Cultural Landscape Report for Glendale Battlefield
Richmond National Battlefield Park
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Richmond National Battlefield Park

Virginia

Site History

Existing Conditions

Analysis and Evaluation

Treatment

Prepared by John W. Hammond

Olmsted Center for Landscape Preservation
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TABLE OF CONTENTS

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS V

FOREWORD VII

INTRODUCTION 1

Project Scope and Methods 1
  Project Setting and Study Area 2
Summary of Findings 2
  Summary of Site History 2
  Summary of Significance 4
  Summary of Analysis and Evaluation 4
  Summary of Treatment 5

SITE HISTORY 7

  Physical Setting 7
  Pre-Colonial (Before 1607) 9
    Utilization of Resources 10
  Colonial (1607–1776) 14
    Economic Development and Early Transportation 16
    Early Land Owners on Curles Neck and Malvern Hill 18
  Early Federal and Antebellum (1776–1861) 23
    Glendale Plantation 23
    Gravelly Hill 25
    Area Farms 28
    Landscape Description 1860 31
  Civil War (1861–1865) 37
    Battle of Glendale 38
    Battlefield Hospitals 51
  Post-War (1865–1932) 54
  Commemoration and Preservation (1932–Present) 65
    Commemoration 65
    Richmond National Battlefield Park 66
    Glendale Battlefield 69

EXISTING CONDITIONS 79

ANALYSIS AND EVALUATION 91

Summary of Significance 91
Analysis of Landscape Characteristics and Features 92
  Natural Systems and Features 93
  Spatial Organization 96
  Land Use 98
  Topography 99
Vegetation 101
Circulation 105
Buildings and Structures 108
Views and Vistas 110
Small-Scale Features 111
Archeological Sites 113

TREATMENT 117

Treatment Framework 117
Enabling Legislation, Mission, and Policies 118
Treatment Philosophy 121
Treatment Guidelines and Tasks 123
Vegetation 123
Vegetation Treatment Tasks 128
Circulation 133
Circulation Treatment Tasks 136
Small-Scale Features 140
Small-Scale Features Treatment Tasks 140
Additional Treatment Considerations 145

APPENDIX A: TABLE OF TREATMENT TASKS 155
LIST OF FIGURES

SITE HISTORY

1.1 Engraving showing the Indian village of Secotan on Pamlico Sound by John White in the late 16th century. The illustration shows structures and agricultural practices typical of Indian groups in the Virginia and North Carolina area at the time of European contact (Library of Congress).

1.2 Detail from Captain John Smith’s map of Virginia in 1606 showing Powhatan (Wahunsunacock) in a “long house” structure. The structure was made of long, flexible sapling poles with woven reed walls and ceiling (Library of Congress).

1.3 Detail of an engraving by Theodor de Bry after watercolor by John White, showing men making dugout boats by burning and scraping with seashells. Fire was a critical tool for the Indians of Virginia, who used it to construct canoes, fell trees, and clear forest, and drive deer and game to waiting hunters (Library of Congress).

1.4 Detail of an engraving by Theodor de Bry after watercolor by John White, showing methods of fishing, including using nets, spears, and weirs and traps (Library of Congress).

1.5 Detail of Capt. John Smith’s map of Virginia, 1606, showing the Indian villages along the James (highlighted), Chickahominy, and Pamunkey Rivers. Indian villages in the area of Glendale include Weanock, Arrohattoc, and Chickahominy (Library of Congress).

1.6 Detail of a map published by John Stockdale in 1787 showing the settlements and plantations along the James River. Place labels near Glendale include Curles, Bremo, Turkey Island, Malvern Hill, and Turkey Island Creek (Library of Congress).

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

1.8 Plat map from 1831 of the 568-acre Gravelly Hill tract shortly before it was sold to David Bullock. Adjoining property owners in the east include Richard and Isaac Sykes and John Whitlock Jr. (Henrico County Registry of Deeds).

1.9 Diagram of the Glendale crossroads showing the approximate layout of the farm properties in 1830 (OCLP, adapted from a map by Leonard Morrow).
1.10 Map of Henrico County by Robert P. Smith & C., 1853, showing landowners prior to the Civil War, including Richard and Isaac Sykes, John Whitlock, Susan Brown, Nathaniel Nelson, Spencer Riddle, and others (Library of Congress).

1.11 1867 map of the Glendale area by Nathaniel Michler showing the farms, roads, and forest cover just after the Civil War (Library of Congress).

1.12 Gen. George A. McCall, commander of the Pennsylvania Reserves at the Battle of Glendale (Library of Congress).

1.13 Diagram showing the approximate arrangement of Union and Confederate batteries and infantry at the start of the Battle of Glendale (OCLP).


1.15 Drawing by Alfred Waud showing Kearney’s division fighting in the woods north of the Sykes farms (Library of Congress).

1.16 Drawing depicting the fighting near Richard Sykes house, artist unknown (Illustration in J.J. Marks, The Peninsular Campaign in Virginia, 1864).

1.17 Illustration by Robert Knox Sneden showing Willis Church during the Battle of Glendale (Virginia Museum of History and Culture).

1.18 Engraving from an Alfred Waud drawing showing Gen. Slocum’s artillery engaged with Gen. Huger along Charles City Rd. during the Battle of Glendale (Battles and Leaders of the Civil War).

1.19 Engraving of the Nelson farm showing the house and slave quarters. Engraving made from a photo taken in the 1880s (Battles and Leaders of the Civil War).

1.20 Engraving made from a sketch by Robert Knox Sneden showing Willis Church during the Battle of Glendale. Although Sneden was present at Glendale, his sketches were made from memory after the fact, leading to a number of errors in his depictions. In this case, the building at left was mistakenly identified by Sneden as Nelson’s House. Nelson’s house was not located as depicted in the drawing (Battles and Leaders of the Civil War, Virginia Historical Society).

1.21 Map of the Glendale area showing the location of the Nelson house and the Gatewood houses, both used as hospitals after the Battle of Glendale (in the Jeremy Francis Gilmer Papers #276, Southern Historical Collection, Wilson Library, University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill.).
1.22 Engraving depicting the Nelson house while it was being used as a hospital. It is unknown whether the drawing was made by an eyewitness or an illustration made from a description of the scene (Illustration in J.J. Marks, The Peninsular Campaign in Virginia, 1864).

1.23 Aerial photograph from 1937 showing the Glendale area showing field and forest patterns.

1.24 One of the oblique aerial images taken by the Army Air Corps in the 1930s showing the Glendale area, including the former farms of Richard and Isaac Sykes, the Nelson family, and Susan Brown. Markings on the photograph are present on the original print (Library of Virginia, Series I. Correspondence, 1927-1950, Box 42, folder #4).

1.25 Detail of an oblique aerial photograph showing the William H. Pleasants farm in the 1930s, formerly the Richard Sykes farm. The house shown in the photo may be the same as the one present at the time of the battle (Library of Virginia, Series I. Correspondence, 1927-1950, Box 42, folder #4).

1.26 Detail of an oblique aerial photograph showing the Coleman Sykes farm in the 1930s, formerly the Isaac Sykes farm. The house shown in the photo may be the same as the one present at the time of the battle (Library of Virginia, Series I. Correspondence, 1927-1950, Box 42, folder #4).

1.27 Detail of an oblique aerial photograph showing the Whitlock house site on the Morawski/Morrow farm in the 1930s. In addition to the former house site, the photo shows the field and forest pattern, a group of at least six trees that appear to be the remnants of an orchard, and the possible location of the Whitlock family cemetery (Library of Virginia, Series I. Correspondence, 1927-1950, Box 42, folder #4).

1.28 Detail of an oblique aerial photograph showing the Nelson farm site in the 1930s, owned in the 1930s by John Warriner. The photo shows the house (partially obscured by trees), barn, orchard, fields, and fences. (Library of Virginia, Series I. Correspondence, 1927-1950, Box 42, folder #4).

1.29 Diagram showing the layout of the Warriner farm in the 1930s as depicted in Figure 1.26 (OCLP).

1.30 Drawing of Glendale National Cemetery made shortly after its establishment in 1866. The nelson house and outbuildings are depicted in the background (RICH archives).
1.31 Detail of an oblique aerial photograph showing the former Susan Brown farm. The Brown farm was marked as a “ruin” on the 1867 Michler map. It is unknown if any of the structures visible in the photo were present at the time of the Battle of Glendale (Library of Virginia, Series I. Correspondence, 1927-1950, Box 42, folder #4).

1.32 A crew working around historical marker PA-195 at Malvern Hill, late 1930s (RICH archives).

1.33 Engineering plans from 1953 showing the realignment of Darbytown Rd. and Glendale crossroads (Virginia Department of Transportation).

1.34 Engineering plans from 1953 showing the realignment of Darbytown Rd. and Glendale crossroads (Virginia Department of Transportation).

**EXISTING CONDITIONS**

2.1 Foundation remains of a nineteenth-century structure at the Nelson house site (OCLP).

2.2 Entrance drive at the Nelson house site looking west toward Willis Church Road (OCLP).

2.3 Large sycamore tree at the Nelson house site (OCLP).

2.4 Retention pond at the Nelson house site (OCLP).

2.5 Well cover at the Nelson house site (OCLP).

2.6 Agricultural field and drainage ditch at the Nelson house site (OCLP).

2.7 Gate at the entrance to the Whitlock farm site on Long Bridge Road, looking south (OCLP).

2.8 Power line right of way at the Whitlock farm site, looking west (OCLP).

2.9 Structural remnants of the twentieth-century Morrow house at the Whitlock farm site (OCLP).

2.10 Remnants of the cellar hole of the Whitlock house (OCLP).

2.11 Trace of the entrance drive to the Isaac Sykes farm site, looking north (OCLP).

2.12 Vegetation and debris at the Isaac Sykes house site (OCLP).

2.13 Entrance drive to the Richard Sykes house site from Darbytown Rd., looking south (OCLP).

2.14 Vegetation character at the Richard Sykes house site (OCLP).

2.15 Donley house, looking south (OCLP).
2.16 Barn at the Donley house site (OCLP).
2.17 Domestic vegetation at the Susan Brown house site (OCLP).
2.18 Structural remnants at the Susan Brown house site (OCLP).
2.19 Agricultural structure at the Susan Brown house site (OCLP).
2.20 View looking south at the Fuqua farm site showing existing agricultural use (OCLP).
2.21 Structural remnants and the site of the Fuqua house (OCLP).

ANALYSIS AND EVALUATION

3.1 Image showing the vegetation character typical of the wetland areas along Western Run (OCLP).
3.2 The majority of the Glendale Battlefield landscape is forested, with much of it characterized by single species pine stands (OCLP).
3.3 Aerial view of the Glendale Battlefield landscape showing the field and forest cover (OCLP).
3.4 Diagram showing the spatial organization of Glendale Battlefield landscape (OCLP).
3.5 Image showing agricultural use of the Fuqua house site field (OCLP).
3.6 Hillshade image generated from LIDAR data showing the topography of the Glendale Battlefield landscape (OCLP).
3.7 Image showing the character of the hardwood forest at the Whitlock farm site (OCLP).
3.8 Naturalized domestic vegetation, such as the daffodils at the Susan Brown house site, are common at the former house sites (OCLP).
3.9 Agricultural crops grown in Glendale Battlefield landscape include wheat, corn, and soybeans (OCLP).
3.10 The Donley house site contains a wide variety of ornamental domestic vegetation (OCLP).
3.11 The Nelson house site contains large shade trees, such as the large sycamore tree (OCLP).
3.12 Willis Church road, looking north near the Nelson house site (OCLP).
3.13 Long Bridge Road is a narrow, paved road with no painted road markings (OCLP).
3.14 The entrance drive at the Nelson house site is partially paved with asphalt (OCLP).
3.15 The remnants of the foundation of a nineteenth-century structure at the Nelson house site (OCLP).

3.16 Agricultural structure of unknown origin at the Susan Brown house site (OCLP).

3.17 The twentieth-century Donley structures include a house, barn, garage, and chicken coop (OCLP).

3.18 View from the Nelson house site looking south toward Glendale National Cemetery (OCLP).

3.19 View looking west from the Nelson house site toward Willis Church Road (OCLP).

3.20 View looking south from the Fuqua house site over the agricultural field (OCLP).

3.21 Freeman Marker 18 commemorating the Battle of Glendale at the entrance to the Whitlock house site on Long Bridge Rd. (OCLP).

3.22 Virginia historical marker PA-180 on Willis Church Rd. (OCLP).

3.23 Domestic and architectural debris at the Isaac Sykes house site (OCLP).

TREATMENT

4.1 Open fields at Malvern Hill Battlefield, demonstrating the appropriate character of open fields proposed for Glendale Battlefield (OCLP).

4.2 Open fields may be maintained through agricultural leases or agreements, as is the case at the Nelson farm site and at Malvern Hill (right) (OCLP).

4.3 Forests within the Glendale Battlefield landscape should exhibit a multi-aged, mixed hardwood composition (OCLP).

4.4 Diagram showing the recommended area to be cleared to reestablish the Whitlock/Sykes fields and to enlarge the Nelson fields. Areas indicated for clearing measure approximately fifty-four acres at the Whitlock site and forty acres at the Nelson site (OCLP).

4.5 Diagram showing the primary areas of pine stands to be managed to transition to mixed hardwood forest (OCLP).

4.6 An image of an existing trail in the Whitlock farm area. A new site-wide trail system should incorporate existing trails where feasible (OCLP).
4.7 Image of an interpretive trail at Malvern Hill Battlefield showing a naturalistic character. New trails constructed through forested areas should be narrow and follow the contours of the land. Blaze signs, such as the one visible on the tree at right, should be used for wayfinding (OCLP).

4.8 Structures that carry trails across wet areas and stream courses should be of simple timber construction. Image shows a footbridge in the Malvern Hill trail system (OCLP).

4.9 Diagram showing the proposed treatment actions at the Whitlock/Sykes parking and trailhead area (OCLP).

4.10 Photo showing the former location of the Quonset Hut near the Whitlock house site. The clear area is an appropriate location for parking facilities (OCLP).

4.11 Diagram showing the proposed treatment actions at the Nelson house site parking and trailhead area (OCLP).

4.12 Diagram showing the proposed trail system at Glendale Battlefield. The trails indicated in red follow existing trail alignments and will require minimal improvement, while trails in green are new trails (OCLP).

4.13 A battery formation represented by six cannons at nearby Malvern Hill (OCLP).

4.14 Replica cannons, such as this one at Malvern Hill, should be installed at Glendale Battlefield to depict the approximate locations and arrangement of Union batteries (OCLP).

4.15 An image showing Virginia rail fences at Gaines' Mill Battlefield (OCLP).

4.16 As an alternative to Virginia rail fences, simple post-and-rail fences, such as this one at Gaines' Mill Battlefield, are also appropriate at Glendale (OCLP).

4.17 (Right) A photo of the Nelson house and outbuildings from 1885 show fences on the north and west side of the house. The photo appears to show a mix of fence styles, including a tight picket fence and a board fence.

4.18 (Below) A photo believed to be of the Nelson house from the late nineteenth century shows a board or rail fence around the house.

4.19 An excerpt of an 1887 manual on fencing showing the character and construction of a simple picket fence. (George A. Martin)

4.20 A timber-frame ghost building at Historic St. Mary’s City, Maryland (Courtesy of Historic St. Mary’s City).
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The Cultural Landscape Report for Glendale Battlefield was a collaborative effort by the Olmsted Center for Landscape Preservation and Richmond National Battlefield. At the Olmsted Center, the report was prepared by John W. Hammond, Historical Landscape Architect. Eliot Foulds, Senior Project Manager contributed to the report and served as the project manager. Robert Page, Director provided project oversight.

The Olmsted Center would like to thank Superintendent Doyle Sapp and his dedicated staff for their invaluable assistance in the completion of this report. We are additionally grateful to Dave Ruth, former Superintendent, and Simone Monteleone, former Acting Superintendent, who provided support and project leadership during their respective tenures. We would particularly like to acknowledge Kristen Allen, Chief of Natural and Cultural Resources, who served as the project coordinator for the park and contributed her insight and experience throughout the project. We would also like to thank Bob Krick, Historian, whose deep knowledge of Civil War history added depth to the report’s findings. Kristen and Bob also provided careful reviews and feedback on drafts, facilitated site visits, and generally made sure the team had everything we needed to complete the report.

Treatment recommendations for Glendale Battlefield were developed with input from numerous people in the park and in the region. At Richmond National Battlefield Park, Robert Dunkerly, Park Ranger, Andrea DeKoter, Chief of Interpretation, Ed Sanders, Supervisory Park Ranger, Daniel Hodgson, Facility Manager, Gina Smith, Grounds Foreman, and Timothy Mauch, Chief Ranger participated in a treatment workshop in April 2018 and offered valuable discussion and feedback on the report findings and recommendations. We are grateful for the time and care they gave to the project.
FOREWORD

A little after two o’clock in the afternoon on June 30, 1862, Confederate artillery under General James Longstreet opened fire on Union General George A. McColl’s division of Pennsylvania Reserves. This was the initial attack by General Robert E. Lee’s forces on General George B. McClellan’s Union Army of the Potomac. This attack on Federal positions was an attempt to destroy the Union forces once and for all, by preventing the retreating host from reaching Harrison’s Landing on the James River.

The end result of this battle, indeed, the entire campaign that became known as the Seven Days’ Battles—there would be one more battle in the campaign, at Malvern Hill—was that the Army of the Potomac lived to fight another day, just as it would through the campaigns of the rest of 1862 and 1863. Specifically, the Army lived to fight in the spring and summer of 1864, when new leadership of the Union Army would realize that the only strategy that could end the devastating conflict was to defeat Lee’s army, rather than taking the tempting prize of the rebel capital and industrial center of Richmond.

Ulysses S. Grant would soon find out in the Overland Campaign of those months in 1864, that taking Lee’s army wouldn’t be any easier than taking Richmond.

Another year of hard fighting would occur, along with thousands more casualties, thousands of families bereft of loved ones, and untold destruction in the South, before ultimate victory could occur. A victory resulting in a reunited nation, albeit one still struggling, even today, with its definitions of freedom and equality.

Since 1936, Richmond National Battlefield Park has been preserving some of the most significant areas of real estate in the nation—real estate bought and paid for with a great deal of blood. The park has grown to 3,700 acres in the last twenty years. The Glendale unit represents 513 acres of relatively undeveloped battlefield land of that totality.

We are extremely grateful to the Olmsted Center for Landscape Preservation, specifically John Hammond and Eliot Foulds, for their work on this Cultural Landscape Report, as well as the time and effort of Richmond NBP staff who contributed to and reviewed the drafts. The Report and its treatment recommendations will improve our ability to preserve and interpret the stories of the people and the area involved in these momentous events.

Doyle Sapp
Park Superintendent
Richmond National Battlefield Park
INTRODUCTION

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

PROJECT SCOPE AND METHODS

The National Park Service uses cultural landscape reports as the primary document guiding preservation and long-term management of cultural landscapes. Cultural landscape reports provide treatment guidance within the context of the site’s history and significance, extant features and historic character, and current planning objectives and management goals. Treatment guidelines and recommendations developed in the cultural landscape report are grounded in research, inventory documentation, and analysis and evaluation of the landscape characteristics and features that contribute to the site’s historic character.

The methodology in this report follows A Guide to Cultural Landscape Reports: Contents, Process, and Techniques (1998). Methodology includes primary and secondary historical research to develop a narrative site history; surveys of existing documentation, including historic photographs, plan drawings, and narrative descriptions, to determine historic site conditions; and documentation of existing conditions through direct site observations, photography, and surveys of current and recent site plans and aerial photographs.

This document, the Cultural Landscape Report for Glendale Battlefield, includes a site history of the land in and around the Glendale Battlefield area, with a focus on land ownership and physical appearance and changes in the landscape throughout the historic period. The site history is followed by a summary of existing conditions and an analysis and evaluation of the site’s integrity and contributing fea-
tured and landscape characteristics. The final chapter presents treatment framework, guidelines, and specific tasks that are recommended to enhance the historic character of the site while expanding visitor access, improving visitor experience, and facilitating interpretation of the landscape’s stories. Each chapter is supported by illustrations, site photos, maps, and diagrams.

**PROJECT SETTING AND STUDY AREA**

Glendale Battlefield, located approximately twelve miles southeast of Richmond in southern Henrico County, is part of Richmond National Battlefield Park, a unit of the National Park System. Richmond National Battlefield Park is composed of eleven Civil War battlefields and engagement sites and related resources around Virginia’s capital city. These sites are variously associated with the events of the Civil War, including the 1862 Peninsula Campaign, 1864 Overland Campaign, naval operations along the James River, and the 1864–65 Richmond-Petersburg Campaign.

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

**SUMMARY OF FINDINGS**

**SUMMARY OF SITE HISTORY**

The land around what would become Glendale Battlefield was first settled during the second half of the seventeenth century. In about 1663, Thomas Cocke established a homestead and farm on what had been his father Richard Cocke’s land on Malvern Hill, about three miles south of Glendale Battlefield. In addition to cultivating tobacco and grain, Cocke maintained a grist mill and two tanneries on his property. The Malvern Hill plantation passed through four more generations of the Cocke family, finally leaving family ownership around the time of the American Revolution.
The land around Western Run that would later become known as Glendale was first settled by Alexander Mackenny in the late seventeenth century. The plantation that Mackenny established subsequently passed through a series of owners, including Humphrey Smith and Humphrey Smith Jr., Charles and William Keese, and Francis and Elizabeth Frayer, before being purchased by Nathaniel Nelson in 1849.

The land around what became the Glendale Battlefield was successively divided and transferred, and by the time of the Civil War, the typical farm size was two to three hundred acres. At that time, properties located near the crossroads of Long Bridge Road and Willis Church Road included Glendale, the plantation owned by R.H. Nelson, farms owned by John Whitlock and Richard and Isaac Sykes, and the farm and blacksmith shop of S.L. Riddle. Notable pre-war developments included the establishment of Willis Methodist Church in 1802 and its parsonage in 1853; the establishment by Robert Pleasants of the Gravelly Hill School, the first school for free blacks in Virginia; and the settlement of free black families in the area that became known as Gravelly Hill along the Long Bridge Road.

In March of 1862, Gen. George B. McClellan landed the Army of the Potomac at Fort Monroe on the southern tip of the Virginia Peninsula with the intention of driving northward to capture Richmond. McClellan was stopped at the Battle of Seven Pines on May 31. During that battle, Confederate Gen. Joseph E. Johnston was wounded and Gen. Robert E. Lee assumed command of the Confederate army. Lee launched a series of counter attacks that became known as the Seven Days Battles, driving the Army of the Potomac to the James River and effectively ending the Union campaign.

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

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

In 1932, the Corporation’s lands became part of Richmond Battlefield Park, established as Virginia’s first state park. Four years later the management of the area’s battlefields was transferred to the federal government with the establishment of Richmond National Battlefield Park. Initially, the park contained about 100 acres at Malvern Hill, but this was expanded over the years with acquisitions of land at both Malvern Hill and Glendale. Today, the Glendale Battlefield Unit comprises over 513 acres of the primary areas of fighting.

**SUMMARY OF SIGNIFICANCE**

Glendale Battlefield is significant under National Register of Historic Places Criterion A in the area of Military History for its association with the Civil War Battle of Glendale on June 30, 1862. The site is also significant under Criterion A in the area of Commemoration for its association with the Civil War battlefield memorization and preservation movement. The overall period of significance extends from 1862 to 1932, which includes the period of 1862 to 1865, associated with the Battle of Glendale and other military activity associated with the Civil War, and the period of 1925 to 1932, associated with Commemoration. The secondary period begins with the establishment of the Battlefield Markers Association and ends with the placement of the Conservation and Development Commission Seven Days Battles historical marker in 1932.

**SUMMARY OF ANALYSIS AND EVALUATION**

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

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

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

**SUMMARY OF TREATMENT**

Rehabilitation of the Glendale Battlefield will enhance the historic character of the landscape by reestablishing important spatial relationships that had bearing on the events and outcome of the battle, including the open fields that comprised the primary battlefield, the locations of the farm cores of the Whitlock and Sykes brothers farms, and the locations of the batteries and infantry lines of the two armies. Treatment will also improve visitor access and experience of the battlefield and its key locations through the construction of parking and pedestrian circulation features. Finally, treatment will facilitate interpretation of the battle and other relevant stories through the installation of small-scale features and interpretive signage.

**Vegetation**

The reestablishment of spatial relationships will be accomplished primarily through the reestablishment of the open fields that once contained the farm fields of John Whitlock Jr. and Richard and Isaac Sykes. These fields, which comprised the primary battlefield at the Battle of Glendale and contained the key battery and troop positions, reverted to forest during the twentieth century. Treatment includes recommendations for clearing approximately forty-five acres of forest and converting it to open fields to approximate the historic extents of the clearing. Recommendations are also given for the management of other vegetation types, including forest, wetlands, and visitor use areas.
Circulation

Visitor access will be improved primarily through the establishment of a pedestrian circulation system throughout the site, with parking and trailheads provided at the Whitlock/Sykes area and at the Nelson area. The circulation system will consist of a combination of accessible paths, foot trails, boardwalks, and bridges, connecting the Whitlock area, Nelson area, Fuqua field, Glendale National Cemetery, and the Malvern Hill Battlefield. The trail system will provide access to important locations, including the locations of Union batteries, the line of Gen. George McCall’s infantry, and the farm sites of John Whitlock Jr., Richard and Isaac Sykes, and the Nelson family.

Small-scale Features

The installation of small-scale features is recommended to enhance historic character, improve visitor experience, and facilitate interpretation. This includes the installation of cannons in formation of batteries in the approximate locations of Union batteries at the time of the battle, as well as the construction of rail fences along roads and property lines to enhance the agricultural and battlefield character.
The history of the landscape around Glendale Battlefield is one of stable agricultural use, interrupted in the summer of 1862 by a day of violence that forever altered the lives of its inhabitants. Prior to settlement by Europeans, the area had been home for thousands of years to American Indians, who found subsistence in the abundant resources of the Virginia coastal plains. During the seventeenth and eighteenth century, Colonial planters cultivated the rolling uplands for grain and tobacco, owning large tracts of land for decades before passing them on to heirs or selling them to others. By the nineteenth century, the agricultural economy was well established, supported by enslaved labor.

During the late seventeenth century, southern Henrico County became a locus for an emancipation movement that grew from the Quaker stance on the immorality of slavery. Efforts by prominent Quaker planters in the region resulted in the legalization of manumission and the subsequent emancipation of hundreds of slaves, many of whom settled locally. By the early nineteenth century, the Glendale area was home to a number of free black families.

The battle that raged at the Glendale crossroads in 1862 devastated the landscape. Economic recovery following the war was slow, and the area never regained its former prosperity. Agriculture persisted into and through the twentieth century, even as residential development encroached from the Richmond suburbs. Preservation and memorialization efforts were not as extensive at Glendale as they were at other battlefields, the establishment of the Glendale National Cemetery in 1866 being the notable exception. Today, 513 acres of the battlefield landscape are preserved as the Glendale Battlefield unit of Richmond National Battlefield Park.

**PHYSICAL SETTING**

Glendale Battlefield is located within the Tidewater region of Virginia, the terraced coastal plain where rivers and bays are affected by daily tides. The land within the Tidewater is composed of sediments washed down from the Piedmont and the Appalachian plateau. As continental glaciers around the world advanced and retreated over millions of years, global sea levels rose and fell by fifty meters or more. These cycles of fluctuating sea levels caused the coastline to move up and down the plain, creating a series of terraces that step down toward the ocean. The terraces were cut by the drainage of creeks and rivers into ravines or flat flood-
plains edged with steep escarpments. The western edge of the Tidewater is marked by its transition to the higher Piedmont region, known as the fall line, which features waterfalls and rapids and generally marks the western limits of river navigation.

The land over which the Battle of Glendale was fought occupies a rolling upland plateau, on average 130 to 150 feet above the level of the James River, which lies four miles to the south. This portion of the river between Richmond and Chesapeake Bay is wide and slow, flowing in and out with the tides. The nearest point of the river to Glendale is the meander enclosing Curles Neck on the north bank, and Turkey Island on the south bank, where Turkey Island Creek enters the main river channel. The land along the broad meanders is low and flat, fringed by extensive wetlands and numerous small creeks entering the river. Above the flood plain the land is terraced and cut with a network of drainages that feed the small creeks, which feature steep banks and flat, wet bottoms. The primary drainage, Western Run, flows southward across Malvern Hill before emptying into Turkey Island Creek. Soils here are generally deep and free-draining, composed of sand and gravel overlain with sandy clay loam, making them moderately well suited to agriculture.
**PRE-COLONIAL (BEFORE 1607)**

Human occupation of the coastal regions of Virginia is believed to date to the end of the Pleistocene epoch between 14,000 and 12,000 years ago. As rising temperatures and the retreat of the Laurentide ice sheet made the mid-Atlantic coast more habitable, Paleoindians began to utilize the resources of coastal lands. Highly mobile populations established transient base camps near rivers and estuaries, where food could easily be obtained, or near lithic sources that contained stone suitable for projectile points and other tools. Seasonal camps extended their range into the interior, where they hunted large game, gathered food and medicinal plants, and procured stone material. Populations during the early periods of occupation likely fluctuated significantly, with extended periods of very low population. Total population at the end of the Paleoindian period may have been as low as a few hundred individuals in Virginia.

As temperatures continued to warm and sea levels rose, native peoples migrated inland along major rivers into the areas associated with the Fall Line separating the Tidewater and Piedmont regions of Virginia. The annual cycle of movement for these early inhabitants would have occurred over relatively large regions. Utilizing larger base camps located near sources of stone material during a portion of the year, smaller groups of families would have dispersed to satellite camps in order to take advantage of seasonally available resources located within upland terraces and resource-rich wetlands.

Beginning around 3,200 years ago, the development of pottery and a greater reliance on agricultural crops such as beans, corn, and squash supported increased sedentism and the nucleation of societies. Populations during this time began to consolidate into villages near rivers and floodplains with fertile soil, favorable terrain, and access to game, where communities would clear woodlands for gardens and fields. These larger base camps were supplemented by dispersed camps that facilitated hunting and resource extraction.

Indian tribes known to have lived in the area at the time of the arrival of Europeans were predominantly represented by Algonquian speaking groups located throughout the Maryland and Virginia Tidewater as far south as Albemarle and Pamlico Sounds in eastern North Carolina and as far north as the Potomac River. The Piedmont and Appalachian regions above the fall line were occupied by unrelated Siouan speaking Indians. Archeological evidence of Algonquin people in the Virginia coastal plain date to as early as 200 AD. By 1600 AD, it is estimated that around 13,000 Algonquin-speaking Powhatans lived in 6,500 square miles of Tidewater Virginia, while another 15,000 Siouan-speaking Monacans and Manahoacs lived in the Piedmont.
By the time of the arrival of English in Virginia, the Algonquin people of the Tidewater were organized under the Powhatan chiefdom, a confederation of loosely aligned groups under the leadership of the chief Powhatan. The Powhatan chiefdom was complex and fluid, with some groups more strongly aligned under central leadership and others being more independent. Power inequities led to inter-group hostilities, conflicts, and alliances, with weaker groups paying tribute to stronger groups for protection.

The Chief Powhatan, Wahunsunacoc, exerted varying degrees of control over the different groups in the region.7

**UTILIZATION OF RESOURCES**

By 1600, the lifeways of Virginia Indians had become well established over several centuries. Utilization of the region’s resources included hunting game and gathering plants in the forests, fishing and taking shellfish from the rivers and estuaries, and growing crops on cleared upland. The forests were managed to maximize game and other food resources, produce wood for structures, tools, canoes, and fishing gear, and facilitate habitation, circulation, and defense. Fire was an important tool for forest management, utilized regularly to clear large areas for agriculture, reduce undergrowth, improve game habitat, and encourage the growth of desirable vegetation species.8

Wood was an essential material for constructing dwellings and other structures and for making tools, weapons, and other items. Oak and hickory were abundant, and the wood from these trees was strong and durable. Hickory was particularly valued for its hardness, bending strength, stiffness, and shock resistance. These qualities made it ideal for handles of striking tools, digging tools, tomahawks, and other such implements. Locust, ash, and witch hazel was used for bows, and locust was used for spear shafts. Long sapling poles of various species were bent into the domed structures of wigwams and the arched roofs of long houses. Willow, reeds, and other small wood were used to construct weirs and traps for fishing and for making baskets and other small items.9

Forests also provided much of the Indians’ food, including nuts, berries, fruit, and bark. Hickory, chestnut, and black walnut were plentiful, as were mulberry and persimmon. Oak acorns were soaked to remove bitter tannins and ground to make flour. Sassafras was used for flavoring, medicine, and aromatic oil, and sumac was important for dying and tanning. Edward Williams in 1650 described the abundant wild grapes and strawberries and noted, “No shrub or underwood chokes your passage, and in its season your foot can hardly direct itself where it will not
Figure 1.3. Detail of an engraving by Theodor de Bry after watercolor by John White, showing men making dugout boats by burning and scraping with seashells. Fire was a critical tool for the Indians of Virginia, who used it to construct canoes, fell trees, and clear forest, and drive deer and game to waiting hunters (Library of Congress).

be dyed in the blood of large and delicious strawberries.”

Forest game, including deer, elk, bear, beaver, rabbits, turkeys, and other fowl provided essential protein, especially during the winter. Hunting was typically done with bows and arrows or spears. The hunting practices of the Virginia Indians were described by Thomas Hariot, who spent a year with the Roanoke colony in 1585 and 1586. According to Hariot, bears were flushed and chased up trees, where they would be shot by arrows until they fell. Deer were stalked or hunted from ambush with arrows. John Smith described a practice wherein the Indians surrounded deer herds with multiple fires to drive them toward a central point, where as many as three hundred hunters waited.

Fire was the Indians’ primary tool for managing the land. Forests were burned at regular intervals to improve the habitat for game species, facilitate movement and circulation, clear land for agriculture, and promote growth of plants for food and other purposes. As a result, early European observers described a forest largely free of undergrowth and dead material. John Smith said, “Near their habitations is but little small wood or old trees on the ground by reason of their burning of them for fire, so that a man may gallop a horse among these woods any way except when the creeks or rivers shall hinder.” Andrew White described the forests around the Potomac River in 1633, “On each bank of solid earth rise beautiful groves of trees, not choked up with an undergrowth of brambles and bushes, but as if laid out by hand, in a manner so open that you might drive a four-horse chariot in the midst of the trees.”
The clearing of forest for agriculture was a time and labor intensive undertaking. Small undergrowth was pulled out by the roots or burned, while large trees were killed by removing the bark around the trunk with stone tools or by encircling the tree with fire. The tree was then left to decay and fall on its own, a process that could take years to completely clear a field. In the meantime, the Indians sowed crops around the standing dead trees, each year clearing away the fallen limbs and trunks.15

Thomas Hariot described the agricultural practices of the Indians near the Roanoke colony. The primary crops were corn, beans, peas, and squash. These were generally planted together in the same ground, a practice that would have prevented rapid nutrient depletion in the soil. Soil preparation was limited to breaking the soil surface with wooden tools to remove grass, weeds, and old corn stalks prior to sowing. Corn was sown in a grid of small mounds placed a yard apart, with beans, peas, and squash planted around them. Crops took between ten and fourteen weeks to produce.16

Within the Tidewater, fishing was an essential component of Indian subsistence. The rivers, creeks, and estuaries provided a wide variety of fish and shellfish, which according to Hariot included sturgeon, herring, trout, porpoise, rays, pomo- pano, mullet, sole, crabs, oysters, mussels, scallops, periwinkles, and horseshoe crabs. Fish were commonly caught with spears while wading or from a canoe, but more often were caught with systems of weirs and traps. In smaller streams, stone or gravel weirs were constructed to create pools where fish would gather, making them easy to catch with spears or arrows. In larger rivers, reed or willow fences were placed across the channel, directing fish to narrow openings. With traps placed at the openings, large numbers of fish could be harvested.17

Figure 1.5. Detail of Capt. John Smith’s map of Virginia, 1606, showing the Indian villages along the James (highlighted), Chickahominy, and Pamunkey Rivers. Indian villages in the area of Glendale include Weanock, Arrohattoc, and Chickahominy (Library of Congress).
Rivers and estuaries also provided important habitat for waterfowl, including ducks, geese, swans, and herons, which were an important food source during winter months when migratory birds arrived from the north.

**Utilization of the Glendale Area**

The land in and around the Glendale area possessed many of the qualities and resources that would have made it habitable. Predominantly composed of forested uplands, the area would have been prime hunting grounds for forest game, and provided wood for fuel, as well as nuts, berries, and bark. Proximity to the James River and its associated marshes would have provided fish, shellfish, waterfowl, reeds, tubers, muskrat, and turtles, and facilitated transportation by canoe. The land was also suitable for agriculture, and it is possible that cultivated fields were located in the area.

Archeological evidence of pre-contact occupation of the Glendale area is sparse. In general, the presence of lithic debitage at several sites in or near the Glendale landscape suggest intermittent use of the area during the Archaic and Woodland periods. During walk-over surveys of the nearby Malvern Hill site in 2000 and 2001, several sites and potential sites of prehistoric habitation were identified. These primarily contained evidence of stone tool making and fire-cracked rocks. The largest concentrations of artifacts were found along the Crewes Channel corridor to the west of Malvern Hill, with lower density sites along the edges of the Malvern Hill terrace overlooking the drainages. To date, no ceramics or other artifacts suggesting late-period occupation of the site have been discovered.18

At the time of the arrival of English settlers, a number of Indian groups were located along the James River in the immediate vicinity of Glendale. The Weanock people lived on both sides of the James River in what is today James City County, south of the Glendale site. To the north were the Arrohattoc people, who lived along the James River up to the fall line. Turkey Island Creek marked the approximate boundary between the two tribes. Villages were primarily located along the river banks, but territory controlled for hunting, foraging, and fishing extended inland. East of Glendale toward the Chickahominy River, the land was controlled by the Chickahominy Indians, the only significant tribe that was independent of the Powhatan Confederacy at the time of European contact.
**COLONIAL (1607–1776)**

Initial exploration of Virginia by the English began in the late sixteenth century with the establishment in 1585 of the Roanoke colony in North Carolina. The ultimately unsuccessful colony was initially located on Roanoke Island seventy-five miles south of the Chesapeake Bay, in an area under control of the Powhatan Confederacy. A combination of circumstances, including bad weather and conflict between England and Spain, prevented the sponsors of the colony from providing adequate support. By the time Jamestown was established in 1607, there were no surviving colonists at Roanoke and no definitive explanation for their disappearance. Some evidence suggests that a number of the Roanoke colonists survived for as long as twenty years, integrating into local Indian tribes. Accounts of John Smith and William Strachey support this theory, indicating that the colonists had been living peacefully among a group of natives beyond the domain of Chief Powhatan, who claimed to have personally conducted the slaughter of surviving colonists just prior to the arrival of the Jamestown settlers.

In 1606, an English joint stock company called the Virginia Company of London was created to administer colonial settlements in North America. The territory granted to the company by King James I extended up the Atlantic coast from Cape Fear to Long Island Sound, where it adjoined the lands granted to the Plymouth Company. The Virginia Company sent its first expedition of three ships carrying 105 colonists under the command of John Smith, which sailed into Chesapeake Bay in April of 1607. Jamestown, the colony they established on a swampy island in the James River, succeeded long enough to facilitate permanent settlement of Virginia.

The Jamestown colonists had arrived in one of the more densely populated regions of North America, inserting themselves into the complex political structure of the Powhatan people. The political atmosphere in the coastal plain of Virginia was unstable in the early seventeenth century, resulting in inconsistent interactions with the newly arrived English. Many interactions were cooperative, with Indians helping the settlers obtain food and other necessities. The English traded weapons, tools, metal, and other items for fur, skins, corn, and tobacco. Wahunsunacock recognized the political and military advantage of befriending the English, as well as the potential threat of their presence. While he was initially inclined to keep relations with the colonists amicable, he exerted limited control on the various tribes living in the area. English exploration and foraging parties were frequently attacked by local groups, and the Jamestown fort was assaulted a number of times in its early years.

The Jamestown colonists were dangerously unprepared for the harsh conditions they encountered and were unable to find the basic necessities for survival. Many of the first arrivals were gentlemen and businessmen, not farmers and craftsmen.
They had intended to subsist initially through trade with the Indians and periodic supply ships from England, both of which proved insufficient. Severe drought between 1606 and 1612, coupled with their lack of experience and inadequate suitable agricultural land on Jamestown Island, hampered their ability to sustain themselves. Fear kept them from venturing far from the security of the fortified village to hunt game or find better crop land, and many of the colonists died during the first two years from hunger, disease, and Indian attacks.

The English responded to their dire circumstances with increased attacks on Indian villages to steal food and attempt to exert military supremacy. In 1609, Wahunsunacock halted trade with the English and cut off access to the surrounding forest, where the colonists might hunt and forage. Over the winter, the besieged colonists starved. George Percy, the president of the colony during that winter, wrote, “Then, having fed upon horses and other beasts as long as they lasted, we were glad to make shift with vermin, as dogs, cats and mice.”21 As their desperation grew they ate shoe leather and eventually resorted to cannibalism.22 In the spring of 1610, the decision was made to abandon the fort and return for England. Their ships made it only as far as the mouth of the James River, where they were met by ships carrying the new governor, Thomas West, Lord De La Warr, and a year’s worth of supplies. De La Warr’s arrival encouraged the colonists to return to Jamestown.

Under De La Warr, the English waged a fierce war against the Indians, with the objective appearing to have shifted from subjugation to extermination. Villages were attacked and their inhabitants slaughtered without deference to age or gender. The savage tactics were continued by De La Warr’s replacement, Sir Thomas Dale, who arrived in 1611. Dale expanded English control up the James River, establishing a new settlement he called Henricus, fifty miles upriver from Jamestown. The new settlement stood “upon a neck of very high land, three parts thereof environed with the main River,” which offered both a defensive advantage and a healthier environment compared with the swamps of Jamestown.23

In 1613, after defeating the Appomattuck Indians and driving them from their village at the confluence of the James River and the Appomattox River, Dale established the settlement of Bermuda Hundred. Other settlements along the James River followed as the colonists’ sense of security and command of the river grew, including settlements named Rochdale Hundred, West’s Shirley Hundred, and Digges his Hundred.24 During this time, traffic on the James River increased, and ships from England became a more frequent sight.

The expansion of English settlements along the banks of the river also facilitated increased agriculture and crop production, helping the colonists secure a reliable food source. Cleared land was precious due to the great labor involved in converting forest to planting ground, and colonists planted within former Indian planting grounds whenever possible. Referred to by early explorers as “old fields,” fallow
agricultural land was plentiful in the region due to declining Indian populations. William Strachey remarked in 1620, “Much ground is there cleared and opened, enough with little labor already prepared to receive corn or make vineyards of two or three thousand acres.” Another contemporary noted the quality of former Indian planting sites, “Wherever we meet an old Indian field, or place where they have lived, we are sure of the best ground.”

The conflict between the English colonists continued until 1614, when the abduction of Pocahontas and her subsequent marriage to John Rolfe precipitated an uneasy truce. The Indian threat remained, but the English colonists had established their presence in Virginia, and more importantly, secured the means for their continued subsistence. A second outbreak of violence between 1622 and 1632 dealt the colonists a new setback, but technological superiority and ultimately overwhelming numbers of new arrivals ensured the continued presence of English in Virginia. By 1620, approximately 2,400 colonists lived in Virginia, and by 1650, that number had climbed to 17,000.

**ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT AND EARLY TRANSPORTATION**

In 1619, the Virginia Company of London implemented reforms leading to the establishment of representative government, the first of its kind within a British colony. The colony was divided into settlements, or “plantations.” Each settlement provided representatives to the General Assembly of 1619 in Jamestown. These reforms were intended to help stabilize the struggling company. Yet, efforts to right the company were ultimately unsuccessful, and in 1624, the English Crown assumed direct administration of the Virginia colony. In 1634, the colony was divided into eight counties, or “shires,” including Henrico, which stretched along the north bank of the James River. Henrico County’s initial boundaries incorporated an area from which ten counties would later be formed, as well as the independent cities of Richmond and Charlottesville.

In 1633, the Virginia General Assembly ordered highways to be laid out “according as they might seem convenient.” The expansion of roadways was necessary to connect to developing inland settlements not adequately served by a river or port. As the population rose through the mid-seventeenth century, new counties formed, old counties were reconfigured, and churches, courthouses, ferries, and taverns became the focal points for roads that led from farm lanes. The first surveyors of roads were appointed in 1658, and five years later church vestries were given the power to compel laborers in proportion to the tithables. Working under surveyors, these men kept the rights of way forty feet wide.

Key to the growing success of the settlement at Jamestown was the development of a marketable strain of tobacco by John Rolfe in 1612. Tobacco was a New-World product first introduced to Europe by Spanish explorers in the mid-six-
teenth century, and by the early 1600s, smoking tobacco had become popular in England. The tobacco that the colonists found in Virginia was described by William Strachey as being “poore and weake, and of a byting tast” and was not well received in England. John Rolfe obtained seeds of South American tobacco from a shipmaster and began experimenting with growing these strains in Virginia. The tobacco he cultivated was milder and sweeter and competed well with the Spanish tobacco of the West Indies. Met with high demand in both England and continental Europe, Rolfe’s tobacco proved a successful product and generated renewed interest in Virginia colonization. In 1617, 20,000 pounds of Virginia tobacco were shipped to England, and tobacco exports doubled the following year. As demand for tobacco increased, greater numbers of settlers made the voyage to the New World.31

Tobacco was a challenging crop to produce, demanding large amounts of land and labor to grow, harvest, cure, and ship. At the time, land was plentiful, and tobacco plantations soon occupied thousands of acres along the James River. Beginning first at West and Shirley Hundreds, tobacco fields soon stretched along both sides of the river between the fall line and Point Comfort at Chesapeake Bay. Yet while land was abundant in the new world, labor was not, and its scarcity limited how much tobacco could be cultivated.32

Labor was initially provided by a system that linked land grants to the transportation of new settlers from England to Virginia. Under the “headrights” system introduced in 1618, colonists already established in Virginia received one hundred acres of land, while new settlers who arranged their own transportation to Virginia would receive fifty acres. Wealthier merchants and ship owners who sponsored another individual’s passage would receive the passenger’s fifty acres in compensation. Additionally, sponsored passengers were often indentured to work for the sponsor for a period of time, typically seven years. Thus a ship owner or patron who facilitated the passage of a ship full of English, Scottish, and Irish immigrants would receive a large grant of several hundred to a few thousand acres. Under this system, a relatively few wealthy families were able to acquire vast tracts of prime land and a workforce to cultivate it.33

The success of tobacco led to unsustainable business and agricultural practices, and the booming market ultimately crashed. Tobacco was being grossly over produced, and prices fell precipitously by the end of the seventeenth century. The practice of growing successive crops of tobacco on the same land quickly exhausted the soil, and ever-increasing amounts of land were required to produce the quantities of tobacco needed for profitability. Meanwhile, it was becoming harder to acquire adequate labor from the system of indentured servitude. Early servants had by this time satisfied the term of their indenture and had become planters themselves, while the sagging tobacco market made it harder to attract new voluntary labor from Europe. Increasingly, planters turned to slaves imported
from Africa to work the ever-expanding plantations.34

**EARLY LAND OWNERS ON CURLES NECK AND MALVERN HILL**

As the population of free settlers in Virginia rose and the demand for land increased, established landowners leveraged their large land holdings into wealth and influence. Retaining the best riverfront property for themselves, they sold off portions of land further from the river. Other land was divided and bequeathed in wills, transferred through marriages, or traded. Along the winding river banks, earlier settlements and fortified towns were supplanted by sprawling plantation seats featuring grand houses overlooking the river. The names of these plantation seats became primary local and navigational identifiers.

Some of the earliest plantations developed along the north bank of the James River between the sites of Henricus and Shirley Hundred, where the river made several broad meanders creating narrow necks of land composed of rich river sediments. One of the first of these plantations was Varina Farms established by John Rolfe in 1614. Other early plantations included Greatfields, Longfields, Curles, and Shirley. Many of these were recorded in patents in the mid-1630s, including 500 acres to Nathan Martin “being called the Great Field” in 1636; 750 acres to Thomas Harris “within Digges his Hundred” in 1635; and 700 additional acres to Thomas Harris “called by the name of the Long Field” in 1636.35

Figure 1.6. Detail of a map published by John Stockdale in 1787 showing the settlements and plantations along the James River. Place labels near Glendale include Curles, Bremo, Turkey Island, Malvern Hill, and Turkey Island Creek (Library of Congress).
Figure 1.7. Map showing the locations of estate seats near Glendale in the late seventeenth century (OCLP).
Richard Cocke and Thomas Cocke

In 1636, Richard Cocke was granted 3,000 acres of Curles Neck for the passage of sixty people to Virginia, where he established a plantation seat and named it “Bremo.” Two years later, he transferred 1,000 acres of this land to Ann Hallom, widow of Robert Hallom. These 1,000 acres appear to have been land directly east of Bremo, between it and a prominent ridge called Malvern Hill, which became the plantation seat known as “Turkey Island.” Land along the west side of Curles Neck, granted to Thomas Harris and originally known as “Longfields,” became the plantation seat “Curles.” Cocke added to his land in 1639 with an additional 2,000 acres, a headrights grant which included 1,700 acres “upon the head of Turkey Island Cr. called by the name of Mamburne Hills (Malvern Hill).”

The Turkey Island land passed from Ann Hallom through William Edward to James Crewes. Crewes was a merchant and planter who came to Virginia about 1651. At some point during the next decade, he acquired the 1,000-acre Turkey Island property, although it is not clear whether this included any of the land on Malvern Hill. Crewes’ time in Virginia was marked by feuds with other local businessmen, and he frequently resorted to litigation to settle disputes with other colonists. In 1676, Crewes was involved in Bacon’s Rebellion and was hanged a year later. Having no heirs, Crewes left his Turkey Island plantation to Giles Carter and his wife Hannah, who owned the land for about eight years before selling it in 1684 to William Randolph.

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

Thomas also harnessed the energy of the local streams to power small mills. In Richard Cocke Sr.’s 1665 will, he appoints Thomas to look after “the mill” on Malvern Hill for the use of his brothers, for which he was to be paid “three thousand pds. Tobacco and caske p. Annum.” This mill may very well have been located on Western Run at the site referred to as “French’s Grist Mill” during the Civil War. The mill would have allowed Thomas and his siblings to grow and mill wheat and corn and to earn extra income milling grain from neighboring farmers.

In Thomas’ will, probated in 1697, he bequeathed to his children 5,000 acres of
land and “the home-place on Malvern Hills,” having on it the flour mill and two tanneries. The tanneries would also have been located on streams, but due to the noxious nature of leather tanning and its tendency to foul the water, these would have been located further downstream, perhaps on the lower reaches of Western Run, Turkey Island Creek, or on the small creek known as Turkey Run or Crewes Channel.42

The Malvern Hill plantation appears to have been passed through four more generations of the Cocke family, finally passing out of the family around the time of the American Revolution.

Thomas Harris, Nathaniel Bacon, and James Crewes

Aside from Bremo, much of the land of Curles Neck was owned by Captain Thomas Harris from the early seventeenth century until about 1674. Between 1635 and 1638 Harris received patents for a total of 1,520 acres on Curles Neck, acreage that included headrights grants for the transport of twenty-seven people altogether plus the headrights for himself and his wife for being “ancient planters,” a term applied to those who arrived in Virginia before 1616, had paid their own passage, and remained for a period of three years. He lived on Curles Neck and oversaw his tobacco farm until his death around 1658. In 1674, at least a portion of his property, including the plantation seat, was purchased by Nathaniel Bacon, who built a new house and is said to have constructed tunnels to the river for defense or an escape route against Indian attacks. Bacon, who along with James Crewes instigated Bacon’s Rebellion in 1676, died the same year of dysentery. His estate was confiscated by the government for Bacon’s role in the insurrection, and was purchased around 1700 by William Randolph. Randolph and his heirs lived on Curles Neck until the early nineteenth century.43

John Pleasants

John Pleasants originally came to Virginia around 1665, converting to Quakerism shortly thereafter. On October 1, 1679, Pleasants received a patent for 548 acres lying in Henrico Co., on the north side of the James River and Four Mile Creek adjoining land of Capt. Matthews.44 Pleasants’ will states that this land was previously owned by William Cookson, a friend and co-conspirator of Nathaniel Bacon.45 The location of Pleasants’ plantation remains uncertain. He and his heirs claimed to be “of Curles” or of Curles Neck plantation from 1679 through the beginning of the nineteenth century, however it is generally believed that William Randolph and the Randolph family lived at the Curles plantation during the same time period. Pleasants may have owned a plantation north of Randolph, closer to Deep Bottom and Four Mile Creek, or one of the other seats located on Curles Neck, which included Turkey Island and Bremo.
Following his initial patent, Pleasants continued to add to his holdings through headrights acquisitions, operating a prominent tobacco plantation and building considerable wealth and influence in the region. He soon owned large swaths of land north of Curles Neck, including the area known as “the Slash,” a wet and wooded area unsuitable for agriculture but valuable for its timber resources, and “Turkey Island Point Plantation,” containing on its 150 acres corn mills and a saw mill.46

Not recognized legally by the Church of England, the Religious Society of Friends, or Quakers, came to represent a significant population in the settled areas between Turkey Island and White Oak Swamp. In an attempt to discourage Quaker immigration, the Anglican-dominated civil authorities fined Quaker colonists for a variety of offences, including improper marriages, failure to attend church, and illegal religious gatherings. In 1682, a complaint was entered against Pleasants and his wife for practices associated with their faith.

John Pleasants and Jane Tucker als. Larcome als Pleasants (quakers) defend’ts have shewed that the sd. two p’sons doe unlawfully accompany themselves together as man and wife without legall marriage, and also that they have made a breach of three penal lawes of this Country Vis’t…absence from the Church…refuseing to have their children Baptized…for haveing and suffering a Conventicle at or near their house…and as being pr’sent and members of the sd. Conventicle.” 47

Judgement for the charge of being improperly married was found in the defendants’ favor, but they were found guilty of the other charges. After appeals that went as far as England, the charges were dismissed.

In 1689, the Parliament of England passed the Toleration Act, giving more freedom to nonconformist religions. This allowed Quakers like John Pleasants to practice more openly and become more active in their communities. Pleasants continued to organize meetings of the Religious Society of Friends, establishing at some point a meeting house and burying ground on his Curles Neck land. In his will, written in 1690, he bequeathed this land to the Friends, stating, “I doe freely & fully give grant & bequeath unto Friends in these parts called Quakers (wch now are or hereafter may be) that small parcell of Land by me purchased of Benja. Hatcher Joyning upon Tho. Holms’ land for a Meeting house & burying place with ye Meeting house now upon it, & ye Land purchased as aforesd I doe give devise & bequeath unto friends above sd called Quakers for ye worship & service of God forever.”48 Curles Neck Meeting was registered with Henrico County in 1692.
EARLY FEDERAL AND ANTEBELLUM (1776–1861)

By the time of the American Revolution, the banks of the James River were settled with broad plantations, with stately houses overlooking the wide channel. Areas further from the river developed later, as families that had been in Virginia for generations had divided their large tracts into smaller parcels for their children and grandchildren. New immigrants found a patchwork of smaller farms and plantations with little unclaimed land. The majority of the upland farms would have likely comprised a couple hundred acres each of cultivated fields and woodlands, growing a mix of tobacco and grains and supported by the labor of a dozen slaves. Much of the upland areas would have remained unsettled forest and wetland, an inhospitable tangle of vegetation served by narrow, unreliable roads.

Initially undesirable due to the difficulty of transporting tobacco to the riverfront wharves, these upland areas became more viable after a network of roads began to develop. Glendale was located on a major east-west route connecting the settled areas along the upper navigable reaches of the James River to the Long Bridge crossing the Chickahominy River. This was also an important route between the nascent town of Richmond, founded in 1742, and the colonial capital of Williamsburg. Long Bridge Road, as it became known, and the other developing roads in the area would have spurred early settlement in the Glendale area.

GLENDALE PLANTATION

Settlement of the land along Long Bridge Road above Malvern Hill dates to at least the late seventeenth century, and possibly earlier. Its location at an important crossroads would have made the area attractive to early planters following the initial riverfront settlement. Good soils, level terrain, and ready sources of fresh water added to its agricultural value, and although it was not on the riverfront, it was only a few miles from the wharves and warehouses of Curles Neck and Turkey Island.

Humphrey Smith Sr. and Humphrey Smith Jr.

The plantation that would later be known as Glendale was the first to be established at the crossroads of Long Bridge Road, with a residence identified there as early as 1687. In that year, Alexander Mackenny purchased eighty acres from William Porter “on east side of a branch of Western Run, next to where Meckeney [sic.] hath now begun to seat.” Mackenny sold forty acres of that land in 1694 to Humphrey Smith Sr. The 1694 deed described the land as “being [the] plantation where Alexander formerly dwelt, 40 acres, part of 80 acres purchased [sic.]of William Porter, Sr. 4 May 1687.”

Humphrey Smith Sr. was in Henrico County by the end of the seventeenth cen-
Cultural lands

Cape report for Glendale Battlefield

tury. The forty acres he bought from Mackenny was in addition to 900 acres he had purchased from Mackenny in 1689. In 1732 Smith gave the forty-acre Western Run tract to his son Humphrey Smith Jr.52 Both father and son were active in the community, appearing regularly in public records throughout the eighteenth century and often serving as witnesses for deeds, wills, and marriages.

Humphrey Smith Jr.’s two children, James and Mary, predeceased him, and when he died in 1791 his plantation, which by this time comprised one hundred acres, was inherited by his grandson Thomas Whitlock. Whitlock was then living in Buckingham County and did not wish to retain his grandfather’s estate, so he sold the property to Charles Keesee. The property was bounded at the time by the farms of William Binford, Moses Woodfin, and John Warriner.53

Because the elder Smith died without a will, his personal property was sold to settle his estate, and the accounting of the sale provides information about the relative scale and prosperity of the plantation, as well as who was living in the area at the time. At least two dozen neighbors purchased items that included farm tools and equipment, livestock, crops, food, furniture, and household items. Some of the names appearing on the list represent families known to have been in the area for some time, including Childress, Whitlock, Binford, Garthright, Pollard, Carter, Stagg, Fuqua, and Hobson. Neighbor John Whitlock purchased a number of household items, including pitchers and dishes, as did Elizabeth and Betsey Smith, likely relatives of Humphrey. Much of the livestock and farm equipment was purchased by Charles Keesee, including two horses, one cow, two yearlings, six hogs and a sow, a plow, a pair of wedges, an iron pestle, a metal tub, a cider cask, and a barrel. Livestock and crops purchased by others included horses, cows, steer, hogs, sows, sheep, and rams, as well as corn and wheat. The long list of items indicate a degree of prosperity, and suggest that the plantation had been in operation for some time.54

Charles Keesee

Charles Keesee had been living in Henrico County at least since 1770, when he was living on land owned by Robert Pleasants. In the years after Keesee established himself on Long Bridge Road, he made a number of purchases to expand his plantation. In 1794 he purchased ninety-four acres from John Stagg “on the road from the Long Bridge to Turkey Island,” bounded by Robert Pleasants and Benjamin Pollard. Seven years later, he purchased another 233 acres from Harwood “commonly called Harwood’s Quarter,” bounded in part by Turkey Island Creek.55

Charles Keesee’s will, executed in 1809, reveals the prosperity of his Long Bridge Road plantation. He left to his widow Lucy Keesee seven hundred dollars, two “choice” cows, a horse, a gig (carriage) with harness, “six hundred weight” of
pork, and fifteen barrels of corn, as well as a feather bed, walnut table and chairs, and a beaufat (cabinet). He also said, if she “should wish to remain on the place I lend her the use for three years, of the dwelling house, smoke house, kitchen, hen house, and one corn house, together with as much land as may be judged sufficient for one hand to work, to be laid off in such a manner as to include the above mentioned houses and not encumber the others.”

Charles’ oldest son, William G. Keesee, despite being a minor, inherited the bulk of the estate, including eight slaves, the house, and the primary plantation. Other sons received land as well, and the four youngest children received one hundred dollars each for education. His oldest daughter received two slaves. William G. Keesee kept the plantation for another nine years before selling it in 1818 to Francis Frayser. The 1818 deed included 214 acres “on the road from Long Bridges to Turkey Island, being all of the land willed to me by my father.” Adjoining property owners included Moses Woodfin and Freeman Warriner, (deceased).

Frayser Farm

For the next thirty-one years, the farm at the junction of Long Bridge Road and what was then referred to as either Quaker Road or Willis Church Road was owned by the Frayser family. Census records of 1820 show the Fraysers were a small and young family at this time, having two young children under ten. Francis Frayser died in 1836, apparently before reaching forty years old, but Elizabeth Frayser continued to own the property until 1849. The family owned seventeen slaves in 1820, thirty-seven in 1830, and thirty in 1840. In 1849, Elizabeth sold the farm to Nathaniel Nelson.

Nelson Farm

Nathaniel Nelson, a widower in his early sixties, came to the plantation at the crossroads with his three sisters, Ethelinda, Lucy, and Mary G. Prosser. Nathaniel may have already been in poor health at the time, because his will was dated 1849 and recorded in 1852. In it, he left his estate and all of his possessions to his three sisters. By 1860, the three women were joined by Reginald Heber Nelson, twenty-eight years old, his wife Sally Berkeley, and their two-year-old son Peyton R. Nelson. It was during the Nelson ownership that the plantation at the crossroads first became known as “Glendale.”

GRAVELLY HILL

For over a century, the Pleasants family had prospered in southern Henrico County, building their wealth with extensive production of tobacco and the exploitation of slave labor. By the mid eighteenth century, John Pleasants’ grandson, John Pleasants III, owned several hundred acres of land cultivated by over two
Figure 1.8. Plat map from 1831 of the 568-acre Gravelly Hill tract shortly before it was sold to David Bullock. Adjoining property owners in the east include Richard and Isaac Sykes and John Whitlock Jr. (Henrico County Registry of Deeds).
hundred slaves, wealth that gave him elite standing in Virginia society. When his son Robert returned from a long trip to Philadelphia in 1749, Pleasants gave him 350 acres land and nineteen slaves “for love.”63 The home at Curles was comfortable and large, and a fellow Quaker visiting in 1764 described the house, “On the 28th [December 1764] we came to Curles, and lodged at a friend’s house where riches, negroes and grandeur abound, which makes very poor fare for a christian mind; but he was hospitable and kind to us.”64

The Pleasants family remained prominent members of the Virginia Society of Friends through the eighteenth century. Several family members held positions in the Friends Meetings, and their names appear frequently in the Society’s records. Yet, the family’s position as wealthy slave owners put them increasingly at odds with a growing Quaker reform movement that targeted worldliness and luxury. Beginning in Philadelphia around 1750, many Quaker leaders denounced slavery as immoral and encouraged others to free their slaves. Despite the significant economic implications of such a position, John Pleasants III began to feel he could not justify his lifestyle built upon the subjugation of his fellow man.65 In the final years of his life, Pleasants committed to the abolition of slavery, stipulating in his will that all of his current slaves and their descendants be emancipated.66

Testamentary manumission was not legal in Virginia at the time, and when Pleasants died, his slaves were inherited by his children. His son Robert Pleasants became even more dedicated to the cause of abolition than his late father had been, proclaiming his belief that “slavery is an evil of great magnitude and no less repugnant to the Devine command of doing to others as we would they should do unto us that it is inconsistent with the true interest and prosperity of my country…”67 Robert Pleasants wrote numerous letters denouncing slavery to leaders and influential persons, including Thomas Jefferson, and lobbied the Virginia legislature for the legalization of manumission. The passing of the Manumission Act in 1782 allowed slave owners to voluntarily free their slaves, through either a will or a deed of manumission. Robert Pleasants immediately freed his slaves, and when his siblings refused to honor his father’s wishes, Pleasants successfully sued them and won the emancipation of the remainder of John Pleasants’ slaves.68

Robert Pleasants remained deeply concerned about their welfare of his former slaves once they were free. After spending their lives in bondage many were ill-prepared to make a living on their own. The elderly would not be able to establish their own farms, and the young lacked the education needed to thrive. He allowed a number of his former slaves to settle on his land and to farm it rent-free, and he established a school on a large tract of land called Gravelly Hill in order to educate the children.69

Pleasants wished to ensure that this support would survive him, so in his will of 1801, he set aside the Gravelly Hill tract to be held in trust by the Monthly Meeting of Friends for the support of the school. He funded the school with an annuity
of ten pounds from his estate and committed the resources and profits of the land to further support the school. The Friends were to support the school as long as they thought “it necessary for the benefit of the children and descendants of those who have been emancipated by me, or other black children whom they may think proper to admit,” and to provide them with advice and assistance and “extend such care towards them as the nature of the case may call for or require.” Pleasants identified a number of people by name, granting them rights to use the land during their natural lives, including “my old servant Philip and his wife Dilcy,” as well as Effe, Sarah, another Dilcy, and Elcy.70

The 1801 will stipulated that if at any time the Friends discontinued the school, ownership of the Gravelly Hill tract would revert to his granddaughters Eliza and Mary in equal interest. By the early nineteenth century, Eliza Pleasants had married Maurice L Miller, and Mary Pleasants had married John G. Mosby. In 1814, Eliza and Maurice Miller conveyed their interest in the property to Mary and John Mosby, with the stipulation that the Mosbys pay the ten pounds annuity and maintain the Curles Meeting burying ground.71

The Gravelly Hill property was surveyed in 1831, revealing the fact that the property actually contained 568 acres, considerably larger than the 350 acres estimated by Pleasants. By that point, the school had been discontinued, and Mary and John Mosby wished to sell the property. They cited the inactivity of the school and argued that “such schools are expressly prohibited and put down by act of assembly by reason whereof the bequest of an annuity of ten pounds by the said testator (if the said annuity had at any time been valid) hath become utterly void and no longer a [illegible] on the estate of the said testator.” Since Eliza and Maurice Miller had relinquished their interest in the property, it was determined that the Mosbys had the right to sell the property. In 1832, the Gravelly Hill tract was purchased by David Bullock. Adjoining property owners included John Whitlock Jr. and Richard and Isaac Sykes.72

**AREA FARMS**

During the first half of the nineteenth century, settlement in the area of Charles City crossroads accelerated, with several medium-sized farms in operation by 1850. Names recorded on a map in 1853 include Nelson, Riddle, Hobson, Eppes, Roper, Jones, Sykes, and Whitlock.

**John Whitlock Sr. and John Whitlock Jr.**

John Whitlock Sr. was born and lived his life in Henrico County, and by the end of the eighteenth century, he was a well-established land and slave owner in the area of Long Bridge Road. He joined the First Regiment Virginia Militia in 1779 at the age of about sixteen, and fought in the Revolutionary War until its end.73 Sev-
Figure 1.9. Diagram of the Glendale crossroads showing the approximate layout of the farm properties in 1830. Current park boundary is shown in red (OCLP, adapted from a map by Leonard Morrow).

Several deeds from the end of the eighteenth and early nineteenth century indicate John Whitlock as an adjoining property owner, and in 1791, he was among the neighbors who attended Humphrey Smith’s estate sale.74 His primary farm and residence was a 217-acre tract north of Long Bridge Road along Middle Road (or Charles City Road), where he lived with his son Charles in 1840. In his will of 1845, he left this homestead to Charles and left the balance of his estate to his eldest son John Whitlock Jr.75

By the time John Whitlock Sr. died, both of his sons had already established themselves as prominent landowners in southern Henrico County. John Whitlock Jr. then resided at the time on 62.5 acres bought from Joseph and Mary Woodfin in 1829.76 This property was located on Western Run and bounded on the north by Long Bridge Road. A plat of the property in 1862 documents a dwelling house, a barn, and two graveyards.

In 1845, shortly after the death of his father, John Whitlock Jr. conveyed his property to his two children, Richard and Jane, retaining a life estate for himself. At the time, his holdings included 640 acres of land, at least eight slaves, furniture and household items, and livestock and farm equipment.77 Despite planning early for
the disposition of his real estate by deeding his property to his two children while he was still alive, Whitlock died in 1860 without a will, leaving no clear instructions about how the land should be divided. At issue were nearly 274 acres of land in five tracts, including the main homestead on Long Bridge Road. A lawsuit between the two siblings settled the matter, giving the homestead parcel to Jane and the remaining four wooded parcels to Richard. The wooded parcels included land purchased by John Whitlock Jr. in 1835 that had once been part of the Gravelly Hill tract.

Thomas Melton and Jane Whitlock were married in 1846, and in 1855 bought 60 acres of the Gravelly Hill tract from Jane’s brother Richard and established themselves there. When John Whitlock Jr. died in 1860, the couple did not wish to relocate to the Whitlock homestead and instead moved to sell the property. Following the resolution of the lawsuit in 1863, Jane and Thomas sold the Whitlock property to John McDowell. The battle of Glendale took place during the years between the death of John Whitlock and the sale of the property to McDowell. In the 1860 census, John Whitlock’s widow Frances is listed in the household of her nephew James. It is unknown who was living in the Whitlock house at the time of the battle.
Richard and Isaac Sykes

In 1829, two brothers, Richard and Isaac Sykes, each purchased twenty acres of land from John Whitlock Jr. for fifty dollars apiece.⁸⁰ The two parcels adjoined one another along the north side of Long Bridge Road, opposite Whitlock’s homestead. Immediately west of Isaac Sykes’ land was the large tract known as Gravelly Hill. The brothers expanded their farms in 1842, purchasing an additional twenty-five acres each from Whitlock, with Isaac’s additional land extending into the Gravelly Hill tract.⁸¹

The Sykes brothers were part of a growing community of former slaves and free blacks then establishing farms and homesteads along Long Bridge Road between Glendale and New Market. The informal community, which became known as Gravelly Hill, was a legacy of Robert Pleasants’ efforts to support the families of his and his father’s former slaves and their descendants. By the nineteenth century, many of these families had been able to purchase land of their own and improve their security and independence.

It is unknown where Richard and Isaac Sykes lived prior to purchasing their farms in 1829. Both were born free around 1800, but they do not appear in Henrico County public records prior to the initial deeds, nor do any Sykes families that are likely to be related. It is possible that they were descendants of former slaves freed by Robert Pleasants in 1782, or they may have moved to the area from elsewhere, seeking a sympathetic community to establish farms and raise their families. In either case, it is notable that less than fifty years after manumission became legal in Virginia, these two brothers had the financial means to establish themselves as landowners.

LANDSCAPE DESCRIPTION 1860

The area around the Glendale crossroads on the eve of the Civil War was settled with farms of moderate scale, containing one hundred to a few hundred acres each. These farms typically had a nuclear arrangement that centered on a cluster of buildings, which included a dwelling house, a barn, slave quarters, and numerous agricultural and domestic outbuildings. These clusters were the center of work and activity, both for the house and for the farm, and the yards had a decidedly utilitarian character. Immediately around the farm cluster were gardens and orchards, which supplied the household with kitchen vegetables and fruit. Beyond the gardens were pastures and crop fields, typically growing corn, wheat, oats, and other crops. Rail fences delineated the properties and enclosed the pastures and fields, while picket fences or finished board fences often enclosed house yards and gardens.

In 1860, there was still significant amounts of forested land around Glendale. While a farm may have contained a couple hundred acres total, only a portion of
that was cleared. The numerous drainages and swamps in the area were generally forested, as were the expanses of land between farms. Despite this, as much as 400 acres of land around Glendale was cleared at the time of the battle.

Information about the landscape in general and about the individual farms on the eve of the battle can be gleaned from detailed maps drawn at the time and from descriptions of the battlefield by soldiers who fought there. Of particular value are a map of Henrico County drawn in 1853 and a post-war map drawn under the direction of Brig. Gen. Nathaniel Michler in 1867. These maps indicate the location of roads, forest and field arrangements, streams and other topographic features, and the locations of farms.

These maps, combined with census records from 1850 and 1860 provide information about who was living in the area at the time. North of the crossroads along Charles City Road was the blacksmith shop and farm of Spencer Riddle...
and the farms of Martha Tate, Sandy Pearman, and George Moody. South of the crossroads along Willis Church Road was Glendale, owned by the three Nelson sisters and their nephew R. Heber Nelson, and further south was Willis Methodist Church and an empty field owned by Edward Fuqua. Along Long Bridge Road to the west of the crossroads were the farms of Susan Brown (a tenant), John Whitlock, Jr., and Richard and Isaac Sykes, and on Carter’s Mill Road were the small farms of Mary Jones and Mary Hobson.

**Glendale**

Glendale was the largest of the plantations in the vicinity of the crossroads in 1860, located on Willis Church Road about a half mile south of its juncture with Long Bridge Road. The Nelson fields extended along both sides of Willis Church Road for about a half mile, with about fifty acres of cleared land on the west side of the road and one hundred acres or more on the east.82 The larger field on the east contained the farmstead, accessed by a farm lane that extended about 600 feet into the field. The 1867 Michler map depicts a half-acre domestic yard containing the house and three large outbuildings enclosed with fences, plus six buildings lining the farm drive that were likely slave dwellings.83 An orchard is indicated east and south of the house yard.

The smaller Nelson field extended about 400 yards west from Willis Church Road and about 800 or 900 yards north to south, extending all the way to Long Bridge Road and connecting across it to a small field on the north side of the road. This field contained shallow branching drainages that flowed to the southwest toward Western Run. In the southwest corner of the field, a narrow band of trees separated it from an adjacent fifty-acre field, at the time owned but not yet occupied by Edward Fuqua.84 The 1860 agricultural census depicts a robust, mid-size plantation with 150 improved acres growing corn, oats, wheat, and potatoes, with livestock and 200 dollars’ worth of farm equipment.

**Whitlock and Sykes Farms**

West of the intersection with Willis Church Road, Long Bridge Road passed through a couple of small openings, including the north end of Nelson’s field and a small farm occupied by Susan Brown and her family, before passing through a wooded wetland. Less than a mile from the crossroads, the forest opened to fields on both sides of the road, with the two Sykes farms to the north and John Whitlock Jr.’s farm to the south. Together the farms made a continuous open field approximately one half mile in length north to south, and one quarter to one third of a mile in width east to west. Within the open fields, the three distinct farm clusters would have been clearly visible from the road.85

The Whitlock farmstead, located about 380 yards from the road, consisted of
a two-story farm house measuring forty feet by thirty-five feet with two rooms downstairs and two rooms upstairs, a barn of approximately equal size, and a stable about half the size of the house.86 About ninety acres were fenced around the perimeter, with cross-fences enclosing individual fields. An apple orchard was located near the house, indicated to the northwest of the house in an 1860 survey and in the Civil War atlas. The property also contained a family cemetery and a slave cemetery. The house was located on the southeastern edge of the field, and the ground dropped steeply to the east toward the wetlands of Western Run, which delineated the eastern and southeastern edge of the property. Across this drainage was the Fuqua field, although vegetation along Western Run prevented it from being visually connected.

On the north side of Long Bridge Road were the two Sykes brothers’ farms. Isaac Sykes’ farm was further west along the road, consisting of a house with four outbuildings, a fenced-in hog yard, and between twenty-five and thirty-five fenced acres with one cross fence.87 Typical of small-scale farmers of that time, Isaac raised corn, oats, potatoes, cabbage, and onions. He owned one horse, one cow, and three hogs.88 Richard Sykes’ farm was similarly composed, with a house and four outbuildings, and fifty fenced acres.89 Richard farmed oats, wheat, and corn and had one horse, one mule, one cow, and five hogs. Beyond the two farm clusters, to the northwest, the land sloped down to a wooded, wetland area that drained southward, crossing Long Bridge Road before joining Western Run south of the Whitlock property.90

Fuqua Farm

Southeast of the Nelson and Whitlock fields was a fifty-acre field owned by Edward Fuqua. This field sloped northwest toward Western Run, which separated it from the Whitlock field. Edward Fuqua built a farmstead here following the war, but there does not appear to have been any structures in the field at the time of the battle.91

Riddle Shop, Tate Farm, and Pearman Farm

Strung along the Charles City Road north of Long Bridge road were the farms of Spencer Riddle, Martha Tate, and Sandy Pearman. These farms created a nearly continuous open space along the southwest side of the road a half-mile long and 200 to 400 yards wide. The Pearman farm was the largest of these, and the west side of the open fields were separated from those of Richard Sykes by a band of forest and swamp about 250 yards wide. Spencer Riddle’s property was the closest to the intersection with Long Bridge and Willis Church Roads, and the blacksmith shop he operated at the intersection was the basis for one of the alternate names for the 1862 battle, the Battle of Riddle’s (or Riddell’s) Shop as well as that of a skirmish that took place there in 1864.
1. All features shown in approximate scale and locations.
2. Hillshade background image depicts existing topography.
CIVIL WAR (1861-1865)

In the spring of 1862, the calamity of war came to Virginia. Between March and July, the two great bodies of the Army of the Potomac and the Army of Northern Virginia collided repeatedly, fighting for the prize of the Confederate capital. Tens of thousands of soldiers moved across the landscape, pulling with them guns, carriages, supply wagons, and horses. The long trains of men and wagons destroyed roads, and their vast camps ruined fields. To sustain so many soldiers and animals, the armies lived off the land, raiding farms for corn, bacon, horses, cows, tools, and equipment. Where the two sides met, the devastation was complete. Houses were damaged or destroyed by shell, shot, and fire; orchards were cut down or blasted away; fences were dismantled and their rails used for firewood or breastworks; and farm equipment of all kinds was piled up to provide defensive cover. When they moved on, the armies took anything of value, leaving behind the dead and wounded. Any structure that remained sound was used as a field hospital for the wounded of both sides, and the tilled earth of the fields and gardens became impromptu graveyards.

The fighting around Richmond that year was part of Maj. Gen. George B. McClellan’s Peninsula Campaign, an effort to turn the Confederate army and capture the capital. McClellan felt that the fall of the city would deal a profound blow to the Confederacy and bring an early end to the war. On March 17, he landed the Army of the Potomac at Fort Monroe and began moving up the Virginia Peninsula between the James and York Rivers. The Confederate army, initially under Gen. Joseph E. Johnston, scrambled to mount a defense of their capital, eventually falling back from the peninsula to the Richmond defensive lines east of the city. The momentum of the Union forces was stopped at the Battle of Seven Pines, five miles from Richmond. During the battle, Johnston was wounded, and Gen. Robert E. Lee assumed command of the Army of Northern Virginia.

McClellan was unnerved by the resistance he encountered at Seven Pines, and despite possessing superior forces, failed to press on to Richmond. During the nearly month-long pause that followed, Lee reorganized the Army of Northern Virginia and reinforced the defensive lines around the city. Then, on June 25, Lee launched a rapid series of counter attacks to drive McClellan from Virginia, battles that would become known as the Seven Days’ Battles. The ferocity of the attacks at Oak Grove, Beaver Dam Creek, and Gaines’ Mill stunned McClellan and persuaded him to withdraw. What McClellan called a “change of base” amounted to a massive retreat, moving the army and all of its weapons, equipment, and supplies twenty-five miles to Harrison’s Landing on the James River. As McClellan withdrew, Lee pressed his advantage and pursued the retreating army closely, hoping to deal a crippling blow.

McClellan’s army consisted at the time of Brig. Gen. Edwin V. Sumner’s II Corps,
Brig. Gen. Samuel P. Heintzelman’s III Corps, Brig. Gen. Erasmus D. Keyes’ IV Corps, Brig. Gen. Fitz J. Porter’s V Corps, and Brig. Gen. William B. Franklin’s VI Corps, plus artillery reserves under Col. Henry J. Hunt and cavalry reserves under Brig. Gen. Philip St. George Cooke. The route to the James River would take the army across a swampy tributary of the Chickahominy called White Oak Swamp and over the sandy plateau of Malvern Hill before reaching the Union supply base of Harrison’s Landing, just south of Turkey Island. Between White Oak Bridge and Malvern Hill, the more than 100,000 men and their equipment trains would have to pass through the narrow crossroads at Glendale.

When Lee perceived McClellan’s plan, he recognized his best opportunity to trap the Union army in a decisive battle. He designed a multi-prong attack to sever the retreating column, directing five divisions, commanded by Maj. Gen. Thomas J. “Stonewall” Jackson, Maj. Gen. John B. Magruder, Maj. Gen. James Longstreet, Maj. Gen. Benjamin Huger, and Maj. Gen. Ambrose P. Hill, to converge on Glendale. Jackson was to pursue the Federal rear, attacking as they crossed White Oak Swamp. Huger, Longstreet, and Hill were to advance from the west along Charles City Road, Central (or Darbytown) Road, and New Market (or Long Bridge) Road. Holmes was to outflank the Federals, attacking Malvern Hill from the west. Magruder’s division was held back along New Market Road as reserves. By simultaneously engaging the lead and rear of the retreat at Malvern Hill and White Oak Swamp, Lee hoped to punch the bulk of his army through the middle of the column at Glendale.

Lee’s plan was poorly executed, scuttled by lack of communication, uncoordinated attacks, and the inevitable fatigue of weeks of fighting. Jackson was slow to attack and never crossed White Oak Swamp after the Federals. The fighting there amounted to an ineffective artillery duel and small-scale skirmishing, and the lack of pressure on the Union rear guard allowed Union troops to be diverted to Glendale for reinforcements. Huger was delayed on Charles City Road by downed trees, while Holmes was effectively pinned down by Union artillery on Malvern Hill and gunboats on the James River. Magruder received conflicting orders and spent the day countermarching west of the battle. Only Longstreet and A.P. Hill were able to mount an effective attack at Glendale. The concentration of their forces from the west along Long Bridge Road nearly achieved their objective of severing the retreat, but ultimately failed to do so. As night arrived, the Confederates fell back and the Union moved on to Malvern Hill, where they made a final defensive stand before reaching Harrison’s Landing.

**BATTLE OF GLENDALE**

As the Union army passed through White Oak Swamp and then through the Glendale crossroads to Malvern Hill, it had to defend itself from a number of directions. McClellan’s column was stretched out over many miles, and the
advance brigades reached Glendale well before the rear of the army had cleared White Oak Swamp. It was known that they were being pursued at White Oak Swamp, and it was anticipated that attacks could come from any of a number of roads that came from Richmond. Gen. Porter’s V Corps was the first of the Union corps to reach Glendale, arriving sometime during the night of the 29th. There he paused, resting his troops and waiting for relief from trailing divisions. While he waited, he deployed the Third Division, Pennsylvania Reserves, under Brig. Gen. George A. McCall to the west of the crossroads to establish a defensive line.

When Heintzelman’s III Corps arrived, Porter moved two of his divisions and the artillery reserves on to Malvern Hill, leaving McCall’s division behind at Glendale. McCall was commanding three brigades of the Pennsylvania Reserves: First Brigade under Col. Seneca G. Simmons, consisting of the 1st, 2nd, 5th, 8th, and 13th Regiments; Second Brigade under Brig. Gen. George G. Meade, consisting of the 3rd, 4th, 7th, and 11th Regiments; and the Third Brigade, under Brig. Gen. Truman Seymour, consisting of the 6th, 9th, 10th, and 12th Regiments. Also with McCall were five batteries: two batteries of the 1st U.S. Light Artillery under Lt. Alanson Merwin Randol, Batteries B and G of the 1st Pennsylvania Artillery under Capt. James H. Cooper and Capt. Mark Kerns respectively, and Batteries A and G of the 1st Battalion New York Light Artillery under Capt. Otto Diederichs and Capt. John Knieriem respectively. The last two were often referred to as “German” batteries due to primarily being composed of German Americans from New York City.

McCall, lacking specific instructions for arranging his line, moved out along Long Bridge Road and stretched his forces along the verge of trees at the eastern edge of the Whitlock and Sykes fields, with the infantry assembled behind the five batteries. On the right, north of the road, was Randol’s six twelve-pounders and on the south side of the road were Kerns’ four ten-pound rifles (commanded by Lieut. Frank P. Amsden) and Cooper’s six ten-pound Parrott rifles. On the far left near the Whitlock house were the two German batteries with a total of eight twenty-pound rifles. The Second Brigade, consisting of the 4th and 7th Regiments, was placed on the right behind Randol, stretching from the road northward through the fields and behind the house of Richard Sykes. The Third Brigade, with the 9th, 10th, and 12th Regiments, extended to the left of the road to the Whitlock House. The First Brigade and the 4th Pennsylvania Cavalry were placed behind the other two brigades as reserves. In his official report, McCall described the battlefield: “The country on my new front was open, embracing a large farm, intersected...
towards the right by the New Market road and a small strip of timber parallel to it; the open front was 800 yards, its depth at least 1000 yards. It was a beautiful battlefield, but too large for my force, the lands on either flank being open.93

When Heintzelman arrived at Glendale, he deployed his two divisions to the right and left of McCall. On the right, the Third Division under Brig. Gen. Philip Kearny connected to McCall’s line and extended through the woods and across the Pearman fields to Charles City Road. Kearny’s left, anchored by Brig. Gen. John C. Robinson’s First Brigade, was at least partially within the field near the Richard Sykes house and in the woods north of the house. Heintzelman’s Second Division under Brig. Gen. Joseph Hooker was placed along Willis Church Road on McCall’s left. Hooker’s right flank was composed of Brig. Gen. Cuvier Grover’s First Brigade, which placed its right on a country road or driveway that extended behind Willis Methodist Church, near the field owned by Edward Fuqua. The placement of Hooker’s division, however, did not adequately cover McCall’s left, leaving about a 600-yard gap.94

Gen. Sumner arrived on the morning of the 30th and established his Second Division under Brig. Gen. John Sedgwick along Willis Church Road in the Nelson
Figure 1.14. Map of the Battle of Glendale in the Atlas to Accompany the Official Records of the Union and Confederate Armies (Library of Congress).

fields. The two batteries of Capt. John A. Tompkins and Lieut. Edmund Kirby were placed on small knolls on the west side of the road behind the division. Their caissons were placed on the east side of the road, “the fence being leveled between them and the guns.”

By mid-morning on June 30, the Union defenses were in place. The army had crossed White Oak Swamp and had destroyed the bridge by ten o’clock. Meanwhile, the Confederate divisions were moving toward Glendale from the north and west. The Confederate plan called for Huger to open the attack on Charles City Road, and that his artillery would signal the beginning of the general assault. Longstreet, also commanding part of A.P. Hill’s division, was in place on Long Bridge Road west of Glendale and was waiting for this signal, but Huger had been delayed. When Jackson began his artillery attack across White Oak Swamp, Longstreet mistook this for Huger’s attack and sent his brigades forward.

**Longstreet’s Approach**

Longstreet’s first attack employed Brig. Gen. James L. Kemper’s First Brigade on the right, Col. Micah Jenkins’ Second Brigade in the center straddling Long Bridge Road, and Brig. Gen. George Pickett’s Third Brigade on the Confederate left. A little after two o’clock Longstreet’s artillery opened fire on McCall’s line, to which
McCall’s batteries “replied viciously.” Jenkins’ pickets, spread across the front of the advance, quickly encountered those of McCall, who were posted in the woods on the west side of the Whitlock and Sykes fields in advance of their own infantry. Skirmishing drove these Union pickets back through the field into the safety of their line.\footnote{96}

The Confederate infantry emerged into the field and made several assaults against McCall’s center, each time being repulsed by the Union guns. McCall recognized the weakness of his left flank and gave orders to reinforce it. Part of the 12th Pennsylvania Reserves were detached to throw up breastworks around the flank near the Whitlock house, while two regiments of the First Brigade were dispatched to reinforce the left. The German batteries were also ordered to turn from the west to the southwest to meet the advancing Confederates. These alterations were made just as Kemper’s brigade made a charge for that position, catching the transitioning line unprepared. Kemper gave a description of the Confederate assault (with annotations in brackets):

The advance continued to be conducted in good order until, very soon coming upon the pickets of the enemy and driving them in, the men seemed to be possessed of the idea that they were upon the enemy’s main line, and in an instant the whole brigade charged forward in double-quick time, and with loud cheers; the cheering of the men only seemed to direct the fire of the enemy’s batteries, and the movement in double-quick time through dense woods crossed by swamp produced more or less confusion; … but a single idea controlled the minds of the men, which was to reach the enemy’s line by the directest route and in the shortest time, and no earthly power could have availed to arrest or restrain the impetuosity with which they rushed toward the foe…

After advancing some twelve hundred yards across two fields [Hobson and Jones fields east of Carter’s Mill Road] and some woods, the line suddenly emerged into another field [Whitlock field], facing a battery of the enemy, consisting of not less than eight pieces [German batteries], distant but a few hundred yards, while the enemy’s infantry were formed, protected by an imperfect and hastily-constructed breastwork and a house [Whitlock house] nearby; another battery of the enemy considerably to our left [Cooper’s battery].\footnote{97}

McCall had been expecting the main attack to come against his right, and the sudden attack on the left caught him by surprise. The companies of the 12th Regiment were in the process of building the breastworks around the Whitlock house and were not ready to defend themselves, many having laid down their weapons to carry rails and other material to build the fortifications. The guns of the German batteries could not fire with these men, plus the retreating pickets, in their line of fire. The strong advance of Kemper’s left quickly overran both the German batteries and Cooper’s battery and drove McCall’s left flank into the woods towards Willis Church Road. The rest of Kemper’s line passed to McCall’s left and met no resistance until it encountered Grover’s brigade near Willis Methodist Church.\footnote{98}

Meanwhile, the large number of retreating Union soldiers that burst into the fields along Willis Church Road led Hooker, Sumner, and others posted there to
surmise, with alarm, that McCall’s entire line had given way. Yet it was only the far left of the line that had collapsed, and once Kearny had passed to McCall’s rear he found himself unsupported and unable to maintain his position. Strong counterattacks from McCall’s reinforcements recaptured the batteries and drove the Confederates back across the Whitlock field and into the woods.99

McCall’s reinforcements, primarily drawn from Simmons’ First Brigade, followed the retreating Confederates across the field and plunged into the woods after them, only to meet the advancing Confederate brigade of Brig. Gen. Lawrence O’Bryan Branch. The Confederate brigade repulsed the Union advance drove them back under heavy fire. As Simmons’ men reached the open ground of the fields again, their losses mounted quickly and the ranks broke into a confused retreat back to the east side of the clearing. Meanwhile, Union infantry posted along the narrow band of trees that lined the south side of Long Bridge Road waited for their retreating comrades to pass before opening fire on Branch’s charging brigade. Branch’s brigade in turn fell back hastily as Pickett’s Third Brigade was advancing.100

The battle progressed this way for more than an hour. Waves of attacking Confederates would make it as far as the gun batteries before being repulsed by counterat-
tacking Union infantry, who would themselves reach the far side of the clearing before being driven back again. Each time the soldiers charged or retreated across the fields, they suffered great losses, and the fields were soon crowded with dead and wounded soldiers of both sides. Because of the confusion in the field and the lack of clear targets, the artillery was largely ineffective during this time.  

At approximately six o’clock, Longstreet launched a new wave of more organized assaults, utilizing the three brigades of Brig. Gen. Cadmus M. Wilcox (Fourth Brigade), Brig. Gen. Roger A. Pryor (Fifth Brigade), and Brig. Gen Winfield S. Featherston (Sixth Brigade). This line was arranged with Wilcox on the right, with his regiments straddling Long Bridge Road, Pryor in the center, and Featherston on the left. Featherston and Pryor passed to the north of the Sykes fields and encountered Robinson’s First Brigade on Kearny’s left flank in the woods and in the Pearson fields. Featherston said he “advanced to the front lines to or near a fence at the edge of the field [Pearson field]; here opened on the enemy, and the enemy poured a well directed fire into our ranks and seemed not to be giving way but inclined to advance; . . . feared a charge, was wounded, but was being relieved by [Brig. Gen. Maxcy] Gregg [of A.P. Hill’s Second Brigade].” Pryor described moving through the dense and difficult forest in columns, one regiment at a time. As he passed through the woods and part of his line emerged onto the Sykes field, his brigade was subjected to intense fire from the front and flank. Pryor experienced heavy losses before being reinforced by Gregg. 

On the right, Wilcox made, as McCall later described it, “the most determined charge of the day . . . by a full brigade, advancing in wedge shape, without order, but with a wild recklessness that I never saw equaled.” Wilcox advanced four regiments of the Alabama Infantry toward the right side of McCall’s line. On the Confederate left, the 8th Alabama Regiment encountered Union infantry in the woods.
north of the Sykes fields and became stalled. The 11th Alabama Regiment, however, emerged onto the field across from Randol’s battery and made a desperate charge. The guns of the battery fired grape and canister rounds into the advancing line as fast as they could, but what gaps that were opened up immediately closed again as the Confederates kept advancing.

According to McCall’s account, he had ordered the 4th Pennsylvania Reserves to advance between the guns to protect the battery, but someone countermanded that order and had the infantry remain behind the battery so as to allow the guns to keep firing. When the 11th Alabama Regiment reached the battery, the majority of the Union infantry fell back to the edge of the woods, but a portion advanced to defend the guns. What ensued was a violent hand-to-hand battle over control of the battery. McCall described the scene:

I had ridden into the regiment and endeavored to check them; but, as is seen with only partial success. It was here, however, my fortune to witness between those of my men who stood their ground and the Rebels who advanced, one of the fiercest bayonet fights that perhaps ever occurred on this continent. Bayonets were crossed and locked in the struggle; bayonet wounds were freely given and received. I saw skulls crushed by the heavy blow of the butt of the musket, and, in short, the desperate thrusts and parries of a life and death encounter, proving indeed that Greek had met Greek when the Alabama boys fell upon the sons of Pennsylvania.

Meanwhile, the 9th and 10th Alabama Regiments were advancing through the band of woods along the south side of Long Bridge Road. This band of woods allowed the Confederates to approach to within 100 yards of Cooper’s battery under cover, and when they attacked the battery from there, the Union infantry and artillery personnel made a quick retreat to the safety of the woods behind them. Wilcox described the location of Cooper’s battery as closer to the band of woods on the Confederate side than to the eastern edge of the woods on the Union side, a position that gave the Confederates the advantage of superior protection.

The taking of the battery on the right [Cooper’s] of the road was not attended...
by such a bloody strife as followed the assault and capture of the one on the left [Randol’s], for here the enemy had not the heavy pine forests so close in rear and on one flank in which he could retire, reform, and renew the conflict …

On the contrary, the pine was in our possession and our men, under cover of it, were within one hundred yards and in front of the battery, the field extending far off to our right and the timber in the rear of the battery being more distant.106

The Confederates succeeded in taking both batteries, but the victory was short-lived. The 4th and 7th Pennsylvania Reserves had Randol’s battery enclosed on two sides, firing from the edge of the woods on the Confederates’ front and left. Mounting a counterattack from these woods, the Reserves drove the Alabama regiments from Randol’s battery and back to the band of woods on Long Bridge Road. Despite their superior position in defending Cooper’s battery, the 9th and 10th Alabama found their position there unsustainable and were forced by the 9th Pennsylvania Reserves to retire to the band of woods as well.107

As dusk approached, the whole of A.P. Hill’s division comprising the five Confederate brigades of Brig. Gens. Charles W. Field, William D. Pender, Maxcy Gregg, Joseph R. Anderson, and James J. Archer moved in for a coordinated assault on the broken Union line. Field took the center, straddling Long Bridge Road, with Pender following directly behind, Gregg supporting Featherston on the left, and Archer on the right. Anderson was held behind as a final reserve.108

In the waning summer light, this force was thrown against a badly damaged and disorganized Union front. Kerns’ battery had been withdrawn because its caissons had mistakenly been sent to Malvern Hill and it had no ammunition. McCall’s other batteries had been rendered immobile and generally ineffective during the fighting. Many of the artillery pieces were damaged or overturned, wheels were broken, and horses had been killed or had fled. There was no means for either side to withdraw the pieces. As the evening progressed, several Confederate commanders described approaching the batteries that “had been several times taken and retaken during the day, a constant struggle being maintained for their possession.” McCall’s haggard infantry kept a tenuous hold on the woods between the Whitlock and Sykes fields and Willis Church Road, but they were poorly supported, particularly on their left.109

On the north side of the road, the woods beyond Randol’s battery were held securely by Robinson’s brigade. As the Confederates repeatedly charged and took the battery and drove the Union soldiers into the woods, they were subjected to fierce fire from both flanks before advancing more than fifty yards. One Confederate regiment succeeded in turning one of Randol’s guns and firing it, but it too was driven back. Due to lack of activity along Charles City Road, Kearny was able to spare several regiments to support Robinson and strengthen this portion of the line. Despite the new pressure from A.P. Hill’s division late that evening, the Confederates never reached Charles City Road.110
On the south side of the road, McCall’s line had finally broken down. After a long
day of fighting, the exhausted Union troops were an ineffective barrier to Brig.
Gen. Field’s attack. The Confederate forces drove deep into the woods between
the Whitlock and Nelson farm fields, getting in the rear of McCall.

Beyond these woods, the Nelson field on the west side of Willis Church Road
was defended by the incomplete line of artillery and infantry of Union Brig. Gen.
William W. Burns’ Second Brigade, under Brig. Gen. John Sedgwick of Sumner’s
Second Division. The other two-thirds of Sedgwick’s forces, the brigades of Brig.
Gen. Napoleon J.T. Dana and Col. Alfred Sully, had been dispatched earlier in the
day to support the fighting at White Oak Swamp, but due to ineffective pressure
there from Jackson, they were ordered to return to the crossroads. These bri-
gades arrived at Glendale just as Field’s Confederate forces were engaging Burns
on the western edge of Nelson’s field, threatening to break through the final line
before the prize of Willis Church Road. Dana and Sully’s forces filled the sizeable
gaps that had developed in Burns’ line, and were able to push the Confederates
back into the woods toward the Whitlock field. The desperate fighting that this
timely counterattack produced stopped this last Confederate effort and ensured
the integrity of the Union retreat route, at the cost of some 400 men wounded or
killed.111

By the time the sun set, the fighting had tapered off. The Confederates ultimately
managed to take and keep control of the fields of the Whitlock and Sykes farms
and the four batteries still there, but were never able to put significant pressure
on the Union retreat. The Union battle line remained intact along Willis Church
Road, maintaining control of the crossroads and the woods to the west of the
Nelson fields.

Figure 1.18. Engraving from an
Alfred Waud drawing showing Gen.
Slocum’s artillery engaged with Gen.
Huger along Charles City Rd. during
the Battle of Glendale (Battles and
Leaders of the Civil War).
The price for securing the retreat at Glendale had been steep, with 3,797 Union soldiers killed, wounded, missing, or captured. The Confederates had comparable casualties, but more than twice the number of soldiers confirmed killed during the action. The Union had also lost fifteen guns to the Confederates. McCall, whose men had borne the worst of the day’s fighting, endured one final indignity as day drew to a close. Thinking he was safely behind Union lines, McCall rode forward with a small detachment into the darkness in search of one of his companies. Instead of his own men, he encountered the 47th Virginia pickets. McCall realized his mistake too late, and the Confederates seized his horse and took him and two of his men prisoners. 112

As dawn came to Glendale on July 1, a calm rested over the battlefield. The Union army had withdrawn overnight to a more defensible position at Malvern Hill, three miles to the south, leaving behind the dead and wounded. The Confederate forces moved in during the morning to occupy the ground that had been so savagely contested the day before. Here they rested and regrouped, preparing themselves for a final effort to overtake the Federals before they reached the James River. By early afternoon, the ground shook again with the thunder of artillery as the Battle of Malvern Hill began.

The Confederates had little hope of dislodging the Union army from its position on Malvern Hill. The Federals were able to concentrate the bulk of their force in a tight line across the brow of the hill, with steep slopes on their flanks and an open, gently sloping battlefield to their front. With nearly forty pieces of artillery bearing on them and no less than a quarter mile of open ground to cross before reaching the Union line, the Confederates threw themselves into a wall of fire. Ultimately, the Army of the Potomac withstood the assault and moved safely to Harrison’s Landing, ending the Peninsula Campaign.
Glendale Residents

Fragmentary documentation offers some information about the inhabitants of the various farms during the battle. At least two accounts place members of the Whitlock family in the house at the time of the battle. Since John Whitlock Jr. had died in 1860, this was either the family of Richard and Virginia Whitlock and their seven children, Thomas and Jane (Whitlock) Melton and their three children, or a tenant that was renting the farm in the interim.\textsuperscript{113} The account by Surgeon Edward Donnelly, who was part of the 2\textsuperscript{nd} Pennsylvania Reserves and also commander of the hospital at the Whitlock house after the battle, suggests that it was Richard and Virginia at the house at the time of the battle. Donnelly said that “Whitlock, his wife, and seven small children were in the cellar at the time of the battle.”\textsuperscript{114} Capt. Weidman of the 4\textsuperscript{th} Pennsylvania Cavalry recalled an interaction with the family immediately prior to the battle. “We commenced our cooking at the house of the owner, who with his family, resided on the farm. [His wife] did all a woman could do to please the soldiers, as I though, from a hope, but not an expectation that it would keep them from injuring her family.”\textsuperscript{115} His account conveys the panic that enveloped the families that found themselves in the path of battle. With the approach of musket and artillery fire, “the woman came to the door, and begged me to see the General, and have the house turned into a hospital. I told her that would certainly be done if we repulsed the rebels and advanced, but not otherwise, and whether we did or not, if her house proved to be in the line of the enemy’s fire, a hospital flag would not be respected by them, as they had fired on one the day before. I advised her to move herself and her family as fast as she could, and to as great a distance in our direction as she could go.” According to Weidman, she eventually heeded the warning and took her family behind the Union line. A Confederate account describes the shock of a mother and small child returning to the Whitlock house the day after the battle and witnessing the dead and bloodied strewn about her house.\textsuperscript{116}

Figure 1.20. Engraving made from a sketch by Robert Knox Sneden showing Willis Church during the Battle of Glendale. Although Sneden was present at Glendale, his sketches were made from memory after the fact, leading to a number of errors in his depictions. In this case, the building at left was mistakenly identified by Sneden as Nelson’s House. Nelson’s house was not located as depicted in the drawing (Battles and Leaders of the Civil War, Virginia Historical Society).
The family of Richard Sykes was also present at the commencement of the battle. As the Union army arrived and took position across their field, the family greeted the spectacle with curiosity, unaware that the Confederate army was bearing down on the farm. “He and his family had gone out to look on the brilliant spectacle, but did not know what it meant; the banners were flying, the batteries were wheeling into position, and troops of cavalry were drawn up on the edge of the woods. While they were admiring the gay pageant, … General Kearny rode over the field and told him to remove his family instantly, for in less than ten minutes there would be a battle, and his house be in the center of it.” They had just enough time to grab some items from the house and run toward the woods, but as they reached its edge, the sky was split with the crash of artillery. “As the branches of the trees around and above them were cut and falling, he called on his family to follow him, and running a few steps he had to return and carry in his arms one of his children, that appeared to be struck with a palsy of fear.” One member of the family, “a sister-in-law,” refused to leave and fled to the cellar, where she remained through the duration of the battle. 117

Little is known about the residents of the other farms in the area, but it can be
surmised that many of their stories were similar to these. War came to their homes suddenly, and as the violence erupted, there was nothing to do but to run or hide.

**BATTLEFIELD HOSPITALS**

On July 4, Rev. James J. Marks rode into Glendale from Savage’s Station, leading a pony laden with medical supplies. After a relatively mild and rainy start to the month, the sun had returned and the air had become hot. As he followed the Union route, Marks passed through a desolate landscape. The road was choked with broken wagons and ambulances abandoned during the retreat, and the roadside was littered with torn garments and broken knapsacks. Confederate stragglers, sick and exhausted, passed him going the other way as they made their way back to Richmond.\(^\text{118}\)

Marks was a chaplain in the 63rd Pennsylvania Regiment of Kearny’s division during the Peninsula Campaign. After the Battle of Savage’s Station, he was detailed to remain with the hospitals there to provide support as the Union army continued to move south toward the James River. After receiving news of desperate conditions in the hospitals of Glendale, and unable to secure an escort or even a wagon, the Reverend set out on his horse to visit the wounded men, offer spiritual comfort, and deliver what supplies he could.

In the days following the battle, the Confederates had transported the majority of their own wounded to Richmond. Reports claim that Richmond citizens by the hundreds came out to the various battlefields bringing food and other comforts

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*Figure 1.22. Engraving depicting the Nelson house while it was being used as a hospital. It is unknown whether the drawing was made by an eyewitness or an illustration made from a description of the scene (Illustration in J.J. Marks, *The Peninsular Campaign in Virginia*, 1864).*

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*“The sweetest tears that heaven sheds are the drops that fall on the head soldier’s brow.”—*Page 321.
and providing transport back to the city. Wounded Union soldiers, left behind by the retreating army, were sheltered in the houses, barns, and sheds on farms across the countryside. As the Confederate army advanced and occupied these makeshift hospitals, the wounded Union soldiers and the doctors and other personnel left behind to care for them became prisoners of war. The dead were initially buried where they fell.

Several hospitals had been set up to provide care to soldiers wounded at Glendale. The primary hospitals were located in the Nelson house, Whitlock house, Richard Sykes house, Willis Methodist Church, Brackett house, and Gatewood house. Officers were generally treated in the chambers upstairs, while wounded enlisted men were crowded into the ground floor. Many more were sheltered in the outbuildings or on cots in the yards of the houses.

Rev. Marks described his visits in detail as he toured the various hospitals, documenting the landscape and the conditions after the battle. He first visited the Brackett house, located on the north side of Long Bridge Road east of the crossroads, which he described as “one of the old Virginia plantations; the land had the exhausted appearance of a region which had been in cultivation for ages.” Stretching out behind the two-story house were numerous outbuildings and slave dwellings, and in the front yard was a large poplar tree. The shade of this tree provided relief to the great number of sick and wounded soldiers lying beneath it. Since those who could move had been carried away with the army after the battle, those that remained were in grave condition, and for many it was a matter of time before they succumbed to their injuries or to the subsequent infection and disease.

The Nelson house hospital held two hundred patients under the care of Dr. Julius Skilton, who also oversaw the hospital at the nearby Gatewood House (east of the Nelson farm). South of the Nelson house and “in the forest” was Willis Methodist Church, where one hundred patients were cared for under the direction of Dr. Marsh. All of these makeshift hospitals reported a complete lack of food and medical supplies. No meat or bread had been delivered to the hospitals at Glendale, and appeals to the Confederate officers for food and supplies had gone unheeded. Medicine, bandages, and stores had been taken by Confederate surgeons for their own use, and Dr. Skilton reported that even his surgical instruments had been taken, leaving him nothing with which to perform surgeries and amputations. Dr. Marsh said that his medical supplies had been exhausted the first day, and that they had received no food since the battle.

The landscape around the Nelson house showed limited impact from the battle, primarily from artillery. When Marks visited the Whitlock and Sykes houses, however, the evidence of war was obvious and overwhelming. “The field over the entire extent was covered with the mounds which marked the spots where our brave men had fallen. Extended over a portion of the field was the breastwork of rails they had hastily constructed, and along this were many dead. I saw no one
unburied. In this field was a farm-house surrounded by apple and peach trees; under these had been buried a considerable number of our soldiers. . . . The fruit-trees were shattered and the branches torn and twisted as by a tornado; each of the houses which formed the cluster had been the scene of a conflict.”

Marks also described the Richard Sykes farm: “This field gradually declines from the road to the forest on the right, and after proceeding two or three hundred feet in the woods there is a swamp. . . . In the field, about one hundred yards from the road, stands a house occupied by a negro family. In this house and the outhouses around it were many of our wounded men, under the care of Dr. Collins. The garden was enclosed with a picket fence, nearly every strip of which bore witness to the severity of the battle. Balls of all descriptions had torn through the house.”

These field hospitals were under the guard of Confederate troops, who often mingled with the wounded Union soldiers for conversation or out of curiosity, as Marks put it. In contrast to the neglect and sometimes contempt showed to the Union soldiers by the Confederate officers and doctors, the Confederate soldiers often treated their northern counterparts with civility and even kindness. Marks relates the experience of one Union soldier whose thigh had been broken by a musket ball. “He told me that he had remained on the battle-field from the night of the 30th until the 3rd, when he was brought in. He said that the Confederate soldiers had been very kind to him, stopping as often as passing by. One of them cut branches from a tree and made a booth to shelter him; they brought him water, and they would come from their camp and sit by him for hours, to cheer him and to enable him to better endure his sufferings.”

On July 11, more than a week after the battle, wounded Union soldiers were removed from the battlefield hospitals to the prisons and hospitals of Richmond. Many of these prisons, such as Libby Prison, were notorious for their poor conditions. Hunger and disease took the lives of many of the prisoners. At Glendale, the families were left to rebuild and recover.
POST-WAR (1865–1932)

As the two armies moved through the Glendale area between 1862 and 1865, they caused tremendous damage to the fields and infrastructure of the farms. Homes, barns, and other buildings were damaged or destroyed by shells and fire. Fences, frequently dismantled by soldiers for fuel, breastworks, bridges, and other uses, were particularly costly for farmers because of the large amount of lumber needed to reconstruct them. Some of the property owners that rebuilt after the 1862 battle experienced more loss as the Union army passed through the area again in 1864. Following the war, individuals were able to petition the government for reimbursement for crops, livestock, and other items used by the Union army. Claimants had to demonstrate that they had been loyal to the Union throughout the war had not given aid to, or even expressed sympathy with, the Confederate side. These post-war claims provide some detail about the history of the residents in the area and the composition and character of their farms.

Sykes Farms

Both Richard and Isaac Sykes submitted claims in 1872 for compensation for the damage their farms received during the Battle of Glendale. According to Isaac Sykes’ claim, he had a four-year-old bay mare, “sound, well broken and good for any sort of work,” that was taken by the soldiers, and one cow, which was driven out of the yard. Sykes claimed to have seen the soldiers shoot the cow. His fences
were pulled down and used for firewood or to reinforce muddy roads. Sykes estimated that he had 11,000 rails, while the government estimate was 7,000. This included thirty-five acres fenced in with one cross fence and a hog yard. Soldiers also took plows, harrows, and other farm tools. Crops and produce taken included fifty bushels of shelled corn plus five acres of growing corn, four acres of oats, one acre of potatoes, and one acre of cabbages and onions “ready for market.” The hogs and poultry were taken by General Gregg when the Union army once again moved through the Glendale area in August 1864.122

Richard Sykes’ claim described a farming operation similar in scale to his brother’s, with fifty total fenced acres, five acres each in oats and corn, twenty bushels of shelled corn, a horse, cow, mule, and hogs taken by the soldiers. Richard’s claim contained more details about his structures and how they were used during and after the battle. In addition to his house, two outhouses, a barn, stable, and smokehouse were both all used as hospitals following the battle. Weatherboarding on the house was pulled off “to give the wounded fresh air,” as well as for fuel and beds for the soldiers. Other structures mentioned in the claim include a kitchen, store house, and corn house. Farming equipment was used in breastworks, and kitchen and household furniture was carried off in wagons.
It would have been difficult to recover from the damages described in the Sykes claims. Claims for reimbursement were not allowed until after 1871, and even then the commission typically paid only a fraction of what was claimed. Of the $2,750 claimed by Richard Sykes, the commission approved $514.50. For Isaac’s claim, only $303 was approved out of the requested $2,500. This money was small consolation to families that struggled for decades after the war.

Richard and Isaac Sykes continued to farm their properties for twenty years after the battle. The two brothers, who bought their first properties the same day in 1829, lived their entire lives within sight of each other. Richard and Isaac died
within a year of each other, in 1882 and 1883 respectively. Richard left his farm, along with the house, furniture, livestock, and crops, to his wife Mary Ann, and left an additional forty-eight acres to his children and grandchildren. Isaac divided his farm between his three children Mary Ann, Henry, and Eliza (Adkins).  

Ownership of Richard Sykes’ farm passed through his wife Mary Ann Sykes and daughter Nancy Pleasants to his grandson William H. Pleasants, who owned it through the 1930s. In 1932, the farm consisted of about 12.5 acres of cultivated fields that stretched between Long Bridge Road and Darbytown Road. The farm core consisted of a two-story, L-shaped house, at least two outbuildings, and a quarter-acre fenced in yard. It is not known whether the house present in 1932 was the same as the wartime house, but it is plausible based on the location, size, and style of the house that at least a portion of it was.

Isaac Sykes left his house and twelve acres of his farm to his daughter Mary Ann Sykes and left land to his other children Henry and Eliza. Mary Ann died in 1900 and the farm passed to her children and grandchildren. In 1932 the farm was likely occupied by Isaac Sykes’ son Coleman Sykes. The farm comprised about seven acres of cultivated land with a one-story L-shaped house and two outbuildings. By the 1930s, the reduction in field extent caused by reforestation had separated the Isaac and Richard Sykes farms.

**Whitlock Farm Site**

John McDowell was an Irish immigrant who came to Virginia as a child. Prior to the war, he lived in Richmond and operated a grocery. The Sykes brothers knew him as early as 1856 and did business with him often. In the spring of 1862, McDowell volunteered for the Confederate army, enlisting in Company F of the 3rd Regiment, Virginia Artillery. The company was made up of local Richmond men, and McDowell enlisted with a long-time acquaintance who lived in the same neighborhood. McDowell was only in the company for a few months before either deserting or being discharged for disability. The following year, in September 1863, McDowell purchased the Whitlock farm from Jane and Thomas Melton and moved to Glendale.

McDowell made repairs to the damaged farm, including installing new fences and repairing the house and other buildings. By the spring of 1864, he had installed 21,000 rails, enclosing the whole farm with two cross fences. Richard Sykes described the house in 1864 as “in fair repair,” and the barn “as good as new,” indicating extensive repairs from the damage sustained two years before. McDowell planted eighteen acres of corn in three six-acre fields, plus an acre of Irish and sweet potatoes. There was also what McDowell described as a “fine orchard,” which must have survived from Whitlock’s time.

During the spring and summer of 1864, Union troops once again moved through
the Glendale area, appropriating resources from the local farms. In his 1872 claim for reimbursement for war damages, McDowell claimed that Union soldiers took bacon, flour, shelled corn, and horse tack before moving on to Malvern Hill.

Later that summer, Federal soldiers once again stripped the farm of usable lumber, including the new fence rails, house weatherboarding, and barn planks. According to McDowell, the troops took the eighteen acres of corn for animal fodder, as well as the potatoes, five barrels of cider, and fresh fruit from the orchard. McDowell appealed to the commanding officer, Gen. David M. Gregg, whom he claimed to know, complaining that he would not be able to subsist on the farm considering the losses. Gregg offered McDowell free transport to the North and offered to take care of McDowell’s mother-in-law, who lived with him. McDowell left with the troops and did not return to Glendale until after the war. In 1865, McDowell served a few months in the Union army, in Company D, 2nd Regiment of New Jersey Volunteers. By 1872, when he made his claim for war damages, McDowell was living once again in Richmond, but he still owned the farm at Glendale.

John McDowell sold his farm in 1899, and over the next several years, the property went through a series of owners, finally coming under the ownership of Peter and Mary Morawski in 1918. At some point during that time, the Whitlock house collapsed or burned, and a new house was built about 500 feet northwest of its original location. The Whitlock house cellar hole remained after the structure was no longer there, and the site of the house remained uncultivated thereafter. In 1932, about twenty acres were under cultivation, much of it south of the 1862 field extents. Areas along Long Bridge Road had reforested, separating the agricultural fields from the road and from the Sykes fields north of the road.

The 1930s oblique aerial photos do not show the Morawski house site, however they do show a portion of the agricultural fields and the Whitlock house site. Be-
hind the house site appear to be six trees that may be the remnants of an orchard. The aerial also shows a wooded area that has been indicated as the possible location of the Whitlock family cemetery. This location, which roughly agrees with family tradition for the location of the family cemetery, remained uncultivated.  

**Nelson Farm**

It is unclear how much damage the Nelson farm sustained during the Battle of Glendale. The farm itself saw little actual fighting, but it did receive some artillery damage. It is more likely that damage was done by soldiers appropriating resources as they did at the Sykes and Whitlock/McDowell farms. There is documentation of the fences being taken down, but descriptions of the house when it was being used as a hospital do not mention extensive damage. None of the Nelsons...
submitted a post-war claim for reimbursement.

In 1866, the remains of Union soldiers killed at Glendale, Malvern Hill, and other nearby battles began to be interred in the newly established Glendale National Cemetery, constructed on a two-acre plot of the Nelson farm land. The cemetery, designed by U.S. Quartermaster General Montgomery C. Meigs, featured a square layout with concentric circular rows of graves. The cemetery initially held 1,189 interments, including 236 known and 953 unknown gravesites. The land on which the cemetery was built was formally conveyed to the U.S. government in 1869.

The Nelson family continued to farm Glendale for the remainder of the nineteenth century. By 1875, Lucy and Ethelinda Nelson had died and left the farm to R. H. Nelson, who owned it until the early twentieth century.

In 1932, Glendale was home to John W. Warriner and his family, who had owned the farm since 1906. 128 It was still one of the larger farm in the area, with approximately 115 acres under cultivation. Large fields stretched out on both the east and west sides of Willis Church Road. The farm core consisted of a house, a large barn, and a number of smaller structures. At least seven smaller structures are visible in the 1930s oblique aerial photo. Two or three areas were fenced in, including a large yard around the barn, and what was likely a produce garden directly north of the house. An orchard extended south from the house in an area that included about three acres. This orchard had undoubtedly been providing fruit to the Glendale farm for many years, likely since before the Civil War, and by the 1930s the orchard grid was incomplete with numerous missing trees. The house was newer, as the wartime Nelson house had burned in 1907.

Susan Brown Farm

The farm occupied by Susan Brown at the time of the Battle of Glendale was indicated as a “ruin” on the 1867 Michler Map. By the early twentieth century, the farm was operating again, with a house, barn, and several outbuildings.
Landscape Description 1932

Through the end of the nineteenth and early twentieth century, the Glendale area changed little. The area remained rural, with individual farms in much the same location as they had been at the time of the Civil War. Overall, the extent of cultivated fields had declined somewhat and wooded areas increased, but the farm cores were still surrounded by extensive fields. Most farms measured around ten to twenty acres, with a few of the larger farms, such as the Nelson farm, topping one hundred acres.

The primary roads remained in their wartime alignment, with the exception of the extension of Darbytown Road, which became the main east to west route through the Glendale crossroads. Some of the roads may have been surfaced with asphalt, although it is likely that all roads were still unpaved in the 1930s.

Information about the landscape conditions in the 1930s is derived from aerial orthophotos taken in 1937 and oblique aerial photos taken at some point earlier in the 1930s. These photos provide details about field arrangements, forested areas, structures, and fence lines. Landscape conditions in 1932 are shown in Drawing 2.
Cultural Landscape Report
Glendale Battlefield
Richmond National Battlefield Park
Henrico County, Virginia
1932 Period Plan

LEGEND

- Trees/Forest
- Open Ground
- Creek/Wetland
- Road
- Buildings/Structures
- Orchards
- Remnant

NOTES
1. All features shown in approximate scale and locations.
2. All data background image depicts existing topography.
COMMEMORATION AND PRESERVATION (1932–PRESENT)

During the twentieth century, efforts to preserve sites in and around Richmond associated with the Civil War increased. In 1936, Richmond National Battlefield Park was established, encompassing lands previously acquired by Virginia’s Richmond Battlefield Park, including one 130 acres at the core of Malvern Hill Battlefield. The Malvern Hill unit would grow to 771 acres, including 98 acres of the Fuqua farm site, but the majority of the Glendale Battlefield landscape area remained in private ownership and in agricultural use until the early twenty-first century.

COMMEMORATION

The first organization to commemorate Civil War battlefields was the Gettysburg Battlefield Memorial Association in 1864. It was administered by veterans dedicated to preservation of the Gettysburg battlefield and memorialization of key battlefield sites, events, and individuals. The approaches established by the association marking lines of battle were later adopted by administrators of National Military Parks. During the 1890s, the nation’s first four National Military Parks were established at Chickamauga and Chattanooga, Gettysburg, Shiloh, and Vicksburg. These early battlefield parks influenced subsequent parks around the nation during the early and mid-twentieth century, including Richmond National Battlefield Park. The military parks protected battlefield land from development, in some cases restored historic landscape features, provided opportunities for military training and historical research and allowed for reunions of veterans that were hoped could contribute to much needed national reunification. Battlefield preservation and commemoration was very popular, but ultimately proved too expensive for the federal government to fund. Soon, Congress would begin to debate methods for prioritizing land acquisition and sharing the costs associated with acquisition and management with other entities.130

Despite the national attention paid to battlefield preservation and the large number of battlefields located in the Richmond, Virginia, area, few Richmond sites were targeted for protection during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. The first proposal for a public commemorative effort was a road to link important sites associated with the 1862 Peninsula and 1864 Overland Campaigns in 1914. The proposal was never pursued due to the onset of World War I. All other Civil War commemorative efforts conducted between the 1880s and 1920s revolved around grassroots efforts and activities, such as reunions of Civil War veterans, and the establishment of individual monuments and commemorative and interpretive signage on privately owned land.131

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

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

**RICHMOND NATIONAL BATTLEFIELD PARK**

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

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

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

By 1935, it was noted that “Richmond Battlefield Park [was] developed by a CCC camp for the past two years in conformity with the development of the national military parks at Fredericksburg and Petersburg.” At Malvern Hill, labeled as Area #2, basic maintenance was initiated only in 1934. Activities which took place at Malvern Hill included the removal of all dead materials from the ground and the establishment of a fire break, roadside clearing, forest development, including the thinning of trees to make the area “attractive,” and the establishment of a nursery, “set aside for transplanting of various specimens of plant life for future use in beautifying landscape” as well as general “landscaping.”

In 1934, the land comprising the Richmond Battlefield Park was once again offered to the U.S. government for protection as a national military park. Sometime between 1933 and 1936, the Malvern Hill parcel of Richmond Battlefield Park was augmented through the acquisition of an approximately thirty-acre parcel east of State Route 156 and adjacent to the one hundred-acre parcel already owned by the state. A map printed in 1933 detailing the holdings of Richmond Battlefield park identifies this thirty-acre parcel as part of a larger tract labeled “additional land, to be obtained.” This parcel was acquired by 1936.

On March 2, 1936, enabling legislation was signed by President Franklin Roosevelt establishing Richmond National Battlefield Park “to set [the lands] apart as a public park for the benefit and inspiration of the people,” and to protect the Civil War battlefield resources associated with the struggle for the capital of the Confederacy.
and to interpret these resources so as to foster an understanding of their larger significance.” Richmond National Battlefield Park became the seventeenth unit of the national park system to commemorate the events of the Civil War. After eight years of legal issues regarding the transfer of land titles, back taxes, right-of-way easements and other problems, the park was officially accepted by the National Park Service on July 14, 1944.138

A master plan for the development of each park unit was proposed in 1936. A map of the Malvern Hill Unit documents that a large portion of land north and south of the 130-acre property, including Glendale, was recommended for acquisition. The map also suggests that interpretive markers be installed at Malvern Hill along the right-of-way of State Route 156. A picnic area north of the Crew house at Malvern Hill was also proposed. At “Frayser’s Farm,” or Glendale, additional interpretive markers were proposed in association with a parking pull-off.139

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

a hard-surfaced road ‘Battlefield Park Route,’ Virginia Highway 156, supplemented by minor roads on the area proper…rendering the points of interest and the battlefields accessible to the public. A series of markers, orientation and troops movement maps, pictorial displays and a museum afforded a means of visual education and a number of picnic areas [were] established for the convenience of park guests.140

A 1970 Master Plan for Richmond NBP noted that, in addition to the primary interpretive focus, the park property at Malvern Hill was slated for “group recreation” development, including an Arts and Crafts Center adjacent to the Crew house, a picnic area with space available for sports and games, and camping sites in the wooded area west of the Crew house. This was never constructed.141

A 1993 study prepared by the Civil War Sites Advisory Commission, “Report on the Nation’s Civil War Battlefields,” includes surveys and evaluations of 384 Civil War battlefields, including those associated with Richmond. This report identifies the degree to which these battlefields are threatened by development, and has raised public awareness regarding the need to preserve the protect battlefields.
Both the Glendale and Malvern Hill battlefields are listed in the study and identified as either Class A or Class B battlefields, representing the principal strategic operations of the war, with a direct and decisive influence on their campaign or the course of the war.142

**GLENDALE BATTLEFIELD**

By the end of the twentieth century, the bulk of the Malvern Hill/Glendale unit of the park was composed of areas primarily associated with the Battle of Malvern Hill. The Glendale Battlefield portion of federal property consisted of a ninety-seven-acre Fuqua parcel, which included land on which fighting between Hooker’s right flank and Confederate troops occurred. The main battlefield area comprising what had been the Whitlock and Sykes farms, as well as the large Nelson farm area, were still in private ownership. The primary landowners were Leonard O. Morrow, who owned the former Whitlock farm site, Timothy Clark Donley, who owned the Sykes properties, and Timothy’s mother, Ann Donley (nee Morrow), who owned a portion of the former Whitlock property along Darbytown Road including the site of the Brown house, and John Warriner, who owned the former Nelson farm.

**Sykes Farms Site**

Isaac Sykes' will divided his land into three parcels, leaving twelve acres and his home to his daughter Mary Ann and leaving sixteen and a half acres each to his other children Henry and Eliza. Mary Ann Sykes died in 1900 and the twelve-acre parcel passed through her children to her grandchildren, and by the middle of the twentieth century, six of her granddaughters and one great-granddaughter all owned interest in the property.143 In 1965, they sold the parcel to W.W. Long, who sold it a year later to Thad Morrow.144 The Isaac Sykes house was still present in 1932, and may have been occupied by Coleman Sykes as late as the 1940s. It is not known whether the house was occupied beyond that, but it was not utilized after Morrow acquired the property, as he lived in a house further east on Darbytown Road near the site of Susan Brown’s farm. The house and other structures at the Isaac Sykes farm were removed or burned sometime after Morrow’s acquisition.

Eliza’s parcel was north of Mary Ann’s and consisted of sixteen and a half acres. Eliza lost the property in 1915 for failing to pay taxes, and it was purchased in 1928 by James R. Pleasants. Thad Morrow purchased it in 1969.145 The portion of Richard Sykes’ property containing the house and farm, originally assessed as 14.5 acres but later determined to be 15.34 acres, was passed down through several generations of his heirs, who owned it until 1979. Thad Morrow purchased the property in 1979.146 The house was extant at that time and remained on the property, abandoned, until the 1990s, when it burned.147
By the late twentieth century, these three parcels were owned by Morrow’s daughter, Anne Donley, who conveyed them to her son Timothy Clark Donley in 1998. Timothy Clark offered the parcels to the Civil War Preservation Trust in 2005 for preservation, who in turn sold the land, which by then contained 43.13 acres, to the National Park Service for inclusion in Richmond National Battlefield Park.148

Sometime during the middle of the twentieth century, the two Sykes farms ceased to be cultivated and the fields reforested. The land was last cleared for timber in around 2000 and replanted with pine.

**Whitlock Farm Site**

The former Whitlock farm site was the home and farm of the Morawski/Morrow family for the better part of the twentieth century. Mary and Peter Morawski lived on the property from 1918 until 1933, when they left it to their son Thad Morrow, who owned it until his death in 1985.149 Thad’s son Leonard Morrow inherited the property and owned it until 2007, when the property was acquired by the Civil War Preservation Trust. The National Park Service acquired the property in 2013.

Much of the twentieth-century history of the Whitlock farm site is known from research, recollections, and family history provided by Leonard Morrow, who was in communication with park staff prior to and after the property transferred to federal ownership. According to Morrow, his grandparents, who purchased the property in 1918, lived in a wood-frame house, which was moved off the site sometime after it was built. This house, which was not the Whitlock house, may have been built by one of the intervening owners between McDowell and Morawski. In 1924, a new house was built by the Morawskis’ sons, Thad Morrow and his brothers. The two-story house was located about 500 feet north of the Whitlock house site. Thad Morrow lived in this house after his father moved to Pennsylvania.150

During World War II, Thad Morrow was stationed in Oklahoma and then Newport News, Virginia. Upon returning to his Glendale property and finding the house looted and vandalized, Thad purchased the adjoining property on Darbytown Road, occupied by Susan Brown at the time of the Civil War, and built a new house.151 During the second half of the twentieth century, the former Whitlock property was utilized primarily for timber production. The last time it was cleared and reforested was in the 1990s.

In the 1940s, Virginia Electric and Power Company, VEPCO, acquired a 200-foot-wide right-of-way through the Nelson and Whitlock farm sites, cutting across the northern portion of the Morrow property. The right-of-way would eventually hold two sets of transmission lines, one supported by steel lattice towers and one supported by timber pole towers.
When he died in 1985, Thad Morrow left his properties, which by then included the former Whitlock, Sykes, and Brown farms, to his son, Leonard Morrow, and daughter, Anne Donley. Leonard sold the Whitlock farm site to the Civil War Preservation Trust in 2007, using some of the proceeds of the sale to fund several scholarships at local churches. The National Park Service purchased the Whitlock farm site in 2013, a sale that also included over one hundred acres of the former Nelson farm.

**Nelson Farm Site**

The Nelson farm property was owned by the Warriner family for 100 years, from 1906 to 2007, passing from John W. Warriner Sr., through his son John W. Warriner Jr., to John W. Warriner IV and his sister Gloria Warriner. In 2007, John and Gloria Warriner sold the property to the Civil War Preservation Trust, who sold it to the National Park Service in 2016.

The nineteenth-century Nelson house, which burned in 1907, was replaced with a new structure in the same location. A portion of the foundation from the nineteenth-century house, or a related outbuilding, was incorporated into the new house. The new house remained through the twentieth century, until 2016, when

*Figures 33 and 34. Engineering plans from 1953 showing the realignment of Darbytown Rd. (below) and Glendale crossroads (right) (Virginia Department of Transportation).*
the house, barn, and other outbuildings were removed prior to acquisition by the National Park System. The remnants of the nineteenth-century foundation were retained when the house was removed.

The acquisition of the former Nelson land in 2016 by the National Park Service capped a two-decade effort by Richmond National Battlefield Park to assemble the properties that comprised the primary Glendale Battlefield. Beginning with the 98-acre Fuqua parcel, which the park acquired along with much of the Malvern Hill land in 2002, the park acquired the Sykes properties (2008), the Whitlock farm and the western half of the Nelson farm (2013), and the triangular site at the intersection of Darbytown and Charles City Road that was occupied by the Riddle blacksmith shop and farm at the time of the battle. (2014). With the Nelson acquisition, 513.1 acres of Glendale Battlefield, including much of the area of primary fighting, were preserved as part of Richmond National Battlefield Park.
ENDNOTES


7. Ibid.


13. Ibid.


15. Maxwell, 80.


20. Gallivan, Chapter 3.


26 Maxwell, 80.


30 Ibid.


32 Ibid.


36 Ibid, 54, 86, and 120.

37 Crewes is the most common spelling, although the name is spelled Crews in his will


41 Ibid.

42 Ibid.


46 Ibid.


48 Will of John Pleasants.

49 Mackenny’s name is spelled a number of ways in deed records, including Mekenny, Mackeney, Meckeny, and Mekeney.


51 Henrico County Va. Will and Deed Book, 1688–1697, page 482. In ibid, 82.

52 Henrico County Virginia Deeds 1706–1737, pages 234 and 235; Henrico County, Va. Wills and Deeds 1725–1737, page

53 Deed Book 3, page 403, Henrico County Records, Henrico County Courthouse, VA.

54 “Settlement account of the sales of the estate of Humphrey Smith, decd. Sold the 21st of November 1791,” Will Book 2, pages 237 and 256, Henrico County Records, Henrico County Courthouse, VA.

55 Deed Books 3-403; 4-422; 6-211; 6-286; and 6-625, Henrico County Records, Henrico County Courthouse, VA.

56 Will Book 3, page 446, Henrico County Records, Henrico County Courthouse, VA.

57 Deed Book 17, page 228, Henrico County Records, Henrico County Courthouse, VA.


59 Deed Book 56, page 113, Henrico County Records, Henrico County Courthouse, VA.

60 Nathaniel Nelson’s will describes all three women as his “sisters,” but whether they were all related by birth is unclear. Mary Prosser, the oldest at 65 in 1850, may have been a widow that had married into the Prosser family early in the nineteenth century. This is supported by the fact that Nathaniel Nelson acquired property from a William Prosser in 1820. Ethelinda Nelson was likely an unmarried sister of Nathaniel. Lucy Nelson’s grave marker in the Nelson family graveyard includes a middle name Chiswell, which if a maiden name, suggests she may have married into the Nelson Family.


62 The plantation is referred to as “Glendale” on a 1867 Nathaniel Michler map, as well as in the wills of Ethelinda and Lucy Nelson written in 1867 and 1870 respectively.


65 W.F. Hardin, 12.


68 W.F. Hardin, 258.

69 Will of Robert Pleasants.

70 Ibid.

71 Deed Book 11, page 12, Henrico County Records, Henrico County Courthouse, VA.

72 Deed Book 34, page 96, Henrico County Records, Henrico County Courthouse, VA.

74 Will Book 2, pages 237 and 256, Henrico County Records, Henrico County Courthouse, VA.
75 Will Book 12, page 49, Henrico County Records, Henrico County Courthouse, VA.
76 Deed Book 32, page 10, Henrico County Records, Henrico County Courthouse, VA.
77 Deed Book 49, pages 179 and 180, Henrico County Records, Henrico County Courthouse, VA.
78 Deed Book 67, pages 149 and 150, Henrico County Records, Henrico County Courthouse, VA.
80 Deed Book 31, pages 373 and 374, Henrico County Records, Henrico County Courthouse, VA.
81 Deed Book 45, pages 54 and 56, Henrico County Records, Henrico County Courthouse, VA.
84 1862 Plat of John Whitlock Jr.’s property.
85 Landscape descriptions at the time of the Battle of Glendale are based on the 1867 Michler map and descriptions by M.D. Hardin and D.D. Marks.
86 Although some accounts describe the Whitlock house as a small log house, evidence that the house was a more substantial frame house comes from post-war claims by Sykes and McDowell, from which the dimensions of the house come, and from Dr. Edward Donnelly, Union surgeon, who oversaw the hospital in the Whitlock house for several days following the battle. See claims by Richard Sykes, Isaac Sykes, and John McDowell in Henrico County, Southern Claims Commission, and Huntington Globe, 9/3/1862, on file at RICH.
89 While the two Sykes brothers’ post-war claims state that their combined fenced acreage to be about eighty-five acres, the 1867 Michler map indicates only about forty cleared acres on the north side of Long Bridge road. The 1860 agricultural census indicates that Isaac Sykes owned twenty-five improved acres and Richard Sykes owned eighteen improved acres.
90 Richard and Isaac Sykes post-war claims, Southern Claims Commission.
91 1860 plat map of Whitlock property; 1867 Michler map.
92 M.D. Hardin, 56.
93 George A. McCall, Pennsylvania Reserves in the Peninsula, General McCall's Official Reports of the Part Taken by his Division in the Battles of Mechanicsville, Gaines' Mills, and New Market Cross Roads (http://hdl.handle.net/2027/loc. ark:13960/t34173d9t 4/6/2018), 4.
94 M.D. Hardin, 56–58.
95 Ibid, 57.
96 Ibid, 58.
98 Ibid, 58.
100 Ibid, 62–63.
101 Ibid.
103 McCall, 5.
104 M.D. Hardin, 64.
105 McCall, 5.
106 M.D. Hardin, 64.
107 Ibid, 65.
109 Ibid.
110 Ibid, 68.
112 McCall, 5.
115 Captain Weidman, 4th Pennsylvania Cavalry, Lebanon Advertiser, August 6, 1862. Transcript on file at RICH archives.
118 J.J. Marks, 302–351.
119 Ibid. 319 and 326.
120 Ibid, 320.
121 Ibid, 305.
123 Richard Sykes’ will, Will Book 20, page 434, dated June 9, 1871 and executed June 17, 1882; Isaac Sykes’ will, Will Book 21, page 16, undated, executed June 11, 1883; Henrico County Records, Henrico County Courthouse, VA.
124 John McDowell’s post-war claims, Southern Claims Commission.
125 The spelling deMorawski and Morawski both appear variously until 1940, when Peter and Mary’s son Thad and his son Len changed their last name to Morrow.
126 Leonard Morrow indicated the approximate location of the Whitlock cemetery on a 2007 property survey based on an 1862 property survey.
127 See Marks and M.D. Hardin.
128 Census records show the Nelsons living on Osborne Turnpike in 1910 and New Market Road in 1920. John Warriner is listed along with the residents of Long Bridge Road in 1910 and Willis Church Road in 1920, although the two entries are likely referring to the same address.
129 Oblique aerial photos: Library of Virginia, Department of Conservation and Development, Division of History, Re-
cords, 1927-1950. Accession #24806a. Although the oblique aerials are undated, comparison of features visible in the oblique aerials and the orthophotos indicate that the oblique photos were taken earlier.


132 Dutton and Associates, 2-41.


135 Ibid.


137 Ibid.

138 Ibid.

139 Ibid.

140 Ibid, 155.

141 Ibid.

142 Ibid.

143 Deed Book 1242, p. 645, Henrico County Records, Henrico County Courthouse, VA. Upon the passing of Mary Ann Sykes (d. 1900), the property passed to her three children, India Robertson (d. 1947), Amos Sykes (d.1915), and Coleman Sykes (d. 1945). India Robertson died without heirs. Amos Sykes had two daughters, Mary Sykes and Adelene Murry. Coleman Sykes had five daughters, Mary Harris, Mildred Davis, Georgia Sykes, Harriett Moore, and Gladys Harris, the last of which had died by 1965 and left her share to her daughter Gladys Battle.

144 Deed Book 2810, p. 1,032, Henrico County Records, Henrico County Courthouse, VA.

145 Deed Book 244A, p. 458; Ibid.; Henrico County Records, Henrico County Courthouse, VA.

146 Deed Book 424, p. 270; Deed Book 2810, p. 1,032; Henrico County Records, Henrico County Courthouse, VA.

147 The house at the Richard Sykes farm site was present in 1994, visible in aerial photographs, and gone by 1997.

148 Deed Book 4037, p. 527; Deed Book 4563, p. 1512; Henrico County Records, Henrico County Courthouse, VA.

149 Thad and his son Leonard both changed their last names from Morawski to Morrow in 1940.

150 Leonard Morrow, personal communication with RICH staff.

151 Ibid.
Existing Conditions

Today, the Glendale unit of Richmond NBP comprises 513 acres of the battlefield land, including the Nelson, Whitlock, Sykes, Riddle, and Fuqua farms. Also within the boundary of the Glendale Battlefield landscape is a former house and farm site that was occupied by Susan Brown at the time of the battle, as well as a twentieth-century house site referred to as the Donley house for its most recent owner.

Nelson Farm Site

The Nelson farm site is primarily composed of large, open fields that extend on both sides Willis Church Road. A total of ninety-three acres remains open, the majority of which is currently being cultivated by a lessee farmer. The open areas today approximately reflect the extent of farm fields during much of the historic period, including the time of the Battle of Glendale.

The site of the former farmstead is marked by a three-acre rectangular section of uncultivated land, roughly in the center of the field on the east side of Willis Church Road. A small, square brick foundation, believed to be a remnant of a nineteenth century structure, was preserved when the twentieth-century house was removed. The foundation is approximately sixteen feet on each side and two feet high, and is composed of brick and wood timber. In addition to the historic material, non-historic dimensional lumber was added when the house was removed to stabilize the structure.
Other features located in the farmstead core include a well, a small retention pond, and a number of shade trees, including a large sycamore. The date of origin of these features is unknown. The farmstead core is accessed by a narrow, straight driveway that follows its original, historic alignment.

Views are expansive throughout the Nelson farm site, including important views to the west toward the battle front and south toward Glendale National Cemetery. The power line right-of-way crosses the Nelson fields to the north of the farmstead core, with several of the wood utility poles and metal towers visible with in the fields.
Figure 2.4. Retention pond at the Nelson house site (OCLP).

Figure 2.5. Well cover at the Nelson house site (OCLP).

Figure 2.6. Agricultural field and drainage ditch at the Nelson house site (OCLP).
Whitlock Farm Site

The Whitlock farm site is predominantly wooded, with the only open land being the power line right-of-way, which cuts across the northern portion of the site. The entrance to the site is via a driveway trace from Long Bridge Road that enters through a metal gate before crossing the right-of-way. The Whitlock house site is marked by a depression in the ground that was once the cellar of the Whitlock, and later the McDowell, house. The structural remnants of a twentieth-century house owned by Thad, and then his son Leonard, Morrow, consists of a concrete foundation and chimney. Other remnants of twentieth-century habitation includes culverts, pipes, and other utility features. The site is crossed with circulation traces and informal drives. Numerous unidentified topographic features are located throughout the landscape.

The vegetation of the site is primarily young pine trees planted in the late
Existing Conditions

twentieth century, with intermittent hardwood saplings growing in road traces where light reaches the forest floor. Beyond the planted pine stands, the forest is composed of mixed hardwoods with wetland vegetation in the channels of Western Run. Naturalized ornamental vegetation is concentrated around the Morrow house site.

Figure 2.9. Structural remnants of the twentieth-century Morrow house at the Whitlock farm site (OCLP).

Figure 2.10. Remnants of the cellar hole of the Whitlock house (OCLP).
Sykes Farm Sites

Both of the Sykes farm sites are located north of Long Bridge Road. Today the farm sites are completely wooded, containing primarily pine, but with more mixed hardwoods than the Whitlock site. Several areas are wet, with standing water and wetland vegetation. Both farmstead sites are identifiable by surface debris and notable vegetation change from the surrounding forest. Traces of the drive access to both sites are discernible in the topography and vegetation.

Figure 2.11. Trace of the entrance drive to the Isaac Sykes farm site, looking north (OCLP).

Figure 2.12. Vegetation and debris at the Isaac Sykes house site (OCLP).
Figure 2.13. Entrance drive to the Richard Sykes house site from Darbytown Rd., looking south (OCLP).

Figure 2.14. Vegetation character at the Richard Sykes house site (OCLP).
Donley House Site

At 5871 Darbytown Rd. is a residential property containing a house, and several other structures. The property contains large amounts of domestic items, building materials, and other debris that was left behind when the National Park Service acquired the property. The house and other structures are in poor condition.

Just east of the Donley house is the site of a farm occupied by Susan Brown at the time of the Battle of Glendale. The site contained structures as recently as the 1930s, but today only a concrete foundation, measuring twenty feet by sixty feet, and a wooden agricultural structure of unknown origin remain. The site contains naturalized daffodils and other domestic vegetation.
Existing Conditions

Figure 2.17. Domestic vegetation at the Susan Brown house site (OCLP).

Figure 2.18. Structural remnants at the Susan Brown house site (OCLP).

Figure 2.19. Agricultural structure at the Susan Brown house site (OCLP).
Fuqua Farm Site

In the southern portion of the Glendale Battlefield unit is a twenty-eight-acre field that was occupied by Edward Fuqua in the years after the battle. The irregularly shaped field is currently being farmed by a lessee. A small, uncultivated section of the field contains structural remnants of an unidentified structure. Dense forests surround the field, and Western Run borders the field on the west.

Figure 2.20. View looking south at the Fuqua farm site showing existing agricultural use (OCLP).

Figure 2.21. Structural remnants and the site of the Fuqua house (OCLP).
Existing Conditions

Glendale Battlefield
Richmond National Battlefield Park
Henrico County, Virginia

Cultural Landscape Report

Sources
1. USGS Lidar 2008
2. 2012 Coastal Virginia NAIP Digital Ortho Photo Imagery
3. Military Map of Richmond and Vicinity (Library of Congress)
4. Streams and wetlands from USGS National Hydrography Data

Drawn by: John W. Hammond, OCLP 2019

LEGEND

- Trees/Forest
- Agricultural Fields
- Roads
- Building/Structure
- 20th c. Donley House
- 20th c. Morrow House Ruins
- 20th c. Sykes House Site
- 20th c. Sykes House Site
- Freeman Marker #18
- Woolsey, Weekly House
- Power Lines, Piers, and Poles
- Nelson Farm Site
- Freeman Marker #18
- Freeman National Cemetery
- Creek/Wetland
- Historical Marker HI740
- Historical Marker HI750
- Glendale National Cemetery
- Whitlock House Site
- Freeman Marker #18
- Freeman Marker #18
- Richard Sykes House Site
- Richard Sykes House Site

Notes
1. All features shown in approximate scale and locations.
The following chapter summarizes the historical significance of Glendale Battlefield and provides an evaluation of landscape characteristics and features that contribute to the historic character of the property. The analysis and evaluation within this chapter is based on criteria developed by the National Register of Historic Places program, a nationwide listing of properties significant to our nation’s history and prehistory. The evaluation format is derived from the National Park Service’s *A Guide to Cultural Landscape Reports: Contents, Process, and Techniques* (1998).

The significance of Glendale Battlefield and its associated landscape characteristics and features was documented in the National Register of Historic Places update for Richmond National Battlefield Park, completed in 2016, and in the Cultural Landscapes Inventory documentation for Glendale Battlefield, certified in 2017.

**SUMMARY OF SIGNIFICANCE**

Glendale Battlefield is a contributing site of the Richmond National Battlefield Park (NBP), which comprises eleven discontiguous administrative units encompassing fifteen sites and a total of approximately 3,715 acres in and around the cities of Richmond and Mechanicsville, Virginia, and within Henrico, Hanover, and Chesterfield counties. The District contains parts of six sites consisting of Drewry’s Bluff, Chickahominy Bluff, Beaver Dam Creek Battlefield, Gaines’ Mill Battlefield, Glendale Battlefield, and Malvern Hill Battlefield that are associated with the Peninsula Campaign (April 4–July 2, 1862). The campaign was orchestrated by Major General George McClellan who transported his Union Army of the Potomac by boat to the tip of Virginia’s Southeast Peninsula in early April and, after winning a series of battles on the peninsula, reached the outskirts of Richmond in late May and began to make preparations to lay siege to the city. After the Battle of Seven Pines on May 31, Major General Robert E. Lee assumed command of the Confederate Army of Northern Virginia and began to improve the defenses around the city and make plans for taking the offensive. During the week between June 26 and July 2, Lee launched a series of attacks that have since become known as the Seven Days’ Battles. Despite being significantly outnumbered, Lee was able to force the cautious McClellan into abandoning his campaign.
Glendale Battlefield is nationally significant under Criterion A in the area of Military History as the site of the June 30, 1862 Battle of Glendale, in which the Union army successfully defended itself from Confederate assault, allowing the Federal forces to retreat to the safety of the James River. The site is also significant under Criterion A in the area of Commemoration for its association with the Civil War battlefield memorialization and preservation movement, which led to the establishment of Richmond National Battlefield Park in 1936. Glendale Battlefield is significant under Criterion D in the areas of Historic (Non-Aboriginal) and Prehistoric Archeology for both above-ground and subsurface resources that have the potential to yield information about the battle, as well as the antebellum and pre-contact use of the area.

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

**ANALYSIS OF LANDSCAPE CHARACTERISTICS AND FEATURES**

The following section analyzes the current condition of landscape characteristics and features by comparing historic conditions to present conditions and providing an evaluation of significance for each individual feature type that defines the historic character of the Glendale Battlefield landscape. Landscape characteristics are the broad patterns, systems, and feature categories that compose the landscape and determine how people interact with it. Analysis of landscape characteristics and features allows for the identification and evaluation of the landscape components that define the historic character of the landscape and contribute to the landscape’s ability to convey significance.

Evaluated landscape characteristics and features within Glendale Battlefield include: natural systems and features, spatial organization, land use, topography, vegetation, circulation, buildings and structures, views and vistas, small-scale features, and archeological sites. For each characteristic, the analysis is broken into the following components:

- **Historic Condition:** a brief discussion of the feature's history and evolution as it relates to the period of significance;
- **Post-historic and Existing Conditions:** an overview of changes that have occurred since the end of the period of significance and a description of its current state; and
Evaluation: as determination of whether the feature contributes to the historic character of the landscape.

Features and characteristics are generally determined to be contributing if they date to the period of significance (1862–1932) and help to convey the historic design and character of the site. Non-contributing features generally post-date the period of significance or have been altered from their historic condition or context to the point that they no longer convey the significance of the site. A feature type is identified as undetermined if its extant history is unknown.

**NATURAL SYSTEMS AND FEATURES**

Natural systems and features are the natural aspects that have influenced the development and physical form of a landscape.

**Historic Condition:** The landscape within the Glendale area is generally comprised of level upland areas crossed by stream corridors. The stream corridors within the project area are linear ravines with steep, often densely vegetated slopes. Soils are generally deep, well-drained sandy loam. Intermittent drainages drain toward the south into Western Run and Turkey Island Creek, which in turn drain to the James River.

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

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

Forest was gradually cleared over the years as more and more of it was converted to agriculture. Timber was used for building material and for fuel, and may have been an early export crop to England or to the rapidly developing plantation economy of the Caribbean. As the land was divided and sold to other farmers, the clearing would have accelerated, although much of the area around the Glendale crossroads was still forested at the time of the battle.
The region’s overall climate, soils, water supply, and abundant natural resources made it very habitable. Brief and comparatively mild winters and abundant rainfall supported intensive agriculture, and by the early eighteenth century tobacco was the dominant commercial crop. Tobacco cultivation required great amounts of land and labor, and without proper crop rotation practices, quickly depleted the soil of important nutrients. These factors, and an unstable tobacco market, forced many farmers to diversify their crops by the late eighteenth century.

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

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

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

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

**SPATIAL ORGANIZATION**

Spatial organization is the three-dimensional organization of physical forms and visual associations in the landscape, including the articulation of ground, vertical, and overhead planes that define and create spaces.

**Historic Condition:** Throughout the historic period, the landscape of Glendale was organized according to agricultural function. Individual farm clusters were anchored by a dwelling house, with a variety of agricultural and domestic outbuildings arranged informally around it. Placement of buildings and other features

Figure 3.4. Diagram showing the spatial organization of Glendale Battlefield landscape (OCLP).
met functional needs, following the topography of the land. These structures may have been in informal clusters or in short rows. The dwelling house and primary domestic outbuildings would have been surrounded by a fence, which may also have enclosed a kitchen garden and perhaps ornamental plantings or some sort of formal or pleasure garden. Orchards were a part of every farm, usually located relatively close to the house. The orthogonal arrangement of trees in the orchards lent a quality of formality in an otherwise organically organized landscape.

Most maps prior to the Civil War did not show specific arrangement of individual farms, but military engineering maps drawn soon after the battle, such as those drawn under the direction of Brig. Gen. Nathaniel Michler, record great detail in the organization of the landscape. The most prominent property was that of R.H. Nelson, also known as Glendale, located on the east side of Willis Church Road near the crossroads of Long Bridge Road. The organization of the farm is typical of the time, with a house, barn, and outbuildings enclosed within a fence; what are likely slave cabins lining the entrance road; and orchards to the south and east of the farm core. Similar arrangements, although smaller in scale, were exhibited by other nearby farms, including those of John Whitlock and Isaac and Richard Sykes. The blacksmith shop and farm of S.L. Riddle was located in the northwest corner of the crossroads. Other farm and domestic properties that lined Long Bridge Road are currently outside of the landscape boundary, as is the Willis Methodist Church, located on the west side of Willis Church Road south of the Nelson farm, and the Glendale National Cemetery.

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

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

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

Southwest of the Nelson site, on the west side of Willis Church Road is the Fuqua site. Today, about thirty acres of cultivated fields are surrounded by dense forest. The former house site is marked by an island of uncultivated land near the north edge of the farm fields containing structural remnants.
The site of the Whitlock farm is no longer under cultivation and has reverted to forest. The location of the Whitlock house is marked by the remnants of its cellar hole, while the twentieth-century Morrow house site contains structural remnants, traces of circulation, and utility features.

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

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

**LAND USE**

Land use is the principal activities in the landscape that have formed, shaped, or organized the landscape as a result of human interactions.

**Historic Condition:** The primary historic land use throughout the Glendale area was agriculture. Fields were plowed for crops, mowed for hay, or used as pasture for livestock. Agricultural use began in the seventeenth century and continued through the Civil War to the end of the historic period. Initially, tobacco was the primary crop, and the use of the land was dedicated to the growth and processing of this valuable product. As the importance of tobacco declined, production diversified into wheat, corn, oats, and other crops. Much of the agricultural processing and storage was done on site, and facilities like tobacco barns, corn cribs, and smokehouses were common.

![Figure 3.5. Image showing agricultural use of the Fuqua house site field (OCLP).](image-url)
Each of the farms present at the time of the Battle of Glendale would have contained a family cemetery where several generations of family members were buried. These were generally small, informal plots, often surrounded by a low fence. Cemeteries were located some distance from the domestic cores, tucked away between farm fields and woodlands on uncultivated land. Only the location of the Nelson cemetery is known for sure, as it is still extant. The other cemeteries in the Glendale area have not been positively located, but some information can be inferred from historical sources. According to Leonard Morrow, the Whitlock cemetery was south of the Whitlock house site, approximately at a location he marked on a survey map. Comparing this location with aerial photos from the 1930s, topography data, and other sources indicates a possible location for the cemetery (see Figure 1.27).

A small, rectangular area of uncultivated ground is visible in the 1930s aerial photos on the former Brown farm suggests a possible cemetery there (see Figure 1.31). The locations of other cemeteries, including the Sykes cemeteries or slave cemeteries that would have been located on the Nelson and Whitlock farms, are not known.

**Post-Historic and Existing Conditions:** Agricultural land use continues today, with approximately 145 acres within the Glendale Battlefield cultural landscape boundary currently under agricultural production. Crops include wheat, corn and soybeans. Developed public access is currently not provided at Glendale. The Glendale Battlefield visitor center was located in the Glendale National Cemetery (outside of the project boundary), but has since been permanently closed.

Today, the Nelson cemetery is extant, located just south of Glendale National Cemetery on the east side of Willis Church Road. This small plot was reserved from sale when the National Park Service purchased the Nelson property in 2007, and the cemetery is now owned by the Civil War Preservation Trust.1

**Evaluation and Contributing Resources:** Continued agricultural use is a contributing characteristic of the Glendale Battlefield cultural landscape.

**TOPOGRAPHY**

Topography is the three dimensional configuration of the landscape surface characterized by features (such as slope and articulation) and orientation (such as elevation and solar aspect).

**Historic Condition:** The Battle of Glendale took place on a largely level area that undulated slightly with rolling hills and knolls. Cutting through the middle of this level area were the steep bluffs of Western Run, the most prominent topographic feature at the time. These bluffs provided cover for troops of both sides, but also created impediments to movement. Longstreet, for example, blamed the rough
terrain in preventing him from taking advantage of breaches in the Union line. The bluffs and wetlands of Western Run delayed the Confederate advance until Union reinforcements could be applied.

The two armies did not construct extensive earthworks during the battles of the 1862 Peninsula Campaign, a practice much more common in the later years of the war, and no earthworks were documented as being constructed during the Battle of Glendale. As the Union Army maneuvered for another attempt to capture Richmond in the summer of 1864, however, they dug earthworks in several strategic locations, including Glendale. The 1867 Michler map depicts several fragments of earthworks, including a short section behind the Nelson House and a segment that crossed Darbytown Road north of the Nelson Property.

In addition to the natural topographic features and the 1864 earthworks, the Glendale Battlefield landscape contained a limited number of cultural topographic features, primarily utilitarian in function. Road cut embankments, ditches, borrow pits, and other such features were a product of the agricultural, domestic, and circulation functions of the landscape.
Post-Historic and Existing Conditions: Much of the project area landscape is representative of the landform patterns characteristic of the Atlantic Coastal Plain physiographic province: large, relatively level alluvial terraces divided by the steeply sloped banks of perennial and intermittent drainages. Road cut embankments remain along Willis Church Road, Darbytown Road, and Long Bridge Road. Although many of these embankments are likely remnants of early road profiles, it is unknown to what extent these have been altered during road repairs and realignments since the historic period.

The cellar hole of the Whitlock house is still present, marking the former location of the Whitlock homestead. Other topographic features within the landscape, including possible road traces, borrow pits, and ponds, are of unknown origin. A 1,270-foot section of earthworks is still discernible in the topography of the forest north of the Nelson House site.

Evaluation and Contributing Resources: The natural topography of the Glendale Battlefield, including the level areas, rolling terrain, and the steep bluffs of Western Run, contribute to the integrity of the cultural landscape. The Whitlock cellar hole contributes to the spatial organization of the landscape. Other cultural topographic features may be associated with the historic features or land uses. Unless known to be otherwise, extant topographic features should be considered potentially contributing.

VEGETATION

Vegetation includes deciduous and evergreen trees, shrubs, vines, ground covers, and herbaceous plants, and plant communities, whether indigenous or introduced in the landscape.

Historic Condition: Prior to settlement, Glendale Battlefield and its surroundings would have been almost entirely forested with mixed deciduous and coniferous species. Dominant tree species included numerous species of oak, including white (Quercus alba), red (Q. rubra), black (Q. nigra), willow (Q. phellos), scarlet (Q. coccinea), pin (Q. palustris), and blackjack (Q. marilandica). Other common trees were the American chestnut (Castanea dentata), yellow poplar (Liriodendron tulipifera), American beech (Fagus grandifolia), sweetgum (Liquidambar styraciflua), and hickory (Carya spp.). Red maple (Acer rubrum), American holly (Ilex opaca), blackgum (Nyssa sylvatica), ash (Fraxinus spp.), and sycamore (Platanus occidentalis) would have also been significant components of local woodland cover. Conifers were represented by a variety of pine species, including loblolly pine (Pinus taeda) and Virginia pine (P. virginiana).

Clearing of these forests began in the seventeenth century as wood was cut for lumber and fuel and the area was converted to the production of tobacco and
other crops. Initially, tobacco was by far the predominant crop grown in Tidewater Virginia. The nutrient-intensive crop quickly depleted soils, however, and after a few growing seasons, new land had to be cleared to maintain production, accelerating the rate of deforestation. Areas depleted by tobacco cultivation were then planted with cereal grains, which required less fertile soil, or were left fallow. Tobacco cultivation declined through the seventeenth century, replaced by wheat and corn, along with, to a lesser degree, oats, potatoes, peas. By the time of the Civil War, there is little evidence that tobacco was grown in the Malvern Hill area in significant quantity. Many of the descriptions of the mid-summer battles mention shocked wheat stacked for harvest, as well as oats and corn. Fruit orchards were also common on the farms, with many eyewitnesses describing passing orchards as the armies marched southward. The 1867 Michler map documents numerous orchards clustered around farm cores. Primary fruits grown in orchards

![Figure 3.7. Image showing the character of the hardwood forest at the Whitlock farm site (OCLP).](image1)

![Figure 3.8. Naturalized domestic vegetation, such as the daffodils at the Susan Brown house site, are common at the former house sites (OCLP).](image2)
Figure 3.9. Agricultural crops grown in Glendale Battlefield landscape include wheat, corn, and soybeans (OCLP).

Figure 3.10. The Donley house site contains a wide variety of ornamental domestic vegetation (OCLP).

Figure 3.11. The Nelson house site contains large shade trees, such as the large sycamore tree (OCLP).
were apples, pears, and peaches.

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

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

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

Forest cover represents the largest vegetation category within the Glendale Battlefield cultural landscape. More than half of the area within the landscape boundary is covered in tree stands, second-growth forest, or forested wetlands. Forest composition is dominated by mixed hardwoods and pines and monoculture stands of pines. The even-aged pine stands were generally planted within the past few decades as timber stands within cleared areas. In upland areas, hardwood woodlands are typically comprised of oak-hickory forest species such as white oak, red oak, beech, yellow poplar, black walnut, hickory, and American holly. Many of the existing woodland areas have been selectively timbered over the years.

Woodlands located along the stream corridors are characterized by stands of bottomland hardwoods that include yellow poplar, sweet gum, sycamore, red maple, and birch. Adjacent to Western Run there is a stand of mature bald cypress trees. Due to its difficulty in logging and unsuitability for agriculture, some of the largest and oldest trees are located in the bottomlands. Forested wetlands, vegetated by tree species such as birch, willow, sweet gum, red maple, and black gum, are also present along the stream corridors. Non-native species are prevalent in the forested areas.
Currently, approximately 145 acres of fields within the Glendale Battlefield cultural landscape boundary are cultivated for crops, including wheat, corn, and soybeans. In addition to the crop acreage, portions of the open fields are maintained in grass/forb meadow vegetation by regular mowing.

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

**Evaluation and Contributing Resources:** The vegetation patterns present in the Glendale Battlefield landscape today continue to convey the essential characteristics present during the historic period and that help convey the landscape’s significance. The primary contributing characteristic of the vegetation is the overall pattern of field and forest. The presence of agricultural crops contributes to the historic character of the battlefield landscape.

**CIRCULATION**

Circulation includes the spaces, features, and applied finishes that constitute systems of movement in the landscape.

**Historic Condition:** At the time of the Seven Days’ Battles, the circulation in vicinity of Glendale consisted of a network of country roads that connected population centers, small communities, and farms. Three primary routes led out of Richmond southeast toward Glendale: New Market Road, Central or Darbytown Road, and Charles City Road. It was down these three roads that the Confederate army passed to converge on Glendale in an attempt to cut off the Union retreat, which was moving south from Savage’s Station across White Oak Swamp. New Market Road and Darbytown Road converged into Long Bridge Road, which bisected the battlefield east to west. Long Bridge Road met Charles City Road and Willis Church Road at what was referred to as the Glendale crossroads. Willis

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Figure 3.12. Willis Church road, looking north near the Nelson house site (OCLP).
Church Road extended south from the crossroads toward Malvern Hill. River Road (present day Route 5) passed west of Glendale and Malvern Hill, touching the southern end of Malvern Hill before passing on to Turkey Island Bridge near the James River. These primary roads were most likely constructed of hard-packed earth, or combinations of hard-packed earth and logs laid across the bed of the road in low or marshy areas.

In an attempt to reach Malvern Hill from Glendale on June 30th, Federal artillery units had followed Willis Church Road. Historical maps show that the term ‘Quaker Road’ was used to describe the route of the Willis Church Road, but historical records document that there was another route known as the ‘Quaker Road’: “being a road about 2 miles in length, leaving the Long Bridge Road to the right about 300 yards above Mr. Nathan Enroughty’s gate, and entering the Charles City River Road at Tilghman’s Gate, about one half mile below Sweeney’s..."
An Analysis And Evaluation

In 1862, this Quaker Road was described as overgrown with grass and weeds. “The said [Quaker] road, having been of late but little used, has become obscure and is not generally used as a public road.”

Secondary roads located in the vicinity of the battlefields consisted of a network of internal farm roads or paths—also known as lanes, bridle paths, or cart paths—linking adjacent properties or connecting farm sites with primary roads. They most likely consisted of wagon ruts or hard-packed earth surfaces. Internal roads linked barns and outbuildings with both the domestic core and the cultivated fields and pastures. Most secondary roads within the project area were likely dirt roads frequently cut into and below ground surface due to two centuries of prior use. Deep wheel ruts in many secondary roads made passing difficult if not impossible.

Known secondary roads in Glendale at the time of the battle included the drive to the Nelson farm from Willis Church Road and the access roads to the Whitlock and Sykes farms from Long Bridge Road, all of which are indicated on the 1867 Michler map. Also indicated on the Michler map is a road that extended westward behind Willis Church, terminating on the eastern bank of Western Run. Although not on the Michler map, some accounts describe a forest road extending from Long Bridge Road near the Whitlock farm to Willis Church Road near Willis Methodist Church.

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

A small lane that accesses the Nelson site is paved for a short portion of its length, with its remainder surfaced in earth and gravel. Other informal drives access locations within the landscape, including a drive that connects the Fuqua site to Chelsey Road and a drive that accesses the Whitlock site from Long Bridge Road. The original drive to the Isaac Sykes house site is still clearly discernible as a sunken roadbed with small embankments along its edge. This road trace follows the alignment depicted on the Michler map. The road trace that accesses the Richard Sykes house from Darbytown Road was established sometime after the new route for Darbytown Road was established. The Michler map shows this drive approaching from Long Bridge Road south of the home site.
Evaluation and Contributing Features: The circulation system of Glendale Battlefield as a whole contributes to the integrity of the cultural landscape. Contributing features include Long Bridge Road, Darbytown Road, and Willis Church Road, Nelson farm drive, the Fuqua, Sykes, and Whitlock road traces, and the road traces of the former alignment of Darbytown Road and its intersections.

BUILDINGS AND STRUCTURES

Buildings are the elements primarily built for sheltering any form of human activities, while structures include the functional elements constructed for other purposes.

Historic Condition: Buildings and structures present in the 1862 landscape included farm dwellings, slave quarters, barns, storage buildings and dependencies, and livestock quarters—all of wood-frame construction. Dwelling complexes— precincts which included the residence or house, related dependencies such as kitchen, privy, smokehouse, and kitchen garden—were often bounded by perimeter fencing to maintain an area free of livestock.

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

Figure 3.15. The remnants of the foundation of a nineteenth-century structure at the Nelson house site (OCLP).
Figure 3.16. Agricultural structure of unknown origin at the Susan Brown house site (OCLP).

Figure 3.17. The twentieth-century Donley structures include a house, barn, garage, and chicken coop (OCLP).

Figure 3.18. View from the Nelson house site looking south toward Glendale National Cemetery (OCLP).
Post-Historic and Existing Conditions: Today the only buildings that remain within the cultural landscape boundary are the Donley house, barn and associated structures. The house was occupied until recently, and is now vacant. The Donley buildings and structures are non-contributing.

Evaluation and Contributing Resources: The only contributing structure within the landscape is the foundation remains at the Nelson house site. The brick and timber foundation measures approximately sixteen feet square and two high. Non-contributing buildings and structures include the house, barn, garage, and chicken coop at 5871 Darbytown Road (Donley house), foundation and chimney remnants of the Morrow house, and power transmission line towers.

VIEWS AND VISTAS

Views and vistas are the prospects afforded by a range of vision in the landscape, conferred by the composition of other landscape characteristics and associated features.

Historic Condition: Glendale Battlefield was a patchwork of fields interspersed with extensive forested land. Agricultural fields would have offered open views, but overall the views in the Glendale area would have been more restricted than in more open landscapes like Malvern Hill. In many places, views would have been restricted to road corridors. The character of views throughout the historic period was rural and agricultural.

Post-Historic and Existing Conditions: As agricultural activity declined in the area after the historic period, the forest cover increased. This had the general effect of diminishing views further. Open views along Long Bridge Road between the Sykes and Whitlock fields were eliminated as those fields reverted to forest.

Figure 3.19. View looking west from the Nelson house site toward Willis Church Road (OCLP).
The most prominent views today are those from within the Nelson fields on the east side of the project area. The Glendale National Cemetery is clearly visible from the Nelson house site as well as from Willis Church Road near the Nelson site. Views are also available across the Fuqua farm fields, accessible by a short hike from Chesley Road.

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

**SMALL-SCALE FEATURES**

Small-scale features provide detail and diversity for both functional needs and aesthetic concerns in the landscape.

**Historic Condition:** Little information about the arrangement and construction of fences in the landscape during the historic period has been identified. In the post-war claims of Richard Sykes, Isaac Sykes, and John McDowell, they all describe soldiers removing rails from their fences for fuel, breastworks, beds, and other uses. They describe the number of acres fenced in as well as the presence of “cross fences,” and give the estimated number of rails taken. McDowell, for instance, claimed that his entire ninety-eight acres were fenced in with cross fences, estimating that 21,000 rails had been taken by Union soldiers in 1864. This number may have been overestimated, since it would have indicated more than ten rails per 8-foot section of fence to cover the 10,000 lineal feet of his property perimeter plus cross fences. The Sykes brothers each claimed similarly high numbers of rails taken, at 10,000 and 12,000 respectively.

Even accounting for overestimation, the high number of rails suggests that the
fences were of the Virginia rail fence, or zigzag, style. In the mid-nineteenth century, Virginia rail fences were still commonly used to enclose property lines and agricultural fields. The fences were easy to construct, but they required a large supply of timber for the rails. Post-and-rail fences were becoming more common in the landscape, as they had lower materials cost despite the greater labor for construction. The Glendale landscape at the time of the Civil War may have had either style of fence or, more likely, a mix of the two.

Farmhouses and the primary domestic outbuildings were often enclosed by fences of a more decorative character. Often consisting of paled or picket fences, these kept livestock away from the house and domestic areas, protected kitchen gardens and ornamental plantings, and helped define a domestic core differentiated from the agricultural land beyond. Michler’s 1867 maps indicated fencing around some of the structures in the Glendale area, including at the Nelson and Isaac Sykes
houses. Despite not being indicated on the Michler maps, domestic fencing was likely located around most, if not all, of the farm cores in the area.

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

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

**Evaluation and Contributing Features:** Overall, the density and character of the small-scale features at Glendale Battlefield have changed significantly since the time of the battle. The wide variety of features that once populated the agricultural landscape are generally absent today. The Two 1925 Freeman markers and the one 1932 Virginia historical markers contribute to the commemorative period of the landscape.

**ARCHEOLOGICAL SITES**

Archeological sites include the location of ruins, traces, or deposited artifacts in the landscape, and are evidenced by the presence of either surface or subsurface features.

**Historic and Existing Conditions:** The long period of occupation and utilization of the Glendale area has lefts many layers of archeological information, including records of prehistoric, early settlement and agriculture, the Civil War battles, and post-war use. This information is recorded in above-ground ruins and artifacts, road traces, topographical features, and sub-surface resources. Several discrete sites have been identified, but the entire area has the potential to yield important archeological information about the site’s history.

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

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

![Figure 3.23. Domestic and architectural debris at the Isaac Sykes house site (OCLP).](image)


1 Henrico County Registry of Deeds, parcel # 850-684-0733, previously a part of parcel # 850-686-9709. Deed Book 5479, p. 2147. See Deed Book 163b, p. 286 for 1902 reference to cemetery and Deed Book 4319, p. 1556 for 2007 plat that shows cemetery boundaries.

This chapter presents a treatment strategy for the long-term preservation management of the Glendale Battlefield landscape. Treatment is the collective set of actions taken within a cultural landscape intended to ensure the protection and preservation of the resources and characteristics that contribute to its historic character. The overall goal of treatment is to provide a basis for the sound stewardship of the cultural landscape as outlined in the National Park Service Cultural Resource Management Guideline (1997) and the Secretary of the Interior’s Standards for the Treatment of Historic Properties (1996).

This chapter is organized into two sections. The first establishes a framework for treatment based on the National Park Service mission and policies, the park’s enabling legislation, and current park planning efforts. This framework articulates a treatment philosophy that defines a primary treatment for the landscape, sets a treatment date as a benchmark for assessing historic character, and describes the intended character of the landscape. The second section describes landscape treatment guidelines and tasks recommended for the Glendale Battlefield landscape in order to achieve the objectives outlined in the treatment philosophy. The treatment guidelines and tasks are organized by the landscape characteristics of vegetation, circulation, and small-scale features.

The treatment recommendations are based on the findings of the site history, existing conditions, and analysis and evaluation chapters of this report. The recommendations were developed through discussion and collaboration with park staff and resource specialists and were refined during a treatment workshop conducted at the park in April 2018.

**TREATMENT FRAMEWORK**

This section describes the planning and policy framework within which the landscape treatment guidelines and tasks in this report have been developed. The section begins with an overview of applicable regulations and policies, park enabling legislation, and current park planning. The treatment framework includes a treatment philosophy that describes the intended character of the landscape, defines a primary treatment for the landscape, and identifies a treatment date as a benchmark for assessing historic character.
ENABLING LEGISLATION, MISSION, AND POLICIES

Richmond National Battlefield Park was established by Congress on March 2, 1936 “to set [the lands] apart as a public park for the benefit and inspiration of the people,” and “to protect the Civil War battlefield resources associated with the struggle for the capital of the Confederacy and to interpret these resources so as to foster an understanding of their larger significance.” The park was officially accepted by the National Park Service on July 14, 1944, and has since continued to grow and evolve to its present size of 3,715 acres.

As a property listed on the National Register of Historic Places, the treatment of Glendale Battlefield is also subject to the terms of the National Historic Preservation Act of 1966. The law and its subsequent guidance documents clearly stipulate how historic resources are identified, documented, evaluated, and managed. According to the law, the park assumes the responsibility for the preservation of the historic properties within its jurisdiction. At Glendale, the resources include the contributing features, vegetation, and landscape patterns described in the Cultural Landscapes Inventory documentation in 2017. The park must take into consideration the historic value of these resources when undertaking any actions that may affect the resources and comply with the Secretary of the Interior’s Standards for the Treatment of Historic Properties.

Treatment of the Glendale Battlefield landscape is guided broadly by the mission of the National Park Service, defined in the National Park Service Organic Act of 1916, “to conserve the scenery and the natural and historic objects and the wild life therein and to provide for the enjoyment of the same in such a manner and by such means as will leave them unimpaired for the enjoyment of future generations.” The application of this mission to cultural landscapes is articulated in The Secretary of the Interior’s Standards for the Treatment of Historic Properties with Guidelines for the Treatment of Cultural Landscapes, which in turn is interpreted within a hierarchy of National Park Service management regulations and policies.

Additional guidance is contained within National Park Service Management Policies (2006), Director’s Order #28, Cultural Resource Management, and National Park Service Resources Management Guidelines (NPS-28). NPS-28 provides guidance on management of a number of issues related to cultural landscape preservation, including biotic systems, which are defined as plant and animal communities associated with human settlement and use. NPS-28 directs management of specimen vegetation such as trees, hedges, and orchards to ensure health and vigor and, if appropriate, provide for propagation of the next generation, especially for rare plants or those unavailable in commerce. For natural systems, NPS-28 calls for managing landscape patterns to allow for natural dynamics. Exotic plant species, which are often found in cultural landscape, should be monitored and controlled to avoid spreading and disrupting adjacent natural plant communities. In addition
to biotic systems, NPS-28 states that historic circulation features are to be rehabilitated to accommodate health and safety codes in ways that minimize impacts to historic character.

General Management Plan

The National Park Service expresses its priorities and goals for the management of its resources through its planning documents, including General Management Plans, Master Plans, Development Plans, and Foundation Documents. These planning documents articulate the park’s purpose and fundamental resources, establish long-term goals and strategies, and provide opportunities for public review and input. These documents provide umbrella guidance under which treatment recommendations of the Cultural Landscape Report are developed.

A General Management Plan (GMP) was completed for Richmond National Battlefield Park in 1996, which focused on the issues of park unit configuration, visitor orientation and access, visitor services, resource management, and administration. Reaffirming the purpose of the park to manage and interpret the Civil War battlefields associated with Union attempts to capture the Confederate capital of Richmond, the plan emphasized the conceptual connection of the disparate battle sites and their contribution to the larger contextual story. In addition to interpretation of the primary military significance, the plan sought to illuminate the broader political, social, and economic factors that caused Richmond to be of crucial importance to both sides. The outlined interpretive themes included non-military themes of everyday civilian life in and around Richmond, and impacts of the war on agriculture, industry, and social life.

The beleaguered citizenry of Richmond suffered greatly, and a flood of refugees compounded the misery. Heavy industry and the foundries struggled to keep the Confederate army supplied with the munitions of war. The civilian government strove to cope with a deteriorating situation, as the entire social, political, and economic fabric of the community experienced radical change.\(^3\)

The plan also emphasized “the war’s impact on the civilian population, including refugees, slaves, and free blacks.”\(^4\)

At the time the GMP was completed in 1996, the park owned 130 acres at the center of Malvern Hill Battlefield and a small, 1.5-acre parcel across from the Glendale National Cemetery. Most of the Glendale Battlefield land had been identified by the GMP for eventual acquisition and inclusion in the park, but was at the time still in private ownership. Nonetheless, the GMP recognized the importance of the Glendale Battlefield in interpreting the full scope of the Peninsula Campaign and the Seven Days Battles. The plan recommended the use of waysides, trails, and vehicle pull-offs to help interpret the battlefield landscape, as well as driving tour audio guides and maps. Since then, the park has added over five hundred acres to the Glendale Battlefield unit, including important areas of fighting and
staging of the battle, offering more opportunity to fully interpret the battle and its place in the war.

**Foundation Documents**

The park’s foundation documents articulates the park’s purpose as follows:

Richmond National Battlefield Park preserves, protects, interprets, and commemorates Richmond Civil War battlefield landscapes, struggles for the capital of the Confederacy associated with the 1862 Seven Days’ Battles, the 1864 Overland Campaign, and the 1864–65 Richmond and Petersburg Campaigns, including the American military, social, and political history as exemplified by the New Market Heights Battlefield.

As part of the connected system of Richmond battlefields, Glendale Battlefield is directly associated with the primary significance of the park. Furthermore, the site contains resources and uses from several of the identified fundamental resources and values categories identified in the draft document, including battlefield landscapes, battlefield and plantation archeology, and a sense of place and setting, plus other important resources and values of commemorative monuments and markers, natural communities, and appropriate recreation.

The draft foundation document identifies interpretive themes that define the most important ideas or concepts communicated to visitors about the park’s significance, purpose, resources, and values. Glendale Battlefield has the potential to convey the themes of the battles for Richmond and civilians at war.

**Cultural Landscape Report**

In 2004, the firm of John Milner Associates, Inc. completed a cultural landscape report for Glendale and Malvern Hill, including detailed treatment recommendations for the cultural landscape. At the time it was written, the Glendale unit of the park comprised a ninety-eight-acre parcel containing the Fuqua field, and so did not address the areas of Nelson farm site or the Whitlock and Sykes farm sites. Despite this, the report laid out a vision for treatment and interpretation of the landscape as a whole that still largely applies today.

The treatment presented in the report prioritizes resource protection while recommending limited changes to enhance interpretation and visitor experience. Treatment tasks include non-contributing woodland clearing, construction of new trails, and the addition of parking areas, all of which apply to the Glendale area today. The recommendations also prioritize natural resource protection, such as riparian and wetland buffers, invasive plant control, and habitat development.
TREATMENT PHILOSOPHY

For successful management of cultural landscapes, it is critical to understand the historic character of the landscape and develop an overarching philosophy to guide decision-making. The treatment philosophy articulates the essential qualities of the landscape that convey its significance and establishes principles intended to preserve or enhance those qualities. The treatment philosophy articulates the broad goals and objectives for managing the cultural landscape, providing the context for the recommendations described in this report and helping to guide future decisions.

Treatment of the Glendale Battlefield landscape has been developed with the primary goals of enhancing visitor experience and facilitating interpretation of the battlefield. Treatment focuses on improving the legibility of the battlefield landscape, increasing visitor services and access to the site, and strengthening the physical and conceptual connections between the Glendale and Malvern Hill Battlefields. The treatment guidance accomplish these goals while preserving extant cultural and archeological resources and protecting and improving the quality of natural systems, including species diversity, habitat, and wetland resources.

At Glendale Battlefield, changes in the landscape since the historic period have made it difficult for visitors to understand important aspects of the landscape’s history. Critical changes include the loss of the houses and farm structures and the transition of formerly open areas to forest cover. The loss of the open area that comprised the Whitlock and Sykes brothers’ farms prevents visitors from understanding key aspects of the battle, including the length and breadth of the clear battlefield, the distance between the opposing lines, the artillery field of fire, and location and quality of the troop cover and concealment. The presence of the existing forest cover also obscures the former locations of the farmsteads, hampering an understanding of the character, scale, and relative locations of these farms.

Treatment will improve the legibility of the landscape by reestablishing spatial organization of the 1862 battlefield, primarily by reestablishing the field and forest patterns the characterized the landscape at the time of the battle. The open fields of the Whitlock and Sykes farms will be reestablished by clearing a portion of the forest that now covers this area and establishing grassland or crop fields. The area to be cleared will be delineated to provide an understanding of the spatial layout of the battlefield and how the landscape influenced the events of the battle, while protecting sensitive natural systems and providing appropriate screening. The cleared area will provide critical views of the battlefield, including the views from the infantry and artillery lines and views to the farm sites. The spatial relationships will be reinforced through wayside exhibits and other interpretive material.

Visitor access and experience will be improved by creating a comprehensive pedestrian circulation system and providing adequate parking and other facilities.
close to the resources. A trail system will utilize existing trails, circulation traces, and topographic features to provide access to important focal sites, including the Union artillery locations, the sites of the Whitlock, Isaac Sykes, and Richard Sykes farms, the Nelson house site, Fuqua field, and Glendale National Cemetery. The trail system will also provide opportunity for visitors to experience the natural scenery of the park, including forests, fields, and the wetland drainages. The design and location of all non-historic additions be careful to minimize ground disturbance, unnecessary clearing, and visual intrusion into historic viewsheds.

Finally, treatment will strengthen the connection between the Glendale and Malvern Hill battlefields and the Glendale National Cemetery. The interpretive trail system will allow visitors to park at any one of the three sites and travel on foot to the other two without walking along busy roads. This direct connection between the two battlefield sites will help reinforce the spatial and temporal proximity of the two battles, helping the visitor understand their context within the Peninsula Campaign and the Seven Days’ Battles. The reestablishment of the Whitlock and Sykes fields will also provide a visual symmetry between the Glendale Battlefield and the Malvern Hill Battlefield, reinforcing the similarities and differences of the two battlefield landscapes and how they influenced battle events and outcomes.

**Primary Treatment: Rehabilitation**

The Secretary of the Interior is responsible for establishing professional standards on the preservation of cultural resources listed in or eligible for listing in the National Register of Historic Places. The *Secretary of the Interior’s Standards for the Treatment of Historic Properties*, revised in 1992, were codified as 36 CFR Part 68 in the 12 July 1995 Federal Register (Vol. 60, No. 133). The standards define four primary treatment approaches according to preservation goals: *preservation*, *restoration*, *rehabilitation*, and *reconstruction*. Preservation standards require retention of the greatest amount of historic fabric, including the landscape’s historic form, features, and details as they have evolved over time. Rehabilitation standards acknowledge the need to alter or add to a cultural landscape to meet continuing or new uses while retaining the landscape’s historic character. Restoration standards allow for the depiction of a landscape at a particular time in its history by preserving materials from the period of significance and removing materials from later periods. Reconstruction standards establish a framework for re-creating a vanished or non-surviving landscape with new materials, primarily for interpretive purposes.

At Glendale Battlefield, the recommended primary treatment approach is rehabilitation. Rehabilitation meets the goals and objectives of the general management plan by preserving the historic battlefield landscape as well as the commemorative-era landscape, while accommodating interpretation goals, natural resource protection, maintenance needs, and other park objectives. Particularly, rehabilita-
tation will allow for expanded visitor services, including increased visitor access to the site, pedestrian circulation, parking, and interpretive waysides and other features. Rehabilitation will also allow for contemporary land management practices, including modern agricultural, meadow management, and forestry practices. Finally, rehabilitation will accommodate changes that enhance historic character and facilitate interpretation while acknowledging incomplete historical documentation of landscape conditions that precludes landscape restoration.

**Treatment Reference Period: 1850–1875**

Identification of a treatment reference date or period provides an objective benchmark for managing historic landscape character. The treatment reference date corresponds to a time during the historic period when the landscape reached the height of its development or a time when the property best illustrated its significance and interpretive themes. In rehabilitation, the identification of a treatment reference date does not limit the addition of features to accommodate visitor use or other park objectives, nor does it compel the removal of non-historic features. Rather, it provides a reference point on which to base treatment tasks as well as future management decisions.

At Glendale Battlefeld, the treatment reference period is 1850 to 1875, during which the composition and character of the landscape was relatively stable, reflecting conditions as they appeared at the time of the Battle of Glendale. This period includes the years when all landowners during the Civil War were present, beginning after the Nelson family purchased the Glendale plantation in 1849 and ending when the Sykes brothers died around 1875.

**TREATMENT GUIDELINES AND TASKS**

The following section provides general guidelines and specific tasks for applying treatment to the Glendale Battlefeld landscape. The guidelines provide context for the tasks that are presented below, and give direction for future management decisions on issues that impact the historic character of the landscape.

**VEGETATION**

The primary method of conveying historic spatial organization of the Glendale Battlefield landscape will be through the establishment and management of land cover types. These land cover types approximate the character of the vegetation and land use that organized the landscape at the time of the Civil War and facilitate interpretation, visitor use, and natural resource protection.
Open field

In 1862, much of the Glendale landscape was characterized by open fields, primarily under cultivation for crops. Crops included corn, wheat, oats, potatoes, onions, and produce. These open fields played a major role in the progress and outcome of the battle and were a major contributor to overall landscape character.

Open fields should be maintained under a cover of native warm-season grasses and forbs. This cover type approximates the character of agricultural fields present at the time of the Battle of Glendale and provides uninterrupted views across the fields. Native grass fields provide habitat for wildlife and help improve water quality by filtering, reducing, and slowing runoff.

The desired composition of the open fields is a diverse mix of grassland species dominated by native grasses, wildflowers, and forbs. Shrubs, small trees, and other woody vegetation should be suppressed with annual mowing and selective, targeted herbicide application. Invasive, non-native vegetation species should be controlled with an integrated weed management system, including hand pulling, mowing, and herbicide application. Meadows may also be maintained through controlled burning as appropriate. Grasslands should be monitored regularly and management practices reevaluated and adjusted to ensure desired conditions are maintained.

Alternatively, open areas may be maintained with agricultural crops through leases or agreements with local farmers. Lessees should be required to use Best Management Practices (BMP), integrated pest management, and soil and erosion control measures to minimize impacts to natural systems. Areas delineated for agriculture should be confined to flat areas that have been previously plowed, avoiding slopes greater than fifteen percent and areas with high archeological value. Adequate vegetative buffers should be preserved around wetlands and other ecologically

Figure 4.1. Open fields at Malvern Hill Battlefield, demonstrating the appropriate character of open fields proposed for Glendale Battlefield (OCLP).
sensitive areas in accordance with the Chesapeake Bay Preservation Act.

Although modern agricultural practices may be employed, efforts should be made to ensure that the fields themselves and the cultivation methods are visually compatible with the historic character. Agricultural crops should have similar heights, colors, textures, and planting patterns to the crop cover that was present in the agricultural fields of the Glendale Civil War battlefield in 1862 (corn, wheat, and oats). Crops with conspicuously different character from the historic crops, including nursery stock, vine crops, or cultivated flowers, should be avoided. Storage or stockpiling of agricultural equipment or supplies on site should also be avoided.

**Forest**

The open fields of the farms at Glendale were surrounded and separated by significant areas of forest in 1862. These forests provided cover and concealment for both Union and Confederate infantry, while also inhibiting movement of troops and equipment. Although some of these forested areas were utilized by farmers for building material and fuel, the forests were largely unmanaged. The composition and character of the forests would have been characterized by mixed species of hardwoods and pines. After the historic period, areas of the forests were cleared for increased agricultural production and then converted in the twentieth century to pine stands for timber harvesting.

Forests and wooded areas should be actively managed to approximate the character and composition exhibited at the time of the Civil War battle while maximizing ecological value. Existing stands of even-aged pine monoculture should be transitioned to mixed hardwood forest of native tree species. Appropriate forestry practices should be employed to encourage an increase in tree species diversity,
hardwood composition, and habitat structural values. Actions may include thinning, patch clearing, and under-planting to encourage forest regeneration.

**Orchards**

The 1867 Michler map (Figure 1.11) clearly indicates at least one orchard at Glendale at the time of the battle, and historical accounts give evidence of others. The Nelson farm contained a sizeable orchard east or south of the house. The map shows an array of trees east of the house in an area that may have held fifty to one hundred trees, although Michler’s maps were generally symbolic in depicting trees and orchards. The depiction on the map should be interpreted as an indication of the existence and general location of the orchard, rather than its size and layout. Aerial photos from the 1930s show portions or remnants of an orchard to the south and southeast of the house. The Michler map does not appear to indicate orchards at the Whitlock or Sykes farms, but battle accounts mention apple and peach trees around the Whitlock house. It was common for small farms during the nineteenth century to contain at least a small orchard near the house for fruit and cider production.

With limited documentation about the location, size, and composition of the orchards at the time of the battle, it is not feasible at this point to reestablish orchards that faithfully reflect historic conditions. However, establishing representative orchards that convey the scale and character of orchards that were present in 1862 can be very effective in conveying the character of nineteenth-century farms. Interpretive orchards are also effective in marking the location of farmsteads in the absence of houses and other outbuildings, helping to convey the overall organization of the battlefield.

Because representative orchards are primarily intended to convey overall scale
and character rather than historic accuracy, cultivar selection should emphasize growth habit, tree vigor, and disease resistance over period availability. While it is always appropriate to select fruit cultivars that were available and likely to be planted in the region at the time of the battle, modern cultivars may require lower maintenance and offer better success under current site conditions. Other battlefield landscapes, such as Gettysburg National Military Park, have found success reestablishing orchards using modern cultivars such as ‘Liberty’, ‘Enterprise’, ‘Freedom’, ‘William’s Pride’, ‘Redfree’, and ‘Goldrush.’

While tree cultivar selection plays an important role in successful orchard establishment, proper site selection, soil conditions, and drainage play an even greater role in the health and ultimate success of orchards. Orchard sites should be carefully chosen to provide optimum conditions for fruit tree growth. Soils should be tested for drainage structure, mineral content, and other characteristics to determine whether orchards might be established without unreasonable levels of maintenance required to sustain them.

**Riparian and Wetland**

The Glendale Battlefield landscape contains a number of wetland resource areas, particularly along the Western Run and its associated drainages. These areas provide valuable ecological functions, including wildlife habitat, water quality and pollution control, flood mitigation, sediment and erosion control, and natural scenery for visitors. The drainage corridors would have been largely unmanaged at the time of the Civil War and would have exhibited a character similar to current conditions. Management of these areas should be aimed at protecting and enhancing their ecological value and minimizing human disruption.

Perennial streams, wetlands, and other resource protection areas should be identified and delineated in accordance with the Chesapeake Bay Preservation Act. Development within these areas should be limited to the construction of pedestrian trails, bridges, and boardwalks to accommodate site circulation. Maintain buffers of native forest vegetation around all riparian areas, with particular attention to buffering agricultural areas from wetlands. Riparian and wetland vegetation should be monitored for community and habitat health and managed as needed to maintain desired conditions. Management actions may include removal of invasive vegetation or planting of native species.

**Visitor use areas**

Accommodating visitor use, maintenance, and other park operations within Glendale Battlefield will necessitate landscape treatment of a more developed character, including turf grass, pavement, gravel, and other surfaces. These areas should exhibit a simple and tidy character and be limited to only what is necessary
to accommodate visitor and park needs. The use of shrubs or other ornamental vegetation should be avoided.

Lawn areas should be maintained to the extent possible with sustainable turf practices. These include regular aeration of compacted areas, top-dressing with compost, over-seeding, and regular mowing. Chemical fertilizers, herbicides, and pesticides should be avoided.

VEGETATION TREATMENT TASKS

VG-1. Reestablish fields that comprised the primary battlefield

On June 30, 1862, the primary fighting of the Battle of Glendale took place within a contiguous clearing comprising the farms and fields of John Whitlock Jr., Richard Sykes, and Isaac Sykes. The clearing, approximately eighty to one hundred acres, was bisected by Long Bridge Road, with the Sykes farms on the north side of the road and the Whitlock farm south of the road. Today, the primary battlefield around the Whitlock and Sykes farm sites has reverted to forest. The loss of these fields prevents visitors from understanding important aspects of the battle, including the length and breadth of the clear battlefield, the distance between the opposing lines, the artillery field of fire, and location and quality of the troop cover and concealment. The presence of the existing forest cover also obscures the former locations of the farms that were clearly visible at the time of the battle.

In order to convey the historic spatial organization of the Glendale Battlefield landscape and facilitate interpretation of the battle and other associated themes, the contiguous open field should be reestablished. The original extents of the open field should be approximated using contemporary mapping, such as the 1867 Michler maps, to help convey the scale of area and distances that influenced the battle events.

The recommended area for clearing, comprising approximately fifty-four acres, is shown in Figure 4.4, as well as Drawings 4 and 5. This recommended area is delineated to most effectively convey the essential characteristics of the battlefield, including the locations of the Union battery line, the relative locations of the farm cores, the distance across the clearing, and the relative distances to wooded cover. The clearing delineation also takes into account park boundaries, screening, buffers for known watercourses, and ground slope to avoid soil erosion. Clearing delineations are based on current topography and stream data from USGS National Hydrography Data. Lands to be cleared should be inspected for hydrological conditions and clearing operations should avoid wetlands, important habitats and other biologically sensitive areas.

In order to successfully convert forested areas to field cover while protecting cul-
Figure 4.4. Diagram showing the recommended area to be cleared to reestablish the Whitlock/Sykes fields and to enlarge the Nelson fields. Areas indicated for clearing measure approximately fifty-four acres at the Whitlock site and forty acres at the Nelson site (OCLP).

Toward and archeological resources, the following precautions should be taken:

- Delineate areas to be cleared in the field. Indicate any trees that are to be retained or areas to be left uncut.
- Indicate areas of high archeological value or sensitive natural systems.
- Cut tree stumps flush with the ground and grind stumps to a depth not to exceed four inches below grade. Where stump grinding is not feasible, trees should be flush-cut so that a mower or brush hog can be used to maintain fields.
- Utilize tree cutting and removal techniques that minimize soil disturbance.
- Remove all felled material, wood chips, and other debris, and dispose off site.
- Monitor cut stumps and treat re-sprouting stumps with herbicide.
- Perform cutting and thinning in the fall and winter.

After the non-contributing woodland vegetation is cleared, meadow vegetation
should be established to maintain the open areas.

- Prepare ground surface to ensure that woody debris has been removed, no stumps exceed two inches above grade, and leaves, pine needles, and organic duff has been removed from the ground.

- Seed area with a custom mix of native warm-season grasses and broadleaf herbaceous vegetation. Reseed as needed to establish dense, healthy vegetative ground cover. Adjust seed mix if needed to achieve better results.

- Monitor area for trees, shrubs, invasive species, or otherwise undesirable vegetation and remove as needed.

- Maintain with annual mowing scheduled to encourage self-seeding of desirable species and discourage woody vegetation.

Some of the cleared areas may be appropriate for conversion to agricultural use. Soil type and hydrology should be considered before Agricultural crops are identified as an appropriate landscape treatment. Agricultural activities should not be undertaken on or around earthworks.

**VG-2. Expand open field areas at Nelson farm site**

At the time of the Battle of Glendale, the open area that comprised the Nelson farm was larger than it is today. According to the 1867 Michler map, the fields on the west side of Willis Church Road extended 800 to 1,000 feet east to west and more than 2,500 feet north to south, connecting across Long Bridge Road to Spencer Riddle’s blacksmith shop. While the fields today convey the overall open character that the landscape presented in 1862, expanding the field area by removing select areas of woodland will help facilitate interpretation of the battle and give visitors a better sense of what Union soldiers saw from their positions along Willis Church Road.

In order to better reflect the field and forest patterns present at the time of the battle, field edges around the Nelson farm site should be expanded. Suggested areas for clearing are illustrated in Figure 4.4 and Drawings 4 and 6. In order to successfully convert forested areas to field cover while protecting cultural and archeological resources, the bulleted precautions enumerated in task VG-1 should be taken.

Clearing the forested area north of the Nelson House will expose a portion of the earthworks remnants present there. Following clearing, the earthworks should be maintained with a dense cover of tall grass to protect them from erosion. The area around the earthworks should not be used for agricultural cultivation.
VG-3. Remove trees along Willis Church Road at Nelson farm site

The trees growing along Willis Church road near the Nelson House site separate the east and west fields of the former Nelson farm and block important views from the house site toward the battlefield. Removal of these trees will restore the contiguous field configuration that was present at the time of the battle and provide better opportunity to interpret the battle events.

VG-4. Manage the vegetative composition and character of woodlands

In 1862, much of the Glendale area was covered in forest. While some of these forested areas were utilized by farmers for building material and fuel, the forests were largely unmanaged. Since the historic period, areas of the forest were converted to pine stands for timber harvesting. Today, these areas are composed of even-aged single-species stands that have a different character from historic forests and lack the species diversity and forest structure of healthy woodlands.

Woodlands within the Glendale Battlefield should be managed to reflect a mixed-species, mixed-age forest dominated by native hardwood species. Best forest management practices should be employed to encourage transition from the existing pine plantations to mixed hardwood forest.

- Appropriate interventions may include uniform thinning, shelter-wood harvesting, small clearing, and under-planting. Consult with a forester to develop a comprehensive forest transition plan.
- Plant hardwood trees in thinned areas or small patch clearings.
- Convert stands over a several-year period to develop a mixed-age forest.
- Suppress invasive non-native vegetation species with an integrated management system, including hand pulling, mowing, herbicide application, and other methods as appropriate.
- Monitor forest areas regularly to ensure desired conditions are maintained. Reevaluate and adjust management practices as needed to achieve desired outcomes.

VG-5. Establish orchards

While sufficient documentation about the location, size, and composition of the orchards at Glendale Battlefield does not currently exist to support restoration of these features, representative orchards may be established to help convey historic agricultural character and spatial organization of the battlefield.
Nelson Orchard

The Michler map shows an orchard at the Nelson farm that extends along the south side and to the east of the house and barnyard area. However, because the spatial organization of the Nelson farm at the time of the battle is unknown, it is recommended that an orchard be established south of the house site, on land currently cultivated for crops. This placement preserves the area to the east of the house site for future archeological investigation and potential interpretation of farm features. The area indicated on Drawings 4 and 6 for the recreated Nelson orchard measures approximately 300 feet by 150 feet (approximately four rows of eight trees at thirty-five-foot spacing).

The orchard should be composed primarily of apple trees, although the inclusion of pear and peach trees would also be appropriate. Apple selection may reflect varieties that were used in Southern farm orchards prior to the Civil War, such as York Imperial (originally Johnson’s Fine Winter), Winesap, and Ben Davis. Other popular varieties at the time included McIntosh, Rome Beauty, and Rhode Island
Greening. Alternately, use a contemporary cultivar that is hardy and disease resistant to minimize maintenance.

**Whitlock Orchard**

A few trees are indicated on the 1867 Michler map around the Whitlock house, with no clear indication of an orchard grid, but the presence of an orchard at the time of the battle is attested to by historical accounts of the battle. M.D. Hardin, for instance, describes the Whitlock house “surrounded by apple and peach trees.” The exact location of this orchard is not known, other than it was near the house. The map of Glendale Battlefield that accompanied the *Official Records of the Union and Confederate Armies* (see Figure 1.14) shows an orchard north of the Whitlock house, although other spatial relationships depicted in the map are incorrect, making it unreliable for determining specific locations. Leonard Morrow recalls an orchard to the northwest of the Whitlock house site, but he stated that it was planted by his Father’s family. In the absence of evidence that might place the orchard more precisely, a recommended arrangement of trees is illustrated in Drawings 4 and 5. Considerations for tree spacing and fruit selection are the same as those for the Nelson orchard given above.

**CIRCULATION**

Existing circulation at Glendale Battlefield is limited to vehicular circulation along Long Bridge Road, Darbytown Road, and Willis Church Road, with parking at Glendale National Cemetery. Providing expanded visitor circulation accommodations will greatly increase access to the site and improve overall visitor experience. This should be accomplished primarily through the creation of a connected, site-wide pedestrian circulation system that accesses all of the points of interest.
Cultural lands Cape report for Glendale Battlefield

Figure 4.7. Image of an interpretive trail at Malvern Hill Battlefield showing a naturalistic character. New trails constructed through forested areas should be narrow and follow the contours of the land. Blaze signs, such as the one visible on the tree at right, should be used for wayfinding (OCLP).

Figure 4.8. Structures that carry trails across wet areas and stream courses should be of simple timber construction. Image shows a footbridge in the Malvern Hill trail system (OCLP).

within the landscape. The pedestrian circulation system will be anchored by the addition of parking at the Whitlock/Sykes area and connection to existing parking at Malvern Hill and the Glendale National Cemetery.

Circulation features should be designed to have minimal impact on existing landscape character. Parking at the Whitlock/Sykes area should utilize the disturbed area that recently contained the Quonset hut and should be screened by trees. Pedestrian paths should utilize existing circulation routes, road traces, and other disturbed areas, and should be routed to minimize grade alterations. Grade alterations should be accomplished with added fill material rather than excavation.
Pedestrian trails

The majority of the pedestrian circulation at Glendale Battlefield can be accommodated with informal foot trails. The Whitlock farm site contains a network of former circulation routes that are still evident, discernible by their topography and lack of vegetation. These former trails and drives range from four or five feet wide to about ten feet wide and are generally characterized by gentle slopes and compacted, vegetation-free surfaces. Little will have to be done to formalize and improve these trails and incorporate them into a comprehensive circulation plan.

Pedestrian trails should provide access to all of the important sites within the battlefield landscape, including troop and artillery positions, areas of major fighting, command centers, key terrain features, and former farm sites. The trails should also provide opportunities for recreational hiking, offering a variety of hiking experiences and highlighting the site’s natural scenery. In laying out the trails system, consideration should be given for destinations, return routes, loop routes, and shortcuts to provide a variety of hiking experiences and flexibility in route length.

Where new paths are to be constructed through forested areas, they should be narrow footpaths that naturally follow the contours of the land. The surface should be natural forest floor, compacted where necessary. Where paths travel through fields, they should be maintained by regular mowing so that the grass is short under foot. Stream crossing should be facilitated with timber footbridges, and wet areas should be traversed with boardwalks to protect sensitive habitat. Raising the trail grade with imported material should be avoided where it has the potential to alter hydrology.

Trail amenities should be provided to offer information, interpretation, wayfinding, and seating where appropriate. Trailheads near parking areas should have informational signage that gives an overview and map of the trail system with key historical locations labeled. Waysides should be placed at interpretive stops along the trails to provide information about the battle and landscape points of interest. Directional signs should be placed at all trail junctions, and tree blazes or trail signs placed along the route for wayfinding.

Accessible paths

Accessibility should be considered in all circulation planning, with accommodations for accessibility following a hierarchical gradient centered around parking areas and other points of access. Closest to parking areas and primary points of interest, paths should be designed for universal accessibility following ADA guidelines for slope, width, and surface. Surfaces may be concrete or other hardened material or may be a stabilized aggregate surface. These accessible allow visitors with limited mobility to exit their vehicles and comfortably access informational signs, key interpretive points, and important views. Benches should be provided to
enhance visitor access and comfort.

Farther from the parking areas, trails should exhibit a more informal character, with narrower width, natural tread, and a profile that follows the contours of the land. While not meeting strict ADA guidelines for universal accessibility, considerations should still be given to trail alignment, grade, and surface quality to maximize the potential user groups. Trails should be routed to take advantage of natural terrain to reduce trail grade.

**Parking areas**

The Glendale Battlefield unit currently has no dedicated parking areas with the exception of the parking available at the national cemetery. As visitor services expand in the unit, accommodations will need to be made for automobile access and parking. Providing parking will allow visitors access to trail heads and historical points of interest and provide stops for an auto tour of the battlefield.

Parking areas should be located outside of the primary battlefield areas and should be screened from important historical views. Parking should be limited to the minimum area needed for anticipated visitor use.
CIRCULATION TREATMENT TASKS

CR-1. Construct parking lot at Whitlock/Sykes area

Currently, the only vehicle access point to Glendale Battlefield is the parking at the national cemetery. In order to provide visitor access to the Whitlock/Sykes area and to provide a stop for an auto tour, a new parking lot should be constructed on Long Bridge Road. The lot should be placed outside of the primary battlefield, such that when the battlefield area is cleared, the parking lot remains screened by forest. The recommended location is the site that until recently contained a Quonset-style storage structure. This location is already disturbed, reducing the need for site grading and tree clearing, and is located near existing trails that can provide access to the rest of the battlefield. The lot should be sized appropriately for anticipated visitation, with no more spaces than needed.

The parking lot should be surfaced with asphalt, chip-seal, or similar hardened surface to reduce maintenance and provide an accessible surface for those with limited mobility. Provide accessibility ramps and paved paths to allow visitors to access important resources, such as battlefield views and interpretive elements at battery locations. Provide interpretive and informational signs at the parking areas to orient visitors.

A sample parking lot design is provided in Figure 4.9. The design provides parking for twelve cars plus one accessible space, although the designed parking capacity can be adjusted as needed. The proposed design also provides accessible circulation, signage, and seating for visitors.
**CR-2. Construct parking lot at Nelson area**

Parking should also be provided close to the Nelson house site to provide better access to the site and provide an interpretive stop for an auto tour. Parking should be placed on Willis Church Road with the lot parallel to the road to minimize intrusion into archeologically sensitive areas. Figure 4.11 shows a potential configuration of parking and pedestrian circulation at the Nelson house site.

**CR-3. Create site-wide pedestrian circulation system**

In order to provide improved access to the Glendale Battlefield landscape, construct a site-wide pedestrian circulation system. The trail system should be composed of a combination of accessible paths and foot trails as described in the treatment guidelines above. Where feasible, historic road traces, such as the Darbytown Road trace and the trace of the Isaac Sykes drive (see Drawing 3) should be incorporated into the system, as well as existing trails through the Whitlock farm area. Figure 4.12 shows a potential configuration of the Glendale trail system.
Figure 4.12. Diagram showing the proposed trail system at Glendale Battlefield. The trails indicated in red follow existing trail alignments and will require minimal improvement, while trails in green are new trails (OCLP).

showing existing trails as well as proposed trail alignments, trailheads and parking, and historical points of interest.

- Create site-wide pedestrian circulation system using a combination of improved paths, single-track trails, and boardwalks and bridges.
- Create accessible paths with appropriate width and stabilized surface near parking areas to provide access to highlighted interpretive areas (Whitlock fields, Randol’s battery, Nelson house site).
- Utilize existing trails and circulation traces where feasible.
- Construct boardwalks to traverse wet areas and bridges to cross stream courses.
- Provide navigational and interpretive signage along trails and paths.
CR-4. Interpret road traces

Traces of the former alignment of Long Bridge Road before it was realigned in the 1950s are still evident in the topography of Glendale Battlefield. Nearly 1,300 feet of former road alignment extending westward from the Glendale crossroads is within the park boundary. Other traces in Glendale include those of farm roads, drives, and other minor circulation features that date to the historic period. These traces represent cues to historic spatial organization and help convey important aspects of the battle.

To help preserve these traces and make them more visible to visitors, trees and other woody vegetation should be cleared from the road bed and embankments of road traces that date to the historic period. Where feasible, road traces that date to the time of the Battle of Glendale should be incorporated into pedestrian circulation system.

SMALL-SCALE FEATURES

At the time of the Battle of Glendale, the farm landscapes contained numerous structures, buildings, and small-scale features that organized the landscape and created its agricultural character. Today, with the absence of these features, the overall character and organization of the landscape should be conveyed through the landforms and vegetation patterns. Limited installations of small-scale features, however, can help enhance historic character and help facilitate interpretation.
Figure 4.14. Replica cannons, such as this one at Malvern Hill, should be installed at Glendale Battlefield to depict the approximate locations and arrangement of Union batteries (OCLP).

SMALL-SCALE FEATURES TREATMENT TASKS

SF-1. Install replica cannons

In many battlefields, including Malvern Hill, the use of replica cannons placed in battery formation help convey important aspects of the battlefield, including troop line locations and battle direction, as well as information about the use of artillery in battle. Replica cannons may be used at Glendale as well, primarily to mark the Union artillery line on the east side of the Whitlock and Sykes fields. Cannons used in this fashion should be placed in accurate number and spacing to reflect historic battery formations and in as close to historic locations as possible.

While McCall’s batteries consisted of a total of twenty-four pieces stretched out across the Whitlock and Sykes fields, a smaller number of replicas could be used to convey some of the essential information about the battle. Randol’s six-gun battery, located on the north side of Long Bridge Road, was the location of some of the most intense hand-to-hand combat of the battle. Its significance to the battle, along with its proximity to Long Bridge Road and to the proposed parking lot, make interpretation of Randol’s battery a priority.

Drawings 4, 5, and 6 indicate suggested approximate placement of replica batteries to indicate Union battery lines. Placement should ultimately be determined by the best available information about historic battery locations.

SF-2. Construct Virginia rail or post-and-rail fences

Rail fences were ubiquitous in Virginia at the time of the Civil War, delineating property lines, cultivated fields, and open pastures. The split rails used to construct the fences were inexpensive and could be processed quickly using simple
hand tools. Several references in battle accounts mention rail fences in the Glendale area, particularly along Willis Church Road, Long Bridge Road, and along the field/forest edges. These fences constituted obstacles and cover for troops of both armies.

Installation of rail fences along public roads at Glendale Battlefield would help convey historic spatial organization, land ownership, and agricultural and battlefield character. These fences, today strongly associated with Civil War battlefields, would also provide a visual cue that could enhance public understanding and appreciation of park lands. Rail fences could serve practical purposes of limiting or guiding access.

Appropriate locations may include the approaches to park drives and parking
areas and along the field edges at the Sykes, Whitlock, and Nelson farm sites.
Fences should be placed along roadsides and property lines, with priority areas
around parking and trailhead locations. Fences can be used to separate pedestrian
circulation from roads or to protect sensitive areas. Fences may also be used for
interpretive purposes if they are constructed in locations where they are known to
have had an impact on battle events.

**SF-3. Construct yard fences to mark farm locations**

Fences surrounded the farm domestic core, including the house, domestic out-
buildings, house yard, and often a garden, separating these areas from the agricul-
tural fields and protecting them from livestock. House yard fences were generally
more decorative than field fences, often constructed of post and rails, finished
board rails, or pickets. Although more decorative than field fences, yard fences
were still simple and often constructed of inexpensive material, particularly on

Figure 4.17. (Right) A photo of the
Nelson house and outbuildings
from 1885 show fences on the
north and west side of the house.
The photo appears to show a mix
of fence styles, including a tight
picket fence and a board fence
(RICH Archives).

Figure 4.18. (Below) A photo
believed to be of the Nelson house
from the late nineteenth century
shows a board or rail fence around
the house (RICH Archives).
smaller farms like the Sykes and Whitlock farms. Pickets were often made from split timber and attached to split stringers with round posts. A photo of the Nelson house from the late nineteenth century shows a board fence in front of the house. It is not known if this fence or a similar one was present at the time of the battle, but the Michler map indicates at least a rectangular yard fence around the house in 1867.

Although the lack of historical information about the style and extent of yard fences at Glendale prevents historically accurate reconstruction, fences may still be employed for interpretive purposes, marking the location of the missing farm domestic cores and conveying spatial relationships and historic character. Alternative approaches include marking the corners of the fenced area with posts or fence corners, or construction smaller sections of fence without completely enclosing the house site areas. Guidance for fence location and extent may be garnered from the Michler map and 1930s aerial photos. Approximate fence lines are shown on Drawings 4, 5, and 6. Appropriate locations for interpretive fences include the two Sykes farms, the Whitlock farm, and the Nelson farm, with each fence surrounding the house site and the approximate extent of the house yard and domestic outbuildings. Additional fencing can be extended along the north side of the Nelson farm drive enclosing the locations of former slave dwellings.

Figure 4.19. An excerpt of an 1887 manual on fencing showing the character and construction of a simple picket fence. (from Fences, Gates and Bridges: A Practical Manual by George A. Martin, 1887)
SF-4. Remove twentieth century structures and debris

Non-contributing, twentieth-century structural remnants and debris within the Glendale Battlefield landscape should be removed. This may include the foundation and chimney remnants of the Morrow house, structures and debris at the Donley house site (5871 Darbytown Road), and twentieth century debris scatters at the Sykes house sites and other locations. A house foundation and wooden storage structure located at the Susan Brown house site should also be evaluated removed if it is determined that they post-date the period of significance.

All structures should be assessed by an archeologist and historical architect to ensure only non-contributing resources are removed. Any structural remnant that dates from before the end of the treatment period (1875) should be retained and stabilized for potential interpretation. Surface debris scatters should be assessed by an archeologist to appropriately process any archeological resources and ensure that only non-historic debris is removed. No sub-surface debris should be excavated or removed unless part of an archeological project.

ADDITIONAL TREATMENT CONSIDERATIONS

In addition to the treatment recommendations above, additional actions would be appropriate in the Glendale cultural landscape, should information become available to support them. These actions include interpreting the locations of houses, outbuildings, slave quarters, and other landscape features that were present at the time of the battle and marking and interpreting cemeteries.

Interpreting Missing Features

One of the most significant challenges to interpreting the battlefield landscape at Glendale is the lack of houses, structures, and other features present at the time of the battle. These features organized the landscape and contributed to its agricultural character. Many of these features also played a critical role in the events of the battle, providing cover, concealment, and obstacles to the two armies. Interpreting missing features gives visitors a better understanding of the landscape layout, as well as battle progression and outcome. Interpretation of these features, however, is hindered by insufficient information about their location, size, and other characteristics.

The approximate locations of most of the houses in the Glendale area are known from a combination of historic maps (1867 Michler map in particular), historic aerial images, existing topography, and archeological evidence. The Whitlock and Nelson house locations are known with reasonable confidence from extant physical remains—the cellar hole for the former and foundation remnants for the latter. While the locations of the Sykes houses are known generally, definitive physical evidence has not been found to determine their exact locations. Even less
is known about the locations of other structures present at the time of the battle, including a row of what are believed to be slave quarters at the Nelson house. Beyond locations and general descriptions, little is known about the size, form, and other characteristics of the missing buildings and structures at Glendale.

When the precise location, size, or other characteristics of the structure are unknown, treatment should convey the general location of missing structures without depicting details that are conjectural. This may include identifying the locations of a domestic core without depicting the footprint of houses, or conveying the spatial relationships between dwellings and agricultural features. The simplest method for interpreting missing features includes pictorial interpretive material displayed at the structure location on a wayside, combined with ground-plane treatment. The use of corner posts, corner stones, or foundation outlines effectively convey the location and footprint of missing structures, if these are known, and helps a visitor understand the spatial relationships between the structures and other landscape features.

The historic setting of battle-era building sites could be interpreted through reconstruction or representation of associated landscape features. This treatment could include building picket fences to define yards and grounds that surrounded the buildings. Mowing patterns could also be used to distinguish the maintained house grounds, barnyard, and other areas from the surrounding landscape. Re-establishing shade trees and orchards, which helped define the domestic core of nineteenth-century farms, would give further spatial context for missing features.

Ghost structures utilize framing or other elements to depict wall and roof lines, conveying the location, size, and overall design of the structures, while leaving unknown details omitted. Examples include a white-painted steel frame that depicts the Ben Franklin House in Philadelphia; a similar structure with faux windows at Pole Green Church near Richmond; and timber framing that depicts houses at St. Mary’s City, Maryland.

**Cemeteries**

The locations of the family cemeteries within the Glendale Battlefield unit are not currently known, with the exception of the Nelson Cemetery located on Willis Church Road, which is currently owned by the Civil War Preservation Trust. If the National Park Service acquires the Nelson cemetery in the future, or if the locations of the Sykes, Whitlock, or any of the other family cemeteries are determined, they should be preserved and interpreted to park visitors. General recommendations for the treatment of family cemeteries includes clearing forest...
vegetation, marking the perimeter of the cemetery with a low fence, and interpret-
ing with wayside material. Appropriate styles for an enclosure fence include a low
picket fence between two and three feet high with approximately six-foot spacing
between posts.
ENDNOTES

3  General Management Plan, 26.
4  Ibid, 134.
6  Leonard Morrow, personal communication with RICH staff.
Cultural Landscape Report
Glendale Battlefield
Richmond National Battlefield Park
Henrico County, Virginia

Treatment

SOURCES
1. USGS Lidar 2008
2. 2012 Coastal Virginia NAIP Digital Ortho Photo Imagery
3. Military Map of Richmond and Vicinity (Library of Congress)
4. Streams and wetlands from USGS National Hydrography Data

DRAWN BY:
John W. Hammond, OCLP 2019

NATIONAL PARK SERVICE
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NOTES
1. All features shown in approximate scale and locations.

LEGEND
- Creek/Wetland
- Proposes trails
- Existing trails
- WPS Boundary
- Open Ground
- Orchard
- Building
- Roads
- Common
- Forest
- Existing buildings

Drawing 4
Cultural Landscape Report
Glendale Battlefield
Richmond National Battlefield Park
Henrico County, Virginia

Treatment: Whitlock/Sykes Area

SF-1. Install replica cannons
CR-1. Construct parking lot at Whitlock/Sykes area (See Figure 4.9)
VG-1. Reestablish fields that comprised the primary battlefield

SF-2. Construct Virginia rail or post-and-rail fences
Kerns’s Battery

SF-3. Construct yard fences to mark Isaac Sykes farm location

SF-4. Construct yard fences to mark Richard Sykes house site

LEGEND

Trees/
Forest
Approximate area to be cleared
Road
Rail Fence
NPS Boundary
Open Ground
Creek/Wetland
Orchard

NOTES
1. All features shown in approximate scale and locations.
Treatment: Nelson Area

VG-2. Expand open field areas at Nelson Farm site
CR-3. Create site-wide pedestrian circulation system (See Figure 4.11)
VG-3. Construct Nelson orchard
VG-4. Establish Nelson orchard

LEGEND

Trees/Forest
Cannon
Approximate area to be cleared
Yard Fence
Road
Rail Fence
NPS Boundary
Existing Trail
Open Ground
Creek/Wetland
Orchard

NOTES
1. All features shown in approximate scale and locations.
### APPENDIX A: TABLE OF TREATMENT TASKS

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Task ID</th>
<th>Task</th>
<th>Page</th>
<th>Related Tasks</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>VG-1</td>
<td>Reestablish fields that comprised the primary battlefield</td>
<td>128</td>
<td>VG-4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VG-2</td>
<td>Expand open field areas at Nelson farm site</td>
<td>130</td>
<td>VG-3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VG-3</td>
<td>Remove trees along Willis Church Road</td>
<td>130</td>
<td>VG-2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VG-4</td>
<td>Manage the vegetative composition and character of woodlands</td>
<td>130</td>
<td>VG-1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VG-5</td>
<td>Establish orchards</td>
<td>131</td>
<td>SF-3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CR-1</td>
<td>Construct parking lot at Whitlock/Sykes area</td>
<td>136</td>
<td>CR-3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CR-2</td>
<td>Construct parking lot at Nelson area</td>
<td>137</td>
<td>CR-3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CR-3</td>
<td>Create site-wide pedestrian circulation system</td>
<td>137</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CR-4</td>
<td>Interpret road traces</td>
<td>139</td>
<td>CR-3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SF-1</td>
<td>Install replica cannons</td>
<td>140</td>
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<tr>
<td>SF-2</td>
<td>Construct Virginia rail or post-and-rail fences</td>
<td>141</td>
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<tr>
<td>SF-3</td>
<td>Construct yard fences to mark farm locations</td>
<td>142</td>
<td>VG-5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SF-4</td>
<td>Remove twentieth-century structures and debris</td>
<td>144</td>
<td></td>
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