

APPOMATTOX BRIDGE
(Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr., Memorial Bridge)
U.S. Route 1 over the Appomattox River
Petersburg
Petersburg County
Virginia

HAER NO. VA-124

HAER
VA,
27-PET,
38-

PHOTOGRAPHS
WRITTEN HISTORICAL AND DESCRIPTIVE DATA

HISTORIC AMERICAN ENGINEERING RECORD

National Park Service
Philadelphia Support Office
U.S. Custom House
200 Chestnut Street
Philadelphia, PA 19106

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LOCATION: U.S. Route 1 over the Appomattox River,
Petersburg, Petersburg County, Virginia

USGS Petersburg, VA Quadrangle
UTM Coordinates: 18.286800.4123850

DATE OF CONSTRUCTION: 1924-1925

ENGINEER: J.E. Greiner & Company, Baltimore, Maryland

CONTRACTOR: W.W. Boxley Construction Company

BUILDER: City of Petersburg, Norfolk & Western Railway Company,
Atlantic Coast Line Railroad Company, Virginia Railway
and Power Company, and the Virginia State Highway
Commission

PRESENT OWNER: Commonwealth of Virginia

PRESENT USE: Highway bridge

SIGNIFICANCE: The Appomattox Bridge is a representative example of an
early twentieth-century concrete deck bridge utilizing
standard design continuous T-beam deck sections. It was
built as an important link in the modernization of U.S.
Route 1, a highway of national significance in United States
transportation history.

PROJECT INFORMATION: The Appomattox Bridge was recorded in June 1997 by the
Cultural Resource Group of Louis Berger & Associates, Inc.
(LBA), Richmond, Virginia, and the William and Mary
Center for Archaeological Research (WMCAR),
Williamsburg, Virginia. The documentation, prepared for
the Virginia Department of Transportation (VDOT), was
undertaken in accordance with a Memorandum of
Agreement among the Virginia State Historic Preservation
Officer, the Federal Highway Administration, and the
Advisory Council on Historic Preservation, signed in July

APPOMATTOX BRIDGE
(Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr., Memorial Bridge)
HAER No. VA-124
(Page 2)

1995. The written documentation was prepared by Historian Charles M. Downing of WMCAR, and Richard M. Casella, Senior Architectural Historian at LBA. Rob Tucher of LBA served as Project Photographer.

DESCRIPTION

The Appomattox Bridge is a 38-span concrete T-beam deck bridge, 1,687 feet in length, carrying two northbound lanes and one southbound lane of U.S. Route 1 over the Appomattox River. The bridge connects the City of Petersburg, Virginia, on the south side of the river, with the City of Colonial Heights, Virginia, on the north side. An 11-span concrete deck access ramp, 483 feet in length, known as the Pocahontas Ramp, extends from the east side of the bridge at its midpoint to a small section of northeast Petersburg known by the same name. The bridge and ramp also span the tracks of the Norfolk & Western Railway in three places, as well as River Street and Pelham Street in Petersburg. Both the bridge and the ramp are doglegged in plan. The bridge runs straight due north from Pelham Street in Petersburg to Pier 21 just beyond its midpoint, and then turns 18 degrees northwest and continues straight to its north abutment, crossing the river at a skew of approximately 60 degrees. The ramp attaches to the bridge between Piers 18 and 19 and runs straight in a east-northeast direction approximately three-quarters of its overall length to Pier H, where it turns a 36-degree angle to the north and runs straight to the abutment.

The bridge setting is mixed. At the south end, in central Petersburg, is a dense commercial and industrial urban environment. The bridge then spans open and abandoned railroad terminal yards which were once heavily built up with sidings, a roundhouse, and shops. As the bridge crosses the flood plain and river channel, the setting quickly changes to a natural environment of woods and thick underbrush. At the north end of the bridge is the beginning of a commercial and retail business strip, backfilled with dense residential neighborhoods, which comprises U.S. Route 1 through Colonial Heights. The Pocahontas Ramp passes over a water treatment plant and into a mixed area of commercial and residential uses.

The bridge is 46 feet, 6 inches wide overall, with a 37-foot-wide roadway and a 5-foot-wide sidewalk along the east side. The ramp carries two traffic lanes and measures 28 feet, 6 inches in width overall, with an 18-foot-wide roadway. The ramp does not have a sidewalk. The bridge and ramp have continuous concrete railings 36 inches high along both sides of the bridge. The railings consist of open balustrade sections, 6 feet, 1 inches in length and made up of 10 plain square balusters set between solid flat panels 2 feet wide. Between every five to seven balustrade sections (depending on the spans) are solid 4-foot-long sections of railing which serve as lamppost bases. The lamppost bases are decorated with a flat raised panel and are cast integral with the end of the cantilevered section of cross girder which carries the sidewalk and rests on a pier. Only a few of the original round, tapered, and fluted concrete lampposts remain, most having been removed or broken off and replaced with modern cobra-type light fixtures.

Structurally, the bridge consists of a continuous concrete T-beam deck resting on bents consisting of segmentally-arched concrete cross girders and twin concrete piers. The bridge spans vary in length between 32 feet and 50 feet, and the ramp spans vary from 38 feet to 52 feet. The T-beam deck sections are continuous across three spans except at the abutments and at the curves

APPOMATTOX BRIDGE
(Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr., Memorial Bridge)
HAER No. VA-124
(Page 4)

in the bridge and ramp, where they are continuous across one and two spans, respectively. The deck sections meet over split or double bents and are joined with sliding plate expansion joints.

The deck sections and bents (two piers and a cross girder) are of two design types, light and heavy, depending on the length of the span. The light deck sections have seven T-beams which are smaller in cross section than the heavier deck sections, which have six T-beams. The lighter bents consist of two 3-foot-square piers spaced 25 feet apart, while the heavier bents consist of two piers spaced 31 feet apart which are tapered from 6 feet square at the top to 7 feet square at the bottom. The deck and pier types are combined in three variations: spans 1 thru 8 (numbered from south to north) consist of the lighter deck sections carried by the lighter bents; spans 9-24 consist of the heavier deck sections carried by the lighter bents; and spans 26 thru 38, which span the channel and flood plain, consist of the heavier deck sections carried by the heavier bents. Bents 26 thru 38 are laterally braced at the top with a segmentally-arched solid tie beam.

The bents which flank railroad tracks (Bents 13, 14, 23, and 24 on the main span, and Bents B and C on the ramp) are set in massive rectangular concrete footings which rise approximately 6 feet above grade to protect the piers from damage by derailed rail cars.

Two concrete stairways on the east side of the bridge provide pedestrian access from Pelham Street and River Street in Petersburg. Both stairs have concrete railings like those on the bridge, and two flights interrupted with a landing. The Pelham Street stairway is straight, and the River Street stairway is a switchback. The Pelham Street stairs are built directly against the south abutment. The bridge and ramp abutments are concrete solid fill U-type.

Architecturally, the bridge design is utilitarian, with very few extraneous details. The massiveness of the piers, cross beams, and deck is a reflection of the state of reinforced concrete bridge engineering technology of the day rather than a design statement by the builders. Public projects in concrete during the early twentieth century were usually strong and massive in appearance for the sake of safety and longevity. The few decorative details incorporated into the design not previously described include the build-outs at the top and bottom of the pier shafts to resemble plinths, astragali, and capitals; the ogee molding along the edge of the deck and railing; and the arched cross girders.

The concrete T-beam bridge differs from a standard concrete deck girder bridge in that the beams (or girders) are tied with reinforcing steel directly to the deck and cast as a single monolithic concrete mass. Each girder and a corresponding section of deck to each side are designed as a self-supporting structural element with a "T" cross section, hence the name. The deck becomes a structural member in the design, acting in compression, which allows for longer spans using less concrete. The T-beam design was developed in Europe about 1900, and was coming into use in the United States by 1910. By 1920, the T-beam bridge had become a standard design

promoted by the United States Bureau of Public Roads, and was included in the leading handbooks on bridge design. Throughout the 1920s, many state highway departments, including Virginia's, adopted the standards, and thousands of concrete T-beam bridges were built throughout the country.

HISTORICAL INFORMATION

The ramp extending from the Appomattox Bridge into Petersburg's Pocahontas neighborhood marks the location of the oldest established Appomattox River crossing in the immediate area of the city. The land now occupied by the Pocahontas neighborhood was originally a low, marshy peninsula projecting from the north bank of the river in Chesterfield County. As early as 1726, a regular ferry crossed the river at or very near this point. From 1752 until 1904, a succession of bridges crossed the river here, connecting Petersburg and Pocahontas. In the latter year, the U.S. Army Corps of Engineers diverted the river's main channel around the north side of Pocahontas, effectively turning the former peninsula into an island. The unusual configuration of the Appomattox Bridge is thus the result of the need to maintain a traditional crossing as well as carry traffic over the new river channel.

The Pocahontas Crossing in the Eighteenth Century

Petersburg historians James G. Scott and Edward A. Wyatt described the original Pocahontas Bridge, constructed in 1752, as "the first important work of internal improvement in the locality" (Scott and Wyatt 1960:19). In the early decades of the eighteenth century, Petersburg emerged from its position as a frontier fort and trading post and developed into a small town. In 1726, the Virginia Assembly authorized a regular ferry route from "Archer's Point in Henrico [later Chesterfield and now Colonial Heights] to Prince George County [later Dinwiddie and now Petersburg]" (Hening 1969 IV:179). By the early 1730s, government-sanctioned warehouses inspected and handled local tobacco at both ends of the ferry crossing. Robert Bolling operated the warehouse on the south bank, while his kinsman, John Bolling, oversaw the one on the north bank.

Petersburg was laid out along the south bank of the Appomattox River in 1733. In 1748, the Virginia Assembly granted town status to both Petersburg and the neighboring village of Blandford, which lay to the east (Scott and Wyatt 1960:16-18). About 1745, Richard Witton of Brunswick County acquired much of the Bolling land on the north bank of the Appomattox River that now comprises Pocahontas. John Bolling apparently retained the point of land on which his warehouse stood. In 1750, Witton began dividing his land into lots, with the intent of creating a third town in the immediate area. In 1752, a bill proposing the creation of "Wittontown" was passed into law, but not before the Assembly had changed the town's name to "Pocahontas" (Scott and Wyatt 1960:19). This new community would gradually evolve, through the eighteenth

and nineteenth centuries, as a neighborhood of free blacks who made their livelihood from river commerce, skilled trades, and general labor.

In 1752, the same year that the town of Pocahontas was created, the Assembly authorized the construction of a bridge over the Appomattox "from Bolling's Point [on the south side] to the land of John Bolling" (Scott and Wyatt 1960:19). This first bridge to Pocahontas was financed by subscribers; the county governments paid none of the cost. The original bridge was probably constructed of wood. According to specifications, it was to be at least 12 feet wide. The passage of small river craft underneath would be accommodated by a 30-foot-wide arch that rose 10 feet over high water (Scott and Wyatt 1960:19). The total length of the bridge would have been slightly under 200 feet. Two decades later, in 1773, a European visitor recorded having "crossed the Appomattox by a lofty wooden bridge at the town of Pocahontas" (Lutz 1954:102).

The Pocahontas bridge was extensively damaged, and perhaps destroyed, during the American Revolution, in the course of the British occupation of Petersburg in the spring of 1781 (Banister 1851:201; Lee 1969:311). In July 1782, the Chesterfield County court appropriated funds in the annual levy for the rebuilding of seven bridges destroyed by the British in punitive raids in the region. Among those designated for reconstruction was the Pocahontas Bridge (*Virginia Magazine of History and Biography* 1907:86). Whether repaired or completely rebuilt, the structure was in poor condition within a decade. In 1793, a Petersburg grand jury of inquest handed down a presentment against a group of court-chosen commissioners for failing to "repair a Bridge in the street opposite to Robert Bollings warehouse" (Petersburg City Records, Hustings Court Minute Book 1791-1797:116). About 1798, Bishop Francis Asbury, a noted Methodist leader and a prodigious traveler, crossed the span into Petersburg. "Of all the bad bridges in the country," he wrote of the Pocahontas Bridge, "this seems to be the worst." Its condition, he added, was both "scandalous and dangerous," and he chided the town authorities by saying that the bridge exhibited "very little regard held for the public convenience and prosperity" (Scott and Wyatt 1960:53-54).

The Pocahontas Crossing in the Nineteenth Century

The historian Suzanne Lebsack observed that during the first two decades of the nineteenth century, Petersburg "lost much of its frontier character" and became an increasingly complex and more genteel city (Lebsack 1984:7). Its boundaries had also become significantly larger, as a result of the Virginia Assembly approving a bill in May 1784 that had directed the "towns of Petersburg, Blandford, Pocahontas and Ravenscroft be united and stiled [sic] the town of Petersburg" (Hening 1969 XI:282). Despite the town's growing importance, at the beginning of the century the quickest route from Richmond to Petersburg required five hours of circuitous travel, even under optimum conditions. An old road headed eastward from Richmond to a point on the James River opposite the town of Osbornes and Proctor's Creek. The Richmond and Osborne Turnpike would not be chartered until 1818. A ferry then crossed the James River to

APPOMATTOX BRIDGE
(Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr., Memorial Bridge)
HAER No. VA-124
(Page 7)

Osbornes in Chesterfield County, whence another boat headed downriver to City Point and then up the Appomattox River to Petersburg (Lutz 1954:170; Manarin and Dowdey 1984:195).

In 1816, the Manchester and Petersburg Turnpike was chartered. Twenty miles in length, the new turnpike was divided into three sections. The southernmost section terminated at the Pocahontas Bridge, for which the turnpike company took over responsibility (Lutz 1954:170-171).

The Richmond and Petersburg Railroad (R&PRR) was chartered in 1835, its initial line proposed to run from Richmond to Pocahontas. Five years earlier, in 1830, the Petersburg Railroad Company had been chartered; it had built its initial line south to Weldon, and now drew an increasing amount of freight and trade from the interior of North Carolina. In effect, the R&PRR closed a gap in rail service between the southern terminus of the Richmond, Fredericksburg, and Potomac Railroad and the northern terminus of the Petersburg Railroad (Dozier 1971:26-27). The most profitable part of the R&PRR's early business was transporting coal from Chesterfield County to Richmond and Petersburg (Wyatt 1943:81).

The R&PRR was granted the right of eminent domain through Chesterfield County, but would have to secure the permission of the respective municipal governments to lay track along the streets of Richmond or Petersburg. According to the charter, the R&PRR was allowed to build what were in effect "multi-purpose bridges" along its route. In addition to carrying railway traffic, the bridges were also suitable for wheeled conveyances, pedestrians, horses, and livestock. The railroad was allowed to charge tolls on these bridges (Dozier 1971:35-37).

The Manchester and Petersburg Turnpike Company was apparently under no illusions concerning the growing importance of railroads. During the same legislative session at which the R&PRR presented its request for a charter, the turnpike company asked permission to increase its capital stock and build its own railroad. The turnpike authorities declared that if the state rejected their railroad proposal, they wished to turn over their stock to the R&PRR (Dozier 1971:38).

By May 1838, the R&PRR was completed between Manchester and Pocahontas. Several bridges were required for laying track over Chesterfield's creeks and streams, and the R&PRR found that these construction costs were apparently more than they had expected. By the end of 1838, a railway bridge over the James River between Manchester and Richmond had been completed. Apparently unable to afford a similar span across the Appomattox River, the R&PRR established its southern terminus at Pocahontas. A large depot was built on the west side of what was then Appomattox Street in Pocahontas. The R&PRR then acquired the Pocahontas Bridge from the turnpike company. Upon arriving at the Pocahontas depot, "freight and passengers were carried across [the bridge to Petersburg] in omnibuses and wagons." In January 1840, a freshet destroyed the Pocahontas Bridge. Historian Howard D. Dozier observed that "the rebuilding of it was a severe tax upon the [railroad] company" (Dozier 1971:42). The Panic of 1837, as well as an

APPOMATTOX BRIDGE
(Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr., Memorial Bridge)
HAER No. VA-124
(Page 8)

economic depression from 1841 to 1842, prevented the R&PRR from paying dividends to its stockholders (Dozier 1971:42).

With the completion of the turnpike in 1824, the Pocahontas Bridge would have been subjected to an ever-increasing amount of traffic. The rickety structure alluded to during the 1790s by Bishop Asbury and the Petersburg hustings court would scarcely have been able to bear the additional strain. It seems likely that the Manchester and Richmond Turnpike Company would have taken measures to strengthen, if not replace, the bridge during the 1820s. When the bridge was acquired by the R&PRR in 1838, another substantial increase in the weight and quantity of vehicles crossing the bridge would have made more repairs desirable. When the R&PRR rebuilt the Pocahontas Bridge after the 1840 freshet, it seems reasonable to assume that the new structure would have been the most substantial span yet erected at the crossing.

In 1851, the R&PRR finally constructed a railroad bridge across the Appomattox River (Lutz 1954:190). The structure was located east of the Pocahontas crossing, carrying a new link of track that cut southeasterly from just above the Pocahontas depot. The terminus of the original line at the Pocahontas depot then became a spur (Michler 1865). At the same time, the R&PRR built a new pedestrian and wagon bridge to Pocahontas. This bridge apparently proved unsatisfactory, as the editor of the Petersburg *Daily Express*, writing in a July 1857 article about bridge repairs, avowed he would "rather see it replaced," despite the fact that the existing bridge had been built only six years earlier (Petersburg *Daily Express*, June 24, 1857).

During the final year of the Civil War, Petersburg became the focal point of the eastern theater of the conflict. The siege of Petersburg lasted from June 1864 until April 1865, and 10 months of Union shelling damaged or destroyed numerous buildings in the town, including many in the Pocahontas section. During the siege, the R&PRR ran trains only sporadically. A "single-track railroad of limited cars and limited sidings," the R&PRR was incapable of quickly and efficiently moving large amounts of men and supplies between Petersburg and Richmond. In addition, as the railroad made its final approach to Petersburg from the north, the line trended to the east, placing it within range of Union artillery (Sommers 1981:111). Ultimately, Petersburg residents who wanted to take the R&PRR to Richmond were forced to cross the Appomattox River and walk three miles up the line to Dunlop's Station (Trudeau 1991:257).

On the night of April 3, 1865, Confederate troops began evacuating Petersburg. General John Gordon was ordered to lead his corps over the Pocahontas Bridge and the nearby railroad bridge. A North Carolina soldier recalled that "when we reached the Pocahontas bridge, some men were pouring turpentine over the planking. We had hardly crossed when with a hiss and a roar as of a rushing wind, the long structure burst into flames" (Trudeau 1991:401, 404).

The Confederate arsonists do not appear to have been completely successful. Local newspaper accounts from the summer of 1865 indicate that the Pocahontas Bridge was in deplorable

APPOMATTOX BRIDGE
(Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr., Memorial Bridge)
HAER No. VA-124
(Page 9)

condition, but that it had survived. On July 21, 1865, the Petersburg *Daily Index* reported that "the condition of all the bridges on the approaches to this city, and even those inside the city, is most dilapidated and unsafe." Specifically, the Pocahontas Bridge was described as "a perfect wreck, promising, by its appearance, to fall at any moment into the river" (Petersburg *Daily Index*, July 21, 1865).

One month later, in August 1865, the bridge's condition had not changed, but the newspaper had developed a grudging admiration for the "time honored structure." Although the Pocahontas Bridge "shakes and trembles in every joint whenever the hand of time lays weight upon it," a reporter stated that "it's a wonderful old bridge and holds together well." Nonetheless, the *Daily Index* argued in favor of a new bridge and pointed out that the R&PRR was contractually obligated to build it. Perhaps realizing that the railroad's finances had not yet recovered only four months after the war, the *Daily Index* suggested that the R&PRR "head a list with a handsome subscription and circulate it among the citizens for the construction of a new bridge" (Petersburg *Daily Index*, August 19 and September 1, 1865).

In early September, the occupation forces of the United States Army intervened, and within a few weeks a new wooden bridge was built. Much to the consternation of the local citizenry, the new structure did not come free of charge. Military sentries were posted to collect tolls at the crossing, "for reimbursing the Federal Government for the charge of repairs" (Petersburg *Daily Express*, September 15, 1865). Unsuspecting visitors to the city were turned away if they could not pay the toll, and the Petersburg newspapers warned their rural readers to carry sufficient money if they intended to cross the Pocahontas Bridge. The *Daily Express* demanded that the Common Council of Petersburg and the Chesterfield County court take action to remedy the situation. General John Gibbon, who represented the United States military authority, stated that the city could either buy the bridge for \$1,500 or wait until sufficient tolls had been collected (Petersburg *Daily Express*, September 18 and 27, 1865). In late October, municipal authorities raised the money, and the Army turned the bridge over to the City of Petersburg; the tolls were then lifted (Petersburg *Daily Index*, October 28, 1865).

The military bridge proved to be a temporary expedient. In April 1866, the *Daily Express* was again clamoring for bridge repairs and calling for action from the Common Council (Petersburg *Daily Express*, April 4, 1866). Apparently, the military bridge survived for another three years. In September 1869, the City of Petersburg awarded a \$10,500 contract to J.B. Dunn for the construction of an iron bridge at the Pocahontas crossing (Petersburg *Daily Express*, September 24 and 28, 1869). In January 1870, the *Daily Express* reported happily that the new iron bridge was "standing the heavy test," but requested that lights be installed to aid travelers at night (Petersburg *Daily Express*, January 10, 1870).

In the 1880s, Petersburg's Common Council began to explore the possibility of improving the Pocahontas crossing. In November 1889, the city appointed a committee to open negotiations

with the Norfolk & Western Railroad on the issue of building an "overhead bridge" from Bollingbrook Street to Pocahontas. An overhead bridge would have the advantage of carrying traffic over, rather than through, the increasingly busy railyards sprawled along the south bank of the Appomattox River (Petersburg *Progress-Index*, November 1, 1925). By 1892, 14 passenger trains stopped in Petersburg each day. Including the number of regular and special freight trains, there were "51 to 55 trains arriving and departing daily" (A.M. 1894:39). With the increased railway traffic crossing Second Street between Bollingbrook Street and the river, it is understandable why the city authorities began to favor an "overhead bridge." For the time being, however, the committee's ongoing considerations produced no results. Ultimately, the 1904 diversion of the Appomattox River would necessitate a completely different bridge system to cross the two channels of the river (Petersburg *Progress-Index*, November 1, 1925).

The Appomattox River Diversion Project

As a port city since the early eighteenth century, Petersburg had long been concerned with maintaining navigability in the lower reaches of the Appomattox River, which was constantly plagued by large silt deposits washed down from the heavily cultivated Piedmont region to the west (Scott and Wyatt 1960:84). According to canal historian William E. Trout, the Lower Appomattox Company had by 1802 "made progress in the improvement of the channel." Boats drawing seven feet of water or less could make their way "through the islands from the harbor at Pocahontas Bridge down to Broadway where the river began to deepen" (Trout 1990:46). The initial work done by the Lower Appomattox Company was only the first in a series of public works projects spanning a century and a half. Keeping Petersburg's harbor accessible proved to be an endless task, prompting one observer to liken the frequency of dredging the lower Appomattox to "shaving a man's beard" (Scott and Wyatt 1960:84).

Alternatives to dredging were also considered. One such was attempted between 1825 and 1827, under the supervision of European engineer Albert Stein. Rather than dredging the river, Stein employed what were then deemed more progressive methods, such as digging cuts and installing jetties (Scott and Wyatt 1960:84-85; Trout 1990:46).

By the 1880s, the silting problem in the river and harbor had reached a critical juncture. Petersburg's leaders held a "deep and ingrained fear of the economic power of railroads, and especially of the Norfolk & Western." They reasoned that keeping the harbor open as a viable center of trade would lessen the city's dependence on the powerful railroad interests. Trade in the harbor declined, despite the fact that in 1881-1882, the U.S. Army Corps of Engineers had undertaken an extensive dredging and jetty-building project. Nonetheless, Petersburg maintained the hope that its harbor could effectively compete with the Norfolk & Western and other railroads. In 1885, the city granted free use of the harbor docks to the Atlantic and Danville Railroad's steamboats. In a more provocative gesture, the city in 1889 erected a large grain

elevator. "Significantly," William D. Henderson observed, "they located it by the harbor and not in the middle of the railroad yards" (Henderson 1978:401-403).

In 1892, Lieutenant Edward Burr of the U.S. Army Corps of Engineers presented the first plan for the diversion of the Appomattox River. "Freshets bring down from the upper part of the stream large quantities of sand," Burr wrote, "which is deposited in the harbor of Petersburg and as shoals in the channel when the velocity of the current is from any cause slackened." He observed further that "the wharves in the city and the lowlands bordering the river area are subject to overflow during freshets" (U.S. Army Corps of Engineers 1892:1347). Having succinctly described Petersburg harbor's age-old problem, Burr advised against the U.S. Congress's plan for continuing to dredge the Appomattox River and the city harbor. He stated that "the river is not worthy of improvement in the manner mentioned" in the 1892 Rivers and Harbors Act. Burr instead offered the following plan for the diversion of the river:

From an engineering standpoint [this] project is practicable and offers no peculiar difficulties. It consists in the excavation of an artificial channel, the construction of a dam to direct the water into this channel, and an embankment to retain it therein, and the construction of bridges to carry wagon roads and railroads across the proposed new channel. The artificial channel naturally begins above Pocahontas Bridge, follows the low ground back of Pocahontas Hill and through the Roslyn Meadows, and ends in the old channel at the head of Puddledock Cut. The embankment lies between the present and proposed channel, being so placed as to permit of the economical use of the excavated material in its construction and to permit of a sufficient lateral spread of freshets over the adjacent low grounds. The location for the dam would be at Pocahontas Bridge [U.S. Army Corps of Engineers 1892:1347].

Although proposed in 1892, work on the diversion scheme would not begin in earnest for another decade. In 1900, the city's business organizations and the Common Council sent a committee to Washington to meet with Virginia's congressmen and lobby for the project (Petersburg Chamber of Commerce 1904:28). In June 1902, Congress approved funding for the Appomattox Diversion Scheme. The 1902 specifications called for the

excavation to mean low water of a cut two-hundred feet in width and two-and-a-half miles long from above the trestle bridge of the Richmond and Petersburg Railroad, to divert the river into said cut, by means of an earthen dam built across the river above the bridge; and to provide bridges for the highway and railroad crossing the new channel [U.S. Army Corps of Engineers 1903:224].

The estimated cost of the diversion project was \$473,920, with an annual maintenance cost of about \$10,000. With the river diverted across the northern part of Pocahontas, the harbor would be converted "into a tidal basin with no freshet flow save that from its immediate surroundings and the backwater from the diverted channel" (U.S. Army Corps of Engineers 1892:1348). When

APPOMATTOX BRIDGE
(Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr., Memorial Bridge)
HAER No. VA-124
(Page 12)

the work was completed, the harbor would be maintained as a backwater 12 feet deep and 80 feet wide. In mid-1903, the U.S. Army Corps of Engineers reported that difficulties in acquiring the necessary land for the diversion scheme were delaying the project (U.S. Army Corps of Engineers 1903:223).

In July 1904, the U.S. Army Corps of Engineers secured the services of the Atlantic Dredging Company of Philadelphia to dig the proposed channel as well as "dredging and building [the] embankments, dam, highway bridge, railroad bridge, piers, and flume" (U.S. Army Corps of Engineers 1905:1193). The first task was to construct the highway bridge. Once the excavation of the diversion channel had begun, Pocahontas would become a virtual island and the Pocahontas Bridge would no longer afford access to the Chesterfield side of the river. The Pocahontas Bridge, historically the city's busiest northern entrance, would now function only as a connection between Petersburg and the newly isolated neighborhood of Pocahontas.

The Atlantic Dredging Company subcontracted the highway bridge construction to the Philadelphia firm of Armstrong and Latta. In September 1904, A.C. Carey, an engineer with Armstrong and Latta, arrived in Petersburg to begin the bridge project (Petersburg *Daily Progress*, September 26, 1904). On October 24, 1904, a ground-breaking ceremony was held. Carter R. Bishop of the National Bank of Petersburg officiated and was presented with a silver spade. Bishop was an influential citizen of Petersburg. In 1900, he had been a prominent member of the committee sent to Washington to lobby for the diversion project. The Petersburg Chamber of Commerce hailed him as "the leading spirit and parent of the enterprise" (Petersburg Chamber of Commerce 1904:29). The vehicular and pedestrian span that would extend from the foot of Second Street to Colonial Heights was to be called "Bishop's Bridge" (Petersburg *Daily Progress*, October 24, 1904).

Bishop's Bridge was constructed entirely of wood. The approaches on both sides of the river were steep inclines, as the new bridge stood only 20 feet above the river. The United States government paid the entire cost of its construction. The work on the span went very quickly. By November 3, the *Daily Progress* reported that the piles for Bishop's Bridge had been driven and that the "flooring for the driveway" and the railings were nearly completed (Petersburg *Daily Progress*, November 3, 1904).

At 12:30 p.m. on December 13, 1904, Bishop's Bridge was opened to traffic. City authorities led by Carter R. Bishop participated in a brief ribbon-cutting ceremony, and then were photographed by Petersburg's Columbia Photograph Company (Petersburg *Daily Progress*, December 13, 1904).

From 1909, when the diversion channel was completed, until shortly before the construction of the Appomattox Bridge, the U.S. Army Corps of Engineers filled in much of the area between the old channel and the diversion cut. In 1909, the Appomattox River was restrained from the

old channel primarily by a rock dam on the north side of the Pocahontas Bridge (Jenvey 1909). In 1918, the approach to the sealed-off old channel was limited to a narrow flume (Yonge 1918). In 1921, as preparations for the Appomattox Bridge were underway, the U.S. Army Corps of Engineers was planning to fill in much of the old channel and the west side of Pocahontas with material drawn from the continuing dredging of the harbor and the diversion channel. An embankment, along with the filled area, would serve to hold the river back from the old channel. The embankment and fill would also provide a larger earthen base on which to construct the Appomattox Bridge (Yonge 1921).

In 1913, the Petersburg Common Council proposed a \$300,000 bond issue for major improvements along Petersburg's riverfront. The aldermen recommended the replacement of the Pocahontas and Bishop's bridges with a "viaduct to Chesterfield and driveway over the Pocahontas dam." There was also concern about the steep grade of Second Street as it descended to River Street. At that time the Virginia Railway and Power Company's (VR&PC) streetcar tracks ran down the precarious hill that comprised Second Street between Bollingbrook and River streets (Petersburg *Daily Index-Appeal*, January 15, February 8 and 25, and March 5, 1913). Another proposal called for regrading and elevating River Street by 4.5 feet. City Engineer Robert D. Budd advocated putting in new lines and filling the old ones with concrete as part of the improvement (Petersburg *Daily Index-Appeal*, January 15, February 8 and 25, and March 5, 1913). Not all of the proposed improvements were made. Although a new Pocahontas Bridge, constructed of steel, replaced the 1869 span in 1913, Bishop's Bridge would remain in service for another decade.

Appomattox Bridge

In 1906, Virginia created the first State Highway Commission. The commission had no control over roads and had extremely limited funds. Road and bridge building in Virginia was financed through local bond issues. "The result," as historian Ronald L. Heinemann observed, "was a truncated system of roads that were poorly constructed and maintained." The state's primitive highway system held economic consequences. Virginia was developing a reputation among East Coast tourists for impassable roads (Heinemann 1996:20).

Gradually, however, state agencies such as the Virginia State Highway Commission began to devise a transportation strategy that would bring Virginia into a nationwide system of well-linked hard-surfaced roads and sturdy bridges. In 1918, the Virginia General Assembly approved a plan to create a 4,000-mile state highway system. Included in the plan was the reconstruction of the old Washington to Richmond highway and the roads running south from Richmond through Petersburg to the North Carolina border. Ultimately, the new road, designated Route 31, would constitute 215 miles of the 2,321-mile-long U.S. Route 1, stretching from Fort Kent, Maine, to Miami, Florida (South Hill *Enterprise* 1927b:1; Virginia Department of Highways 1973:14). Near Petersburg, U.S. Route 1 would follow the old turnpike from Richmond and cross the

APPOMATTOX BRIDGE
(Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr., Memorial Bridge)
HAER No. VA-124
(Page 14)

Appomattox River at Bishop's Bridge. South of Petersburg, U.S. Route 1 would follow the Halifax Road into North Carolina (Petersburg *Progress-Index*, April 7, 1924; Wenger et al. 1994:8-9).

The first concrete in the Virginia portion of the U.S. Route 1 project was laid on the Washington to Richmond section in 1919. With Virginia's initiation of its portion of the U.S. Route 1 project, a new bridge over the Appomattox River at Petersburg could not long be postponed. Perhaps no other individual was more responsible for the Appomattox Bridge than Louis Brownlow, Petersburg's first city manager. A native Missourian, Brownlow had distinguished himself as a political journalist in Nashville, Louisville, and finally in Washington. As a correspondent in the nation's capital, Brownlow became closely associated with President Woodrow Wilson. In 1915, Wilson appointed Brownlow as one of the commissioners of the District of Columbia (Brownlow 1955:viii).

Louis Brownlow was also a close friend of Walter Edward Harris, the editor and publisher of the Petersburg *Progress-Index*. During World War I, Brownlow had delivered a well-received speech in Petersburg in support of the Liberty Loan Drive. In 1920, when the City of Petersburg adopted the council-manager plan of government, Mayor Samuel W. Zimmer and merchant Louis A. Rosenstock both advanced Brownlow as a likely candidate for city manager. At that time, Brownlow had five years experience in supervising Washington's municipal affairs. With the consent of the Common Council, Brownlow was offered the post, and he seized the opportunity. He later recalled that "on August 24, 1920, I sent my resignation to the President; and two weeks later I went to Petersburg" (Brownlow 1958:98-99).

Once installed in office, Brownlow found, among other pressing matters, that "the traffic situation, already becoming complex, was aggravated by the necessity of control occasioned by the presence of railroad tracks running through the town, particularly at a point where the traffic on Route 1 from New York to Miami had to be guided" (Brownlow 1958:128). Brownlow no doubt was referring to the Second Street approach to Bishop's Bridge. "The greatest single need in the town," Brownlow recalled, "was a new bridge over the Appomattox River." U.S. Route 1 coursed through Petersburg, causing "already in the early 1920s, a very heavy traffic burden." Brownlow described Bishop's Bridge as a "low-level wooden bridge, which by any account must be rated as utterly inadequate" (Brownlow 1958:139).

Organizing the construction of the new bridge was, as Brownlow stated it, "no light task." Building the bridge would require the cooperation, support, property concessions, and financial contributions of the Norfolk & Western Railroad, the State Highway Department, the Atlantic Coastline Railroad, the Richmond and Petersburg Interurban and Electric System (VR&PC), and the U.S. government, which, through the U.S. Army Corps of Engineers, had "general control" of the existing Pocahontas and Bishop's bridges. Brownlow spent a significant portion of his

nearly four-year tenure in Petersburg negotiating with the various parties involved (Brownlow 1958:140).

In early 1924, Brownlow would leave Petersburg to become city manager of Knoxville, Tennessee, just as the work on the Appomattox Bridge began. Later, he would serve in a number of high-level governmental and academic positions, culminating in his appointment as chairman of the President's Committee on Administrative Management (Brownlow 1958:viii). Despite his long and varied career, Brownlow wrote of the Appomattox Bridge project that "nothing I ever attempted was more difficult and, by the same token, nothing I ever accomplished was more successful, if measured only by the then prevailing standards of transit, transport, transportation, traffic, and intergovernmental cooperation of the early 1920s" (Brownlow 1958:140).

In his autobiography, Louis Brownlow diplomatically decided not to divulge the inner workings of the bridge negotiations, noting only that they were difficult. However, the *Progress-Index* reported that the VR&PC had initially refused to contribute any amount toward construction of the new bridge. Eventually Brownlow was able to solicit \$75,000 from the company, as its streetcar track would eventually be built across the bridge. The State Highway Commission also put up \$75,000. The remaining financing was done on a percentage basis. The Norfolk & Western Railway contributed 32 percent of the cost of the main viaduct, while the Atlantic Coastline Railroad paid half the cost of the Pocahontas Ramp. The City of Petersburg, the largest contributor, paid the balance for both the ramp and the main viaduct. The local telephone and gas companies, for which the bridge would provide a utility corridor, were assessed significantly smaller amounts. By the end of the project, the Appomattox Bridge would cost more than \$900,000 (Petersburg *Progress-Index*, October 29, 1925). The U.S. government had paid the full cost of Bishop's Bridge two decades earlier. Thus, the U.S. Army Corps of Engineers made no financial commitment to the Appomattox Bridge, but served in an active supervisory role.

In March 1923, Louis Brownlow traveled to Roanoke, Virginia, for a conference at Norfolk & Western Railroad headquarters with the parties involved in the bridge construction. The meetings were held to finalize the process of advertising for bids (Brownlow 1958:153). Soon thereafter, the engineering firm of J.E. Greiner & Company of Baltimore was chosen to design the as yet unnamed bridge, which would be comprised of the "Second Street Viaduct" and the "Pocahontas Ramp."

Founded in Baltimore in 1908, the consulting engineer firm of J.E. Greiner & Company had already earned a favorable reputation in the region. Greiner engineers had designed the much-admired railroad bridge that crossed the James River near Richmond, carrying the Atlantic Coast Line and the Richmond, Fredericksburg, and Potomac tracks. That bridge had opened in 1919, four years before bids were accepted on the Appomattox River project. The W.W. Boxley Construction Company was awarded the job of erecting the Appomattox River span according to the Greiner design (Lutz 1954:319; Petersburg *Progress-Index*, April 4, 1924).

APPOMATTOX BRIDGE
(Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr., Memorial Bridge)
HAER No. VA-124
(Page 16)

Greiner completed the plans for the new bridge within the year, and submitted them for the approval of the City of Petersburg's engineer as well as that of the Norfolk & Western Railroad. Ground was broken for the bridge in the first week of April, 1924. On April 4, the *Progress-Index* reported the "two tractors, with drag shovels" as well as "a substantial force of workmen" were engaged "in clearing ground on the Petersburg side of the river where the foundation will be set and the sinking of piles will begin in the near future." At the onset, the bridge was scheduled for completion in July 1925. However, the bridge would not be opened to traffic until late October. After four months of clearing and preparation, the actual construction of the bridge began in August 1924 (Petersburg *Progress-Index*, April 4 and November 1, 1925).

As the construction of the Appomattox Bridge progressed toward completion, local journalists took an increasing interest in the project. On April 1, 1925, the *Progress-Index* used the ongoing bridge work as the source of an "April fool's joke" that it played on its readers. The bridge was more than six months away from completion, but the newspaper reported straight-faced that the span would be finished in three week's time in order to accommodate President Calvin Coolidge's busy schedule. "Several hundred additional workers" were said to have been hired in order to have the bridge ready for President Coolidge's arrival at the "April 20th dedication." The normal work force on the project averaged about 125 men, many of whom saved rent money by camping out on the nearby hills overlooking the construction. There was no report as to how many *Progress-Index* subscribers were taken in by the bogus story (Petersburg *Progress-Index*, April 1, 1925).

On May 28, five of the 15 bridge spans had been completed. The Pocahontas Ramp was scheduled to be connected to the main viaduct any day. The Southern Construction Company had been awarded a contract to build the 0.2-mile abutment road on the Colonial Heights side. While the road work was carried out, Bishop's Bridge would be closed. Local residents were advised to use Campbell's Bridge at Ettrick as a detour (Petersburg *Progress-Index*, May 28, 1925).

In July and August, work progressed on the abutment road on the Colonial Heights side. Colonial Heights resident Charles C. Brown was surprised and angered to find that the new road would require a portion of his property adjacent to the Richmond and Petersburg Turnpike (U.S. Route 1). Brown protested the removal of a stone wall that he had paid \$5,000 to have built, as well as a "barbary hedge" 413 feet in length. Brown's property was required to "prevent a reverse curve in the VR&PC tracks" as the streetcar line came over the hill and approached the bridge (Petersburg *Progress-Index*, July 6, 1925).

Reporters marveled at the effects of the large steam shovels used in grading the hilly approach from Colonial Heights. The hill, the newspaper reported, which was "formerly such a trial to motorists and such a strain on [street] cars, is a thing of the past and the slope filled in so that it is almost level with the new bridge." By joining the new approach to the bridge, Conduit Road

APPOMATTOX BRIDGE
(Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr., Memorial Bridge)
HAER No. VA-124
(Page 17)

at the north end of Bishop's Bridge would be abandoned. Until the Appomattox Bridge was finished, southbound traffic from Colonial Heights was rerouted "down Washington Avenue to Royal Oak Avenue and then to the main road" to Bishop's Bridge. By August 15, nearly 7,000 cubic yards of dirt had been removed from the top of the hill, and the approach road had been expanded from 18 to 27 feet in width. By August 10, construction company trucks were using the completed portion of the bridge from Second Street to the Pocahontas Ramp (Petersburg *Progress-Index*, July 15, August 10, and August 15, 1925).

The official name "Appomattox Bridge" was not chosen by the Petersburg Common Council until July 1925, when the structure was only three months from completion. Declaring the name "Appomattox" to be "most appropriate," the city fathers cited the historical and geographical connotations of the name as well as the more recent fact that the Appomattox "was well-known in congressional circles with the dredging of waterways" (Petersburg *Progress-Index*, July 22, 1925). The councilmen further resolved to commission "three cast bronze name plates, 24 by 36 inches with names and insignias in raised letters" that "will show the participants in the erection of the bridge." The tablets were to be placed "at each end of the main viaduct and at Pocahontas ramp." In late September, the city awarded the contract to execute the tablets to the local metalworking firm of Charles Lauterbach & Sons (Petersburg *Progress-Index*, July 22 and September 29, 1925). As of this writing, the bronze tablets are still in place, though worn and covered with a green patina.

On September 29, the bridge workers were within two weeks of finishing the paving of the roadway, and the VR&PC had nearly completed laying the streetcar tracks. In preparation for the bridge opening, "a number of sunken boats" were removed from the river. Various committees had been formed to plan the dedication ceremony and related events. The Common Council appointed "various citizens" to encourage residents near the bridge to "paint and fix up their property." Finally, the dedication of the Appomattox Bridge was slated to take place on Thursday, October 29, 1925. The bridge was actually opened to the public on October 23 (Petersburg *Progress-Index*, September 29, October 11, and October 29, 1925).

The new bridge rested on approximately 1,000 wooden piles. A total of 16,000 cubic yards of concrete and nearly 2,000,000 pounds of reinforcing steel were used. One million board feet of lumber were required to construct the scaffolding, or "power bridge" as it was called, "to support the forms and to work from." Considerable copper was used "at the expansion joints and bronze sliding plates at the extension joints of the river piers." The three bridge abutments (at Petersburg, Pocahontas, and Colonial Heights) were constructed of reinforced concrete and were waterproofed with a compound called "Tartex." Cast-iron drains were placed on each side of the structure and at all of the extension points. A total of 40 "inlet drains" removed water from the bridge surface. A duct gallery 6 feet wide and 3 feet high which contained telephone wires ran under the entire length of the span (Petersburg *Progress-Index*, October 29, 1925).

APPOMATTOX BRIDGE
(Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr., Memorial Bridge)
HAER No. VA-124
(Page 18)

The roadway of the main viaduct was 37 feet wide, allowing for two lanes of vehicular traffic and a "streetcar trough." A 6-foot-wide sidewalk for pedestrians extended along the entire east side of the viaduct. On the west side of the viaduct, the sidewalk began at Bollingbrook Street and continued to the VR&PC's new "Electric Building," which was built simultaneously with the bridge. The Pocahontas Ramp was 650 feet long, with an 18-foot-wide roadway and a 6-foot-wide sidewalk. The sidewalk curbs were faced with iron to reduce wear. The vehicular roadway of the viaduct and ramp was initially paved with Kentucky rock asphalt, or "Kyrock" as it was known commercially. Kyrock was composed of a "naturally formed sandstone" with a seven percent admixture of asphalt. The streetcar trough was paved and waterproofed with "Minmax," which consisted of two layers of cotton fabric topped by three layers of asphalt (Petersburg *Progress-Index*, October 29, 1925).

A number of dignitaries were invited to attend the opening. Louis Brownlow was contacted in Knoxville, Tennessee, and invited to speak at the dedication. Other than Mayor Samuel W. Zimmer, Brownlow was the only person scheduled to address the opening day crowd. A few days before the ceremony, Brownlow stated that he would be unable to attend because of illness. The new city manager, William F. Drewry, appeared in his stead. Among those representing the various companies involved in the bridge project were W.P. Wiltsee, the Norfolk & Western's chief engineer; A.S. Payne, superintendent of the Norfolk & Western's Norfolk division; E.P. Laird, superintendent of the Atlantic Coastline Railroad; Luke C. Bradley, president of the Virginia Electric and Power Company; H.G. Shirley, chairman of the State Highway Commission; H.H. Allen, of J.E. Greiner & Company; and John R. Saunders, Attorney General of the Commonwealth of Virginia (Petersburg *Progress-Index*, October 29, 1925).

Mayor Zimmer had asked that on the day of the ceremony, city offices and schools be closed at 2 p.m. Businesses in downtown Petersburg were asked to close between 2:30 and 4:00 p.m. Dignitaries arriving from Richmond traveled on streetcars across the new bridge. At 3 p.m., the brief ceremony began. It was estimated that 6,000 people toured the new Electric Building and many more were no doubt on hand for the bridge ceremony. According to newspaper reports, camera operators from Pathe, Fox, and the Kinogram Motion Picture Corporation were on hand to film the proceedings (Petersburg *Progress-Index*, October 29 and 30, 1925). After the ceremony, a parade of 30 motorcars escorted the invited dignitaries on a 15-mile trip through Petersburg and Colonial Heights. At 6:30, a dinner was held at the Hotel Petersburg, where numerous speakers held forth (Petersburg *Progress-Index*, October 30, 1925).

When the Appomattox Bridge was opened in 1925, U.S. Route 1 was a "continuous concrete strip" from Petersburg to the town of Ashland, about 10 miles north of Richmond. South of Petersburg was a different story. Of the 70 miles of U.S. Route 1 between Petersburg and Clarksville, Virginia, near the North Carolina line, only six miles were paved. It was estimated that \$4.8 million would be required to complete the paving of U.S. Route 1 "from Alexandria to the Carolina line" (Petersburg *Progress-Index*, August 30, 1925).

APPOMATTOX BRIDGE
(Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr., Memorial Bridge)
HAER No. VA-124
(Page 19)

On May 28, 1927, the 109-mile Washington to Richmond portion of U.S. Route 1 was opened with a celebration in Fredericksburg, reported by the *Richmond News Leader* as the greatest highway celebration ever held in Virginia, and probably the greatest held in any state. Governor Harry F. Byrd presided over the festivities, which included a parade, a luncheon, and speeches. Speakers included Governor Byrd; former governor E. Lee Trinkle; Henry G. Shirley, chairman of the State Highway Commission; S.J. Wilson, chief engineer of the United States Bureau of Public Roads; Eppa Hunton, Jr., president of the Richmond, Fredericksburg, and Potomac Railroad; and United States Senator Claude A. Swanson (*Richmond News Leader* 1927a:1).

Meanwhile, as construction continued through the summer on the final stretches between Petersburg and South Hill, citizens in each of those cities began planning to host the grand celebration which would mark the route's completion. South Hill moved quickly to secure the honor by electing a committee, setting aside funds, and holding organizational meetings to plan the event. In early August, Petersburg yielded to South Hill and agreed to participate in the celebration and help in any way (*South Hill Enterprise* 1927a:1).

With the opening of the 1927 construction period, it was determined that just over 50 miles of road would have to be constructed to complete the highway from Richmond to North Carolina. The entire mileage lay south of the village of Dinwiddie, the sections north of that point having been completed in previous years. Weather conditions were favorable through the year, resulting in the 1927 construction program being completed on October 23, well ahead of schedule. The concrete pavement was sufficiently hard to bear traffic on November 14, and for all practical purposes the entire highway from the District of Columbia to North Carolina was opened to traffic on that date (*Richmond News Leader* 1927b:4).

The official celebration marking the opening of the road was held in South Hill on November 26, 1927. The event eclipsed the Fredericksburg celebration, with well over 10,000 in attendance. A gate which had been erected across the road at the border between Virginia and North Carolina was ceremoniously opened by Governor Harry Flood Byrd and Governor Angus W. McLean, who shook hands across the border while bands played and the crowds cheered. The festivities then moved to South Hill, where a parade, speeches, concerts, a luncheon, and other events consumed the day. At the close of the celebration, Governor Byrd and his wife returned to Richmond aboard an Army blimp, brought from Langley Field for the occasion (*Richmond News Leader* 1927b:4).

During the more than seven decades since the construction of the Appomattox Bridge, the Pocahontas community has declined. During World War I, Pocahontas's population increased, due to an influx of African-Americans who worked in commercial and military jobs in Hopewell, Petersburg, and Fort Lee. However, by the 1920s, fewer and fewer residents were self-employed (Smith et al. 1981:27-28). The threat of floods and the encroachment of industrial properties caused many residents to move to other parts of the city (Bushey et al. 1994:61).

During the 1970s, Pocahontas residents resisted industrial growth by successfully challenging the city's zoning ordinances (Smith et al. 1981:49). Most recently, the devastating tornado of 1993 destroyed several residential and commercial buildings (Bushey et al. 1994:61). In addition, a newly constructed extension of old Pocahontas Street under the renamed Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr., Memorial Bridge now provides residents with more direct access to Petersburg.

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Microfilm copies of original (1923) drawings of the Appomattox Bridge are on file at the Richmond District Bridge Engineer's Office, Virginia Department of Transportation, Colonial Heights, Virginia.

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Appomattox Bridge, Petersburg, Virginia. Color postcard from photograph by William E. Lum (ca. 1925).

Appomattox River Bridge. Photograph printed in *Petersburg, Virginia* (Petersburg Chamber of Commerce 1929).

Pocahontas Bridge. Photograph by H.C. Mann, 1907, depicting the single-span iron through-truss structure built at the Pocahontas crossing in 1869. Reproduced in *The Country About Camp Lee, Virginia* (Giles 1907).

Pocahontas Bridge. Undated painting by William Simpson, Jr. (1823-1895), depicting the bridge as a wooden beam structure. Reproduced in *Pictures of the Past: Petersburg as Seen by the Simpsons, 1819-1895* (Bailey 1989).

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(Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr., Memorial Bridge)
HAER No. VA-124
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HAER No. VA-124
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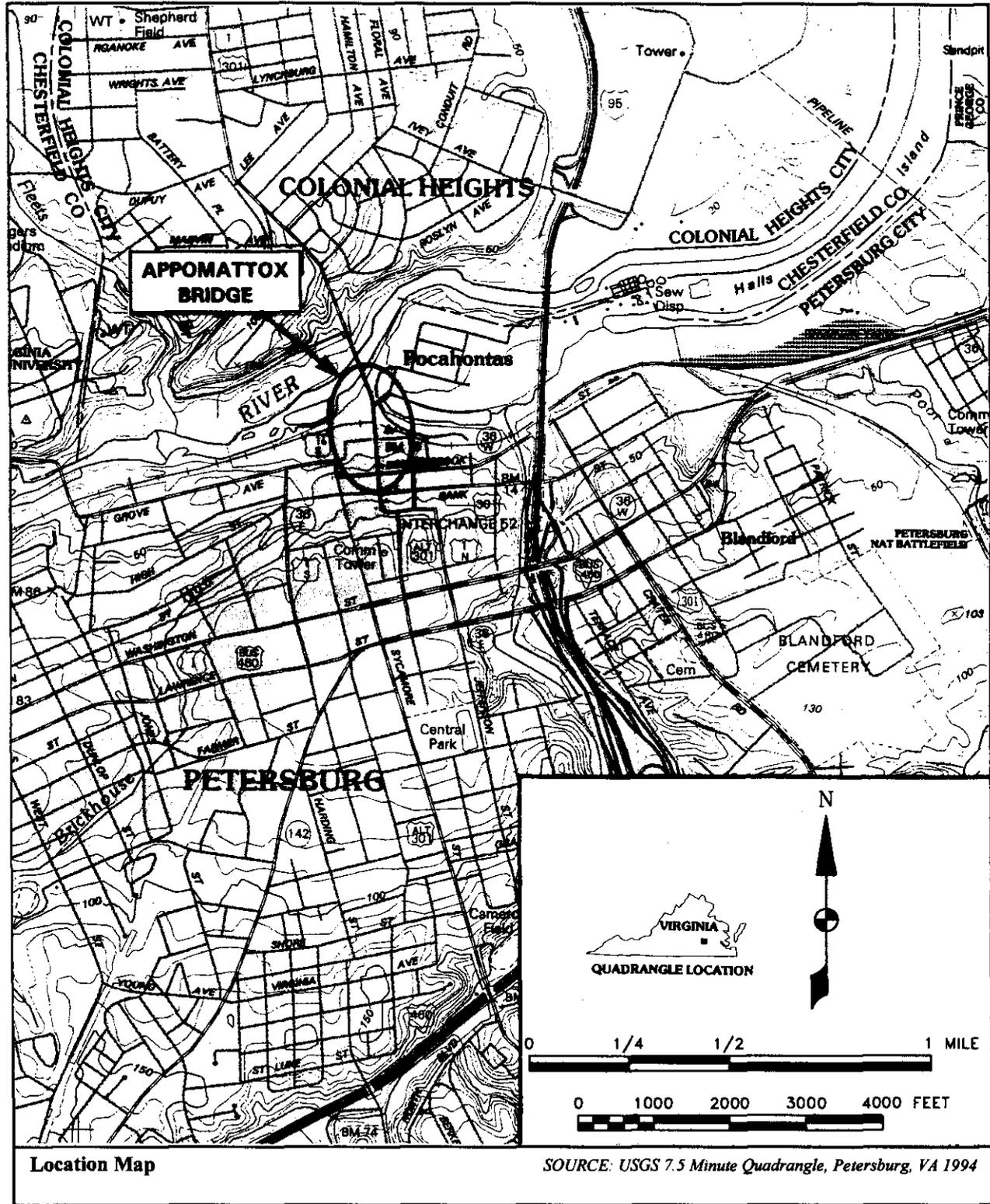
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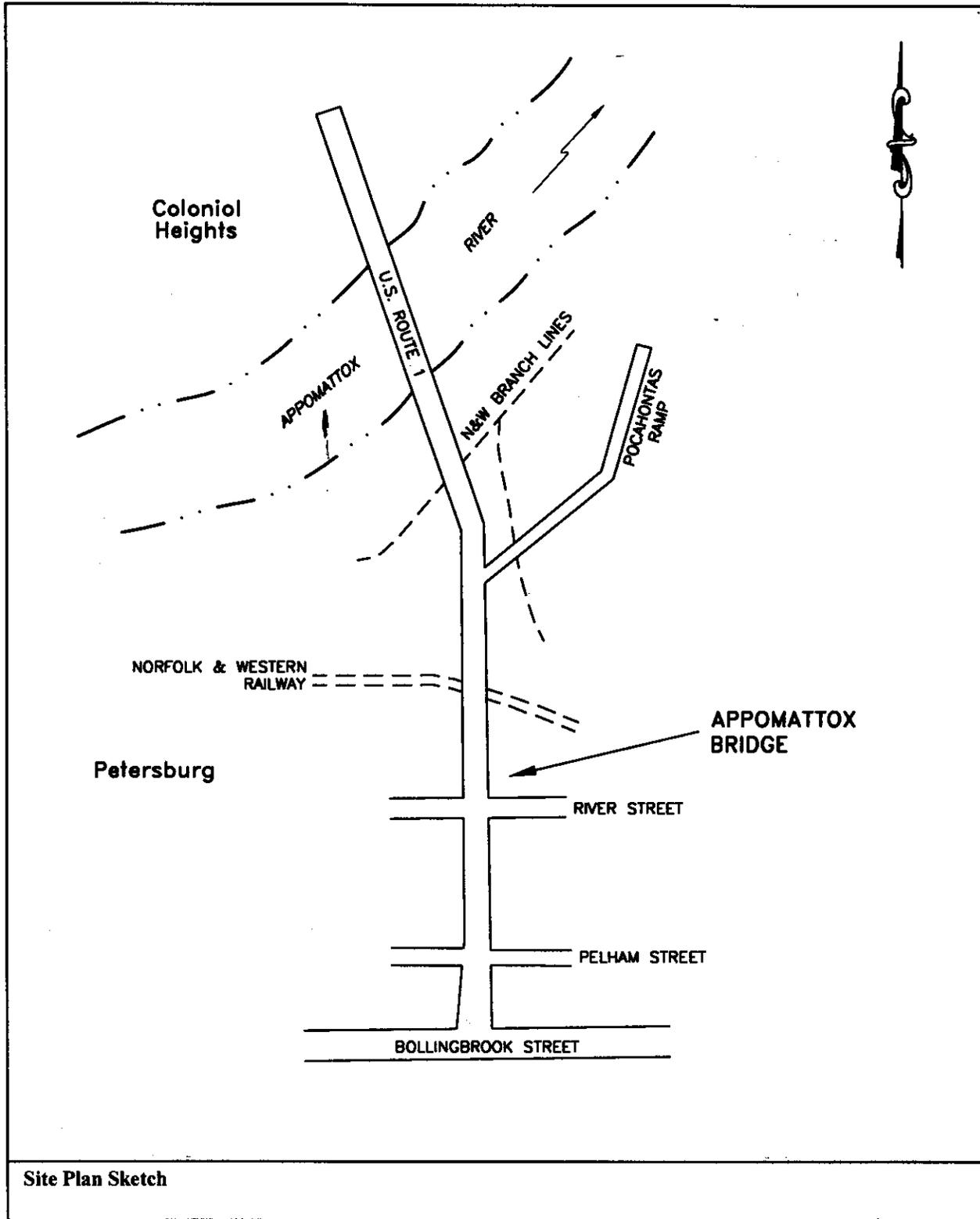
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APPOMATTOX BRIDGE
 (Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr., Memorial Bridge)
 HAER No. VA-124
 (Page 29)



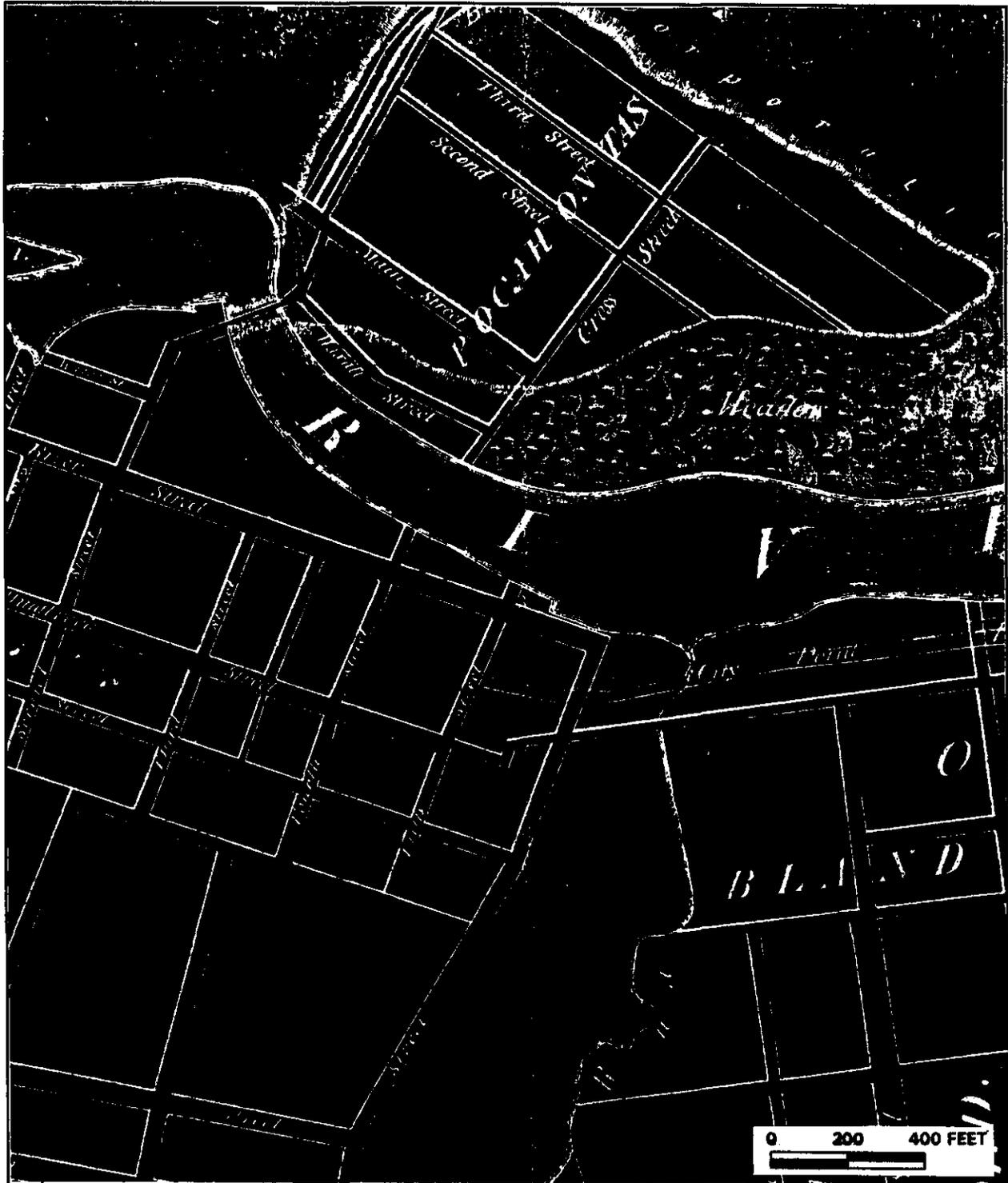
Location Map

SOURCE: USGS 7.5 Minute Quadrangle, Petersburg, VA 1994



Site Plan Sketch

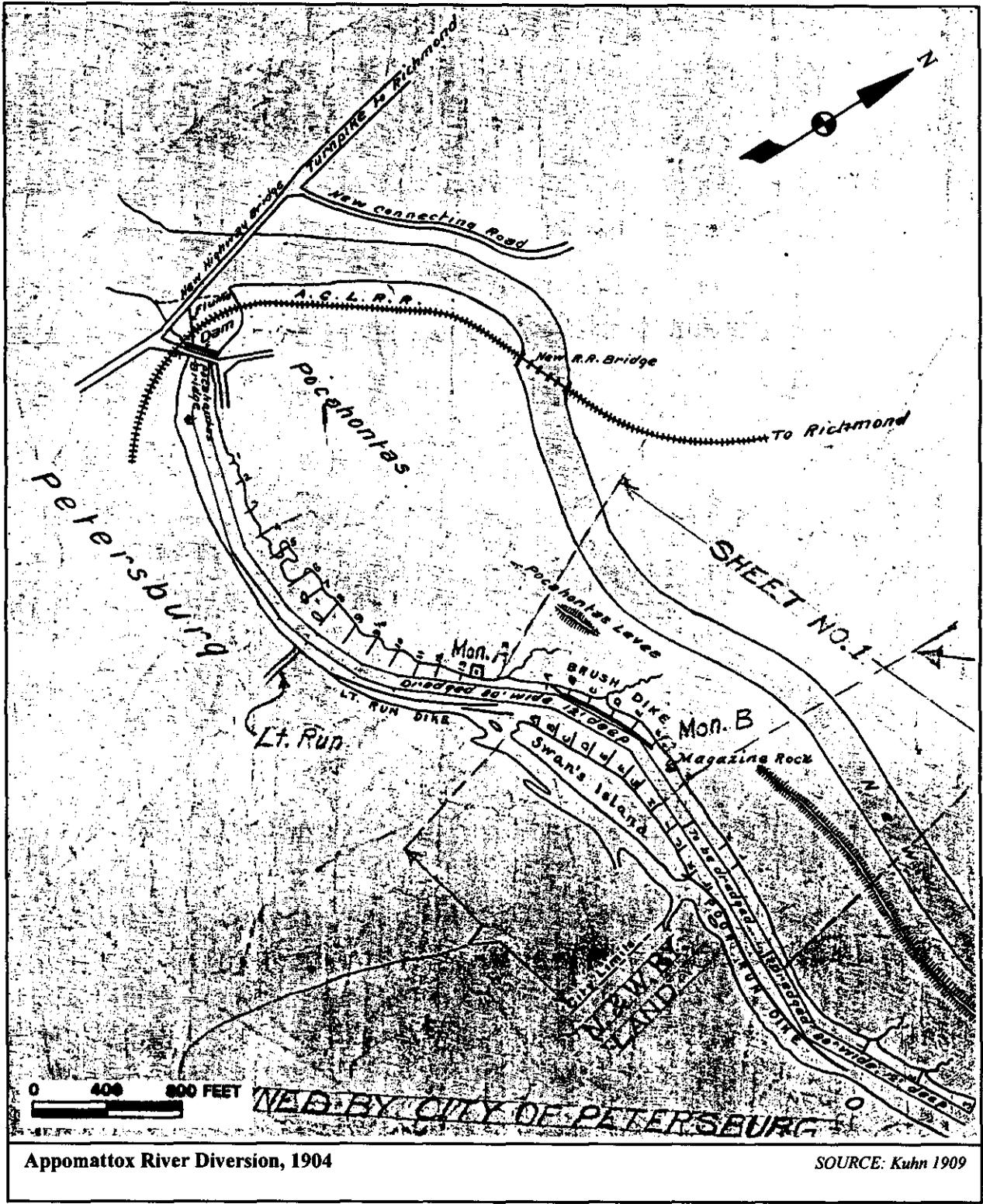
APPOMATTOX BRIDGE
(Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr., Memorial Bridge)
HAER No. VA-124
(Page 31)



Appomattox River Crossing to Pocahontas, 1839

SOURCE: Lynch 1839

APPOMATTOX BRIDGE
(Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr., Memorial Bridge)
HAER No. VA-124
(Page 32)



Appomattox River Diversion, 1904

SOURCE: Kuhn 1909