary park headquarters. They also helped to stabilize many of the neglected Civil War-era buildings still standing, including the Peers House, the Woodson Law Office, the Jones Law Office, the Clover Hill Tavern, its Kitchen and Guest House, and the New County Jail. Stabilization included such tasks as shoring up chimneys and basements, repairing brick work, temporarily closing window and door openings, and re-roofing. The men removed post-Civil War additions to the Tavern and the Bocock-Isbell House and restored the gravestone of Lafayette Meeks. In addition, they helped excavate the McLean House site and dug sewer lines and installed pipes and manholes for a central sewage disposal system (Robinson & Associates et al. 2002:75–86).

The 1940 master plan recommended rerouting Virginia Route 24, which followed the route of the old Richmond-Lynchburg Stage Road through the Village, to remove automobile traffic from the Village to recreate a nineteenth-century atmosphere. The Park Service began grading of the bypass road to the south of the Village in April of 1941. By January 1942, CCC workers operated two stone crushers at a quarry on park property to produce finely crushed stone for the blanket course beneath the bypass's pavement (Robinson & Associates et al. 2002:75–86).

With the United States' declaration of war on Japan and Germany in December 1941, however, national priorities shifted to the war effort. Funding for development at most National Park Service sites dried up as the agency faced drastic budget cuts and Roosevelt's national relief programs ended. Projects underway were abandoned in whatever state they existed at the time. Company 1351 was unable to finish the sewage system, the bypass road, and the archeological investigations at Appomattox Court House. Camp 28's supervisory personnel were transferred to A. P. Hill Military Reservation in Virginia and the enrollees to Fort Meade in Maryland by March 11, 1942. The Park Service expected to re-establish the camp after the war, but the CCC was abolished on July 2, 1942. During the war years, the only notable development at Appomattox was the State of North Carolina's 1943 transfer of the North Carolina Monument and markers to the Park Service (Robinson & Associates et al. 2002:75–86).

²⁷ See NPS Drawing File APCO_340_2008, *Field Clearing, Vista & Selective Cutting*, reproduced on Page 2-92 of *Appomattox Court House National Historical Park: Cultural Landscape Report*, John Milner Associates, Inc., (JMA) in association with HNTB Corporation, 2009.

²⁸ See NPS Drawing File APCO_340_2011, *Job Plan for Razing Undesirable Non-Historic Structures*, reproduced on Page 2-94 of *Appomattox Court House National Historical Park: Cultural Landscape Report*, John Milner Associates, Inc., (JMA) in association with HNTB Corporation, 2009.

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Internal debate over the reconstruction project persisted, however. On April 13, 1943, Park Service Director Newton B. Drury met with Thomas Vint, Senior Architect Albert Good, and Acting Chief Historian Herbert Kahler to discuss the project. Still cautious about undertaking a historical reconstruction after the issues encountered at Wakefield, the group expressed dissatisfaction with certain details of the plans prepared for the McLean House project and recommended not moving forward with it. However, with Congress having already committed the funds specifically for the reconstruction, Drury subsequently withdrew his opposition. He only gave his final approval of the plans after consulting with Fiske Kimball, who validated the reconstruction drawings despite modifications made to the building dimensions to accommodate a new heating system and a stronger, more fireproof frame. The Park Service architects sought to maintain historical accuracy in all parts of the house visible to visitors and concealed necessary alterations within the walls, below the floors, and above the ceilings (Hosmer 1981:733–735).

With the war over, the Park Service began accepting bids for the McLean House reconstruction project in early 1947, and on December 23 it awarded the \$49,553 contract to C. W. Hancock and Sons, the successor firm to the company that had dismantled the building more than 50 years earlier. Construction began on January 12, 1948, and finished in April 1949. The local UDC chapter, which had been granted the privilege of furnishing the rebuilt house, held an informal ceremony on April 9 to open the building to the public for the first time. The Virginia state legislature appropriated \$5,000 toward the acquisition of original or replacement furnishings and the costs of a formal dedication ceremony, held on April 16, 1950. Descendants of the two generals who had met in the parlor 85 years earlier, Ulysses S. Grant III and Robert E. Lee IV, crossed scissors to cut the ribbon on the porch. Historian Douglas Freeman spoke at the event and described the site as a “shrine of peace” that would serve to commemorate the country’s reunification (quoted in Janney 2011:119). The reconstructed house also served as a model for future Park Service reconstructions at Appomattox Court House and other historic sites, representing the agency’s ideals of professional collaboration and comprehensive research and investigation. The approach developed through the Park Service’s work on the McLean House ultimately influenced the Secretary of the Interior’s standards and guidelines for the treatment of historic properties, first codified in 1978 (Gurney 1955:24; Hosmer 1981:948–950; Janney 2011:119).

CRITERION C – LANDSCAPE ARCHITECTURE

The Appomattox Court House Landscape is nationally significant under Criterion C in the area of Landscape Architecture as a model example of the National Park Service’s influential work in the field of historic landscape restoration, in addition to its significance under Criterion A as the setting of the April 1865 events that led to the conclusion of the Civil War. The current physical form of the District resulted from the federal government’s extensive efforts between 1940 and 1968 to commemorate, conserve, stabilize, rehabilitate, and reconstruct features of the Civil War-era landscape based on thorough research. The existing landscape continues to convey the Park Service’s initial design intent and reflects a successful application of the master planning process developed by the agency during the 1930s and 1940s. The Park Service continues to manage the landscape according to the general philosophy that guided the development of the 1940 master plan and subsequent activities, using restorations, rehabilitations, and potential reconstructions to focus on the events of the Appomattox Campaign, the surrender, and the end of the Civil War.

Evolution of a Program for Landscape Design at National Historical Sites

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During its initial years, the National Park Service oversaw numerous recreations of historic landscapes and buildings similar to those occurring simultaneously at the privately financed Colonial Williamsburg. The relatively new field of historical restoration required the resolution of numerous complex issues that the Park Service had never confronted before within the context of evolving agency-wide management policies, developing professional fields and scholarship, and changing notions of authenticity. Lessons learned at sites such as George Washington Birthplace National Monument, Colonial National Monument, and Morristown National Historical Park influenced the approach taken by the historians at Appomattox Court House, and their work in turn set the precedent for how the Park Service would address similar issues in the future (Rothman 1994:198–200).

The Park Service’s historical program evolved in conjunction with the agency’s comprehensive planning program. During the 1920s, the Park Service began an initial master planning process to address the fundamental problems of long-range planning at the wilderness parks in the West. The goal of those plans was to strike the proper balance between the development required to provide visitor access and the protection of the natural landscape and wildlife. The level of planning for the variety of facilities—including roads, trails, park villages, ranger stations, campgrounds, maintenance areas, and utilities—needed at the large natural parks was similar in scope to municipal planning and required contributions from a number of disciplines. Because those developments were primarily concerned with the treatment of park landscapes, Park Service landscape architects took the lead in coordinating the design process with engineers, architects, botanists, foresters, geologists, and other professionals. In 1927, Thomas Vint was made Chief of the Division of Landscape Architecture and put in charge of all master planning initiatives. Vint devised a three-part planning process that consisted of a narrative outline of the proposed development, a graphic representation of the development called the general development plan, and a list of individual projects to be completed over a six-year period. By 1932, the three elements were collectively referred to within the Park Service as “master plans,” and each park was required to submit one. After the addition of numerous historical areas to the Park System, the planning department also required the inclusion of a “historical sheet” or “base historical map” as part of the master plan for such sites (McClelland 1993).

Appomattox Court House Village Restoration and Reconstruction, 1948–1968

Although some Park Service officials (including the associate regional director Herbert Evison) felt that the restoration of the entire village of Appomattox Court House was unnecessary and would only detract from the site’s primary theme represented by the McLean House, the agency moved forward with the priorities identified in the 1940 master plan when work resumed at Appomattox Court House after World War II. Simultaneously with the McLean House project, the Park Service restored the **Bocock-Isbell House (LCS No. 007787, ASMIS No. APCO00007.006, contributing building)** as the superintendent’s residence and the associated **Bocock-Isbell Outside Kitchen (LCS No. 007789, ASMIS No. APCO00007.002, contributing building)** and **Bocock-Isbell Smoke House (LCS No. 007788, ASMIS No. APCO00007.001, contributing building)**. The interior work finished by December 1948, and exterior repairs continued through April 1949. The Park Service produced detailed field notes on the existing conditions and progress photographs showing each phase of the work. As additional funds became available in 1949 and 1950, the Park Service also completed the sewage system, installed a water supply system, and reconstructed the **Plunkett-Meeks Store Stable (LCS No. 017260, ASMIS No. APCO00003.002, contributing building)** to house a concrete water tank and the **McLean Well House (LCS No. 007781, ASMIS No. APCO00006.001, contributing building)**. The start of the Korean War in June 1950, however, brought development at Appomattox Court House to another standstill that lasted for the next three years (Hosmer 1981:733–735; JMA 2012:1.2-23–1.2-24).

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Shortly after the war ended in 1953, regional Park Service officials decided that additional buildings were needed to support park operations at Appomattox. Consequently, they revised the 1940 master plan to shift some of the development priorities while retaining the general guidelines and scope of the original. Although the Clover Hill Tavern restoration remained next on the priority list, the restoration of the **Peers House (LCS No. 007790, ASMIS No. APCO00036.003, contributing building)**, the **Clover Hill Tavern Guest House (LCS No. 000053, ASMIS No. APCO00001.002, contributing building)**, and the **Clover Hill Tavern Kitchen and Guest House (LCS No. 000052, ASMIS No. APCO00001.001, contributing building)** to provide employee housing and the reconstruction of the **Clover Hill Tavern Slave Quarters (LCS No. 007783, ASMIS No. APCO00001.003, contributing building)** for use as a visitor comfort station took precedence over other projects. The regional office approved working drawings for the tavern and Peers House restorations and the reconstruction of the tavern slave quarters in September 1953, and all three projects were completed in 1954. The work included the creation of a park office and museum in the tavern. Restoration work on the two extant tavern outbuildings began in 1954 and continued through 1958, when the Park Service also reconstructed the **Clover Hill Lamp (LCS No. 080302, contributing object)** in the tavern yard (Happel 1956; Judd and Carroll 1961; Raley 1957a, 1957b).

The State Highway 24 bypass road begun in 1941 finally opened to the public in October 1954, and the Park Service repaired Prince Edward Court House Road (State Route 627) to serve as an access road to the Village. Congress also enacted two pieces of legislation related to Appomattox Court House during this period. Public Law 83-136 (67 Stat. 181), signed on July 17, 1953, authorized the exchange of lands of approximately equal value between the park and nearby land owners and restricted the total land area to 1,027.11 acres. Subsequently, the Park Service exchanged a 98.6-acre parcel at the southeast edge of the current District boundary for 76 acres along the Richmond-Lynchburg Stage Road. It also exchanged the new Route 24 bypass road for the former highway section through the Village. On April 15, 1954, Eisenhower signed Public Law 83-334 (68 Stat. 54), which changed the site from a “National Monument” to a “National Historical Park” to eliminate confusion over the use of the term “monument” (NPS 2012:1-23; U.S. Secretary of State 1953:181; 1955:54).

Development at Appomattox Court House through 1968 continued to follow the plans originally laid out in 1940, although the agency-wide National Park Service modernization effort known as Mission 66 provided the funding mechanism for the next building campaign. The billion-dollar Mission 66 program represented the largest investment ever initiated for the national park system, touching every park in the system and dramatically improving facilities at most. The Park Service designed it to restore and enhance deteriorated park infrastructure and services in time for the agency’s 50th anniversary in 1966. Construction efforts included new roads, trails, campgrounds, amphitheaters, visitor centers, administration buildings, and employee housing. Improvements at Civil War battlefields received particular emphasis because of centennial celebrations planned for 1961 to 1965 when increased numbers of visitors were expected. The Mission 66 prospectus for Appomattox Court House, completed by April 23, 1956, outlined the restoration, operational, and interpretation programs proposed as improvements to be completed in time for the centennial observance of the surrender on April 9, 1965. It singled out the reconstruction of the Appomattox Courthouse, envisioned since the park’s establishment, as the highest-priority project (Gurney 1956:3).

Beginning with the first edition of the master plan developed for Appomattox in 1939, the Park Service had intended to rebuild the courthouse at the center of the Village green with interior alterations to support park management needs. The 1941 development program proposed a general museum on the first

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floor, park offices on the second floor, and visitor restrooms in the basement. Subsequent revisions to the master plan continued to support the reconstruction but lowered its priority to accommodate other management requirements. In the mid-1950s, park planners revisiting Appomattox Court House with Mission 66 goals in mind saw that the functions intended for the reconstructed courthouse overlapped with those of the new “visitor center” building type proposed for many national parks. This “visitor center,” a term coined by Park Service officials, combined a park administrative facility and museum under one roof, centralizing functions often located before Mission 66 in separate buildings scattered throughout a historic site. It also provided visitors with access to new interpretive devices that supplemented more traditional museum exhibits. To fulfill the Mission 66 agenda at Appomattox, the planners proposed an exact recreation of the nineteenth-century courthouse on the exterior, following extensive archeological investigations, with offices and a Mission 66 Visitor Center on the interior (Allaback 2000; Gurney 1956).

Although National Park Service officials in Washington initially approved the 1956 proposal, later correspondence between Director Conrad Wirth and Superintendent Gurney indicated some high-level concern about locating the Appomattox visitor center in a reconstructed historic building. The majority of Mission 66 visitor centers used a distinctly Modern architectural style, standardized throughout the system to become an instantly recognizable point of reference for visitors. Between 1956 and 1963, the Eastern Office of the Division of Design and Construction developed various proposals for a visitor center at Appomattox, including a location south of the Village green between the McLean House and Market Lane. During the same period, Park Service research historian Frank P. Cauble completed a study of the Village green (1959), and contracting archeologist Edward Larabee conducted archeological investigations of the courthouse site (1960). At meetings held with Park Service officials in 1961, local residents provided input on the proposals and overwhelmingly supported the use of the reconstructed courthouse in place of a separate visitor center. Park historians also considered the courthouse to be an essential component of the reconstructed historic setting that was crucial to understanding how the Village looked in 1865. In the end, the final version of the Mission 66 master plan retained the program outlined in the earlier documents, incorporating the visitor center function into the reconstructed courthouse. Architect J. Everette Fauber of Lynchburg, Virginia, submitted a complete set of working drawings for the project on May 16, 1963, and the Park Service completed the Appomattox Courthouse by July of the following year (Carroll 1964; EODC 1961; Haskett 1962).

The Mission 66 master plan also included the completion of the Village restoration development program, the basic purpose of which remained “to re-create and maintain an authentic setting for the events and places associated with the closing scenes at Appomattox Court House” (Haskett 1962:1.5). The park did not intend to create a “full-scale complete and detailed restoration of the Village of 1865” or “to call attention to the structures themselves, but rather to establish a realistic background for the McLean House by introducing the visitor to a picture of village life in the mid-nineteenth century” (Haskett 1962:1.6,2.5). Behind the 1865 exteriors, many of the restored or reconstructed buildings housed administrative or operational functions in addition to interpretive displays. Restoration work completed using Mission 66 funding included the **Plunkett-Meeks Store (LCS No. 000051, ASMIS No. APCO00003.006, contributing building)** and **Plunkett-Meeks Storage Building (LCS No. 007784, ASMIS No. APCO00003.001, contributing building)** (1958–1959); the **Woodson Law Office (LCS No. 007786, ASMIS No. APCO00004.000, contributing building)** (1959); the **Jones Law Office (LCS No. 000396, ASMIS No. APCO00021.000, contributing building)** (originally referred to as the Kelly House, 1959–1960); and the **Mariah Wright House (LCS No. 000041, ASMIS No. APCO00041.002, contributing building)** and the **New County Jail (LCS No. 000036, ASMIS No. APCO00019.000, contributing building)** (1964–1965). The Park Service reconstructed the **Jones Law Office Well House (LCS No.**

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000040, ASMIS No. APCO00021.001, contributing building (originally referred to as the Kelly Well House) in 1963 and the **Bocock-Isbell House Stable (LCS No. 000037, ASMIS No. APCO00007.003, contributing building)** in 1963–1964 to provide a garage for the superintendent. Additional reconstructions completed in time for the 1965 centennial celebration included the **McLean Ice House (LCS No. 000042, ASMIS No. APCO00006.002, contributing building)**, **McLean Slave Quarters (LCS No. 000044, ASMIS No. APCO00006.004, contributing building)**, **McLean Outside Kitchen (LCS No. 000043, ASMIS No. APCO00006.003, contributing building)**, and **Courthouse Well House (LCS No. 007780, ASMIS No. APCO00005.001, contributing building)**. Subsequently, the Park Service added reconstructions of the **McLean Privy (LCS No. 007782, ASMIS No. APCO00006.005, contributing building)**, the **Clover Hill Tavern Privy (LCS No. 080300, ASMIS No. APCO00001.004, contributing building)**, and the **Plunkett-Meeks Store Privy (LCS No. 007785, ASMIS No. APCO00003.003, contributing building)**. Architect Orville W. Carroll oversaw most of the research and plans for these restorations and reconstructions, assisted by Charles Peterson from the regional office. The Park Service followed an established procedure for each project, beginning with the preparation of measured drawings for the Historic American Buildings Survey (HABS) for restorations or with physical and documentary investigations for reconstructions. A team of architects and historians then incorporated the HABS drawings, historical research, and preliminary restoration plans into Part I of a Historic Structures Report (HSR). Following approval of Part I, the architects prepared working drawings to be sent out for contract bids and included in Part II of the HSR, which detailed the proposed work. Part III of the HSR, prepared after a project's completion, documented it thoroughly from start to finish (Carr 2007:192–193; French 2014; Gurney 1956; Haskett 1962).

The Mission 66 development program for Appomattox also provided for the restoration of historic roads and lanes to their 1865 appearance. The Park Service restored the primary thoroughfares within the Village following the original alignments: **Back Lane (LCS No. 007794, ASMIS No. APCO00026.000, historic associated feature)**, **Market Lane (LCS No. 007795, ASMIS No. APCO00027.000, historic associated feature)**, **Bocock Lane (LCS No. 007796, ASMIS No. APCO00028.000, historic associated feature)**, **Prince Edward Court House Road (LCS No. 007793, ASMIS No. APCO00025.000, historic associated feature)**, and the Richmond-Lynchburg Stage Road and Road Trace. Additional road traces were preserved on the landscape but not fully restored: **Conner Cabin Road (LCS No. 282943, historic associated feature)**, **Pryor Wright Lane (LCS No. none, ASMIS No. APCO00018.001, historic associated feature)**, the **Williams Lane Trace (LCS No. 671489, historic associated feature)**, the **Wright Lane Trace (LCS No. 671509, historic associated feature)**.

To complete the background setting for the Village and to assist in directing visitor traffic flow through the park, the Park Service reconstructed numerous wood fences of various types (horizontal rails, pickets, vertical palings, and zigzag) that historically enclosed house lots and agricultural fields. As with the reconstructed buildings, extensive research and archeological investigation accompanied the fence projects. Beginning with the **Bocock-Isbell House Fence (LCS No. 080312, ASMIS No. APCO00007.004, historic associated feature)**, erected in 1950, and adding fences as research and funds allowed, the Park Service completed the planned **System of Reconstructed Fencing (LCS No. none, contributing structure)** by 1968. The network included the **McLean Fence (LCS No. 080299, ASMIS No. APCO00006.006, historic associated feature)**, **Clover Hill Tavern Fence (LCS No. 080301, ASMIS No. APCO00001.005, historic associated feature)**, **Plunkett-Meeks Fence (LCS No. 080311, ASMIS No. APCO00003.004, historic associated feature)**, **Peers Fence (LCS No. 080303, ASMIS No. APCO00036.001, historic associated feature)**, **Jones Law Office Fence (LCS No. 080304, ASMIS No. APCO00021.002, historic associated feature)**, **Courthouse Yard Fence (LCS No. 080310, ASMIS No. APCO00005.002, historic associated feature)**, **Back Lane Fence (LCS No.**

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080324, ASMIS No. APCO00026.001, historic associated feature), Bocoek Lane Fence (LCS No. 080326, ASMIS No. APCO00028.001, historic associated feature), Market Lane Fence (LCS No. 080325, ASMIS No. APCO00027.001, historic associated feature), Prince Edward Court House Road Fence (LCS No. 080323, historic associated feature), and Richmond-Lynchburg Stage Road Fence (LCS No. 080322, ASMIS No. APCO00024.001, historic associated feature). Other projects completed as part of the Mission 66 program included the exclusion of automobile traffic and removal of all paved roads from the restored Village area; the construction of a new visitor entrance, parking area, and several roadside pull-offs at historic spots; and selective cutting and clearing of historic fields (John Milner Associates, Inc. et al. 2009:4-14-4-15).²⁹

The Park Service also maintained a number of cemeteries established in the nineteenth century on lands within the District that were present at the time of the surrender. Many are small family burial grounds, typically located on high ground with markers of varying size and type and often enclosed by a wood fence. These include the **Grave of Lafayette Meeks (LCS No. 007791, ASMIS No. APCO00017.000, contributing site)** and the **Patteson-Hix Cemetery (LCS No. 289303, ASMIS No. APCO00009.000, contributing site)** and **Robinson Cemetery (LCS No. 289455, ASMIS No. APCO00021.003, contributing site)** within the Village, and the Raine Cemetery, **Joel Sweeney Grave and Bohannon-Trent Cemetery (LCS No. 671476, ASMIS No. APCO00078.000, contributing site)**, **Sweeney Cemetery (LCS No. 289497, contributing site)**, and **O'Brien Cemetery (LCS No. 288679, ASMIS No. APCO00044.000, contributing site)** outside the Village. There are also several unmarked or roughly marked burial grounds within the District that were associated with family plots, former church congregations, and slave communities: the **Burruss Tract Cemetery (LCS No. 671482, ASMIS No. APCO00021.000, ASMIS No. APCO00076.000, contributing site)**, the **Raine Slave Cemetery (LCS No. none, ASMIS No. APCO00072.000, contributing site)**, the **Wright Cemetery (LCS No. none, ASMIS No. APCO00041.000, contributing site)**, the **Presbyterian Church Cemetery (LCS No. none, contributing site)**, and the **Forest Cemetery (LCS No. 666426, ASMIS No. APCO00046.000, contributing site)**. The cemeteries contribute to the authentic appearance of the re-created landscape.

The National Park Service clarified its administrative policy on historic reconstructions in 1968, the same year it completed the ambitious reconstruction program at Appomattox Court House. The policy authorized reconstruction only if a) all or almost all traces of a resource are gone and re-creation is essential for public understanding and appreciation of the park's historical associations; b) sufficient historical, archeological, and architectural data exist to permit an accurate reproduction; and c) the resource can be erected on its original site or in a setting appropriate to the significance of the area (e.g., the pioneer communities or living farms created at many national parks throughout the country). New management policies established in the late 1970s restricted but never prohibited reconstructions. In general, the prevailing idea about reconstruction in the preservation field is that reconstructed buildings can fill key gaps in a larger historic complex, as at Williamsburg, Appomattox, or other sites, where the replacement of missing elements is considered essential to understanding the landscape as a whole. Within the history of the Park Service's forays into reconstruction, most professionals continue to point to the work at Appomattox as a success, appropriate to the site and effective in conveying its significance to the public. Numerous aspects of the landscape—the road traces that form the basis for the Village layout, the variety of its buildings and structures, and the surrounding fields, fences, and remnants of farm

²⁹ See NPS Drawing Files APCO_340_3005_C, *Entrance Road and Parking Areas*, and APCO_340_3021_B, *Selective Cutting and Clearing*, reproduced on Pages 2-122 and 2-128, respectively, of *Appomattox Court House National Historical Park: Cultural Landscape Report*, John Milner Associates, Inc., (JMA) in association with HNTB Corporation, 2009.

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structures—continue to illustrate its nineteenth-century beginnings and function as the county seat from 1845 to 1892 (Mackintosh 1990:6–7; 2004:68).

Post-1968 Park Development

Development at Appomattox Court House after the completion of the Village development program in 1968 consisted primarily of additional land acquisition to contribute to the understanding of the movements of the two armies and the vernacular landscape of 1865. Prior to the development of the 1977 General Management Plan, Congress passed legislation on October 21, 1976, increasing the land acquisition ceiling and authorizing a new park boundary. Subsequently, the National Park Service purchased approximately 20 tracts of land on the north side of Route 24 within sight of the Village and containing the final battle site. A 1992 amendment to the 1976 law authorized further boundary expansion and acquisition of land by donation to allow for the addition of adjacent sites considered important to the outcome of the battle of Appomattox Court House and lands highly visible from within the park. The Park Service acquired two tracts of land in the northwest corner of the District in 1992 and 1993, both of which contained the remains of historic farm structures on land where fighting had occurred. The 1992 expansion also included a non-contiguous parcel three miles north of the District containing the remains of the New Hope Church breastworks thrown up by Confederate troops to oppose the advancing Union forces. In 2001 and 2003, the Park Service purchased three in-holdings within the District boundary: the Moon House, Mathews House, and Claudine O'Brien parcels. The Draft General Management Plan prepared in 2012 proposes additional boundary adjustments to include about 40 acres within the core area of the Appomattox Station Battlefield (approximately one mile west of the current District boundary), presently owned by the Civil War Trust; approximately 700 acres adjacent to the District's southern boundary containing eight contiguous parcels that encompass the historic farmstead sites accessed by Sears Lane and Trent Lane; and two parcels adjacent to the eastern District boundary (NPS 2012:1-7; U.S. Secretary of State 1978:2732, 1993:3565).

The Park Service has completed some additional restoration work within the District since 1968, primarily outside the Village area. The exterior restoration of the Sweeney-Conner Cabin occurred in 1986–1987 and that of the Charles Sweeney Cabin in 1988–1989. In the early 1980s, the Park Service further rehabilitated the interiors of some buildings within the Village area, such as the Plunkett-Meeks Store, the Plunkett-Meeks Storage Building, and the Woodson Law Office.

CRITERION C – ARCHITECTURE

The District's collection of restored and reconstructed buildings is locally significant in the area of Architecture as representative of a typical mid-nineteenth-century, rural county seat in Piedmont Virginia. The Village's familiar spatial arrangement, with several public buildings clustered around the hub of the Courthouse green and domestic properties strung along the axis of the Richmond-Lynchburg Stage Road, conveys its organic development from an early nineteenth-century stagecoach stop to an active center of commerce and civic business. Courthouse groupings of this type define the political and public center of counties from southeastern Pennsylvania to Virginia. The architecture at Appomattox reflects indigenous vernacular typologies combined with the influence of nationally popular styles befitting a relatively prosperous mid-nineteenth-century community. Residences that survive from farmsteads outside the Village, along with farm-related outbuildings, exemplify the District's historic agricultural economy (Lanier and Herman 1997:265).

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The brick Appomattox Courthouse at the center of the Village is a 1964 reconstruction of the 1846 building constructed for the seat of the newly formed Appomattox County. Raised on a classical podium with stone steps flanked by iron rails and balusters, the vernacular Greek Revival building is a symbol of the community's importance within the county. The sparing use of modest Greek Revival details signals an awareness of the architectural designs found in larger urban centers such as Richmond or on large plantations, scaled down to suit a less affluent rural region. The restored New County Jail, built c. 1867 to replace the original Village jail destroyed in a fire, is equally imposing. Located adjacent to the east side of the courthouse green, the jail is a distinct component of the Village landscape. Its massive brick walls, classical symmetry, and restrained architectural detail convey the building's critical role in maintaining a civilized society.

The Village's two other brick buildings—the restored Clover Hill Tavern to the north of the courthouse and the reconstructed McLean House (originally built as a tavern) to the west—reflect the relative importance of these buildings' functions within the community and the modest prosperity of their builders. When Alexander Patteson constructed the Clover Hill Tavern in 1819, it became the center of activity for the small settlement and spurred additional development. Charles Raine built the McLean House in 1848 to capitalize on the new economic opportunities resulting from the establishment of the county seat. Both buildings exhibit the typical I-house architectural form: two-story, rectangular, single-pile, with chimneys at each end. The tavern features exterior details characteristic of the Federal period, such as denticulated rakes and fanlights above the doors. Greek Revival elements, including a box cornice and double-height porches, adorn the later McLean House, balancing the contemporaneous Courthouse. Although larger in scale and plan than the other residential buildings in the Village, the tavern and the McLean House have similar modest detailing on the interior.

In addition to the courthouse, jail, and taverns, courthouse groupings typically included attorneys' offices and commercial buildings. The restored Plunkett-Meeks Store, constructed in 1852, combines a shop and dwelling in a typical two-story, gable-fronted building one room wide by two rooms deep. Its full-width pedimented front porch, a common feature of many early to mid-nineteenth-century commercial buildings, abuts the road opposite the courthouse. Rural village stores generally supplied a range of goods, including foodstuffs, spices, textiles, manufactured household items, and luxuries like coffee, rum, and whiskey, to a large region. The restored c. 1850 Plunkett-Meeks Storage Building, a utilitarian building directly adjacent to the store, typifies the ample storage space required by village merchants. The restored Jones Law Office (1845–1860) and Woodson Law Office (1851–1856) represent two of the many small, one-story village buildings that served as offices for attorneys working on court-related business. Both exhibit typical mid-nineteenth-century post-and-beam construction methods with minimal ornamentation and simple interior finishes. They may have functioned as small domestic shops during other periods (Lanier and Herman 1997:231–239).

The more substantial residential buildings in the District include elements of particular styles popular during the early to mid-nineteenth century. The restored 1823 Mariah Wright House near the outskirts of the Village is a characteristic early nineteenth-century, post-and-beam I-house, with external end chimneys and shed-roof porches. Elegant exterior details such as beaded weatherboard siding and raised-panel doors with concave quarter-circle corners indicate relative wealth and some architectural sophistication. The other restored residential buildings within the Village are well-preserved examples of modest frame houses with exterior millwork and decorative interior detailing consistent with wealth, sophistication, and elevated social status in a rural setting. The Bocock-Isbell House, built 1848–1851, and the Peers House, built c. 1855, both have the two-story, single-pile I-house form with external end chimneys, molded box cornices, and symmetrical fenestration. The Bocock-Isbell House incorporates

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elements of Classicism in the raised-podium porches and features an exterior closet addition commonly found on Southern Colonial houses. The Peers House applies a Greek Revival temple-form porch to the otherwise restrained facade.

Outside the Village, two restored houses exemplify the continued popularity in the region of the earlier hall plan consisting of one room with a loft above. The most common of these small vernacular houses have a rectangular plan with a single end chimney and a central front door. More refined buildings exhibit details such as those found on the c. 1830–1840 **Charles Sweeney Cabin (LCS No. 080015, ASMIS No. APCO00038.000, contributing building)**, a post-and-beam house that features beaded weatherboarding, detailed door panels, and sophisticated cornice molding on the exterior. Such places would likely have been plastered on the interior. The **Sweeney-Conner Cabin (LCS No. 080052, ASMIS No. APCO00039.000, contributing building)**, built c. 1865, is a much simpler hall-plan building of log construction, similar to many that dotted the Virginia countryside in the nineteenth century (Lanier and Herman 1997:12–16).

Finally, the District contains several restored or reconstructed examples of typical outbuildings from the region that reflect the community's daily life in the mid-nineteenth century. Detached kitchens like the restorations at the Clover Hill Tavern and the Bocock-Isbell House and the reconstruction at the McLean House endured into the early twentieth century in many parts of Virginia. They tended to be one-room, one-story buildings with masonry chimneys and rough interior finishes. The Bocock-Isbell Outside Kitchen (1849–1850) is of post-and-beam construction, and the McLean Outside Kitchen (a 1964–1965 reconstruction of the 1848 kitchen on the site) is built of logs and has a frame rear addition. The larger outside kitchen at the tavern housed additional guest quarters on the second story. Both this building and the restored Clover Hill Tavern Guest House at the west end of the complex are brick with exterior staircases that reflect their unique functions. The restored Bocock-Isbell Smoke House (1849–1850) represents the second most-common outbuilding type present on nineteenth-century house lots. Its 12-ft-square plan, high-pitched gable roof, single batten door, and lack of windows are all typical characteristics of the type. The reconstructed Plunkett-Meeks Store Stable and Bocock-Isbell House Stable are simple utilitarian buildings intended to house horses and carriages, store tack, and provide hay lofts and feed bins (Lanier and Herman 1997:52–57).

Reconstructed slave quarters at the Clover Hill Tavern and the McLean House illustrate the central role that slave labor played in most agriculture-based economies throughout the South. Housing for slaves varied considerably, ranging from rooms in main houses to quarters attached to other dependencies such as kitchens to independent buildings. The Clover Hill Tavern Slave Quarters is a reconstruction of an 1819 frame building that contained two rooms on the ground floor and two rooms above, with a central chimney and two separate entrances. The McLean Slave Quarters is a 1964–1965 reconstruction of an 1848 double-crib log building with a central chimney and two separate entrances. Additional reconstructed buildings that add to the authentic appearance of the Village landscape include the McLean Ice House; well houses at the Courthouse and the McLean and Jones Law Office properties; and privies at the McLean, Plunkett-Meeks, and Clover Hill Tavern properties. Outside the Village, the oldest extant building in the District is the **Sweeney Prizery (LCS No. 000045, ASMIS No. APCO00037.000, contributing building)**, a tobacco-packing house constructed c. 1790–1799 and later used as a residence. The much smaller **Coleman Outbuilding (LCS No. 289285, ASMIS No. APCO00057.002, contributing structure)**, constructed 1863–1865, exhibits a form typical of a corn crib, although its original function is unknown. Both are rare extant remnants of the District's historic agricultural land use.

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CRITERION D – ARCHEOLOGY – HISTORIC/NON-ABORIGINAL

The history of archeological research at Appomattox Court House NHP comprises more than 40 projects conducted between 1941 and 2004. The National Park Service initiated the earliest archeological efforts to inform the reconstruction of the structures and landscapes associated with the park's commemorative role as the location of the surrender of the Army of Northern Virginia that effectively ended the American Civil War. World War II delayed reconstruction efforts, but in the immediate post-war period those efforts were revived, so that by the early 1960s most of the significant elements of the park had been constructed, many with the benefit of archeological data. The individuals directing the archeological research at the park during the 1950s and 1960s, including J. C. Harrington and Edward Larrabee, were instrumental in the creation of the field of historical archeology as a recognized sub-discipline within anthropology. In many ways, Appomattox Court House was a laboratory to develop the methodological and theoretical approaches that would shape the field. The somewhat limited nature of the work, however, confines its broader significance especially when compared to the ground-breaking work conducted at George Washington's Birthplace or Colonial Williamsburg (Carroll and Harrington 1959; Cooper and Pousson 2004; Hanson and Happel 1942; Happel 1956; Happel et al. 1942; Harrington 1954a, 1954b; Holder 1942; Judd 1957; Larrabee 1961; Moore 1957a, 1957b; Walker 1963).

After two decades of effort and the passing of the Civil War Centennial in 1965, explicitly research-oriented archeology at the park largely ceased. From the 1970s to the late 1990s, archeological excavations were conducted primarily to meet compliance obligations under Section 106 of the National Historic Preservation Act of 1966, although several poorly documented, "academic" digs are reported to have been conducted at the Sweeney Prizery and at locations throughout the Village. In 1999, the park was tasked with preparing a new General Management Plan (GMP), and more research-driven projects were again undertaken to help inform and expand the new interpretive priorities outlined in that document (Bevan 2000; Bianchi 1992; Blades 1978; Calkins n.d; Cooper 1995, 1996, 1998; Cooper and Pousson 2004; Fiero 1983; Kostro 2002; Lucchetti et al. 1992).

A total of 79 archeological sites have been identified within the District, 68 of which have been inventoried in the Archeological Sites Management and Information System (ASMIS).³⁰ The sites encompass post-contact-period resources associated with the late eighteenth- and nineteenth-century uses of the park lands and include cemeteries, residential and commercial structures (both extant and archeological), extant road alignments, and Civil War-period encampments. No pre-contact-period sites have been identified.

The following sections discuss the contributing archeological sites within the District thematically, beginning with the physical reconstruction of the park as a commemorative landscape from 1940 to 1968, a theme that is discussed in detail under Criterion A above. While not chronologically accurate relative to the overall history of the park, this context is the most significant application of archeological data to the interpretation of the District and has precipitated the most detailed excavations to date. The theme of park reconstruction is followed by a discussion of the historical development of Appomattox Court House from the late eighteenth century through the late nineteenth century and how that development influenced and was influenced by the social constructs of race, class, and gender. Many of the sites are discussed as components of contributing buildings, while others are detailed strictly as archeological sites. Many of the sites, including some resources listed as contributing sites in the original 1989 National Register

³⁰ ASMIS is the National Park Service's database for the basic registration and management of pre- and post-contact-period archeological resources contained within individual parks and includes basic information on site locations, types, known or inferred integrity, and current National Register status.

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documentation, have not undergone sufficient archeological research to establish their integrity relative to that status. These sites are discussed with reference to their archeological potential under Criterion D to yield substantive information with which to address a range of issues important to the history of the District.

Pre-contact Period

No pre-contact archeological resources have been identified to date within the District boundaries. Six pre-contact sites have been identified within five miles of the District, however; and there are 14 recorded pre-contact sites within Appomattox County. The pattern of documented sites in Appomattox County suggests that pre-contact settlement in the area focused on floodplains and lower terraces near streams, spurs, or terraces located immediately above waterways and on ridges with loamy soils. The topography of the park, its location within the Appomattox drainage, and its proximity to the tributaries of the James River suggest that the area has a moderate to high potential to contain sites dating from the Archaic through Late Woodland periods, particularly in locations along the park's many waterways. The identification and study of such sites has the potential to shed light on settlement patterns, subsistence practices, exchange systems, social organization, and the origins and dispersal of the Monacans and other Siouan-speaking groups during the pre-contact period (Cooper and Pousson 2004).

Post-contact Period

The Archeology of Restoration at Appomattox Court House

Following the Battle of Appomattox Court House and the Confederate surrender, the town gained instant national fame as the location of the events that ended the Civil War. Visitors, including veterans and tourists, came to see the location, take photographs, draw maps, and collect relics. These activities provided data about the appearance and condition of the Village at the end of the war and served as an important resource for twentieth-century researchers attempting to reconstruct the area. The desire to commemorate the events that took place at Appomattox Court House in 1865 continued throughout the remainder of the nineteenth century and into the twentieth. In 1893, the War Department installed a series of interpretive plaques at Appomattox Court House to mark the locations of important events related to the battle and the surrender. This step marked the federal government's formal recognition of the town's role in American history.

In 1929, prominent local residents began advocating for greater federal recognition of the area. Virginia's Department of Highway made plans to straighten, grade, and surface the old stage road to facilitate truck and automobile traffic. In 1931, Congress passed legislation that enabled the War Department to purchase the one-acre site of the courthouse building to create a monument commemorating the surrender. Eventually, the National Park Service took control of the property and began planning for the establishment of a park. The official work to create the park and restore the landscape to its appearance at the time of Lee's surrender to Grant began in 1940 when a company of African American CCC laborers was tasked with stabilizing existing structures, clearing vegetation, and demolishing "undesirable" structures such as old sheds and outbuildings. The CCC workers also opened a stone quarry near Plain Run Branch and quarried stone for use in the construction of a bypass for State Route 24.

As discussed under Criterion A, the use of archeological data, in conjunction with documentary and photographic data and oral histories, was considered critically important in the accurate reconstruction of the "surrender" landscape at Appomattox Court House. Topography, vegetation, fields of vision, and

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elements of the cultural landscape that could be exploited for tactical purposes all were critical components in military decision-making during the Civil War for generals on both sides of the Mason-Dixon Line. These same elements are critical to a visitor's experience of a national battlefield and his or her understanding of what occurred there, and why, during a major military engagement. Given the deep emotional resonance that the Civil War has for many Americans, the accurate relocation of structures on the landscape dating to the final battle of the Civil War at Appomattox Court House could provide a more accurate picture of the landscape as Grant and Lee would have experienced it.

As the location of Lee's surrender to Grant, the McLean House is the preeminent historical site at Appomattox Court House and was the focus of the earliest reconstruction efforts at the park. Preston Holder's contributions to those efforts included the first excavation at what is now referred to as the McLean House Complex (ASMIS No. APCO00006.000). Initiated in 1941, Holder's work at the complex included a combination of machine stripping and controlled 10-by-10-foot (ft) unit excavations and narrower hand-excavated trenches. The investigations focused on the McLean House and yard including the McLean Well House and the McLean Fence and were designed to locate features and artifact deposits that would allow for the most "authentic" reconstruction possible of the house and surrounding landscape on the day of Lee's surrender to Grant. Using CCC laborers, the identified stratigraphic sequences and features were documented meticulously through scaled plans, profiles, and photographs; and feature clusters were analyzed to identify "components" (sub-features) of larger functional features such as fences and foundations. The excavated soils, however, were screened for artifacts by 10-ft-square horizontal units without the benefit of stratigraphic controls, so their interpretive value was limited.

Holder documented a range of substantive architectural and landscape features dating to the historical occupancy of the site. These features included post molds associated with former fence lines; a well possibly associated with the **Old Raine Tavern (ASMIS No. APCO00006.009, contributing site)**; structural remains associated with the house porches; brick used in the original construction of the house and left in piles following the ill-conceived dismantling of the house after the war; the house foundation trench outlining the east and west rooms and hall; a brick chamber interpreted as a "cooler;" a buried yard surface dating to the McLean occupation; foundation stones associated with the east outbuilding; and evidence of fairly elaborate site drainage improvements. Particularly significant architectural features were preserved in place to aid in the subsequent reconstruction process. Together with period photographs, drawings, and architectural plans sketched before the house was dismantled, Holder's work informed the reconstruction of the house and the restoration of the well and well house, the front walk, and the fences at the site. Follow-up archeological work at the site in 1963 by John Walker located the framing for the walls of the McLean Ice House shaft, but conflicting pictorial and photographic evidence make it difficult to verify that the structure was standing in 1865. While subsequent archeological work identified additional fence lines, it was unsuccessful in identifying archeological evidence of more substantive landscape and structural features such as the **McLean House Smoke House (ASMIS No. APCO00006.007, contributing site)**, the **McLean House Stable (ASMIS No. APCO00006.008, contributing site)**, the McLean Slave Quarters, the McLean Privy, the McLean Outside Kitchen, and the Old Raine Tavern, leaving Holder's work as the most successful example of the use of archeological data in reconstruction efforts at Appomattox Court House (Cooper and Pousson 2004; Holder 1942; Larrabee 1961; Walker 1963).

Holder's early archeological work in support of reconstruction efforts at the park also included excavations at the site of the **Old County Jail (ASMIS No. APCO00070.000, contributing site)**. In the nineteenth century, Virginia law required each county at the time of its incorporation to erect a common jail. In 1845, the newly formed Appomattox County solicited bids in the *Lynchburg Virginian* for the

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construction of a jail house measuring “40 by 20 feet, two stories high...four rooms, 2 below and 2 above... and of...brick, the walls to be 18 inches thick...a chimney at either end of the house.” The jail, sited east of the Courthouse along the Richmond-Lynchburg Stage Road, stood for only 20 years before being replaced by the extant three-story New County Jail (JMA 2009).

Holder’s 1941–1942 excavations in Courthouse Square identified builders’ trenches and remnants of brick footings associated with the Old County Jail, and John Walker’s follow-up excavations in 1962 exposed the foundation trenches of the building in their entirety and verified that the jail had been built according to specification. The lack of *in situ* brick or architectural hardware provided some corroboration to the belief that much of the Old Jail had been salvaged for use in construction of the New County Jail. John Walker’s 1962–1963 test excavations along the north side of the New County Jail revealed that one foot of post-construction fill had been added to the original grade as part of the 1929 conversion of the Stage Road into State Highway 24, but no substantive structural or feature data were identified as part of that effort. On the basis of his findings at the Old County Jail site, however, Walker concluded that there was sufficient data to recommend the reconstruction of the original jail that was still standing at the time of the Confederate surrender. Although the reconstruction was never undertaken, the information collected during Holder’s and Walker’s excavations provides another important example of the value placed on archeological data as part of the larger reconstruction philosophy at the park.

The Appomattox Courthouse has been the subject of several archeological investigations beginning as earlier as 1941. In that year, Preston Holder, as part of his excavations at the McLean House, performed limited excavations in the former location of the building and identified a demolition layer associated with its destruction by fire in 1892. It was Edward Larrabee’s 1960 excavations at the site and at locations throughout Courthouse Square, however, that provided the basis for reconstruction of the Courthouse and its landscape. Among Larrabee’s discoveries that informed the structural reconstruction of the building were the robbed builders’ trenches for the footings and ground-floor partition walls; the porch/entrance stairs footing trenches; portions of floor pavement; and structural column footings, samples of roofing materials, and downspout splash pavement. Work in the adjacent Square uncovered former fence lines, walkway remnants, and road surfaces that provided evidence with which to reconstruct the surrounding landscape as it likely appeared in the mid-nineteenth century. In 1964, a 6-ft-diameter well was uncovered during the reconstruction of the octagonal fence around the courthouse green, and National Park Service architect Orville Carroll recorded its location on a plan illustrating the square’s proposed restoration. The identification and proper placement of the well was important because it conclusively resolved discrepancies between oral-historical accounts of its location versus archival photographs showing the feature.

The Clover Hill Tavern Complex (ASMIS No. APCO00001.000) has undergone several rounds of archeological investigation conducted for both research and compliance purposes. The first excavation took place in 1953 when J. C. Harrington carried out limited archeological testing around the Clover Hill Tavern Slave Quarters and the south porch/front walkway of the Clover Hill Tavern to document features associated with those two buildings. Harrington never completed a report, but he did create two plan drawings that illustrated the extent of the excavations and documented the basics of the archeological features he identified. Harrington’s work resulted in the discovery of a smaller, original porch structure (Cooper and Pousson 2004:79).

In 1957, Jackson W. Moore excavated to identify remnants of the **Clover Hill Tavern Dining Room (ASMIS No. APCO00001.007, contributing site)** and the **Clover Hill Tavern Bar (ASMIS No. APCO00001.006, contributing site)** so that they could be reconstructed at their exact historical

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locations. While Moore succeeded in providing precise locational and dimensional data concerning specific features, there was considerable ambiguity concerning interpretation of the dining room addition (and attached kitchen) due in part to a water main that extended through the site. At the site of the bar, Moore identified two piers that he interpreted as the eastern structural supports for the barroom building. That functional attribution, however, is suspect as he was unable to locate any corresponding western piers. The lack of detailed field notes makes it difficult to judge whether Moore's excavations were extensive enough to make any broad archeological interpretations about the exact form of the barroom, much of which was subsequently reconstructed from archival photographs and documentary and architectural survey data. Perhaps the most significant of Moore's findings, albeit one for which the interpretation remains uncertain, was the discovery of remnants of an earlier brick wall footing running parallel to the east-west alignment of the piers supporting the dining room wing's south porch. Moore suggested that the wall may have been part of the earlier 1805 **Mosely House (ASMIS No. APCO00001.010, contributing site)** or of Patteson's 1819 residence, neither of which is detailed in the documentary record (Moore 1957a).

Despite its shortcomings, Moore's excavation is primarily important as an explicit attempt to use archeological data in a collaborative effort to reconstruct historic resources important to the interpretation of Appomattox Court House at the time of Lee's surrender to Grant. The work also is important for its identification, however tenuous, of structural features potentially associated with the initial settlement of Clover Hill during the first decades of the nineteenth century.

Following two small-scale surveys conducted in 1959 and 1960, archeological investigation of the complex largely ceased until the 1980s. Work resumed in 1982 with Leonard Bianchi's work around the Clover Hill Tavern Guest House and at the presumed location of a former shop/office in advance of proposed construction and renovation activities. Bianchi excavated the fireplace/chimney footing and wall trench south of the guest house and noted an extensive concentration of rock located to the east and northeast of the building. He also identified a largely undisturbed sheet midden between the guest house and the kitchen and another to the north of the kitchen. The middens contained late eighteenth- through early twentieth-century materials and were interpreted as former yard surfaces. In 1988, David Orr excavated at the location of the **Clover Hill Tavern Smoke House (ASMIS No. APCO00001.009, contributing site)** and identified a feature related to the fire pit and a portion of buried nineteenth-century ground surface. While these excavations were compliance-oriented, the findings suggest that the site's landscape integrity remains good and has the potential to yield substantive feature and artifact data about the developmental history of the site. This presumed landscape integrity suggests that structural elements of the as-yet archeologically undiscovered **Clover Hill Tavern Ice House (ASMIS No. APCO00001.008, contributing site)** may still survive within the complex (Bianchi 1992; Cooper and Pousson 2004).

The early archeological excavations at the Plunkett-Meeks Store provide an interesting counterpoint to the value of archeological data during reconstruction efforts at the park. As with the McLean House and Appomattox Courthouse, the Plunkett-Meeks Store and surrounding buildings, including the **Plunkett-Meeks Store Outbuilding (ASMIS No. APCO00003.005, contributing site)**, were the subject of targeted documentary and archeological research designed to provide information for reconstruction purposes. The results of the archeological research provided equivocal data that led, in several instances, to incorrect interpretations of the original appearance of the building(s). For example, Moore's 1957 investigations focused on the east entrance porch and the exterior cellar steps at the west side of the store. In his report, Moore writes that there was scant evidence for the existence of the east porch at the time of the Confederate surrender, a conclusion contradicted by architectural and pictorial evidence that was

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unavailable to or simply not used by Moore. The subsequent design and implementation of the porch's restoration were accomplished without reference to his interpretation. In contrast, Moore discovered unambiguous, well-preserved evidence for exterior cellar steps and an associated retaining wall on the west side of the house (Carroll and Harrington 1959; Happel 1956; Judd 1957; Moore 1957b; Raley 1957c).

Brooke Blades' 1978 excavations west of the Plunkett-Meeks Store identified what was interpreted as evidence of the former storehouse/outbuilding associated with the store. The location of the subsurface remains between 6 and 15 ft north of the edge of the Stage Road, however, contradicts historical drawings that show the storehouse directly adjacent to the road. The reasons for this discrepancy are unclear; it may be that the trench features derive from some interior structural component(s) rather than the storehouse's perimeter wall. Nonetheless, the Plunkett-Meeks Storage Building as reconstructed in 1959 lies immediately northwest of the store in a location supported by neither the documentary nor the archeological data.

Additional work throughout the complex identified a relict brick walkway north of the Plunkett-Meeks Store Privy; a fieldstone foundation pier likely associated with a 1940s dog pen; and an original footing for the building currently interpreted as the Woodson Law Office. All of these features, however, provide equivocal data for reconstruction purposes due to their limited scope and the level of modern disturbances that have effectively "smudged" the nineteenth-century archeological signature of the site (Bianchi 1992; Blades 1978; Cooper and Pousson 2004).

Settlement to the Establishment of Appomattox County (1790–1845)

While the District derives its primary national significance from the events associated with the surrender of the Army of Northern Virginia, Appomattox Court House also contains resources with the potential to contribute to a better understanding of the settlement, growth, and eventual decline of a small Virginia Piedmont farming community. Although there is little extant documentation, Euro-American settlers probably first arrived in the vicinity of what is now Appomattox Court House NHP in the mid- to late eighteenth century and established the original settlement known as Clover Hill. The earliest settlers practiced mixed farming and livestock husbandry primarily at the subsistence level, and the bonds of family rather than commerce served as the economic "glue" of the community.

Based on what is known from other portions of the Piedmont, the locations of early homestead sites in the Clover Hill area likely would have been in well-drained areas with reliable water sources and passable transportation routes nearby. The lack of reliable roads was a major impediment to the settlement of inland Virginia, so the establishment of the Richmond-Lynchburg Stage Road as the first line of public transportation built across Virginia was an important factor in the development of Clover Hill. To capitalize on the increased traffic introduced by the new stage line, Alexander Patteson constructed the Clover Hill Tavern in 1819 to provide food, drink, and lodging for weary passengers. The archeological investigations at the Clover Hill Tavern Complex were critical in the accurate reconstruction of historic resources at the park as they appeared at the time of the Confederate surrender. They also have the potential to yield data about the structural and landscape organization of Clover Hill dating to its earliest settlement in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. For example, tax records suggest that a modest structure stood on the property at the time of Patteson's purchase. No evidence of that structure exists on the current landscape, but archeological work at the complex identified structural remains possibly associated with the c. 1805 Mosely House that have the potential to provide information about

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the architectural and material culture profile of the property during that period (Cooper and Pousson 2004; JMA 2009:2-6; Smith 1949).

Residential sites associated with the yeoman farmer/small planter class in Clover Hill during its first decades of settlement are limited. The Mariah Wright House, nearly as old as the Clover Hill Tavern, is believed to have been built sometime about 1823 by Pryor Wright, Jr., and was more or less continuously occupied until the late 1930s. Archeological research at the site has included shallow excavations to identify razed outbuildings and to document the locations, widths, and grades of former road traces; construction monitoring; and testing in the east yard and at the house's chimney. The shallow excavations yielded the most meaningful information derived from a statistical analysis of artifact patterning across the site. An abundance of artifacts identified east of the house was interpreted as originating from a series of outbuildings of unknown function; a concentration of architectural and utilitarian kitchen artifacts southeast of the house was interpreted as the location of the summer kitchen/slave quarters; and a concentration of horse-related artifacts located west of the house was likely the location of a barn/stable (Bianchi 1992; Cooper 1996; Cooper and Pousson 2004; Fiero 1983; Lucchetti et al. 1992).

The provisional identification of former outbuildings and the minimal soil disturbance associated with the previous excavations suggest that future work at the Mariah Wright House has the potential to provide substantive artifact and feature data to explore one of the earliest known residential sites within the District. The site also has comparative value to other known residential and commercial sites dating to the same period, including the Clover Hill Tavern Complex and the Charles Sweeney Cabin, built sometime between 1830 and 1840 and restored in 1987. While the cabin is most famously reported to have been used as a hospital during the Civil War and visited by Robert E. Lee about the time of the surrender, surviving deposits dating to its earlier nineteenth-century construction and occupation have the potential to provide important information about the organization and use of the site in the first half of the nineteenth century, an understudied period in the history of Appomattox Court House.

As with most early settlements, smaller-scale milling was critical to the economic viability of Clover Hill during its first decades of development. The **Sweeney Dam and Mill Pond Complex (ASMIS No. APCO00068.000, contributing site)** is perhaps the least-documented major cultural resource within the park, and the exact ownership and location of the complex is ambiguous. Documentary research conducted for the Sweeney Prizery discovered deed references suggesting that the mill was owned by the Flood family, although maps dating to the mid-nineteenth century illustrate the Flood mill as located one mile east of the location of the Sweeney Dam. The Floods may have owned a second mill at the Sweeney Dam site, but additional research would be necessary to resolve the discrepancy. Whatever the exact ownership history, the deeds document an 1805 conveyance of property by William and Mourning Sweeney to John Sweeney, and a mill is depicted at the site on maps from 1826 and 1859. Only Flood's mill is depicted by 1863, suggesting that the Sweeney operations had ceased by that date. The site includes the ruins of the approximately 100-ft-long by 8 to 10-ft-high earthen dam with stone infill crossing the Appomattox River and its associated mill race. More detailed archival research combined with field survey has the potential to provide information about the form and function of the mill site and its functional and economic ties with the c. 1812–1850 Pryor Wright Mill Site (ASMIS #Unassigned) and the c. 1863 Eldridge B. Land Tannery Site (ASMIS #APCO00055.000), both of which remain to be field-verified.

Some larger-scale production and processing of tobacco also may have occurred as evidenced by the Sweeney Prizery. Purportedly built during the 1790s as a prizery, or tobacco-packing house, the building was converted into a tenant house sometime in the mid- to late nineteenth century. The exact date of the

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prizery's construction and its specific ownership history are ambiguous, as most land records for the parcel were destroyed in the Buckingham County and Appomattox County courthouse fires of 1869 and 1892, respectively. The few records that survive, however, suggest that the Flood family likely built and used the prizery as part of their large estate known as "Pleasant Retreat." No elements of the extant building indicate its use as a prizery, so that attribution seems to be based on oral history and its location in a prominent tobacco-growing area near the Appomattox River and the Lynchburg-Richmond Stage Road that would have made it well-suited for such use. The association of the building with the Sweeney family appears to be similarly apocryphal (Unrau 1981:22, 32–35).

Since its acquisition by the National Park Service, the Sweeney Prizery has undergone several stabilizations that likely have compromised the integrity of the site. David Orr conducted archeological excavations at the site in 1978, but no field notes or reports were produced so the work is of limited interpretive value. In the absence of documentary data and in view of the various competing claims regarding its ownership history, additional archeological investigation has the potential to provide information about the construction date, modifications to, and use of the extant structure and surrounding landscape. This information could not only clarify the specific history of the building but also contribute to a better understanding of the early settlement and organization of Clover Hill relative to the overall tobacco economy in Virginia (Cooper and Pousson 2004:72, 125–126).

Growth and Development of Village of Appomattox Court House (1845–1861)

The Richmond-Lynchburg Stage Road facilitated modest growth in the Clover Hill area. While the population increased, access to reliable transportation remained limited, and local people began to lobby for a more convenient county seat located closer to their homes. After at least a decade of public effort, a new county called Appomattox was created in 1845 from portions of Buckingham, Campbell, Prince Edward, and Charlotte counties. The county seat was established at Clover Hill, as the Stage Road continued to provide the major transportation route through the area. Appomattox County was created just a few years before the development of the railroad system, but the rail lines bypassed Clover Hill and a stop was established instead at Appomattox Station, located three miles south of the Village (Moore 1976).

By the mid-nineteenth century, the local economy was still primarily focused on tobacco production, with smaller-scale efforts at wheat, corn, and oats cultivation and livestock husbandry. There were also a few commercial lumber and flour mills. The best local roads, including the old Stage Road between Richmond and Lynchburg, converged at the Clover Hill Tavern and stage stop and provided the ideal location for the establishment of the Village center. The Courthouse was platted in this location in March 1845 on 30 acres of the Clover Hill tract on either side of the Stage Road surrounding the tavern. While the construction of the Courthouse was underway, the Clover Hill Tavern stable reportedly served as a temporary courthouse, although archeological evidence of that building has yet to be identified despite several attempts (Cooper and Pousson 2004).

The platting of the Courthouse at Clover Hill in 1845 led to a brief and largely unsuccessful bout of land speculation promoted by Samuel McDearmon, a member of the Virginia House of Delegates. By November, McDearmon had purchased 42 of the 43 town lots. While the Appomattox Courthouse and the Old County Jail were quickly built, the demand for residential lots was low. By 1849, McDearmon had managed to sell lots only to Pryor Wright, David Robertson, and Thomas and Henry Boccock. By 1854, he was nearly bankrupt, and the re-routing of the railroad three miles south of Clover Hill cemented his financial fate (Cooper and Pousson 2004).

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Built by Pryor Wright, Jr., between 1849 and 1850, the **Pryor Wright House (ASMIS No. APCO00018.000, contributing site)** was one of the largest homes in Clover Hill. Wright and his family occupied the house until his death in 1854. After that time, it is believed that tenants inhabited the property for a number of years. The 1870 Census indicates that Cornelius Hill, a dry-goods merchant, lived there with his family. In 1876, another dry-goods merchant, William Rosser, purchased the house. Featherston (1948) indicates that at one time the house was occupied by Gus Watson, an African American blacksmith who worked in William Rosser's shop. Tax records dating to 1881 describe the property as a "brick store," and in 1890, when it was gutted by fire, it was labeled as an "old storehouse" (Cooper and Pousson 2004).

Early archeological work at the Pryor Wright House in 1942 focused on the location of landscape features such as old roadways. Geophysical survey work and ground-truthing excavations in 2000 and 2001 identified the remains of the demolished building and an artifact concentration in the northwest part of the site. The results of this work suggest that integrity and archeological potential of the Pryor Wright House site is excellent (Fiero 1983; Holder 1942).

Following their purchase of land from Samuel McDearmon in 1849, brothers Thomas and Henry Bocock built the Bocock-Isbell House. Both men were important in local politics and used the house as their county seat residence, although each maintained plantations in different parts of the county. In the early days of Appomattox County, Henry Bocock served as county clerk, while Thomas was the Commonwealth's attorney. Thomas Bocock was elected later to the U.S. House of Representatives; following secession, he served as the Speaker of the Confederate House. Limited archeological work at the Bocock-Isbell House Complex (ASMIS #AP00007.000) has included construction monitoring and excavations to locate the original stable as depicted in an historical photograph. The work to find the Bocock-Isbell House Stable was largely unsuccessful, yielding only a small number artifacts and a single post-hole feature; the National Park Service subsequently based the reconstruction of the stable on historical maps and photographs. Construction monitoring, however, concluded that the areas east and north of the house were largely undisturbed and likely retained considerable archeological potential (Bianchi 1992; Cooper and Pousson 2004; Larrabee 1961).

The archeological excavations at the Pryor Wright and Bocock-Isbell houses did not provide any substantive new data about the occupancy or use of those complexes, but they did confirm the archeological integrity of both sites. Both sites have the potential to yield substantive data about the form and function of prominent households in Appomattox Court House during the antebellum period and about how that profile likely changed as the houses became tenant properties following the routing of the railroad south of the town and the depredations of war.

Despite the overall failure of McDearmon's land speculation, by the 1850s a number of buildings had been constructed around the Village center: primarily residences, two taverns, one or two blacksmith shops, a store, a saddlery, and law offices. During the 1850s and 1860s, Appomattox County boasted about a dozen general stores; four of these, including the reconstructed Plunkett-Meeks Store and the **Robertson-Glover Store (ASMIS No. APCO00002.000, contributing site)** were located near the courthouse. The stores sold a wide range of goods such as food items, tools, and household items. John Plunkett built the Plunkett-Meeks Store about 1851. The building functioned as a store until 1872, when it was sold by the widow of Francis Meeks, who ran the store during the war but died in 1870. It was then converted into the parsonage for the minister of the Clover Hill Presbyterian Church and remained a residence until the 1930s. Early work at the site focused on architectural aspects of the house and

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identified several architectural features, including two earlier south doorways, porch footings, and an old walkway (Judd and Harrington 1958; Moore 1957b; Moore 1976).

The Civil War and Reconstruction

As the location of Lee's surrender to Grant on April 9, 1865, the McLean House provides the narrative focus of Appomattox Court House NHP. Built in 1849 as a component of Raine's Tavern, the house was purchased by Wilmer McLean in 1863 and converted into a private residence. The McLean family's previous home in Manassas had been the scene of some of the worst fighting in the First Battle of Bull Run; the move to Clover Hill was prompted, at least in part, by McLean's desire to escape the violence of the war. He may also have re-located to continue his business of raw goods sales, mainly sugar, to the Confederate government, a business made impossible once Manassas fell under Federal control. Following the Confederacy's surrender in his front parlor, McLean's fortune in Confederacy currency became worthless, and the family was ruined financially. They left Clover Hill and went to live in Prince William County, and the house was auctioned publicly in 1869. After a series of residential occupations, the "Surrender House," as it had become known, was sold to a group of New York investors who believed they could profit from its history and notoriety. In anticipation of exhibiting the house at the 1893 Chicago World's Fair or in Washington, DC, the new owners had the house disassembled for shipping; a set of measured drawings and exterior elevations were prepared before its dismantling and are currently on file at the park archives. The exhibition plans were never realized, however, and the investment group left the house in piles where it lay deteriorating for the next 50 years.

Extensive archeological work has been conducted at the McLean House, although, as discussed above, those efforts were directed primarily at collecting data to accurately reconstruct the house and property as it appeared at the time of the surrender rather than at providing substantive information about the battle. Several sites within the District, however, have the potential to provide meaningful data about that confrontation. An archeological survey of **Grant's Headquarters Site (ASMIS No. APCO00051.000, contributing site)** was conducted in 1991 in advance of the proposed construction of a sewer main through the area. As part of a metal detection survey, archeologists collected an array of military-related artifacts including a cannon ball fragment, an unfired Confederate carbine bullet (High Base Sharp's), a shell or cannon ball fragment, a Jacksonian button with patriotic motif, a four-hole brass fly/shirt button, a Confederate time fuse (probably for a cannon ball rather than a shell), a brass U.S. accoutrement (belt adjuster), an iron knife blade with tang, and a fragment of an iron candle snuffer. The decidedly Confederate-leaning assemblage suggests that the site name is more a function of its location near the plaque marking Grant's headquarters rather than any functional relationship to that encampment. No subsurface excavations were conducted at the site, but the impact of the proposed sewer line was mitigated by relocating the alignment to avoid the area (Lucchetti et al. 1992).

A second Union site, known as the **Final Battle Site (ASMIS No. APCO00052.000, contributing site)**, was identified during a metal detector survey conducted by Chris Calkins. Calkins (n.d.) identified a concentration of military artifacts at a location consistent with historical accounts of the final Union battle position and associated encampment. The potential for artifacts and features related to the Union bivouac is considered high, although plowing in the area may have disturbed or destroyed some subsurface features. During his survey Calkins also identified what is believed to be a **Confederate Encampment (ASMIS No. APCO00074.000, contributing site)** on the basis of a concentration of metallic military artifacts. Although a large number of the artifacts were removed as part of the study and much of the area has been plowed, the site has the potential to yield structural and artifact data to address the experience of

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the common Confederate soldier during the final bivouac of the Army of Northern Virginia (Cooper and Pousson 2004).

The identified archeological sites in the District related to the final major battle of the Civil War provide a unique opportunity to study the experience of Union and Confederate troops as the conflict wound down. Archeological exploration of Civil War-period encampment sites has the potential to provide data about a range of issues concerning the organization, operation, and experiences of both the Union and Confederate armies during the Appomattox campaign. For example, investigations of the encampment areas identified as Lee's Headquarters Site (ASMIS No. APCO00050.000), Grant's Headquarters Site, the Final Battle Site, and the Confederate Encampment potentially could address questions of organization, shelter construction, provisioning, and living conditions at the close of the war. The limited archeological monitoring and metal-detecting survey that provisionally identified these sites suggests that the potential for preserved artifact concentrations and subsurface features related to the encampments is high (Cooper and Pousson 2004).

In the course of their activities, Union and Confederate troops both utilized and altered the pre-existing landscape, making use of abandoned residences and farm buildings, transportation routes, and strategic aspects of the existing terrain to construct their camps, fortifications, and supply lines. Many private properties such as the Academy Dwelling House Site, the Samuel H. Coleman House Site (ASMIS No. APCO00057.000, contributing site), the Tibbs-Tinsley-Scott Farm Complex (ASMIS No. APCO00056.000, contributing site), the Mariah Wright House, the Clover Hill Tavern, the Willis Inge Cabin Site (ASMIS No. APCO00020.000, contributing site), and the Peers House were commandeered for military purposes and, in some instances, have yielded distinct archeological materials related to that use. At the Academy Dwelling House Site, for example, two Minie balls, a .32 caliber bullet, and a nipple wrench for a rifle were recovered. A survey conducted by Chris Calkins at the Samuel H. Coleman House Site, the location of the only civilian casualty of the battle, recovered Civil War artifacts from the area formerly occupied by the corn crib, and the Tibbs-Tinsley-Scott Farm Complex served as the U.S. Signal Corps observation post in 1865. Archeological investigations conducted at the Coleman and Tibbs sites in 2003 resulted in low to moderate landscape integrity assessments, but these sites have the demonstrated and potential ability to yield artifact and feature data about the experiences of civilians and soldiers during the battle and the strategies used by military personnel to make use of the existing landscape and structures for tactical and strategic purposes. The archeological investigations at the Coleman House Site, for example, yielded tourniquet and syringe fragments that effectively confirm the reported use of the house as a Federal field hospital.

Questions of Race, Class, and Gender Before and After the Civil War

Before the Civil War, the labor of enslaved Africans and African Americans served as the backbone of the agricultural economy throughout the South. By 1850, nine households in Appomattox County owned more than 50 slaves. Several sites within the District, including the Clover Hill Tavern Complex (ASMIS No. APCO00001.000), the Mariah Wright House Complex (ASMIS No. APCO00041.000), and the McLean House Complex (ASMIS No. APCO00006.000) include slave quarters. These sites provide a comparative context for examining the conditions of daily life among slaves owned by different masters, as well as the changes in habitations, material culture, diet, and status as the community's economic fortunes shifted throughout the nineteenth century. They also provide a comparative context for assessing the ways enslaved African Americans negotiated their place, and their survival, within the Clover Hill community before the Civil War.

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The experience of free African Americans in the years before and after Emancipation is equally important to understanding the interplay of race and identity. Freedom itself was hardly a straightforward concept, given the social, economic, and political climate of the South. Before the war, some enslaved people were able to gain their freedom through various means—some were freed by their masters' deaths, some were able to purchase their own freedom, and some were purchased by free friends or family members. When Alexander Patteson died in 1836, his will provided for the freedom of his slaves, with money set aside to take them to "some free State or Colony." They were taken to Ohio and freed, although it is unknown how they fared after their release from bond (Smith 1949:271).

Charles Diuguid, a Clover Hill blacksmith, gained his freedom through a working relationship with his master, William Wright. After earning enough to purchase his own release, Diuguid maintained an economic relationship with Wright and established his blacksmith shop in 1854 on Wright's property, just west of the Clover Hill Tavern. With the income he earned from his smithy, Diuguid purchased a younger woman. The couple married and had nine children, all of whom were technically born into slavery. Following the war, Diuguid purchased the property in its entirety and acquired an additional 2.5 acres. The property remained in the Diuguid family into the 1950s. The 1890 Peers map depicts a small one-story frame house or cabin at the site that is believed to have been the Diuguid home and a shop structure, presumably Diuguid's blacksmith shop (Marvel 2000:63).

In 2001, the Colonial Williamsburg Foundation conducted shovel-testing at the **Charles H. Diuguid Blacksmith Shop (ASMIS No. APCO00049.000, contributing site)**. The archeologists identified a concentration of slag in the southeast portion of the lot and interpreted this as the location of Diuguid's smithy. They also identified a second concentration, consisting of nineteenth-century domestic and architectural materials, immediately north and west of the slag area. Although it is not definitive, the second concentration may be associated with the former Diuguid house (Cooper and Pousson 2004; Kostro 2002).

The Jones Law Office is located near the intersection of the Prince Edward Court House Road and the Stage Road. The frame building, initially used as a law office by Crawford Jones, was built c. 1850. By the late 1860s, the structure was occupied by John Robinson, an African American shoemaker, and his family. Robinson purchased the property between 1871 and 1876. The 1890 Peers map indicates that the Robinson family lived in the former law office building. The house foundation and well house, which were initially misidentified as part of the Kelly House, were re-built in 1963. With the exception of monitoring conducted in 1982, no archeological work has been carried out at the Jones Law Office/Robinson House Site (Cooper and Pousson 2004; Marvel 2000:302).

While archeological research has been limited, one potential research possibility for the Diuguid and Jones sites is the place that both families and other free African Americans occupied within the Clover Hill community. The status of the Diuguid family was marginal—Charles was technically free but still maintained ties with Wright. His wife was his purchased property, and none of their children were born free. How did this situation affect his ability to make a living as a craftsman? How did the Diuguid family interact with white and black neighbors? What was their opinion of and experience during the war? Much of the abolitionist rhetoric coming out of the North stoked the fears of white Virginians who still remembered Nat Turner's rebellion in 1831. The fear of slave insurrections was always present and resulted in tight surveillance and strict rules governing the activities of slaves across the South. As "Confederate fever" swept through Clover Hill in the early 1860s, the Diuguids chose to name their newborn son Jeff Davis Diuguid. This action suggests that the family supported the Confederate cause or, more likely, hoped to ease the possible loyalty concerns of their white neighbors and clientele. The

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identification of additional African American sites would enable research into the daily lives of individual households and comparative studies of African American and white households in the Village before and after Emancipation. This work could examine the material world of African American artisans and laborers and the role of material culture in creating, expressing, and contesting their positions in society before and after the Civil War (Marvel 2000:84).

Following the Civil War, the village of Appomattox Court House experienced a significant period of economic decline from which it would not substantially recover. This decline, however, began well before the start of the war, when the railroad line bypassed the Village and Appomattox Station was built approximately three miles from Clover Hill. The trend of economic decline intensified after the collapse of the Confederacy, as most of the South suffered the economic, social, and political consequences of defeat. In 1892, the courthouse burned down, and a new one was built in the town of Appomattox, which had grown up around Appomattox Station and the railroad, effectively ending the role of Clover Hill as the Appomattox County seat.

The abolition of slavery required the establishment of a new economic framework, and the re-negotiation of roles between white farmers and plantation owners and free black laborers. One result was dramatic changes in the social order. Antebellum Virginia was a stringently class-based society, and nineteenth-century class divisions among white individuals and families are reflected at various archeological sites within the District. Four economic classes have been proposed within the Clover Hill community: 1) the planter class, as represented by the McLean House Complex, the Bocoock-Isbell House Complex, the Pryor Wright House, and the Tibbs-Tinsley-Scott Farm Complex; 2) the yeoman farmer/small planter class, as represented by the Charles Sweeney Cabin, the Sweeney Prizery, the Sweeney Dam and Mill Pond Complex, and the Sweeney-Connor Cabin; 3) the merchant/government functionary class, as represented by the Peers House Complex (ASMIS #APCO00036.000), the Plunkett-Meeks Store Complex, the **Union Academy (ASMIS No. APCO00048.000, contributing site)**, and the **Union Academy Dwelling Ruins (ASMIS No. APCO00010.000, contributing site)**; and 4) the wage labor and artisan class, as represented by the **William Rosser House and Shops Complex (ASMIS No. APCO00014.000/APCO00023.000, contributing site)**, the Jones Law Office, the **Nowlin-Sears Blacksmith Shop (ASMIS No. APCO00016.000, contributing site)**, the **J. N. Williams Cabin (ASMIS No. APCO00040.000, contributing site)**, the **Robinson-Hix Shop (ASMIS No. APCO00011.000, contributing site)**, and the **Moffit (Layne) House Ruins (ASMIS No. APCO00047.000, contributing site)**. While these divisions fail to account for other related aspects of identity such as gender, race, and ethnicity, they provide a broad comparative context for examining the ways people of different social and economic standing constructed their identities through architecture, material goods, and the use of domestic and institutional space (Cooper and Pousson 2004).

Archeological investigations at the Peers House have included monitoring, geophysical survey, and undocumented excavations at the location of a former outbuilding east of the main house. As part of the archeological monitoring in 1992, Leonard Bianchi noted a broad scatter of household refuse and construction materials in the southeast portion of the house lot, but very few artifacts were recovered. The driveway south and southeast of the house appeared to have been built in part using fill soil that covered an artifact-bearing former surface, but only disturbed soils were identified in machine excavations closest to the house. David Orr conducted testing to locate an outbuilding east of the Peers House, presumably one of the buildings associated with the **Peers House Outbuildings – Kitchen and Stable (ASMIS No. APCO00036.002, contributing site)**. Orr's findings were inconclusive; he documented substantial twentieth-century overburden that precluded the identification of intact earlier yard surfaces or features (Bianchi 1992:21–22; Cooper and Pousson 2004:91).

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A geophysical prospecting survey designed to locate the same outbuildings proved marginally more successful in identifying one potential feature corresponding to a large visible depression in the yard. Ground-truthing excavations by the Colonial Williamsburg Foundation identified the anomaly as a large privy dating from the end of the nineteenth century that had been filled and covered with a large piece of sheet metal. There was also evidence that the privy had replaced an earlier structure (possibly an ice house) that remained intact. Additional tests in the Peers House yard revealed that much of it had been disturbed by modern landscaping, with the exception of an intact nineteenth-century sheet refuse deposit east of the house. Despite the level of documented landscape disturbance, the Peers House Complex retains sufficient integrity to yield additional feature and artifact data with the potential to provide insights into the material culture of the Peers family, a “middling” family in Appomattox (Kostro 2002:71).

The Union Academy and Academy Dwelling Ruins sites provide particularly promising examples of the nexus of race and class in Clover Hill before and after the war. S. D. McDearmon built the Union Academy, sometimes referred to as the Academy and Hall, between 1849 and 1850 as part of his ill-fated land speculation campaign. There is no evidence, however, that a school was established in the building; deed and tax assessment records suggest the building may have served as a poorhouse before being damaged by fire in 1857. In 1866, immediately after the war, a freedmen’s schoolhouse was opened in what remained of the original building and, in 1867, a new freedmen’s schoolhouse was built on the lot, presumably replacing the earlier building. In 1868, the majority of the lot was sold to the Presbyterian Church, whose congregation constructed a 30-by-40-ft building that provided space for Sunday services and, for a time, served as a school during the week (Marvel 2000).

The Union Academy Dwelling Ruins site dates to 1857 and was part of the same McDearmon land speculation scheme involving the Union Academy site. The dwelling was built as a rental property and occupied first by members of the Meeks family until 1881 and then, at the turn of the century, “by a colored family named Watts” (Hanson and Happel 1942; Featherston 1948).

Geophysical prospecting at both sites by Bruce Bevan in 2000 identified the possible locations of structural features associated with both buildings. Ground-truthing excavations by the Colonial Williamsburg Foundation in 2001 at the Union Academy site identified contexts related to its demolition; portions of a stone foundation matching the documented dimensions of the Freedmen’s Bureau school/Presbyterian Church; and an assemblage of nineteenth-century artifacts containing a high relative frequency of architectural artifacts consistent with an institutional context. Excavations at the Union Academy Dwelling Ruins site were similarly successful in the identifying the house’s western chimney base and an expansive, intact sheet refuse deposit containing late nineteenth-century domestic debris with an especially high concentration of food and beverage storage vessels (Kostro 2002).

The landscape integrity and comparatively rich artifact assemblages documented at the Union Academy and Academy Dwelling Ruins sites have the potential to yield substantive insights into the evolving uses of the properties through the lens of formal institutional constructs and personal choice. Is there a discernible difference over time in the domestic artifact assemblages at the Academy Dwelling Ruins site? If so, how might this difference be tied to individual preferences and differential consumer goods access as dictated by the constraints of race and class? Similarly, how did the occupational signature of the Union Academy site change (or not) as the lot transitioned from a poorhouse (presumably for blacks and whites) to a school for newly freed slaves to a Presbyterian church?

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Walker's 1962–1963 excavations at the site of the William Rosser House and Shops Complex provide some data about the organization of the small-scale trades and commercial complex designed to meet the needs of the local community. The complex formerly comprised Rosser's first house (a log structure), a wheelwright/cooper shop, a blacksmith shop, a well, and Rosser's second house built in 1871 that functioned as a home and a store. Peers' 1890 plan of the town also depicts a small corncrib and stable east of the blacksmith shop. The well is the only extant feature at the site. Walker's investigation of the site of the log house was relatively thorough, and his discussion of documentation for the house, its chronology of alterations, and its dimensions and other characteristics is accompanied by a clear evaluation of sources.

His initial excavations exposed an east-west walkway connecting the second house with the site of the wheelwright's shop and revealed, beneath that walkway, a north-south walkway located adjacent to the west wall of the first house. A kitchen addition to the northeast corner of the original house was reflected by a series of footings and a portion of what appeared to be its southeast foundation. Evidence of the fire that destroyed the original log house, including ash, charred wood, and melted window glass, was found, as were foundation elements associated with the former blacksmith and cooper shops. While the structural data recovered from the complex is somewhat disjointed, Walker reports that a substantial artifact assemblage was recovered and that "a more exhaustive study should reveal much concerning the machinery and equipment of the nineteenth century" (Walker 1963:68–73).

Finally, the lives of women in the Clover Hill community have received little historical or archeological attention. As wives, daughters, sisters, servants, and slaves, these women were integral to the fabric of the community but are nearly absent from the documentary record. As a result, archeological research likely provides the best way to examine the lives of the female population of Appomattox Court House. The domestic sites in the District provide the opportunity to examine gender and status across economic, racial, and temporal lines. They also provide the opportunity to examine the influence of the declining economic fortunes of Clover Hill before the Civil War, the impact of the war and Reconstruction on the daily lives of women, and the expression and negotiation of gender roles.

Women were present in most of the households in the District, providing a cross-section of economic circumstances shaped by class and race. Three sites in particular—the Mariah Wright House, the Pryor Wright House, and the Charles H. Diuguid Blacksmith Shop—have the potential to shed light on the lives of women from different backgrounds who lived under these different circumstances. Mariah Wright was the wife of Pryor Wright, a moderately well-to-do farmer, who in 1850 had four slaves and an estate worth \$3,000. Widowed in 1854 and the mother of four, Mariah Wright remained unmarried until well after the Civil War. Cooper and Pousson (2004:137) speculate that Wright intentionally contested the system and maintained her status as widow until the property laws changed and permitted her to retain control of her own estate when she finally remarried. Re-analysis of previously recovered archeological materials at the two Wright sites combined with additional excavations could provide information on the material manifestations of Mariah Wright's life as the wife of a prosperous farmer and later as an independent widow. Additional archeological research conducted at the Charles H. Diuguid Blacksmith Shop site has the potential to locate the remains of the house or cabin documented on the 1890s Peers map. Such research could examine the domestic life of the Diuguid family and provide more information about the largely undocumented life of Charles Diuguid's wife. As the enslaved spouse of a free black artisan, Mrs. Diuguid likely negotiated several different worlds over the course of her daily life and activities.

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Name of Property

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Name of Property

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County and State

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Previous documentation on file (NPS):

preliminary determination of individual listing (36 CFR 67) has been requested

previously listed in the National Register

previously determined eligible by the National Register

designated a National Historic Landmark

recorded by Historic American Buildings Survey #VA-240, VA-432, VA-435, VA-436, VA-439, VA-439-A, VA-439-B, VA-716, VA-947, VA-1314, VA-1315, VA-1316, VA-1317-B, VA-1320

recorded by Historic American Engineering Record # _____

recorded by Historic American Landscape Survey # _____

Primary location of additional data:

State Historic Preservation Office

Other State agency

Federal agency

Local government

University

Other

Name of repository: Appomattox Court House National Historical Park, Appomattox, VA; Virginia Department of Historic Resources, Richmond, VA; Library of Congress, Washington, DC; National Park Service Technical Information Center, Denver, CO

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Historic Resources Survey Number (if assigned): VDHR No. 006-0033

10. Geographical Data

Acreage of Property 1775.01

Use either the UTM system or latitude/longitude coordinates

Latitude/Longitude Coordinates

Datum if other than WGS84: _____

(enter coordinates to 6 decimal places)

- | | |
|------------------------|---------------------|
| A. Latitude: -78.82347 | Longitude: 37.37850 |
| B. Latitude: -78.81993 | Longitude: 37.37789 |
| C. Latitude: -78.81966 | Longitude: 37.37914 |
| D. Latitude: -78.81184 | Longitude: 37.38367 |
| E. Latitude: -78.80546 | Longitude: 37.38819 |
| F. Latitude: -78.80044 | Longitude: 37.38989 |
| G. Latitude: -78.79558 | Longitude: 37.38779 |
| H. Latitude: -78.79476 | Longitude: 37.38858 |
| I. Latitude: -78.79822 | Longitude: 37.39259 |
| J. Latitude: -78.79138 | Longitude: 37.39320 |
| K. Latitude: -78.79037 | Longitude: 37.39611 |
| L. Latitude: -78.78159 | Longitude: 37.39335 |
| M. Latitude: -78.78051 | Longitude: 37.39278 |
| N. Latitude: -78.77741 | Longitude: 37.39060 |
| O. Latitude: -78.78064 | Longitude: 37.38261 |

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P. Latitude: -78.78272	Longitude: 37.37748
Q. Latitude: -78.79106	Longitude: 37.36999
R. Latitude: -78.80040	Longitude: 37.36892
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X. Latitude: -78.76015	Longitude: 37.41742
Y. Latitude: -78.75957	Longitude: 37.41693
Z. Latitude: -78.76023	Longitude: 37.41632

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Appomattox Court House National Historical Park, National Register District Coordinate Map.

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Verbal Boundary Description (Describe the boundaries of the property.)

The National Register district boundary corresponds to the authorized boundary of Appomattox Court House National Historical Park, as shown on the attached district maps.

Boundary Justification (Explain why the boundaries were selected.)

In accordance with NPS-28: *Cultural Resource Management Guidelines*, Appendix Q, the National Park Service is responsible for evaluating the entire area contained within the authorized boundaries of historical units within the National Park System. National Register boundaries may contain less but not more area than the authorized boundary. The district boundaries for the Appomattox Court House National Historical Park Historic District follow the authorized boundaries of Appomattox Court House National Historical Park.

11. Form Prepared By

name/title: Laura J. Kline/Architectural Historian; Stephen Olausen/Senior Architectural Historian; Katie Miller/Architectural Historian; Kristen Heitert/Senior Archeologist; Gretchen Pineo/Asst. Architectural Historian

organization: PAL

street & number: 26 Main Street

city or town: Pawtucket state: RI zip code: 02860

e-mail: solausen@palinc.com

telephone: 401 728 8780

date: August 2014

Additional Documentation

Submit the following items with the completed form:

- **Maps:** A **USGS map** or equivalent (7.5 or 15 minute series) indicating the property's location.
- **Sketch map** for historic districts and properties having large acreage or numerous resources. Key all photographs to this map.
- **Additional items:** (Check with the SHPO, TPO, or FPO for any additional items.)

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Photographs

Submit clear and descriptive photographs. The size of each image must be 1600x1200 pixels (minimum), 3000x2000 preferred, at 300 ppi (pixels per inch) or larger. Key all photographs to the sketch map. Each photograph must be numbered and that number must correspond to the photograph number on the photo log. For simplicity, the name of the photographer, photo date, etc. may be listed once on the photograph log and doesn't need to be labeled on every photograph.

Photo Log

Name of Property: Appomattox Court House

City or Vicinity: Appomattox

County: Appomattox

State: VA

Photographer: Katie Miller, PAL

Date Photographed: November 18–21, 2013

Description of Photograph(s) and number, include description of view indicating direction of camera:

- 1 of 36. Appomattox Court House Landscape, looking west along Richmond-Lynchburg Stage Road from front of Jones Law Office property, with System of Reconstructed Fencing.
- 2 of 36. Civil War Road Network: Back Lane, looking southeast from intersection with Market Lane, and System of Reconstructed Fencing: Back Lane Fence.
- 3 of 36. Civil War Road Network: Richmond-Lynchburg Stage Road, looking west from intersection with Market Lane, and System of Reconstructed Fencing.
- 4 of 36. Appomattox Courthouse, west elevation, and System of Reconstructed Fencing: Courthouse Yard Fence, looking east from Richmond-Lynchburg Stage Road.
- 5 of 36. Courthouse Well House, west and south elevations, looking northeast from Richmond-Lynchburg Stage Road.
- 6 of 36. McLean House with McLean Ice House to left and McLean Outside Kitchen at far left, facade (north) and east elevations, looking southwest from Richmond-Lynchburg Stage Road.
- 7 of 36. McLean House interior, parlor looking southeast from hall.
- 8 of 36. McLean House Slave Quarters, south and east elevations, looking northwest from south end of rear yard.
- 9 of 36. McLean Well House, south and east elevations, looking northwest from front walkway.

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- 10 of 36. Plunkett-Meeks Store (left) and Woodson Law Office (right), south and east elevations, with System of Reconstructed Fencing: Plunkett-Meeks Fence, looking northwest from Richmond-Lynchburg Stage Road.
- 11 of 36. Plunkett-Meeks Storage Building, west and south elevations, looking northeast from rear yard.
- 12 of 36. Clover Hill Tavern, facade (south) and west elevations, with System of Reconstructed Fencing: Clover Hill Tavern Fence, looking northeast from Richmond-Lynchburg Stage Road; Clover Hill Tavern Slave Quarters at left.
- 13 of 36. Clover Hill Tavern Kitchen and Guest House (left) and Clover Hill Tavern Slave Quarters (right), facade (south) and west elevations, looking northeast from tavern yard.
- 14 of 36. Clover Hill Tavern Privy, south and east elevations, looking northwest from tavern yard.
- 15 of 36. Clover Hill Tavern Guest House, south and east elevations, looking northwest from tavern yard; Plunkett-Meeks Store Stable at left.
- 16 of 36. New County Jail, north and west elevations, looking southeast from Richmond-Lynchburg Stage Road.
- 17 of 36. Boccock-Isbell House, north and west elevations, looking southeast from rear of New County Jail, with System of Reconstructed Fencing: Boccock-Isbell House Fence; Boccock-Isbell House Stable at left and Boccock-Isbell Outside Kitchen and Boccock-Isbell Smoke House at right.
- 18 of 36. Mariah Wright House, north and west elevations, looking southeast from lawn.
- 19 of 36. Jones Law Office, east and north elevations, looking southwest from northeast corner of yard; Jones Law Office Well House at right.
- 20 of 36. Peers House, facade (west) and south elevations, looking northeast from southwest corner of yard.
- 21 of 36. Last Shot Fired Tablet and System of Reconstructed Fencing: Peers Fence, looking east from Prince Edward Court House Road.
- 22 of 36. Coleman Outbuilding, east and north elevations, looking southwest.
- 23 of 36. North Carolina Monument, looking southeast from trail.
- 24 of 36. Confederate Cemetery, looking southeast from entrance.
- 25 of 36. Battlefield Markers Association/United Daughters of the Confederacy Marker, looking northwest from Confederate Cemetery parking area.

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- 26 of 36. Raine Cemetery, looking southeast from trail.
- 27 of 36. Charles Sweeney Cabin, east and south elevations, looking northwest from lawn.
- 28 of 36. Sweeney-Conner Cabin, southwest and southeast elevations, looking northeast from end of Conner Cabin Road.
- 29 of 36. Sweeney Prizery, northeast and northwest elevations, looking southeast from trail.
- 30 of 36. Confederate Defensive Entrenchments, looking northeast.
- 31 of 36. Non-contributing Moon House, facade (southeast) elevation, looking northwest from front lawn.
- 32 of 36. Non-contributing Matthews House, facade (northwest) elevation, looking southeast from Gordon Drive; non-contributing Matthews Garage at left.
- 33 of 36. Non-contributing Scott Chicken House, southwest and southeast elevations, looking northwest.
- 34 of 36. Non-contributing Visitor Entrance Drive and Parking Lot, looking south from south end of Market Lane, with non-contributing Visitor Entrance Flag Pole and Bench at center.
- 35 of 36. Non-contributing Maintenance Service Repair Shop, northwest and southwest elevations, looking northeast from west entrance to maintenance area.
- 36 of 36. Non-contributing Claudine O'Brien House, facade (south) and east elevations, looking northwest from lawn.

Paperwork Reduction Act Statement: This information is being collected for applications to the National Register of Historic Places to nominate properties for listing or determine eligibility for listing, to list properties, and to amend existing listings. Response to this request is required to obtain a benefit in accordance with the National Historic Preservation Act, as amended (16 U.S.C.460 et seq.).

Estimated Burden Statement: Public reporting burden for this form is estimated to average 100 hours per response including time for reviewing instructions, gathering and maintaining data, and completing and reviewing the form. Direct comments regarding this burden estimate or any aspect of this form to the Office of Planning and Performance Management, U.S. Dept. of the Interior, 1849 C. Street, NW, Washington, DC.

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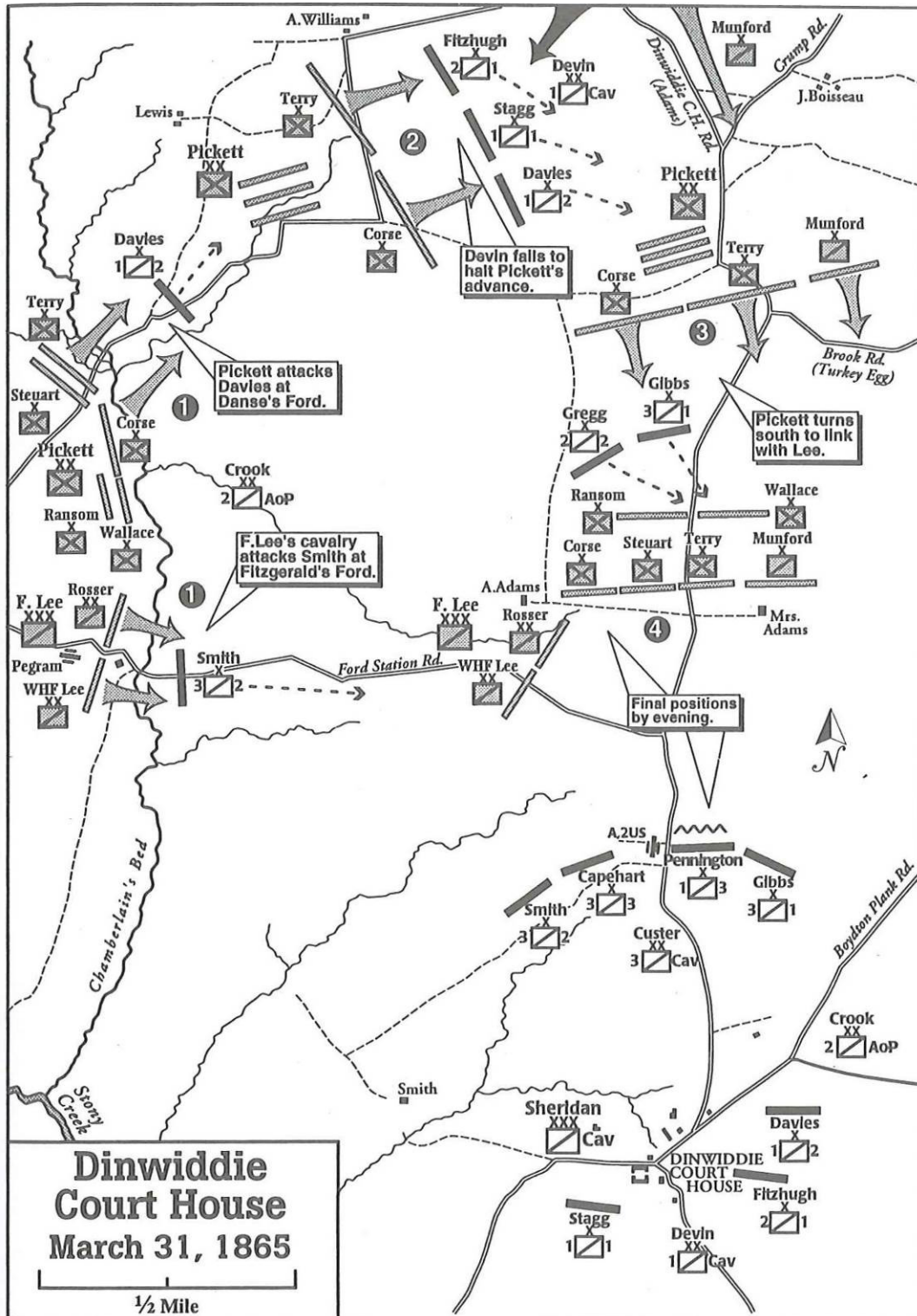


Figure 1. Battle of Dinwiddie Courthouse, March 31, 1865 (source: Calkins 2011:23).

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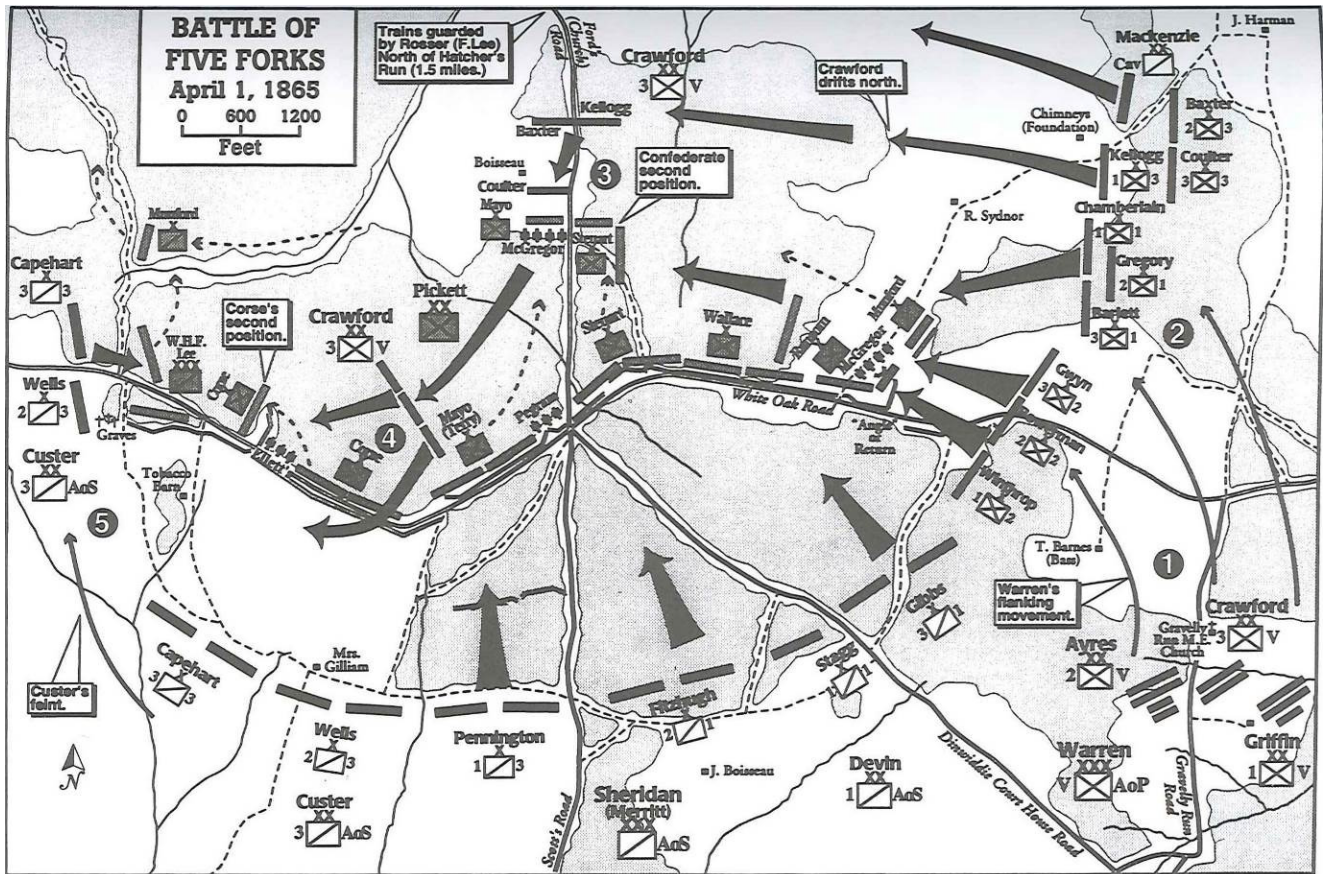


Figure 2. Battle of Five Forks, April 1, 1865 (source: Calkins 2011:31).

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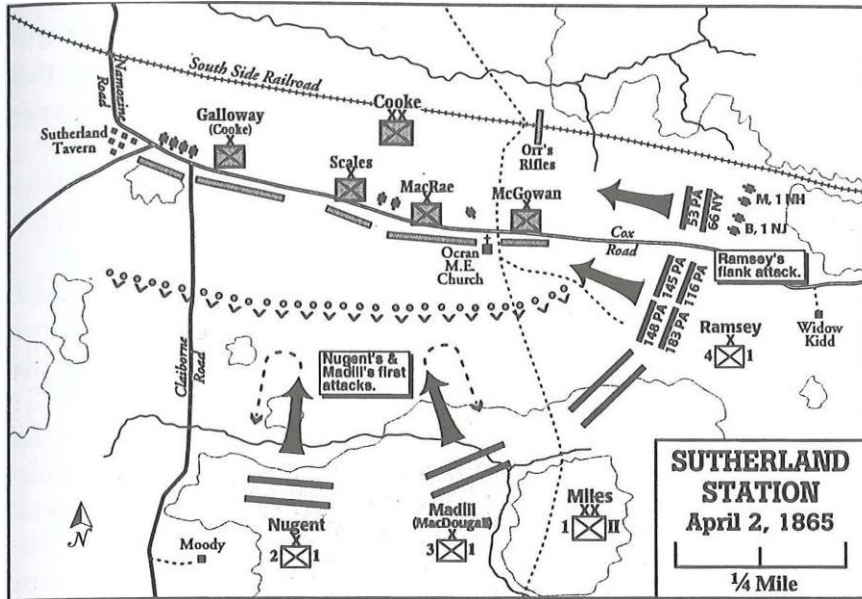


Figure 3. Battle of Sutherland Station, April 2, 1865 (source: Calkins 2011:47).

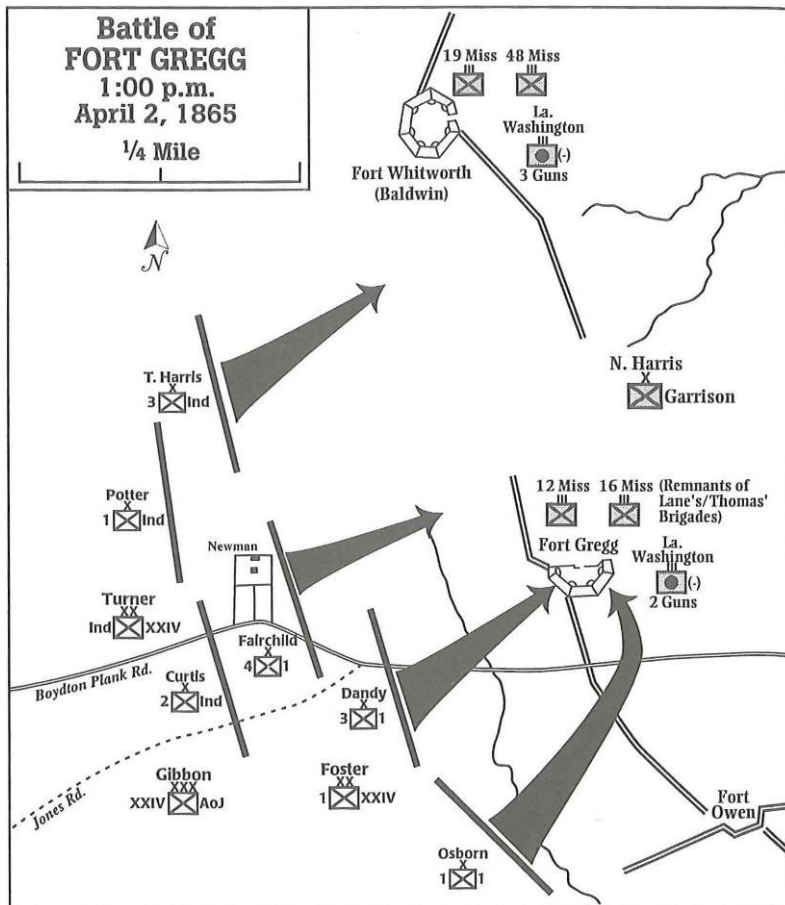


Figure 4. Battle of Fort Gregg, April 2, 1865 (source: Calkins 2011:50).

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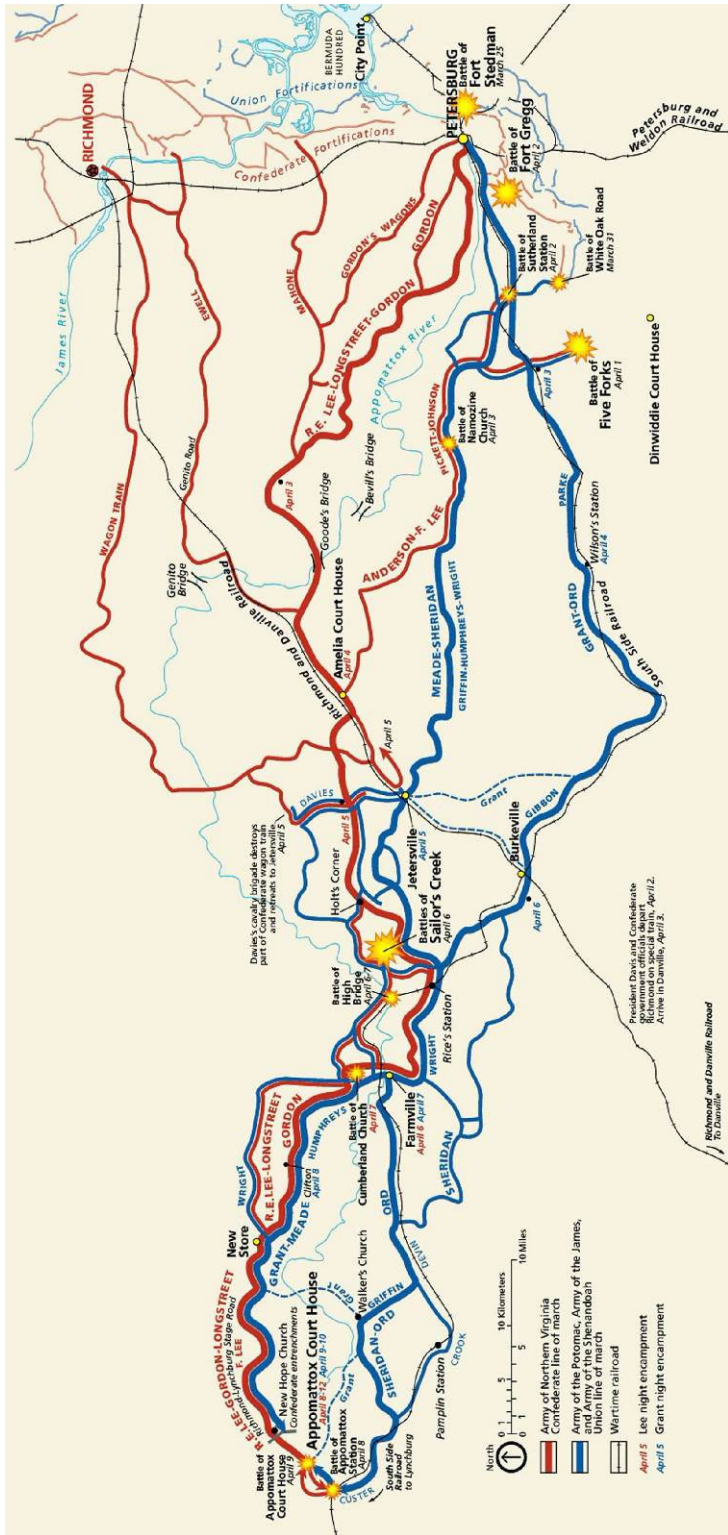


Figure 5. Appomattox Campaign March 29–April 9, 1865 (source: National Park Service 2002:46-47).

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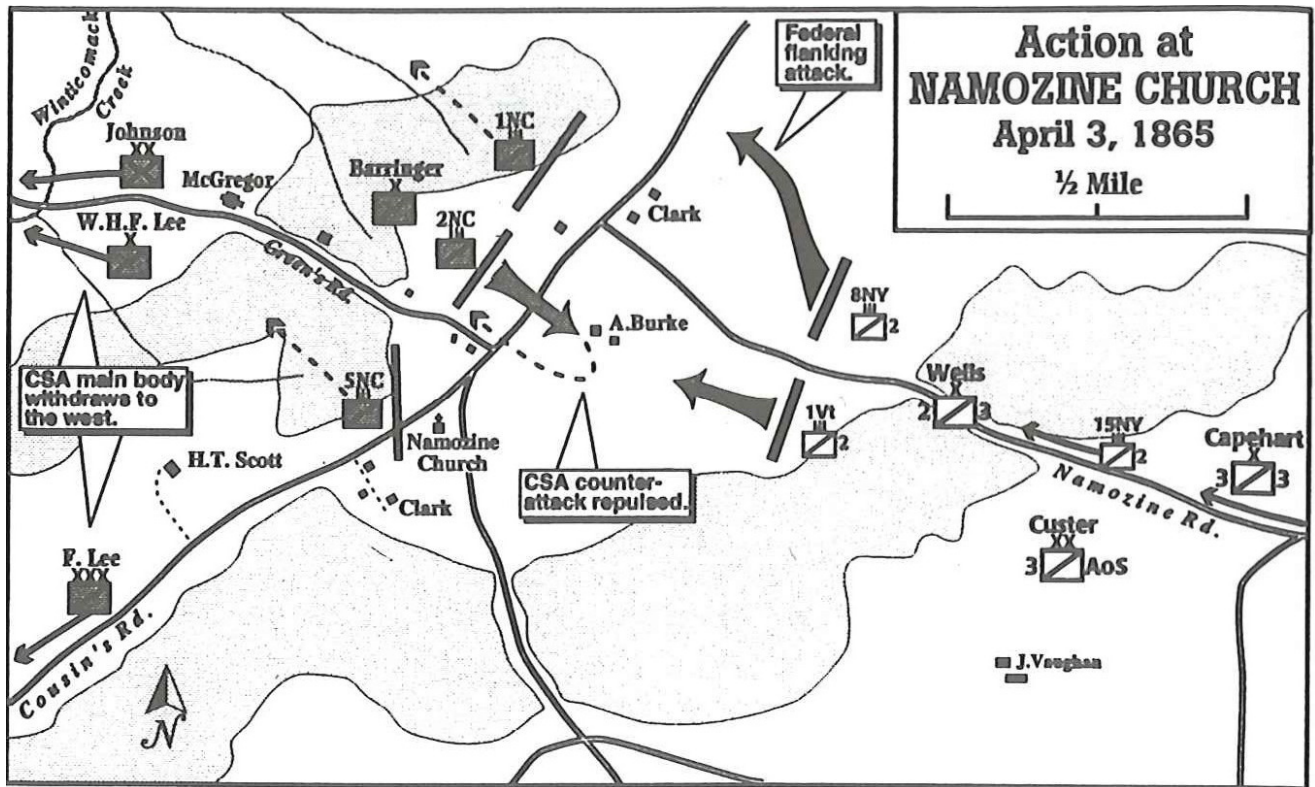


Figure 6. Battle of Namozine Church, April 3, 1865 (source: Calkins 2011:72).

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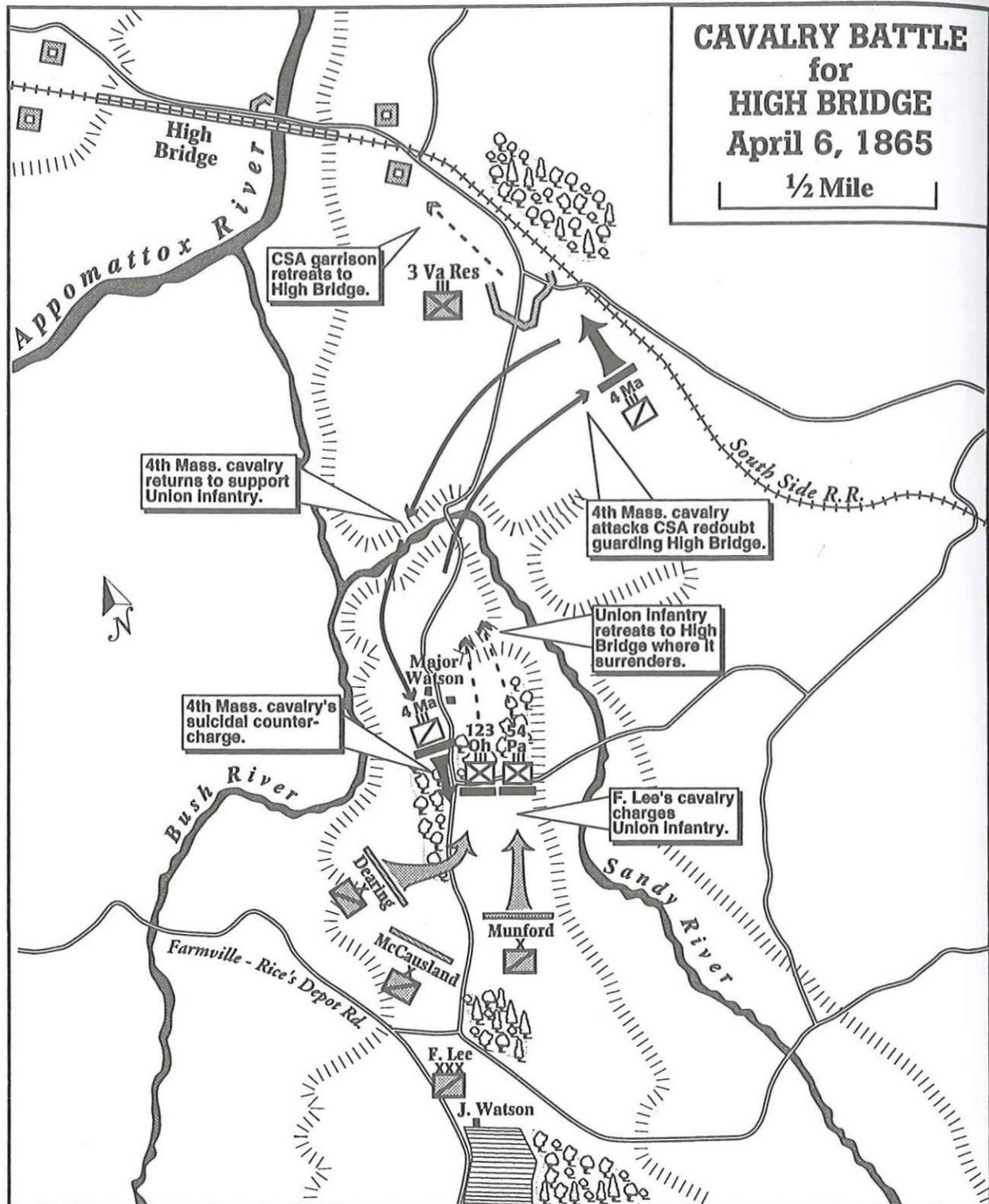


Figure 7. Battle of High Bridge, April 6, 1865 (source: Calkins 2011:102).

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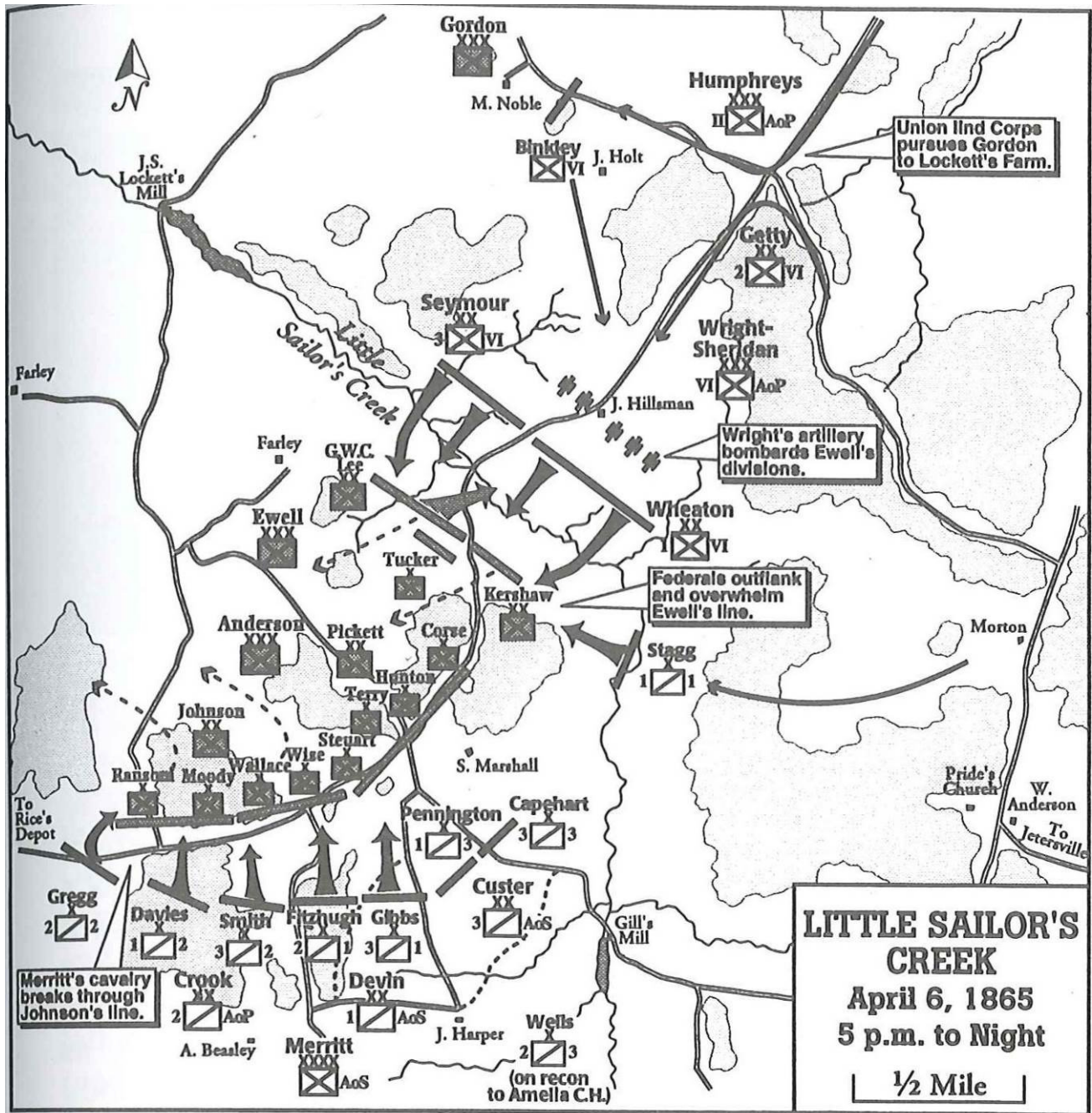


Figure 9. Battle of Sailor's Creek, April 4, 1865, 5 p.m. to Night (source: Calkins 2011:111).

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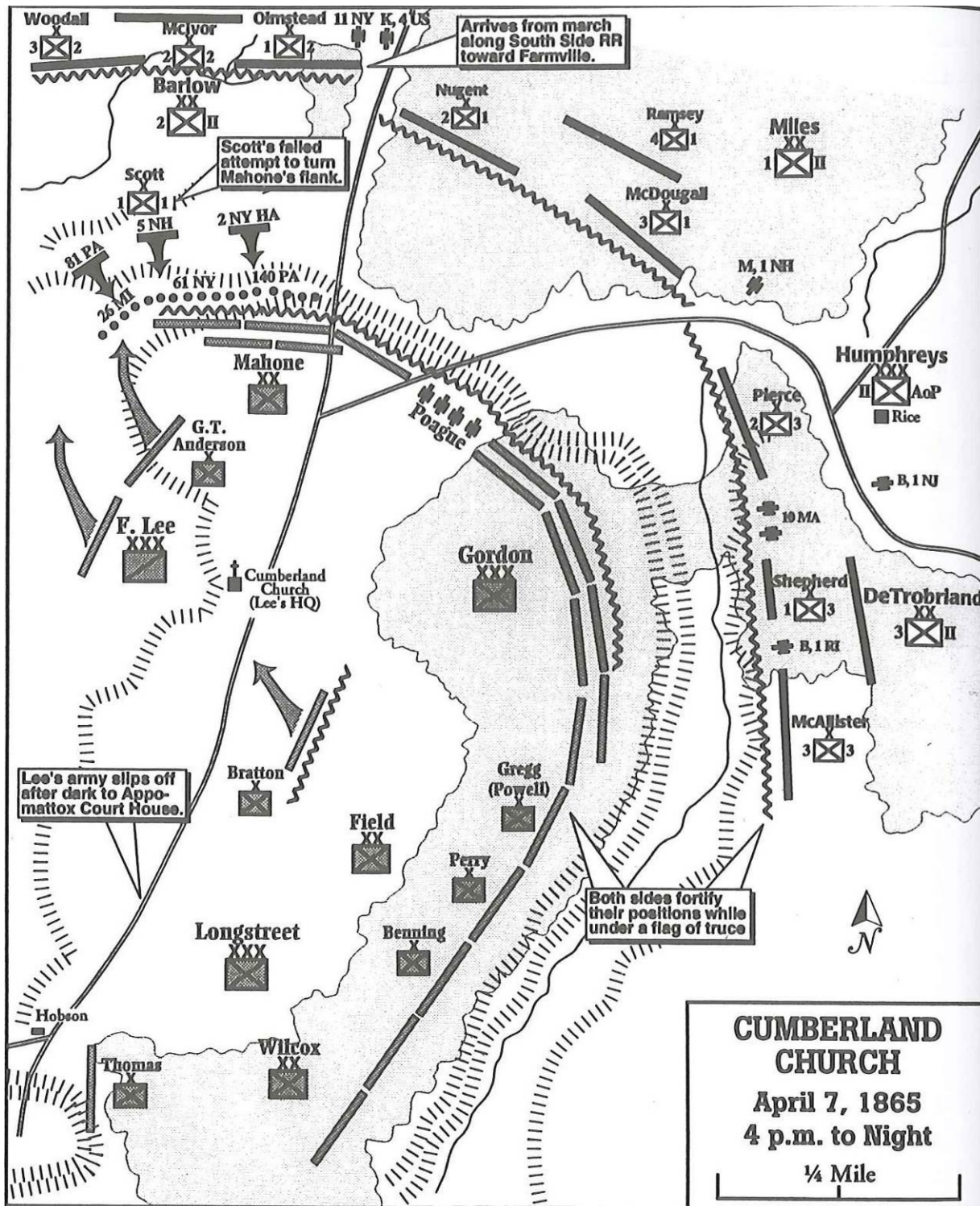


Figure 10. Battle of Cumberland Church, April 7, 1865, 4 p.m. to Night (source: Calkins 2011:132).

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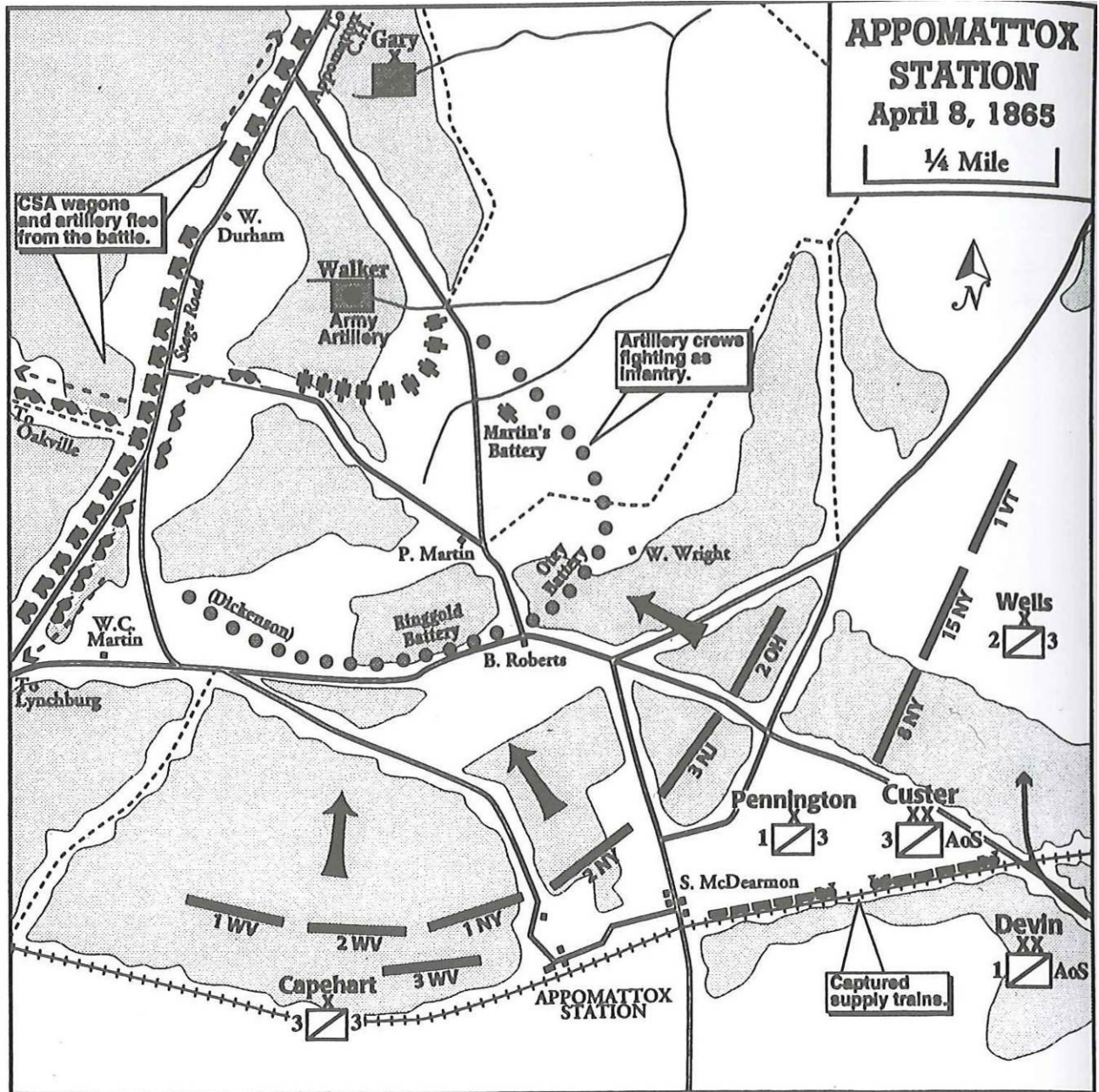


Figure 11. Battle of Appomattox Station, April 8, 1865 (source: Calkins 2011:152).

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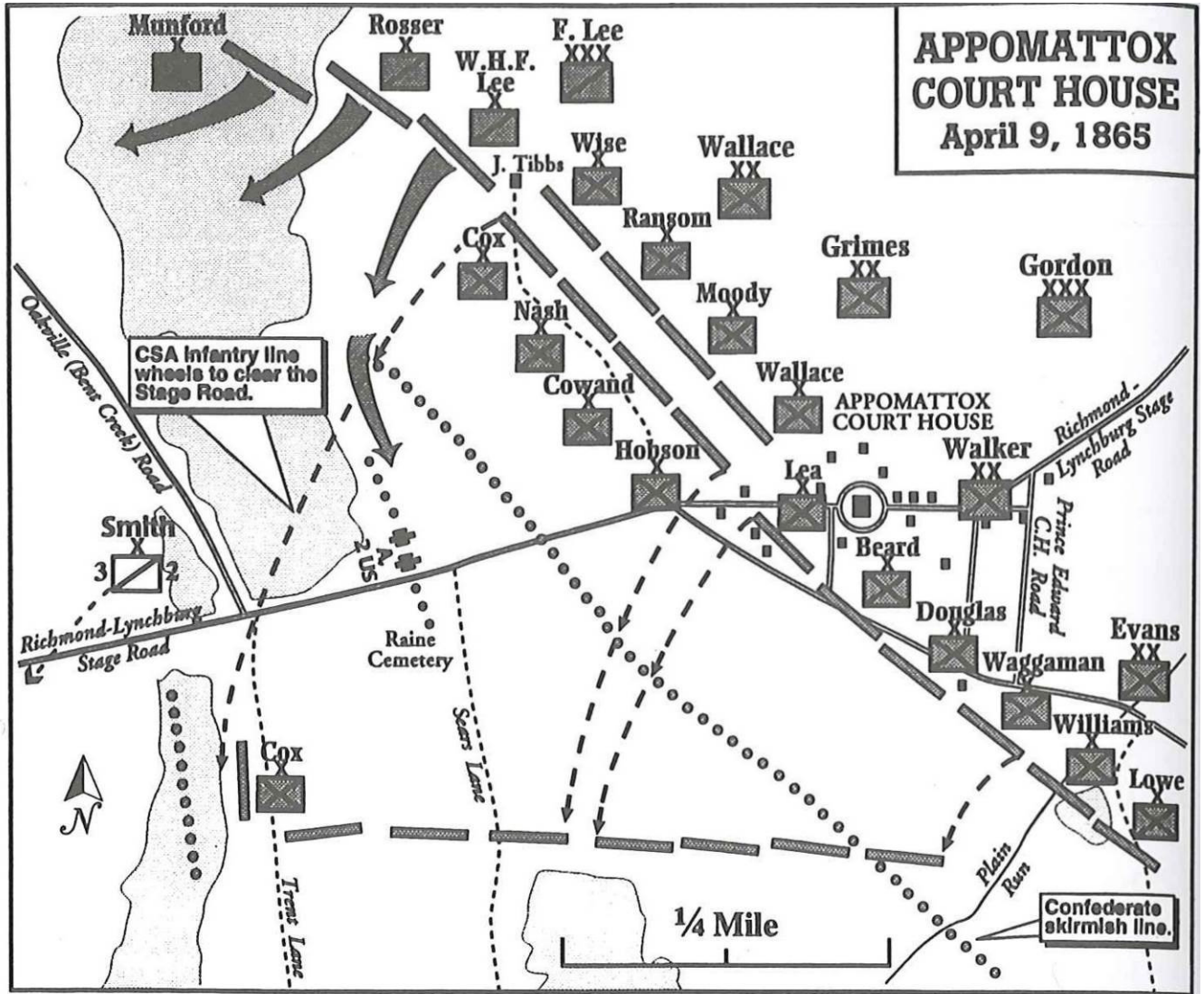


Figure 12. Battle of Appomattox Court House, April 9, 1865 (source: Calkins 2011:160).