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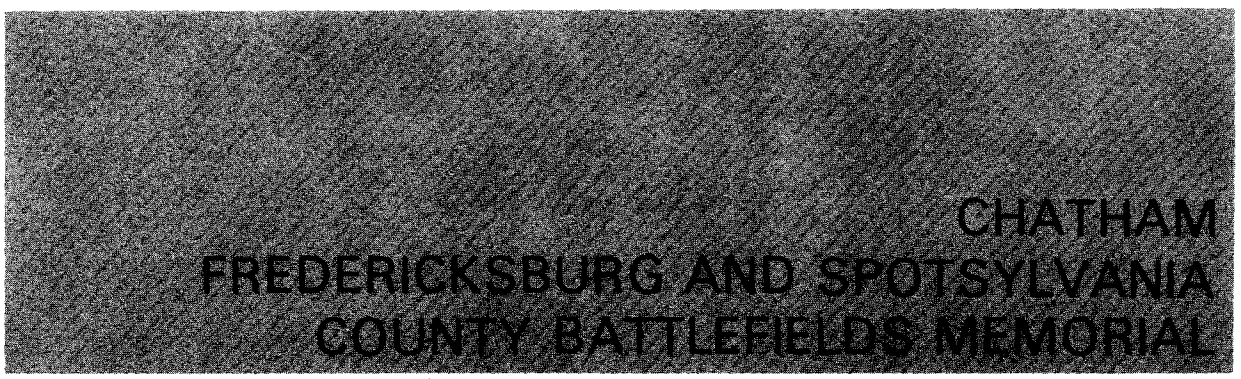

CHATHAM
FREDERICKSBURG AND SPOTSYLVANIA COUNTY BATTLEFIELDS MEMORIAL

NATIONAL MILITARY PARK / VIRGINIA

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PRELIMINARY HISTORIC RESOURCE STUDY
CHATHAM
FREDERICKSBURG AND SPOTSYLVANIA COUNTY BATTLEFIELDS MEMORIAL NATIONAL MILITARY PARK
VIRGINIA

Prepared By
Ronald W. Johnson
Edited By
Harlan D. Unrau

DENVER SERVICE CENTER
BRANCH OF CULTURAL RESOURCES
MID-ATLANTIC/NORTH ATLANTIC TEAM
NATIONAL PARK SERVICE
UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF THE INTERIOR
DENVER, COLORADO

EDITOR'S FOREWORD

This Preliminary Historic Resource Study on Chatham originated as a Historic Structure Report, Historical Data Section, and Preliminary Grounds Study assigned to Ronald W. Johnson in 1976. Two drafts of the report, dated March 1977 and August 1978 respectively, were prepared and submitted for review. In June 1981 I was assigned the task of completing the project by revising, reorganizing, and editing the August 1978 draft of the report, preparatory to its printing and final distribution. It was intended that my efforts would satisfy the number of critical points raised in earlier reviews of the draft report submitted by the staffs of Fredericksburg and Spotsylvania County Battlefields Memorial National Military Park, the Mid-Atlantic Regional Office, and the Washington Office.

Accordingly, I discussed my assignment to complete the project with a number of persons, all of whom I wish to thank for their time and counsel. These persons included:

Nan V. Rickey, Chief, Branch of Cultural Resources,
Mid-Atlantic/North Atlantic Team, Denver Service Center

John Albright, Project Manager, Branch of Cultural Resources,
Mid-Atlantic/North Atlantic Team, Denver Service Center

G. Frank Williss, Historian, Branch of Cultural Resources,
Mid-Atlantic/North Atlantic Team, Denver Service Center

Ronald W. Johnson, Historian, Branch of Planning,
Mid-Atlantic/North Atlantic Team, Denver Service Center

Edwin C. Bearss, Chief Historian, National Park Service

John F. Luzader, Agency Historian, National Park Service (since retired)

Harry Butowsky, Historian, Washington Office

A. Wilson Greene, Unit Manager, Chalmette Unit, Jean Lafitte National Historical Park and Preserve

John W. Bond, Associate Regional Director, Planning and Resource Preservation, Mid-Atlantic Regional Office

Clifford Tobias, Regional Historian, Planning and Resource Preservation, Mid-Atlantic Regional Office

James R. Zinck, Superintendent, Fredericksburg and Spotsylvania County Battlefields Memorial National Military Park

Robert K. Krick, Chief Historian, Fredericksburg and Spotsylvania County Battlefields Memorial National Military Park

Edmund Raus, Ranger (Historian), Fredericksburg and Spotsylvania County Battlefields Memorial National Military Park

I especially wish to thank the three last named individuals for the insights that they have given to me during my participation on the project both in telephone calls and in meetings when I visited the park on July 13-16.

In addition, I discussed the report with John D. R. Platt, formerly a historian with the Denver Service Center stationed in Philadelphia and now retired; Gerald Karr, formerly a historical architect with the Denver Service Center and now employed by the American Stock Exchange; and Louis R. Torres, formerly a historian with the Denver Service Center and now retired. Karr prepared an approved draft Historic Structure Report, Architectural Data Section, on Chatham in 1977 that was to accompany the report by Johnson.

As a result of these discussions and questions raised by the Washington Office following the distribution of my trip report dated

July 23, 1981, a number of final decisions were made relative to the completion of the project. These decisions were formalized in a memorandum signed by Mid-Atlantic Regional Office Director James W. Coleman, Jr., on August 26, 1981. According to the memorandum, the document was to be retitled a Preliminary Historic Resource Study. While no new research was to be undertaken, I was to utilize all material relating to the project which was available at the Denver Service Center. I was to revise, reorganize, and edit the August 1978 draft of the report in light of all the reviews and comments provided by the park, Mid-Atlantic Region, and WASO. Any new material on Chatham which had come to the park's attention during the past three years was to be included in the report and questions that should be the focus of future research efforts were to be identified. Since Chatham is included in the park's National Register form and List of Classified Structures and the site's Phase I archeological survey was completed as part of Package 120, it is evident that only a Historical Base Map is needed to complete the Historic Resource Study.

Finally, I want to thank Robert K. Krick for reading the manuscript and making valuable comments on its contents, and Evelyn Steinman, editorial clerk, Branch of Cultural Resources, Denver Service Center, for her efforts in typing the manuscript.

Harlan D. Unrau
Historian
Branch of Cultural Resources
Mid-Atlantic/North Atlantic Team
Denver Service Center
February 3, 1982

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PREFACE

The author of this Preliminary Historic Resource Study would like to thank a number of National Park Service offices and individuals without whose support the task would have been considerably more difficult. Superintendent Dixon B. Freeland, Chief Historian Robert K. Krick, Chief of Maintenance Carlton R. McCarthy, Jr., and the rest of the staff of Fredericksburg and Spotsylvania County Battlefields Memorial National Military Park have rendered gracious assistance in all phases of the historical research. Project Coordinator Lawrence B. Coryell and numerous other members of the Mid-Atlantic Regional Office staff provided me with a great deal of guidance toward completing my task. I would also like to thank John F. Luzader and other members of the Denver Service Center and particularly my immediate colleagues for their patience and understanding during this lengthy project.

As for actual data collection, George H. S. King's copious notes on the early development of Chatham and its owners made my task easier as he captured the essence of the Chatham story. Research assistant Roganna Howard, a student at Mary Washington College, uncovered a great deal of valuable resource material in local newspapers and county courthouse records for me. In addition, I thank the librarians and archivists at Mary Washington College, the University of Virginia, the Confederate Museum, the Virginia Historical Society, the Virginia State Library, the Martin Luther King Memorial Library in Washington D. C., the National Archives, the Library of Congress, Colonial Williamsburg, General Motors Institute Alumni Collection, Denver Public Library, and the Denver Federal Records Center for their assistance in ferreting out the Chatham story. Finally, a number of people scattered throughout the country who had some personal connection with Chatham helped supply me with valuable information, and in this regard special thanks go to Mrs. Hanford Carter and Miss Ellen T. Lacy.

My deep appreciation goes to Beverly Sons for her diligent efforts to turn the rough draft of this report into a clean copy.

Ronald W. Johnson
August 1978

STATEMENT OF HISTORICAL SIGNIFICANCE

Chatham, built circa 1768 to 1771, meets the criteria of the National Register of Historic Places established for the First Order of Significance. Architecturally, it is a classic example of a brick Georgian-style mansion that despite minor alteration has essentially retained its original integrity. William Fitzhugh, a prominent tidewater Virginia planter, built the home. From the original builder to the final private owner, retired General Motors executive John L. Pratt, Chatham has been owned by and associated with a number of locally as well as nationally prominent individuals. For instance, the house has demonstrable associations with George Washington, Thomas Jefferson, Abraham Lincoln, Clara Barton, Walt Whitman, and others.

As the Civil War Battle of Fredericksburg raged, Chatham became a significant focal point for a number of reasons. The commander of the Right Grand Division, Major General Edwin V. Sumner, made Chatham his field headquarters. Major General Ambrose E. Burnside conferred with his top aides at the house. A number of artillery batteries situated near the house offered covering fire for the engineers who built ponton bridges as well as for troops who crossed the temporary bridges to attack the Confederates atop Marye's Heights. Following the battle, Chatham served as a temporary field hospital where Barton and Whitman ministered to the wounded. During the Union army's winter encampment volunteers established a rest station at the house to serve pickets off duty.

INTRODUCTION

The historic Chatham plantation is located on the north bank of the Rappahannock River in Stafford County, Virginia, opposite the city of Fredericksburg. At this point, the Rappahannock which flows almost due southeast retains its tidal characteristics, and Chatham is the last major plantation in this particular area of tidewater Virginia. The piedmont starts about one mile northwest of the main house, which is located on a ridgeline approximately 100 feet above sea level.

The nearby coastal plain stretches from the ocean and bays to the head of navigation, where the piedmont's crystalline rock formations break to create a fall line in the rivers and the flat plains become rolling uplands. The tidewater area seldom rises 100 feet above sea level, and it is cut with numerous bays, inlets, and parallel rivers. The soils have been transported from regions above the fall line varying in composition and texture, ranging from pure sand to sandy loam with occasional zones of silt or clay. The deep surface soils of the valleys thin out toward the higher ridges.[1]

The name Chatham today refers to the main house, two adjacent support structures, and immediate grounds, but for many years the term denoted the entire plantation including all outbuildings, grounds, and hundreds of acres of farmlands, wood lots, and pastures. The development of the main house and its immediate grounds will be the principal objects of discussion in this report, although the entire plantation will receive broad coverage. Then too, the people who have owned it are essential to an in-depth discussion of Chatham. Thus, this Preliminary Historic Resource Study can serve both as a formal structural record and as a basis for future interpretive purposes.

The history of Chatham, at least to the Reconstruction era, typifies the origins and development of a large-scale southern agrarian operation, but one not necessarily based on a one-crop economy. William Fitzhugh

---

1. Avery Odelle Craven, Soil Exhaustion as a Factor in the Agricultural History of Virginia and Maryland, 1606-1860 (Gloucester, 1965), pp. 25-26.

built the large Georgian-style brick residence and its major dependencies, circa 1769-71, on his land in what was then King George County. In the succeeding two centuries 18 other individuals, two creditors, and a federal agency have legally owned the historic plantation. Chatham was willed to the National Park Service by its final private owner, John Lee Pratt, who died in December 1975. In May 1976, the house, its ancillary structures, and approximately 30 acres of land became an integral part of Fredericksburg and Spotsylvania County Battlefields Memorial National Military Park.

Over the years, the house has undergone relatively few major changes in its external appearance, although the acreage of the plantation has diminished greatly. Extensive changes in the surrounding ground cover have occurred because of the changing lifestyle of those who owned the plantation in addition to the severe damage incurred during the Civil War, especially during and after the Battle of Fredericksburg in December 1862.

CHAPTER I

THE FITZHUGH FAMILY IN COLONIAL VIRGINIA: 1670-1770

A. Early Exploration Along the Rappahannock

In July and August 1608, Captain John Smith, who helped found Jamestown, made a 130-mile trip up the Rappahannock River from Chesapeake Bay to the fall line. He noted that the Rappahannock Indians lived in the area. The German explorer, John Lederer, mapped the vicinity in 1670 when he traveled up the Rappahannock to record many facts about the local natural resources. According to Lederer's account, "On the twentieth of August, 1670, Col. [John] Catlet of Virginia and my self, with nine English horse, and five Indians on foot, departed from the house of one Robert Talifer, and that night reached the falls of Rappahanock-river, in Indian Mantapeuck."[1]

B. William Fitzhugh, the Immigrant: The First Generation

The origins of the Fitzhugh family in Virginia began with William (later Colonel) Fitzhugh, who arrived in the New World in 1670 at the age of 19. This son of Henry Fitzhugh, a woolen draper, was born in Saint Paul's Parish, Bedfordshire, England, January 10, 1651, and died at Bedford, a plantation not far from the Potomac River in Saint Paul's Parish, Stafford County, Virginia, in October 1701. As an attorney with considerable social, economic, and political stature, Colonel Fitzhugh was instrumental in having the parish where he settled named for his English birthplace.[2]

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1. William Talbot, trans., The Discoveries of John Lederer, In Three Separate Marches from Virginia, To the West of Carolina, And Other Parts of the Continent: Begun in March 1669, and Ended in September 1670. Together with a General Map of the Whole Territory Which He Traversed (London, 1672). For further information on early Virginia explorers, one should consult: Eleanor Lee Templeman and Nan Netherton, Northern Virginia Heritage (1966), p. 10; Philip L. Barbour, The Three Worlds of Captain John Smith (Boston, 1966), pp. 220-23; and William P. Cumming and Douglas L. Rights, The Discoveries of John Lederer With Unpublished Letters By and About Lederer to Governor John Winthrop, Jr. and an Essay on the Indians of Lederer's Discoveries (Charlottesville, 1958), pp. 87-89.

2. "The Fitzhugh Family," The Virginia Magazine of History and Biography, VII (October, 1899), pp. 196-99, (hereafter cited as Virginia Magazine). Also see: Bishop Meade, Old Churches, Ministers and Families of Virginia (2 vols., Philadelphia, 1901), II, 192-95, and Richard B. Davis, William Fitzhugh and His Chesapeake World, 1676-1701 (Chapel Hill, 1963), pp. 7-12.

In early Virginia, an English colony of few towns, an influential man was often known by, or associated with, his plantation. Thus, William Fitzhugh of Bedford could be easily differentiated from other contemporary William Fitzhughs who may have inhabited Virginia or neighboring colonies.

Because the basis of wealth lay in the possession of reserves of tobacco-producing land, Fitzhugh acquired large unsettled tracts in the late 1690s. Some of these lands were part of original patents or royal grants in the Northern Neck (the area between the Rappahannock and the Potomac rivers) counties of Richmond and Stafford. At the time of his death Fitzhugh owned some 54,000 acres of potential tobacco lands as well as 51 black slaves to work his cultivated fields which comprised only a small portion of the total acreage. The early Virginia planters required large tracts of fresh land for tobacco culture because the crop sapped the soil's fertility rapidly.[3] Once the soil was exhausted, a planter abandoned older fields and moved on to new areas.

Fitzhugh asserted that a Virginia plantation could return a profit at least three times more than could be made in England. There is evidence available that illustrates his enthusiastic interest in numerous land transactions and speculation in the late 17th century as the county land records show that he purchased nearly 4,000 acres in Richmond and Stafford counties between 1691 and 1695.[4]

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3. Craven, Soil Exhaustion, pp. 55-58.

4. Deed, John Waugh to William Fitzhugh, February 27, 1691/2, Richmond County Deed Book I, Folio 13; Deed, John and Ann Glendenning to William Fitzhugh, September 8, 1692, Richmond County Deed Book 1, Folio 32; Deed, John Waugh to William Fitzhugh, September 26, 1692, Richmond County Deed Book 1, Folio 34; and Deed, Richard and Ellinor Shippie to William Fitzhugh, Richmond County Deed Book 2, Folio 139; Archives Division, Virginia State Library, Richmond. Also see Craven, Soil Exhaustion, p. 39, and Louis B. Wright, "William Fitzhugh: The Evolution of an Aristocrat" in The First Gentlemen of Virginia: Intellectual Qualities of the Early Colonial Ruling Class (San Marino, [1940]), pp. 157-58.

In April 1686 Fitzhugh described his personal holdings to his brother-in-law, Dr. Ralph Smith, who lived in England. He reported:

> The plantation where I now live contains a thousand acres, at least 700 of it being rich thicket, the remainder good hearty plantable land, without wast either by marshes or great swamps. The commodiousness, conviency, and pleasantness yourself well knows. Upon it there is three quarters well furnished with all necessary houses, grounds and fencing, together with a choice crew of negroes at each plantation, most of them this country born, the remainder as likely as most in Virginia, there being twenty-nine in all, with stocks of cattle and hogs at each quarter. Upon the same land is my own dwelling house furnished with all accomodations for a comfortable and genteel living, as a very good dwelling house with rooms in it, four of the best of them hung [with tapestry] and nine of them plentifully furnished with all things necessary and convenient and all houses for use furnished with brick chimneys; four good cellars, a dairy, dovecote, stable, barn, henhouse, kitchen, and all other conveniencies and all in a manner new; a large orchard of about 2500 apple trees, most grafted, well fenced with a locust fence, which durable as most brick walls; a garden a hundred foot square, well paled in; a yard wherein is most of the aforesaid necessary houses, pallisadoed in with locust puncheons which is as good as if it were walled in and more lasting than any of our bricks; together with a good stock of cattle, hogs, horses, mares, sheep, &c. and necessary servants belonging to it for the supply and support thereof.
>
> About a mile and [a] half distance a good water grist mill, whose toll I find sufficient to find my own family with wheat and Indian corn for our necessities and occasions. Up the river in this country, three tracts of land more; one of them contains 21,996 acres, another 500 acres, and one other 1000

acres, all good, convenient, and commodious seats, and which in a few years will yield a considerable annual income.[5]

Besides accruing great material wealth, this gentleman planter had diverse interests. He represented Stafford County in the House of Burgesses, commanded the local militia, and served as judge of the county court for a number of years. According to his contemporaries, he was known as a skillful barrister.[6]

C. William and Thomas Fitzhugh: The Second Generation

The immigrant William Fitzhugh of Bedford married Sarah Tucker, the 11-year-old daughter of an affluent planter, on May Day, 1674.[7] The couple raised five sons including Colonel William Fitzhugh (ca. 1680-1713), the grandfather of William Fitzhugh of Chatham. The first generation native-born Virginian lived at Eagle's Nest in Stafford County. He was appointed clerk of Stafford County, on July 18, 1701, and represented the county in the Virginia House of Burgesses during 1700-02 and possibly other years. He served as a justice and high sheriff of Stafford County in 1701. On December 13, 1711, the Lords of Trade and Plantations presented a letter to the Queen of England that recommended William Fitzhugh as a person fully qualified to fill a vacancy in the Governor's Council. Queen Anne made the appointment on December 19, and he took the oath of office on October 15, 1712. His tenure was short and his last appearance in the Council occurred on November 8, 1713. He died shortly thereafter.[8]

Thomas Fitzhugh (d. 1719), a younger brother to William, received title to what later became the Chatham lands, inheriting under

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5. Quoted in Wright, The First Gentlemen of Virginia, pp. 160-61.

6. Davis, William Fitzhugh, pp. 24-39.

7. Ibid., pp. 11-12. Apparently, the planter sent his young bride to England for additional education.

8. "The Fitzhugh Family," 196-99, and "The Fitzhugh Family (continued)," Virginia Magazine, VII (January, 1900), 317-18.

his father's will some 4,334 acres and 7 blacks. Apparently after his father's demise, Thomas erected a water mill that was to serve Chatham for many decades. An early Virginia law stipulated that if a man owned land on one side of a waterway and desired to construct a mill, he could petition the county court to have a small quantity of land on the opposite side surveyed and valued in order that the petitioner could gain legal title to build the necessary dam.[9]

On February 1, 1710, Thomas Fitzhugh petitioned the county court to build a water grist mill on his land adjoining Claiborne Run. Later on February 10, the court "ordered that Charles Cale and John Jones value one-half acre of land belonging to Edward Watts opposite the proposed mill site and make report thereof to the next court."[10] This is the first reference to the Fitzhugh's use of what later became the Chatham plantation. At this time there were perhaps two or three families residing where the Town of Fredericksburg was to be established by a legislative act in 1727.

D. The Origins of Fredericksburg

On May 2, 1671, Governor William Berkeley issued a grant for 2,000 acres at the future site of Fredericksburg to John Buckner and Thomas Royston. Five years later, the House of Burgesses ordered that a fort be constructed at or near the falls of the Rappahannock to protect the scattered settlements to the south from the Indians. When William Levingston came to this area in the early 1700s, he leased land from Buckner and Royston. According to one account, Levingston and his wife Sukey came "armed with ax, musket and frying pan" and opened a coffee house about a mile below the falls.[11] In 1727, this site became the

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9. "The Fitzhugh Family (continued)," 319.

10. Miscellaneous Record Book, 1699-1724, Richmond County Records, 1704-24, Folios 56-56A, Archives Division, Virginia State Library.

11. Templeman and Netherton, Northern Virginia Heritage, p. 10.

central part of the chartered Town of Fredericksburg, so named to honor the Prince of Wales.[12]

Colonel William Byrd provides an early description of Fredericksburg in 1732. He observed:

> It is pleasantly situated on the South Shore of Rappahannock River, about a mile below the Falls. Sloops may come up and lye close to the Wharf, within 30 yards to the Public Warehouses, which are built in the figure of a Cross. Just by the Wharf is a Quarry of White Stone that is very soft in the Ground, and hardens in the Air, appearing to be as fair and fine grain'd as that of Portland. Besides that, there are several other Quarrys in the River Bank, within the limits of the Town, sufficient to build a great City. The only Edifice of Stone yet built is the Prison. . . . Tho' this be a commodious and beautiful Situation for a Town, with the Advantages of a Navigable River, and wholesome Air, yet the Inhabitants are very few. Besides Colo Willis, who is top man of the place, there are only one Merchant, a Taylor, a Smith, and an Ordinary Keeper; though I must not forget Mrs. Levistone, who Acts here in the Double Capacity of a Doctress and Coffee Woman. And were this a populous City, she is qualify'd to exercise 2 other callings. Tis said that the Court-house and the Church are going to be built here, and then both Religion and Justice will help to enlarge the place.[13]

E. Henry Fitzhugh: The Third Generation

William Fitzhugh, the son of the immigrant from Bedfordshire who had married Ann, the daughter of Richard Lee of

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12. Oscar H. Darter, Colonial Fredericksburg and Neighborhood in Perspective (New York, 1957), pp. 57-60.

13. Quoted in John Spencer Bassett, ed., The Writings of "Colonel William Byrd of Westover in Virginia, Esq" (New York, 1901), pp. 373-74.

Westmoreland County, left only one son, Henry (later Colonel) Fitzhugh (circa 1706-42), to carry on the family name and tradition. Like his forebears, Henry Fitzhugh was an integral part of the Virginia gentry. His father sent him to Christ Church College, Oxford, for training. In 1727 he was appointed one of the trustees of the Town of Falmouth.[14] Three years later he married Lucy Carter, the daughter of Colonel Robert "King" Carter, a widely-known wealthy tidewater planter. During the late 1730s and early 1740s Henry Fitzhugh served, as had his ancestors, in the Virginia House of Burgesses.[15]

Although Henry Fitzhugh lived at Eagle's Nest, additional evidence suggests that a Fitzhugh farm was located on the north bank of the Rappahannock. Before the Virginia versus Fairfax land case which ultimately resulted in a decision in 1745, commissioners, including William Byrd, and surveyors had been appointed to represent Thomas Lord Fairfax and King George II to ascertain accurately the legal boundary of the Northern Neck of Virginia comprising more than 5,000,000 acres. The Rappahannock boundary became the major point of contention--if the Rapidan River were to be considered the southern boundary of the Culpeper-Fairfax grant as Thomas Lord Fairfax contended or if the main branch of the Rappahannock was to be the southern boundary as the King argued. Between these two rivers lay many thousands of acres claimed by both King and Fairfax. In 1735-36, as the surveyors and commissioners proceeded up the Rappahannock Valley, they took sworn depositions and carefully marked well-known and long-established plantations. In King George County just below Claiborne Run, they denoted Strother, and between that point and the Town of Falmouth, they wrote the name "Fitzhugh" to indicate Colonel Henry Fitzhugh's land opposite the Town of Fredericksburg. It also may be recalled that in

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14. William W. Hening, The Statutes at Large of Virginia: Being a Collection of All the Laws from First Session of the Legislature in the Year 1619 of Virginia (New York, 1819-23, republished in Charlottesville, 1969), IV, 238.

15. "Fitzhugh Family (continued)," Virginia Magazine, VII (April, 1900), 425.

1710 Thomas Fitzhugh had petitioned successfully for a small piece of land opposite his holdings on the north side of the Rappahannock in order to construct a water-powered grist mill. Available evidence does not conclusively answer the question as to whether the 1735-36 survey refers to Thomas Fitzhugh's mill or to a Fitzhugh farm. Nevertheless, it seems plausible that a Fitzhugh plantation had been located on the north bank of the Rappahannock on the future site of Chatham during the early decades of the 18th century. According to a 1743 estate appraisement recorded in Stafford County, Henry Fitzhugh's plantation in King George County (now Stafford County) had 18 blacks living on it and contained livestock worth 495 pounds.[16]

F. William Fitzhugh, the Builder of Chatham: The Fourth Generation

While still a relatively young man, Henry Fitzhugh died on December 6, 1742, one year and three months following the birth of his only son, William, on September 4, 1741. This fourth generation Virginian Fitzhugh built Chatham. In 1748, William's mother, Lucy Carter Fitzhugh, married her second husband, Colonel Nathaniel Harrison of Brandon (1713-91), who brought his children Elizabeth and Benjamin Harrison to Eagle's Nest near the Potomac in Stafford County.[17] Thus, William Fitzhugh was reared from childhood to manhood by his stepfather.

During his boyhood and early manhood, Fitzhugh lived at a number of Virginia plantations. His earliest years were spent at Eagle's Nest, but by the age of 16 he was residing with his uncle, Colonel Charles Carter, at Cleve in King George County. Detailed account books kept by Scottish merchants show that Fitzhugh lived for varying periods

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16. Richard L. Morton, Colonial Virginia: Westward Expansion and Prelude to Revolution, 1710-1763 (2 vols., Chapel Hill, 1960), II, 546-47; Pierre Maramaud, William Byrd of Westover, 1674-1744 (Charlottesville, 1971), pp. 51-52; "Fitzhugh Family (continued)", 425; and Appraisement of Col. Henry Fitzhugh Estate, June 29, 1743, Stafford County Record Book M, Folio 369, Archives Division, Virginia State Library.

17. "Fitzhugh Family (continued)," 425.

near Boyd's Hole, a small community on the Potomac, and at Cleve and Eagle's Nest in the early 1760s.[18]

On April 2, 1763, William Fitzhugh married Ann Randolph, daughter of Colonel Peter Randolph, of Henrico County. By 1765 the Fitzhughs lived at Somerset which adjoined Eagle's Nest downriver in Stafford County.[19] They remained at this plantation until Chatham was ready to be inhabited sometime during the autumn of 1771. Other than Cleve, which was owned by his Uncle Charles, William held title to the various plantations he and his wife inhabited in the 1760s and early 1770s. To his aristocratic planter contemporaries, young Fitzhugh was known as one of the wealthiest landowners in pre-revolutionary Virginia.[20]

William Fitzhugh and his wife Ann Carter Fitzhugh had six children. Three of them, Lucy, Betty Randolph, and Martha Carter, died in childhood, and three, Ann Randolph (1783-circa 1809), Mary Lee (1781-1830), and Fitzhugh's only male offspring and namesake, William Henry (1792-1830), reached adulthood. Mary Lee married George Washington Parke Custis, the grandson of Martha Washington by her first marriage. The only present-day living descendents of William Fitzhugh of Chatham are those of Robert E. Lee and his wife Mary Ann Randolph Custis, Fitzhugh's only granddaughter.[21]

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18. Ledgers C, Folio 171, and D, Folio 13, 1763-64, William Allason Papers, Archives Division, Virginia State Library, and Ledgers M, Folio 218, N, Folio 132, and Q, Folio 97, 1759-64, Edward Dixon Papers, Manuscript Division, Library of Congress, Washington, D. C.

19. Ledgers E, Folio 182, and F, Folio 11, 1765-67, William Allason Papers, Archives Division, Virginia State Library, and Ledger S, Folio 48, and T, Folio 174, 1765-71, Edward Dixon Papers, Manuscript Division, Library of Congress.

20. "The Fitzhugh Family (continued)," Virginia Magazine, VII (July, 1900), 95.

21. Ibid.

G. The Fitzhugh Estate

From a study of records pertaining to the Fitzhugh estate, it seems plausible that an earlier plantation had been located on the future site of Chatham for several decades before actual construction of the main house around 1769-71. As mentioned earlier, a 1743 estate appraisement recorded in Stafford County showed that Henry Fitzhugh's plantation in King George County (now Stafford) had 18 blacks living on it and contained livestock worth 495 pounds.[22] It is likely that this plantation was situated on what later became Chatham.[23]

The Fitzhugh home plantation, Eagle's Nest, was also a valuable estate. According to contemporary sources, the main house consisted of two parlor chambers and a porch chamber, study chamber, garrett, hall backroom, and two hall back closets. There were also several ancillary structures near the house including a kitchen, dairy, storehouse, and meat house. In addition to the standard furniture, the estate comprised a silver trumpet, German flute, English flute, spy glass, family seal, silver candlesticks, six silver plates, a large two-handled silver cup, silver teaspoons, and silver tongs and ladles.[23]

The Fitzhugh plantations located in several Virginia counties reflected the great wealth of the family. They included farms in Westmoreland County with a value of 389 pounds, King George County with a value of 485 pounds, Prince William (later Fairfax) County with a value of 496 pounds, and Stafford County with a value of 3,647 pounds.[24]

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22. Appraisement of Col. Henry Fitzhugh Estate, June 29, 1743, Stafford County Record Book M, Folio 369, Archives Division, Virginia State Library.

23. Appraisement of Col. Henry Fitzhugh Estate at Eagle's Nest, March 24, 1742-43, Stafford County Record Book O, Folio 5, Archives Division, Virginia State Library. The appraisement was not recorded until September 13, 1748.

24. Appraisement of Col. Henry Fitzhugh Estate in Westmoreland, King George, Prince William, and Stafford Counties (recorded circa September 13, 1748), Stafford County Record Book O, Folio 130, Archives Division, Virginia State Library.

The Fitzhughs that constituted the direct four-generation family line from William, the immigrant, to William, the builder of Chatham, became men of power and social status in colonial Virginia. For instance, between 1742 and 1747 the executors of the Henry Fitzhugh estate paid quitrents (fixed payments due at a certain date) to the Lord Proprietor of the Northern Neck of Virginia on 23,987 acres in that locale and on another 10,159 acres in Spotsylvania County.[25] Each generation played a significant role in the colony's political, civic, and military affairs. As one surveys the lengthy list of Virginia Fitzhughs, many bearing the name William, the lofty social position this family held in 18th century colonial society becomes easily perceptible.

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25. Account of the Estate of Col. Henry Fitzhugh, Deceased (recorded circa September 13, 1748), Stafford County Record Book O, Folio 124, Archives Division, Virginia State Library. For a more complete discussion of quitrents, see Lewis C. Gray, History of Agriculture in the Southern United States to 1860 (2 vols., Washington, 1933), I, 382-85.

CHAPTER II

WILLIAM FITZHUGH AND THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE CHATHAM PLANTATION TO 1806

A. The Chatham Lands

The legal history of the Chatham lands originates when Sir William Berkeley, the Governor of Virginia, granted a tract of 2,000 acres to Colonel John Catlett on June 2, 1666. The grant began at the present upper boundary of the plantation "Rumford" on the northern side of the Rappahannock River and extended up the river nearly to Falmouth. In 1670 Indians killed Colonel Catlett.[1] The exact bounds of the Catlett patent were established in 1928 by G. L. Gordon, then Stafford County surveyor and, according to the George H. S. King Papers, Vol. II, the plat of those bounds appears in Judge Embrey's Title Book of the Washington properties.

By a deed dated September 8, 1668, Catlett conveyed the entire patent to William and Leonard Claiborne, two brothers from King William County for whom Claiborne Run was later named. William died before his brother, and the entire Catlett patent devolved upon Leonard, who later emigrated to Jamaica. By a deed dated July 25, 1688, Leonard sold the Catlett patent of 2,000 acres in fee simple to the Reverend John Waugh of Stafford County.[2]

To strengthen his title to the 2,000-acre patent, Waugh sought a formal repudiation of the Catlett family's interest in this patent from John Catlett, son and heir of Colonel John Catlett. On June 3, 1689, Waugh received Catlett's pledge concerning the land in question. Thus, Reverend Waugh had title to the tract both from Claiborne and the patentee's legal heir.[3]

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1. Patent, Sir William Berkeley to Colonel John Catlett, June 2, 1666, Old Rappahannock County Land Patent Book 5, Folio 623, Archives Division, Virginia State Library. A concise chain of title to the Chatham lands may be seen in Appendix A of this report.

2. Deed, Leonard Claiborne to Rev. John Waugh, July 24, 1688, Old Rappahannock County Court Book 7, Folio 526, Archives Division, Virginia State Library.

3. Indenture, John Catlett to Rev. John Waugh, Old Rappahannock County Court Book 8, Folio 49, Archives Division, Virginia State Library.

Waugh developed the patent by selling parcels to various people. For example, Captain Augustine Washington, the father of George, bought 600 acres. His farm became known as Ferry Farm, the boyhood home of the future President. In the mid-1770s George Washington sold the property to Brigadier General Hugh Mercer of Fredericksburg.[4]

Later, two other Virginians, George Sheppard and John Chadwell, each bought 350 acres of land from Waugh. Following Sheppard's death, his 350 acres reverted to the Proprietors of Northern Neck because he had no legal heirs. The Proprietors granted the tract to Colonel William Fitzhugh, the great-grandfather of William Fitzhugh of Chatham, in a March 10, 1696, patent. Colonel William Fitzhugh purchased an additional 350 acres on November 6, 1697, from John Chadwell at the mouth of Claiborne Run, a tract which followed the rivershore up to the property line of George Sheppard.[5]

Ultimately these 700 acres descended without sale to William Fitzhugh, the builder of Chatham. By a deed dated October 19, 1793, he purchased an additional 588 acres to the rear of the original land that fronted the Rappahannock River from his cousin Landon Carter.[6]

B. The Origins of Chatham

By the late 1760s Fitzhugh, then in his late twenties, evidently decided to erect a residence on his King George County holdings and to

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4. Data relative to these land transactions may be found in Stafford County Deed Books NN, Folio 136, and LL, Folio 405, Archives Division, Virginia State Library according to the George H. S. King Papers, Vol. II.

5. Deed, Proprietors of Northern Neck to Colonel William Fitzhugh, March 10, 1696, Stafford County Deed Book NN, Folio 232, and Deed, John Chadwell to Colonel William Fitzhugh, November 16, 1697, Richmond County Deed Book 3, Folio 10, Archives Division, Virginia State Library.

6. The original deed was apparently destroyed but specific reference to this transaction is contained in Fredericksburg District Court Deed Book E, May 9, 1806, Folio 446, Archives Division, Virginia State Library.

move his wife to a new home. Obviously, capital was a major consideration in this venture. In February 1768, Fitzhugh, then of Somerset, his stepfather Colonel Nathaniel Harrison of Eagle's Nest, and Joseph Jones, a prominent King George County attorney, stayed with James Hunter, whose plantation adjoined Ferry Farm and was also adjacent to Fitzhugh's lands.[7] It appears that they stayed at Hunter's home while an extensive survey was being made of Fitzhugh's Spotsylvania lands. His properties were drawn on a large plot in various sized plantations to facilitate their sale in Fredericksburg by Benjamin Johnston, a local land dealer who witnessed all the deeds.

Fitzhugh's significant Spotsylvania County holdings originated in a March 1709 land deal in which William Fitzhugh, the oldest son of the English immigrant, bought 9,019 acres on the south side of the Rappahannock in Essex County. In 1720, this area became part of Spotsylvania County. Soon after this transaction, Colonel William Fitzhugh purchased an additional 2,494 acres on the north side of the river.[8] Neither the Colonel nor his only son and heir, Colonel Henry Fitzhugh, ever sold any of their Spotsylvania County lands, although the latter leased several tracts to promote the development and settlement of this vast wilderness.[9] Thus, William Fitzhugh of Chatham fell heir to this large domain.

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7. James Hunter to Richard Corbin, February 26, 1768, Letter Book of Colonel Richard Corbin, Manuscript Department, Colonial Williamsburg, Williamsburg, Virginia. Before 1692 this land lay in "old" Rappahannock County. Between that date and 1721 it was part of Richmond County, between 1721 and 1777 part of King George County, and following 1777, Stafford County.

8. Deed, James Harrison, Elizabeth Fossaker, John and Ann Glendenning, and Eleanor (Ellen) Shippry to William Fitzhugh, March 23, 1709, Essex County Deed and Warranty Book 13, Folio 319, Archives Division, Virginia State Library. Also see Stafford County Record Book O, Folio 124, Archives Division, Virginia State Library.

9. Lease, Henry Fitzhugh, Jr., to William Whitehouse, December 6, 1727; Lease, Henry Fitzhugh, Jr., to James Wheeler, December 6, 1727; Lease, Henry Fitzhugh, Jr., to John Thompson, Sr., December 6, 1727; and Lease, Henry Fitzhugh, Jr., to Susannah Livingston, September 6, 1733; Spotsylvania County Deed Book B, Folios 9, 10, 12, and 497, Archives Division, Virginia State Library.

In 1769 William Fitzhugh began to sell large acreages of his idle holdings in Spotsylvania County. Between October 5, 1769, and June 4, 1770, he sold 27 parcels of land totaling some 8,175 acres for 2,209 pounds in current money.[10] Although there is no documentary evidence to suggest that he did so, it is likely that Fitzhugh used the capital that he had acquired from these transactions to begin the construction of Chatham, probably in the summer of 1768 or 1769.[11] In the early 1770s, the wealthy planter realized another 168 pounds current money from the sale and lease of an additional 581 acres in Spotsylvania County.[12] Hence during the four-year interval between 1769 and 1773, Fitzhugh disposed

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10. The following deeds were recorded in Spotsylvania County Deed Book G (Archives Division, Virginia State Library) conveying land from William and Ann Fitzhugh to various persons as follows: Thomas Burbridge, Jr., April 10, 1770, Folio 349; Isaac Wilson, June 4, 1770, Folio 35; John Chew, April 10, 1770, Folio 353; Thomas Burbridge, April 10, 1770, Folio 355; William Ficklin, June 4, 1770, Folio 357; Daniel Dranham, October 5, 1769, Folio 359; John Moore, April 10, 1770, Folio 361; John Shelton, June 4, 1770, Folio 363; John Herndon, April 10, 1769, Folio 365; Bland Ballard, October 5, 1769, Folio 367; Thomas Haydon, April 10, 1770, Folio 369; James Cunninghame, October 5, 1769, Folio 371; Peter Marye, June 4, 1770, Folio 373; James Marye, October 5, 1769, Folio 375; William Riaden, April 10, 1770, Folio 377; Robert Oneale, April 10, 1770, Folio 379; John Mitchell, April 10, 1770, Folio 381; James Lewis, April 10, 1770, Folio 383; John Price, April 10, 1770, Folio 385; Alexander Walden, April 10, 1770, Folio 475; Hezekiah Ellis, October 5, 1769, Folio 482; William Robinson, October 5, 1769, Folio 510; John Mitchell, June 4, 1770, Folio 387; Hezekiah Ellis, October 5, 1769, Folio 389; Lawrence Young, April 10, 1770, Folio 445; John Patty, October 5, 1769, Folio 466; and Reubin Young, April 10, 1770, Folio 467. The majority of the deeds were recorded on June 4, 1770.

11. The actual date of Chatham's construction must be inferred from extremely limited evidence. Research in the scattered Fitzhugh papers (most of which are a part of other collections), local records, and merchants' documents has not uncovered any specific construction dates or data. This subject should be the focus of further research efforts.

12. The following deeds were recorded in Spotsylvania County Deed Book H (Archives Division, Virginia State Library) conveying land from William and Ann Fitzhugh to various persons as follows: John Chew, (sale), May 25, 1773, Folio 385; Benjamin, Kezia, and James Coyle, (lease), May 22, 1773; McField Whiting, May 22, 1773, Folio 391; Presley Thornton, (sale), November 11, 1773, Folio 394; and Allen Wiley, (lease), September 26, 1772, Folio 515.

of almost 9,000 acres which earned him at least 2,300 pounds. In addition to the large sum of money realized from the land sales, Mrs. Fitzhugh's father, Colonel Peter Randolph who had died in 1767, willed his daughter 350 pounds, thus providing the Fitzhughs with enough capital to begin construction of a new large dwelling.[13]

The absence of a nearby town may have prompted the move from the more isolated Somerset near the Potomac River to Fredericksburg. Although pre-Revolutionary period Virginians were accustomed to the rigors of rural life, few towns existed in that period. However, a young couple with no children perhaps desired the social life that could be found in or near a town. For instance, each fall Fredericksburg sponsored a fair that attracted a great many people, including those interested in horse racing, such as William Fitzhugh.[14]

C. The Construction of Chatham

There is limited available evidence suggesting that the construction of Chatham occurred ca. 1768-71. A notice in the Virginia Gazette, October 5, 1769, alerted readers that a black slave with carpentry skills, had fled from Fitzhugh's plantation in King George County. Fitzhugh may have used his own slaves, as well as hired bondsmen, to construct Chatham. It is highly likely that the runaway was involved in the Chatham construction project. The notice read:

> Three Pounds Reward, and Five if taken out of the Colony. Run away from the plantation of William Fitzhugh, Esq: in King George, the 17th of September, last. Hanover, a Negro man slave, by some called William Hanover, about five feet eleven inches high, and forty years old. He has a variety

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13. Henry F. Waters, Genealogical Gleaning in England (2 vols., Boston, 1901), I, 513-14.

14. See Henry Howe, Historical Collections of Virginia; Containing a Collection of the Most Interesting Facts, Traditions, Biographical Sketches, Anecodotes, etc. . . . (Charleston, 1842), p. 283, for background on the Fredericksburg fairs.

> of clothes, particularly kersey surtout coat with flat metal buttons on the breast, by trade a good house carpenter and joiner, and is well acquainted in most parts of Virginia. I expect he is in Lancaster County, at a plantation of Mr. Burgess Ball's where his wife has been lately removed. It is supposed he went down Rappahannock River in some vessel, by the quantity of bed and wearing cloaths he carried with him. I hope all masters of vessels will take care such a fellow shall not be carried out of the country. Whoever will deliver him to me in Caroline, shall receive the above reward, and all reasonable charges paid by Walker Taliaferro.[15]

There is no record of whether or not Hanover's owner ever captured him.

As construction proceeded, Fitzhugh and his wife continued to reside at Somerset in Stafford County (not to be confused with present-day Stafford County) until late summer 1771. In 1769, Colonel Robert Wormley Carter (1734-97) of Sabine Hall, Richmond County, a first cousin of William Fitzhugh, recorded a number of events that definitely placed Fitzhugh at Somerset. These transactions included the sale of a horse, acknowledgement of gambling debts, and a number of social calls. Available documentation also suggests that Fitzhugh conducted several land transactions that June at his Stafford County residence, and a Virginia Gazette article on August 1 identified Somerset as Fitzhugh's home. Thus, sometime between August 1 and early November 1771, the Fitzhughs moved.[16] Because Ann Carter Fitzhugh was pregnant in the

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15. (Williamsburg) The Virginia Gazette, October 5, 1769.

16. Colonel Robert W. Carter Diaries, Folder 18, Carter Papers, College of William and Mary Library, Williamsburg, Virginia; (Williamsburg) The Virginia Gazette, August 1, 1771; and Deeds, William and Ann Fitzhugh to Henry Elley, June 5, 1771, and William and Ann Fitzhugh to Francis Simpson, June 21, 1771, Spotsylvania County Deed Book H, Folios 25 and 30, respectively, Archives Division, Virginia State Library.

summer of 1771, the move probably occurred several weeks before her final confinement.

Thus, the Chatham residence probably was built sometime between Fitzhugh's 1768 Spotsylvania County land survey and the late autumn of 1771. Significant clues indicate that Fitzhugh had taken up residence at Chatham in King George County by late 1771. The court records demonstrate that the planter sold two tracts of land on November 22, 1771, using King George County as his home address.[17] The Virginia Gazette reported that he had been elected to the House of Burgesses to represent King George County.[18] Finally, on December 20, Fitzhugh, specifically referred to Chatham as his residence, while writing to his uncle Colonel Landon Carter on December 20, 1771.[19]

Despite the aforementioned documentation, it is interesting to note that William Fitzhugh does not appear on William Allason's account books as a resident of Chatham until 1774. The Scottish merchant from Falmouth charged Fitzhugh for "two looking glasses with stands, four silk handkerchiefs. . . ." Subsequent records illustrate that Fitzhugh became a regular patron, purchasing broad cloth, colored thread, and yard goods among other items.[20]

D. The Naming of Chatham

It is likely that Fitzhugh named his plantation in honor of William Pitt, the Earl of Chatham. Pitt, as Great Britain's prime minister,

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17. Deeds, William and Ann Fitzhugh to Thomas Allen, November 22, 1771, and William and Ann Fitzhugh to John Gordon, November 22, 1771, Spotsylvania County Deed Book H, Folios 115 and 121, respectively, Archives Division, Virginia State Library.

18. (Williamsburg) The Virginia Gazette, December 5, 1771.

19. Letter, William Fitzhugh to Colonel Landon Carter, December 20, 1771, Carter Papers, Alderman Library, University of Virginia, Charlottesville, Virginia.

20. Ledger II, Folio 275, and Ledger III, Folio 159, 1774-75, William Allason Papers, Archives Division, Virginia State Library.

had led the nation through the Seven Years' War (1756-63), and to reward that bold political leader, King George named him to a peerage as the Earl of Chatham in 1766. Pitt's popularity in America increased in the late 1760s as he became an effective British spokesman who generally supported a conciliatory position toward the American colonies' drift toward independence. Thus, the use of Pitt's new title for the name of a new estate in Virginia would have been a popular as well as likely thing to do on the part of William Fitzhugh.[21]

E. Fitzhugh's Neighbors

Before the Revolutionary War, the neighboring estates of Chatham on the southeast were James Hunter's Pine Grove and George Washington's Ferry Farm. Washington's mother, Mary, moved to Fredericksburg in 1772, a year after her son had made a detailed survey of Ferry Farm marking the "line between Mr. Hunter and me" and "the line between Mr. Fitzhugh and myself."[22] After Mary Washington moved to Fredericksburg, Fitzhugh rented Ferry Farm from Washington for 22 pounds or $880 a year. Then in the mid-1770s, Washington sold Ferry Farm to General Mercer, a resident of Fredericksburg.[23]

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21. (Williamsburg) The Virginia Gazette, April 18 and November 13, 1766, February 19, 1767, and October 26, 1769. Also see Basil Williams, The Life of William Pitt: Earl of Chatham (2 vols., New York, 1966), II, 211-13. The possibility exists that William Fitzhugh's father, Henry (ca. 1706-42), knew William Pitt at Christ Church, Oxford. Henry matriculated at Oxford in 1722, just prior to Pitt's enrollment at the same school. Other than this coincidence, no evidence links the two students in any social ties or activities. The fact that William's father attended Oxford may have been confused in the lore and tradition that has arisen concerning the supposed status of William Fitzhugh of Chatham as a former classmate of Pitt at Oxford. Some accounts assert that Fitzhugh named Chatham after an English estate, but no documentary evidence has been found to support that contention.

22. Ledger B, Folio 65, George Washington Papers, Manuscript Division, Library of Congress.

23. Ibid.

F. Fitzhugh's Famed Horse Racing Activities

Prior to the outbreak of the Revolutionary War, Chatham's owner entered a number of his race horses in lively betting competitions. During the early 1770s, Fitzhugh ran such horses as Volunteer, Regulus, Brilliant, Silver Legs, and Kitty Fisher in numerous races. For example, the grey filly Kitty Fisher won a 50-guinea purse at Annapolis, Maryland, on September 27, 1773. In early October of that year, Fitzhugh entered his horse in the annual fall races held in Fredericksburg, and in the 1774 contests both Regulus and Kitty Fisher captured large purses. Before he sold the prize horse Regulus, Fitzhugh garnered a number of valuable purses including 50 pounds at Port Royal, two 50-pound prizes at Annapolis, 50 pounds at Upper Marlborough, 60 pounds at Leeds Town, and the Fredericksburg Jockey Club purse of 100 guineas.[24]

According to the business records of George Weedon who operated a tavern in Fredericksburg in the late 1760s and early 1770s, Fitzhugh kept an account at the establishment. In August 1773, Fitzhugh entertained the local Jockey Club by buying the members dinner and drinks. He also bought a Delaware lottery ticket for three pounds, charging it to his account.[25]

Announcing the May Fair Purse race to be run at Fredericksburg on May 24, 1774, the Virginia Gazette anticipated that there would be great sport and entertainment due to the fine horses "among them the noted Miss Alsop, belonging to Moore Fauntleroy, Esq: and Kitty Fisher, a grey mare the property of William Fitzhugh, Esq: of Chatham." The paper noted that Miss Alsop had run against Kitty Fisher at the last Annapolis Races, from "whence she brought a Sweepstake and one of the Subscription Purses."[26]

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24. (Williamsburg) The Virginia Gazette, October 22, 1772, October 14, 1773, April 28, June 9, and October 20, 1774, and April 13, 1776, and Diary of John Harrower, Manuscript Division, Colonial Williamsburg.

25. Ledger E, 1773-76, General George Weedon Papers, City Clerks Office, Fredericksburg, Virginia.

26. (Williamsburg) The Virginia Gazette, April 28 and June 9, 1774.

Fitzhugh inherited a black jockey from Rose (Newton) Dade, a distant relative in 1785. The will stipulated:

> I give and devise to William Fitzhugh of Chatham near Fredericksburgh in Virginia aforesaid for and during his natural life the use of a Negro Man Slave called Gerard now in the possession of the said William Fitzhugh as a jockey or Groom and in case the said Negroe Gerard should survive the said William Fitzhugh of my will and desire that the said Negroe be immediately therafter manumitted & free and that he no longer thereafter be considered a slave.[27]

Evidently as Fitzhugh grew older he turned from racing activities to horse breeding. Several advertisements in the Virginia Herald and Fredericksburg Advertiser refer to this enterprise in the 1790s.[28]

G. Fitzhugh and Chatham During the Revolutionary Period

In the years preceeding the American Revolution, William Fitzhugh of Chatham forged a noteworthy career of public service in Virginia. Along with Joseph Jones, he represented King George County at Williamsburg from 1772 to 1775. The two aspiring politicians had been elected to the House of Burgesses for the first time in the fall of 1771.[29]

The tide of events that radicalized Boston in the spring of 1774 was soon felt in the other colonies. When news of the draconian Boston Port Bill, designed to suppress the commerce of that rebellious

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27. Will, Rose (Newton) Dade, September 28, 1784, Charles County (Maryland) Will Book A. H. No. 9, Folios 171-74, in George H. S. King Papers, Vol. V.

28. Virginia Herald and Fredericksburg Advertiser, March 25, 1790, and April 26, 1792.

29. "House of Burgesses," Virginia Magazine, IV (April, 1897), 385.

Massachusetts seaport, reached members of the Virginia House of Burgesses, they reacted by proposing a fast day on the date the bill was to have become effective. Shocked by this "radical" outburst the Royal Governor, the Earl of Dunmore, dissolved the assembly on May 24, 1774. The ousted members marched to and convened at the Williamsburg Tavern. As a result of this extra-legal rally, the representatives decided to send delegates to a general congress of the colonies to be held in Philadelphia on September 5, 1774. They also issued a call for county delegates to meet in Williamsburg on August 1. On July 7, the freeholders of King George County asked William Fitzhugh and Joseph Jones, the former elected Burgesses, to attend the session at Williamsburg.[30]

The county delegates met in early August to chart the colony's future course during this chaotic interval. Once again the King George County freeholders elected Fitzhugh and Jones to the ad hoc House of Burgesses.[31] Thus, William Fitzhugh of Chatham was at the vortex of the initial revolutionary deliberations in Virginia. The August 1774 meetings marked the beginning of the "revolutionary proceedings" in that colony as the assembled delegates ignored the royal governor and selected representatives to attend the First Continental Congress in Philadelphia.

As Virginia prepared to make the transition from its colonial status to that of a sovereign state, William Fitzhugh made the transition from that of a loyal subject to an American citizen, actively participating in Virginia's revolutionary experience. He represented King George County at the ad hoc convention of delegates that met at Richmond on March 20, 1775--a meeting that attracted such Virginia political leaders as George Washington, Thomas Jefferson, Patrick Henry, and Richard Henry

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30. (Williamsburg) The Virginia Gazette, June 9, 1774; H. J. Eckenrode, The Revolution in Virginia (Boston and New York, 1916), pp. 32-34; and "William Fitzhugh of 'Chatham,' Patriot of 1774," in Denver Service Center, Quality Control, Chatham Files (hereinafter cited as DSC-QE, Chatham Files).

31. (Williamsburg) The Virginia Gazette, August 4, 11, 1774.

Lee. While in attendance, Fitzhugh probably listened to Henry's impassioned "Give me Liberty or give me death" speech. In addition to the March convention, Fitzhugh attended similar sessions in July and December of 1775 and in 1776, and he became a member of the County Committee of Safety in 1774-75. When Virginia became a state, Fitzhugh served in the House of Delegates representing King George County in 1776-77. Later, after Stafford County was carved out of King George County in 1777, he represented that county in the House of Delegates in 1780 and 1787 and in the Senate during 1781-85.[32]

Fitzhugh often expressed an active patriotic interest in the colonial struggle for independence. On December 20, 1776, during a low point in the war for the American cause, Fitzhugh exclaimed to his uncle Colonel Landon Carter that "I would with pleasure part with my last shilling to preserve my Liberty."[33] On one occasion, Fitzhugh commented to his nephew Benjamin Grymes, who became a captain in Washington's elite Life Guard, referring to what Tom Paine termed "sunshine patriots and summertime soldiers." Fitzhugh told Grymes, "How shameful it is to see so many Virginians leaving their General and their countrymen. If my constitution wou'd have allow'd me, and cou'd have been received into his Family, no consideration on Earth shou'd have induced me to quit it."[34]

Virginia asked Fitzhugh to serve as a commissioner for a new arms and ammunition factory at Fredericksburg in July 1775. Fitzhugh

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32. Ibid., April 1, 1775; "Fitzhugh Family," Virginia Magazine, VII (July, 1900), 94-95; and Earl G. Swem and John W. Williams, A Register of the General Assembly of Virginia and of the Constitutional Conventions (Richmond, 1918), p. 374.

33. William Fitzhugh to Landon Carter, December 20, 1776, Lee Family Papers, Virginia Historical Society, Richmond Virginia.

34. William Fitzhugh to Benjamin Grymes, January 27, 1778, Benjamin Grymes Papers, Alderman Library, University of Virginia.

and three others were appointed commissioners for "superintending the said manufactory. . . ."[35]

In May 1777, the House of Burgesses appointed Fitzhugh as a commissioner of another proposed munitions factory at Falmouth. The state wanted to utilize an existing iron works owned by James Hunter, a friend of William Fitzhugh. Due in part to the support given by Hunter, this installation became an important contributor to the Virginia war effort. Near the end of the war, an observer reported to Governor Thomas Jefferson:

> It is from Mr. Hunter's works that every Camp Kettle has been supplyed for the continental and all other Troops employed in this State & to the Southward this year past--that all the anchors for this State & Maryland & some for continent have been procured from the same works; that without these works we have no other resource for these articles, and without the assistance of the Bar Iron made there, even the planters hereabouts & to the Southward of this place wou'd not be able to make Bread to eat.[36]

Although no reported military action occurred at or near Chatham during the Revolutionary War, a local newspaper noted the conflict's effects on the area in the vicinity of the plantation. When British naval operations occurred on the Potomac near Fitzhugh's Boyd's Hole farm in late 1777, eight slaves ran away.[37] Before the crucial battle

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35. Hening, Statutes at Large of Virginia, IX, 71-72, and Darter, Colonial Fredericksburg, p. 200.

36. Hening, Statutes at Large of Virginia, IX, 71-72, 303-05, and "James Mercer letter to Thomas Jefferson, April 14, 1781," Executive Papers, Virginia State Library, in William and Mary College Quarterly Historical Magazine, First Series, XXVII (July, 1918), Appendix 4, 82-83. (Hereafter cited as William and Mary Quarterly).

37. (Williamsburg) The Virginia Gazette, December 19, 1777. The eight slaves included "three fellers, one wench and four children."

of Yorktown in the fall of 1781, General Washington's combined army of American and French troops camped near Chatham on September 27.[38] These troops were marching south to confront Lord Cornwallis' army on the James-York River Peninsula, and Washington's subsequent successful operation resulted in the British surrender at Yorktown on October 19, 1781.

In July 1781 Baron Ludwig Von Closen, an aide-de-camp to General Jean Baptiste Rochambeau, the leader of the French troops in the American Revolution expeditionary force, penned an account of the Fredericksburg area as the troops marched southward toward Yorktown. He related that:

> Falmouth is small, but Fredericksburg is nearly a mile long. The streets are irregular, but there are some very pretty houses; that of Mr. Fitzhugh appears to be the finest, because it is situated on a height from which there is a distant view, with the city located at the bottom.[39]

H. Fitzhugh's Postwar Business Career

During his remaining years as a Stafford County resident, Fitzhugh led an active public life. In March 1780, William Gerrard and Fitzhugh deeded two acres of land for the site of a new Stafford County courthouse. (A tablet in the present courthouse notes that the site was deeded by the two landowners.) Two years later, Fitzhugh pledged a sum of money for the restoration of the Fredericksburg Market House, a public building which had been damaged during the Revolution. In

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38. Governor Nelson to Governor Burke, in William P. Palmer, ed., Calendar of Virginia State Papers, April 1, 1781 to December 31, 1781 (Richmond, 1881), II, 381, 390.

39. Evelyn M. Acomb, ed., The Revolutionary Journal of Baron Ludwig Von Closen, 1780-1783 (Chapel Hill, 1958), p. 210.

succeeding years, the wealthy squire became involved with county court duties and served as a road commissioner in 1789.[40]

Besides being actively involved in community affairs, Fitzhugh periodically became enmeshed in various entrepreneurial pursuits, some of which were highly speculative in nature. Fitzhugh was a charter member of the controversial Mississippi Company, founded in 1763, along with such Virginia luminaries as George Washington, Richard Henry Lee, and Francis Lightfoot Lee. The planters wanted the Crown to allocate to them some 2,500,000 acres of land in the lower Ohio Valley.[41] Fitzhugh also bought land lottery tickets from Colonel Robert Byrd of Westover. The seat of Virginia government moved from Williamsburg to Richmond in 1780, and Byrd had devised lottery schemes to promote community development in that area. Washington, along with Peyton Randolph, George Wythe, and others, became a partner in this venture.[42] In 1785, the Virginia legislature named Fitzhugh as a trustee for the planned community of Leesville, a project platted to develop the Ferry Farm lands southeast of Chatham, but this project never materialized.[43] Later when he lived in Alexandria, Fitzhugh became a director of the Bank of Potomac.[44] Hence

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40. Deed, William Gerrard and William Fitzhugh to Stafford County, March 10, 1780, Stafford County Record Book S, Folio 29; Commission of William Fitzhugh, November 27, 1784, Stafford County Record Book S, Folio 201; and Commission of William Fitzhugh, 1789, King George County Court Order Book IV, Folio 205; Archives Division, Virginia State Library.

41. John R. Alden, The South in the Revolution, 1763-1789 (Baton Rouge, 1957), p. 129; Douglas Southall Freeman, George Washington: A Biography (7 vols., New York, 1948-57), III, 96; and "Lives and Autograph Letters of the Signers," p. 285, Manuscript Division, Historical Society of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania.

42. George Washington to Edmund Randolph, July 10, 1784, in John C. Fitzpatrick, ed., The Writings of George Washington From the Original Manuscript Sources, 1745-1799 (39 vols., Washington, 1931-44), XXVII, 442.

43. Hening, Statutes at Large of Virginia, XII, 210.

44. The Alexandria Daily Advertiser, August 8, 1804.

Fitzhugh was not only a tidewater planter and a man of leisure but also a businessman actively engaged in the development of Virginia.

1. The Chatham Ferry

At the time Fitzhugh built Chatham, no bridge linked his side of the river to Fredericksburg, although some early entrepreneurs had offered limited ferry service. In December 1787, Fitzhugh received permission from the Virginia General Assembly to operate a ferry. The act stated that the ferry could extend from the "land of Henry Fitzhugh at the upper end of the Town of Fredericksburg across the Rappahannock River to the land of William Fitzhugh on the opposite shore" and cost "three pence" each for a man and a horse.[45] Fitzhugh of Chatham operated the profitable ferry for a number of years in partnership with his second cousin, Henry Fitzhugh of Bellaire in Stafford County. (This early ferry connected Chatham to a landing spot at the foot of Canal Street in present-day Fredericksburg.)[46]

The two Fitzhughs offered their customers the services of "two able ferrymen, and a large strong new skow."[47] After he had moved to Alexandria, Fitzhugh offered his ferry for rent. On October 1, 1800, the partners sold the ferry to Robert Wellford, a Fredericksburg resident.[48]

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45. Hening, Statutes at Large of Virginia, XII, 511.

46. Deed, Henry, William, and Ann Fitzhugh to Robert Wellford, October 1, 1800, Fredericksburg District Court Deed Book D, Folio 77, Archives Division, Virginia State Library, and S. J. Quinn, The History of the City of Fredericksburg, Virginia (Richmond, 1908), pp. 170-71. For a description of early Rappahannock River ferries near Frederickburg, see "Wakefield, Washington's Birthplace," Tyler's Quarterly Historical and Genealogical Magazine VIII (April, 1927), 238-39.

47. The Republican Citizen and Farmer and Planter's Chronicle, January 11, 1797.

48. Deed, Henry, William, and Ann Fitzhugh to Robert Wellford, October 1, 1800, Fredericksburg District Court Deed Book D, Folio 77, Archives Division, Virginia State Library.

J. Fredericksburg as a Commercial Entrepot

In the late 18th century Fredericksburg developed into an important commercial center, as its population rose to nearly 5,000 prior to the Revolution. This growth resulted from its location on the Rappahannock and also from the fact that it lay astride the main highway between Virginia and the Middle Colonies to the north. Small vessels that sailed up and down the Rappahannock carried commerce from Fredericksburg to more than 125 ports along the eastern seaboard and abroad. Fredericksburg merchants shipped staples including grain, flour, and tobacco. By the early 1800s, the annual sales from these shipments averaged some $4,000,000.[49] It is highly likely that Chatham supplied grain and other foodstuffs to the local merchants for export.

A number of late 18th century travelers published descriptions of the prosperous Fredericksburg community. John David Schopf observed during 1783-84 that:

> This town of middling size stands partly on the low bank of the river, and partly on the heights immediately behind, which once composed the bed of the stream. The public buildings of the town, churches, market-house, court-house, lie at the time in ruins, and for no other reason than that during the war there was no use for them and they were neglected; for no hostile troops came this way, who might have destroyed them. The tobacco-warehouses here had a great store on hand.[50]

Another traveler, Elkanah Watson, who traveled south from New England viewed the Fredericksburg area less enthusiastically. He noted that "As we approached Fredericksburg, we passed many elegant plantations, whose owners appeared to enjoy the splendor and affluence of nobles.

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49. Templeman and Netherton, Northern Virginia Heritage, p. 10.

50. Johann David Schopf, Travels in the Confederation: [1783-1784] (Reprint ed., New York, 1968), p. 42.

My New England feelings were constantly aroused and agitated by the aspect of slavery in this land of freedom."[51]

Occasionally Fitzhugh's friends, such as George Washington, directed foreign travelers to Chatham. On September 24, 1783, Washington informed Fitzhugh that an Italian nobleman, the Count del Verme, would be stopping in the Fredericksburg area:

> As he had been through all the States Northward of this is now travelling to the Southward as far as Charles Town, there to Embark, it would be more satisfactory to pass down the Rappahannock to some certain point, and then cross over to York and James Rivers than to pursue the direct Road to the latter through the most uncultivated part of the whole South and I perswade myself he will derive such aids and direction from you as will render his tour most agreeable.[52]

The proximity of Chatham to major throughfares may have prompted Fitzhugh to post his lands. Fitzhugh lost two horses to thieves in May 1778. He advertised in the Virginia Gazette a reward of four dollars each for a "bright bay, 14 hands a half high," and a "dark bay."[53] In the 18th century illegal poaching of animals on private lands was endemic to the large landowners. In March 1791, the Virginia Gazette carried the following announcement by Fitzhugh, "I do hereby forewarn all persons from Hunting or Shooting on my land in the County of Stafford."[54]

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51. J. Winslow C. Watson, 3d., Men and Times of the Revolution or Memories of Elkanah Watson (2nd ed., New York, 1857), p. 42.

52. George Washington to William Fitzhugh, September 24, 1783, in Fitzpatrick, ed., Writings of George Washington, XXVII, 165.

53. (Williamsburg) The Virginia Gazette, May 8, 1778.

54. Ibid., March 10, 1791.

K. Farming at Chatham

Although the tidewater plantations had been well known for their tobacco production in the 17th and early 18th centuries, this crop probably exhausted the land in the Fredericksburg area by the late 1700s. A 1797 newspaper advertisement makes no direct reference to tobacco production at Chatham. Perhaps at one time, the plantation may have been a tobacco producer (Fitzhugh was known to have raised this crop at his other plantations), but by the time he had put Chatham up for sale in 1797, he had turned to other crops such as wheat and corn--two crops that could sustain livestock. The emphasis that Fitzhugh placed on the mill's economic potential in the 1797 advertisement also illustrates the impact of grain production at Chatham.[55]

From all indications, wheat production became the major agricultural enterprise at Chatham. Fitzhugh may have raised one or more of the commonly known varieties of that day such as English red wheat, a Sicilian variety introduced after the Revolution (somewhat more resistant to rust and smut) or several varieties that his friend Washington experimented with at Mt. Vernon.[56]

In the late 18th century, Indian corn became another major crop at Chatham. This native crop came in a variety of hues--white, red, yellow, and blue. Initially the colonists raised corn in hills, but, by the late colonial period, they laid out regular, evenly-spaced rows. To harvest the ripened crop, the slaves shucked the ears from the stalk for

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55. Most references to Fitzhugh and tobacco production are extremely oblique. For example, Fitzhugh wrote to an Alexandria merchant concerning a money advance which the merchant gave Fitzhugh for his tobacco crop, but the correspondence did not mention Chatham specifically. Fitzhugh to an unknown Alexandria merchant, July 6, 1791, IV, 1070, Emmett Collection, Manuscript Division, New York Public Library. Also see Gray, History of Agriculture, I, 176-78, II, 606-08, and Craven, Soil Exhaustion, pp. 66-67.

56. Gray, History of Agriculture, I, 169-71, II, 819-20.

subsequent shelling by hand or with wooden flails. Green leaves and the stalk tops were often reserved for cattle fodder.[57]

These crops brought varying prices at the market place. For example, in 1771 Virginia wheat commanded four shillings, six pence a bushel, an increase of two shillings per bushel over what it had brought in 1755. In 1771 corn sold for ten shillings a barrel in Virginia, or about five times the average price in colonial times, and during the Revolution prices increased even more.[58]

Although William Fitzhugh probably studied the latest developments in agrarian technology, 18th-century farming retained its labor intensive character. Other than plows, there were few other horse-drawn implements to assist the field hands. Thus, hand tools such as hoes and rakes predominated. Once cleared of forest cover, the Virginia planters usually exploited half of their lands for crops, while using the remainder for pasture. Every four years they moved fences to the half that had been rested. After the cleared land could no longer sustain tobacco, grain and Indian corn replaced the "noxious weed." From close examination of the Fitzhugh advertisements, the planter owned a number of sheep and cattle--animals which could provide manure for the fields. In fact, in one advertisement, he specifically mentioned that manure had been applied to the fields.[59] At least in this regard, Fitzhugh joined the vanguard of Virginia farmers who took direct action to replenish the soil worn out by previous heavy reliance on tobacco as a cash crop.[60]

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57. Ibid., I, 172-74.

58. Ibid., I, 174-76.

59. (Fredericksburg) The Virginia Herald, October 18, 1805.

60. Gray, History of Agriculture, I, 194-99.

L. Fitzhugh's Friends and Associates Include Washington and Jefferson

The available evidence suggests that William Fitzhugh and George Washington were close acquaintances for many years. The Revolutionary War and Washington's two terms as President kept the two influential Virginia squires geographically separated for lengthy periods in the interval between the 1770s and the 1790s. Despite their separation they corresponded often in the late 1780s and early 1790s.

Washington and Fitzhugh maintained close ties as they informed each other concerning new agricultural techniques or improved strains of seed. The late 18th century witnessed the beginnings of scientific farming, and Fitzhugh became interested in agrarian progress. In May 1791, his uncle Landon Carter informed him of a new method of threshing wheat.[61] On February 25, 1786, Fitzhugh wrote Washington that "Page and Spotswood have furnished themselves with some valuable seed of the true black English Oat, and also of the White Poland, from an English Farmer, lately arrived; I have, with difficulty obtained one bushell of the black kind, so that amongst us, next year, I am in hopes we shall be able to supply you."[62] Some years later, Fitzhugh wrote to Washington, "I send you by the Bearer Two black heart cherry trees, and two pound pear, and one pound pear and a French pear imported by Mr. George Digges of Maryland. . . ."[63] In sending Washington some seed of the Hugh's Crab Apple, Fitzhugh said that the "fruit of the seedling crab is

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61. Landon Carter to William Fitzhugh, March 14, 1791, in Olive Moore Gambrill, "John Beale Boardley and the Early Years of the Philadelphia Agriculture Society," The Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography, LXVI (October, 1942), 425.

62. William Fitzhugh to George Washington, February 25, 1786, George Washington Papers, Manuscript Division, Library of Congress.

63. Ibid., March 15, 1798, George Washington Papers, Manuscript Division, Library of Congress.

considerably larger, more juicy and supposed to make a good cyder and in greater quantity than the grafted fruit."[64]

Over the years Washington and Fitzhugh exchanged many personal visits at each other's homes. On April 29, 1786, Washington recorded in his diary that he had "set out from the Bowling Green [in Williamsburg] a little after sunrising. Breakfasted at General Spotwood's. Dined at my Sister Lewis's in Fredericksburg and spent the evening at Mr. Fitzhugh's of Chatham."[65] The next day he recorded that he had "set off about sunrising from Mr. Fitzhugh's, breakfasted at Dumfries and reached home to a late Dinner."[66] On another occasion, Washington missed his intended host at Chatham, "The next morning about sunrise we continued our journey, breakfasted at Stafford Court House and intended to have dined at Mr. Fitzhugh's of Chatham, but he and lady being from home we proceeded to Fredericksburg. . . ."[67] The last time that Washington ventured from Mount Vernon before his death was on November 17, 1799, when he attended "church in Alexandria and dined with Mr. Fitzhugh."[68]

While Fitzhugh and Thomas Jefferson were friends, there is no definitive data that conclusively verifies the frequently expressed assumption that Jefferson planned Chatham. Mrs. Ann Randolph Fitzhugh, the wife of William, was a second cousin to Jefferson. Their grandfathers were brothers, and when Jefferson's father died in 1757,

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64. Ibid., April 1, 1799, George Washington Papers, Manuscript Division, Library of Congress. Also see U. P. Hedrick, A History of Horticulture in America to 1860 (New York, 1950), pp. 169-75, for a discussion of Washington's grafting projects in his garden.

65. John C. Fitzpatrick, ed., George Washington Diaries, 1748-1799 (4 vols., Boston, 1925), III, 51.

66. Ibid.

67. Ibid., III, 365.

68. Ibid., IV, 318.

Colonel Peter Randolph, Mrs. Fitzhugh's father, was named guardian to young Thomas. Some formal social contact between Jefferson and Fitzhugh has been recorded. In 1766, Jefferson wrote from Annapolis, Maryland, that "I had the pleasure of passing two or three days hither at the two William Fitzhughs and Colonel Harrisons. . . ."[69] Because Jefferson used the popular route from Virginia to Maryland via the Hooe Ferry (now the site of the Highway 301 Potomac River Bridge), there is little doubt that he referred to spending his time en route with Colonel William Fitzhugh of "Marmion," William Fitzhugh of Somerset (later Chatham), and Colonel Nathaniel Harrison of Eagle's Nest (the stepfather of William Fitzhugh of Somerset). Years later in 1790, several letters from Fitzhugh to Jefferson reveal that the owner of Chatham purchased several horses for the latter. Jefferson also alluded to the possibility of stopping at Chatham if he happened to travel through the Fredericksburg area. Fitzhugh had extended several friendly invitations for him to do so.[70]

M. Fitzhugh and Benjamin Grymes

In his role as a host while living at Chatham and later in Alexandria, Fitzhugh also tried to assist Benjamin Grymes (1756-1804), his unfortunate nephew. Grymes, 15 years junior to his uncle, was born on January 2, 1756, in Saint Paul's Parish, Stafford County. Fitzhugh settled Grymes on his Somerset and Eagle's Nest estates but never formally deeded these plantations to the younger man.

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69. Thomas Jefferson to Col. Page, 1766, in Julian Boyd, ed., The Jefferson Papers (10 vols., Princeton, 1950), I, 19, and Dumas Malone, Jefferson and His Time (5 vols., Boston, 1948), I, 98.

70. William Fitzhugh to Thomas Jefferson, March 9, August 7, and September 5, 1790, and Thomas Jefferson to William Fitzhugh, October 29, 1790, Thomas Jefferson Papers, Division of Manuscripts, Massachusetts Historical Society, Boston, Massachusetts. The author was unable to find any evidence that Jefferson stayed at Chatham.

From a cursory review of pertinent correspondence, it appears that Grymes was not much of a money manager.[71] He constantly slipped into debt, and even more worrisome to his uncle, Grymes drank to excess. He was incarcerated for shooting Robert Galloway, a Fredericksburg merchant, in August 1794.[72] In May 1795, the Virginia Gazette announced that Grymes was "committed to the asylum at Williamsburg."[73] On March 20, 1796, an unhappy Fitzhugh pleaded with his nephew as follows:

> You know by experience that you can do without spiritous liquor and if I were in your Place, I would not for ten thousand worlds be tempted ever to taste another drop. Reflect, my dear Ben, upon the pain and anxiety, which you have been the cause of to many of your friends, but particularly to me. Keep this in mind and I am sure if your Heart is good, you will never again give pain to anyone.[74]

N. Fitzhugh Moves to Alexandria

The accessibility to the Fredericksburg area from distant points may have been one of the principal reasons which prompted Fitzhugh to try to sell Chatham and move to an Alexandria townhouse. Furthermore, Fitzhugh was well known for his hospitality while he owned Chatham, and he often pointedly referred to the increasing costs of entertaining the numerous guests who stopped at Chatham. In July 1777, Robert Carter of Nominy Hall in Westmoreland County thanked his cousin William, "I passed four nights at Chatham last April and was a partaker of the

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71. William Fitzhugh to Benjamin Grymes, March 20 and July 28, 1796, and January 4, 1797, Benjamin Grymes Papers, Alderman Library, University of Virginia.

72. (Williamsburg) The Virginia Gazette, August 11, 1794.

73. (Fredericksburg) The Virginia Herald, May 3, 1795.

74. William Fitzhugh to Benjamin Grymes, March 20, 1796, Benjamin Grymes Papers, Alderman Library, University of Virginia.

elegancies provided within doors and much delighted with your houses, grounds and situation."[75]

Even after the move to Alexandria, Fitzhugh continued his generous hospitality when he returned to Chatham. In August 1799, he reported to his nephew Benjamin Grymes of Eagle's Nest that the day, "I got home we breakfasted, dined and lodged 23 and the day before there dined upwards of 40. I assure you it is as much as we do to keep up our Table and I begin to fear I shall want corn."[76] A week later he wrote again to Grymes telling him that:

> Your Fish, Crabs and Ice were an acceptable present for we are still full of company. Mr. Turner and his Lady have just left us to make room for Mrs. Bowling of Petersburgh and several others who are hourly expected. You will be suprised when I tell you that since I have been here, I have killed 21 veals, muttons, lambs and schotts, exclusive of a large quantity from Market, three sturgeon and fowls out of number and I now begin to fear that I shall be obliged to buy corn.[77]

Apparently, Fitzhugh had been contemplating the sale of Chatham and other lands for some years. On January 14, 1796, he disposed of 3,499 acres in Stafford County, selling the land to his cousin Henry Fitzhugh of Bell Air. Perhaps, the costs of entertaining the large number of guests who stopped at Chatham motivated his decision to move to an Alexandria townhouse in October 1797. The previous November he had informed Charles Carter of his intention to move and sell Chatham:

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75. Robert Carter to William Fitzhugh, July 11, 1777, Letter Book of Robert Carter, Manuscript Division, Duke University Library, Durham, North Carolina.

76. William Fitzhugh to Benjamin Grymes, August 10, 1799, Benjamin Grymes Papers, Alderman Library, University of Virginia.

77. Ibid., August 18, 1799.

I have already purchased a new and most delightful house, in a beautiful retired situation, having a charming view of the Federal City and the Potomac River. It is large and commodious and admirably fitted for a family, having a number of out houses, in the back yard, all of brick, a pump of excellant water, and a good garden. To this is added at half a mile distance, a lot of 17 acres, well enclosed with Post and Rail Fence, to beautify and improve which shall be my amusement. Ravensworth is about ten miles off, on the great Turnpike Road, from whence I shall draw my supplies of wood and provisions, the wood not more than seven or eight miles. I have a waggon now which goes every day to Town with hay or something else for sale and am obliged to hire besides.

The sale of Chatham, which I shudder at the idea of, will pay for this new House and more than discharge every debt I owe in the world.

At present I am a slave, nay worse than a slave, for I labour with my Body and my mind is continually harass'd. . . [78]

The decision to move from Chatham to Alexandria apparently went smoothly. George Washington wrote in his personal diary on October 30, 1797, that "Mr. Carter of Shirley and Mr. Fitzhugh of Chatham came to dinner." On January 3, 1798, he recorded, "Mrs. Washington and myself went to Alexandria and dined with Mr. Fitzhugh."[79]

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78. William Fitzhugh to Charles Carter, November 30, 1796, Carter Papers, Manuscript Division, Duke University Library.

79. Fitzpatrick, ed., Washington Diaries, IV, 260, 269. This house at 607 Oronoco Street remains extant and is presently known as Robert E. Lee's boyhood home.

O. Fitzhugh Determines to Sell Chatham

Before moving to Alexandria, Fitzhugh advertised that Chatham was for sale for the first time in the Virginia Herald on February 14, 1797. The advertisement, which provides a lengthy description of the estate, reads:

FOR SALE OR PRIVATE CONTRACT A VERY
VALUABLE ESTATE KNOWN BY THE NAME OF

C H A T H A M

Most delightfully situated on the north bank of the Rappahannock River, opposite the Town of Fredericksburg, in the State of Virginia, consisting of eleven or fifteen hundred acres as may best suit the purchaser. There is on this estate a large and well built BRICK HOUSE, containing nine commodious rooms, exclusive of a spacious hall or entry 22 feet square, two pairs of stairs, suitable and convenient passages, and excellent dry cellars. It is placed on a fine healthy eminence, commanding beautiful views in every direction over the Towns of Fredericksburg and Falmouth and an extensive cultivated country. The grounds adjoining the house are neatly laid out in pleasure and Kitchen Gardens, interspersed with a variety of scarce trees a choice collection of flowers and flowering shrubs, and enriched by various sorts of the following fruits, viz: Apples, Pears, Walnuts, Chestnuts, Cherries, Peaches, Plumbs, Nectarines, Apricots, Grapes, Figs, Rasberries, Gooseberries, Strawberries and Currants; the whole admirably varied by turfed slopes which have been formed by the great labour and expense. Bordering upon these improvements, are several LOTS, in a high state of cultivation, and well set with red clover and orchard grass, and from which three heavy crops of Hay are taken every year.

Adjacent thereto are two large and flourishing ORCHARDS; one of well chosen Peach Trees, the other of Apple and Pear trees, selected from the best nurseries in the State.

Properly detached from the MANSION-HOUSE are extensive roomy offices of every denomination, viz: a Kitchen and Larder, House-Keeper's Room and Laundery, with a cellar underneath for a variety of purposes, a Store-House and Smoke-House all of brick, a Dairy and Spring House of Stone. Stables for thirty horses and Coach-houses for four carriages. Also a large and well planned Farm-Yard, with Barns and Granary, a Cow-House with separate stalls for thirty-six grown cattle, apartments for fattening veals, muttons and lambs; extensive Sheds for Sheep, and other arrangements for stock of every description, with a large and convenient receptable for provender, from which they can be furnished without being exposed to the inclemency of the weather.

An OVERSEER'S HOUSE, BLACKSMITH'S SHOP, AND QUARTERS sufficient to accomodate in the best manner more than fifty labourers.

The ARABLE LANDS are so advantageously divided as to afford an opportunity of making a large quantity of Indian Corn annually, without bringing the field into similar culture oftener than once in four years; consequently the lands may be improved by keeping up the inclosures during the intermediate years, or may be beneficially followed for Wheat and other grains, at the option of the proprietor.

On the premises there is also a MERCHANT MILL, with one pair of best French burr-stones, and one pair of Cologne; furnished with modern machinery, and now leased for the un-expired term of four years, at 150 per annum, and all grain for the use of the farm, hopper free, which is nearly 100 more.

THE MILL AND MILLER'S HOUSE are built of free-stone, within a very small distance of navigation, near to which are two or more valuable FISHERIES, and a well-accustomed FERRY over the Rappahannock to the Town of Fredericksburg.

The land contains inexhaustable Quaries of Free-Stone near to the river, is plentifully supplied with remarkable fine water, and possess a due proportion of Meadow which by having the command of water may be considerably increased.

The roads are good and the neighbourhood genteel and sociable.

In fact, exclusive of an improveable and well-conditioned Farm, the value and emolument inseparably connected with a MILL, FERRY, FISHERIES, AND QUARIES, elegibly situated the profits arising from an ICEHOUSE inferior to none in the state, and a GARDEN of four acres so abundantly stocked with vegetables of all sorts as to be fully equal to the demand in market, there might be detailed many other advantages appertaining to the fertility of these lands, which the subscriber conceives it unnecessary to mention, being fully convinced that when examined, it will be found to be a complete, pleasant, healthy residence, possessing beauties and conveniences sufficient to attract the attention of any person desirous of becoming a purchaser.

The motive which induces the subscriber to offer for sale an estate so singularly beautiful and advantageous, is a desire to become an inhabitant of Alexandria, where he can with more ease attend to his interests in the neighborhood of that city.

The purchaser may be accomodated with a few SLAVES, in families, either for plantation or domestic use.

A part of the purchase money will be required, and the balance made easy the debt being properly secured.[80]

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80. (Fredericksburg) The Virginia Herald, February 14, 1797. A potential buyer could purchase the 1,100-acre Chatham plantation or add a smaller one called Clark's to round out the sale to 1,500 acres. The Clark plantation was located some two miles below Chatham on the north bank of the Rappahannock River.

Subsequent offers to sell Chatham appeared in various newspapers during the next several years. One such advertisement was printed in the Virginia Herald on August 3, 1804, as follows:

I WILL EITHER SELL OR RENT
MY TWO FARMS

In the neighborhood of Fredericksburg, known by the names of Chatham and Clark's. The first containing about eleven hundred acres, on which there is a good Merchant Mill, and an excellent Fishery. The other supposed to be about four hundred acres, one hundred of which is now in corn and in good order for sowing wheat. They are both in a high state of cultivation. In either event, I will dispose of a part of the Negroes, Stock and Household Furniture.

Letters directed to me in Alexandria, post paid, will be duly attended to.[81]

Another lengthy descriptive advertisement appeared in the Virginia Herald on October 18, 1805, publicizing the farm's attributes. The advertisement noted:

VALUABLE LAND AND NEGROES FOR SALE

The subscriber desirous of disposing of his distant property, so as to bring his affairs within his reach & management, and for the purpose of discharging what debts he may owe, offers for sale the following Land and Negroes, at prices so reduced as to claim the attention of persons wishing to invest money in such property, viz: CHATHAM, that elegant and highly improved seat on the banks of Rappahannock

81. Ibid., August 3, 1804.

River, directly opposite the town of Fredericksburg, containing about eleven hundred acres, four hundred of which are in woods and valuable timber, the rest in cultivation and pleasure grounds. The land in tillage is level, a considerable part of it has been highly manured, and the whole of it well adopted to the culture of grass, small grain and Indian corn, as the crops now growing will atest. The house and offices are of brick, and on a large and handsome scale, with a garden in front containing four acres, laid off with taste and well planted with the choicest fruit trees in full bearing, and ornamented with forest trees and shrubs of almost every description. There is on the estate adjoining the river, a grist mill built of free stone, containing the modern machinery, and two pair of stones, one of them French Burrs. It commands a large country custom, is well situated for merchant business, and has rented for five hundred dollars per annum exclusive of all the grain of the farm hopper free, which is equal to three hundred dollars more. There are all necessary out houses, for either convenience or luxury, such as ice-house, spring house, barn, stable, offices &c. &c. With all these advantages and expensive improvements this property is offered at a price which the lands alone ought to command. There are also some valuable fisheries, and quarries of free stone on this estate.

Likewise about two hundred and thirty NEGROES, of different ages, sizes and description. A sale of them by families will be preferred; to effect this they will be offered at a reduced price. As part of these negroes are at present attached to Chatham estate, the purchaser of that property may be accomodated with any number of them, as well as stock of every description. Bank Stock of any of the Banks in Virginia, Maryland, or the District of Columbia, will be received in payment for any part of this property at a fair price and

bargains will be given, as the subscriber unable to attend to property so distant, is anxious to convert it into stock.[82]

By this time, Fitzhugh was prepared to liquidate other property he owned in nearby counties. He wanted to dispose of all his holdings except those in or near Alexandria.

P. Chatham in the 1790s and Early 1800s

The aforementioned newspaper advertisements present a detailed descriptive contemporary picture of Chatham with its large mansion, numerous outbuildings, shady grounds, fruitful gardens, and productive fields. Thus, Chatham and its support facilities approximated the model of a self-sufficient tidewater plantation in the late 18th and early 19th centuries.

For fire insurance purposes, the Mutual Assurance Society of Virginia had placed a value of $20,400 on the five main structures at Chatham in 1796 and again in 1805. These structures included the main dwelling house, its two wings, the kitchen, and laundry. The mill had a value of $6,000, demonstrating its obvious importance to the farm's economy.[83]

Fitzhugh moved from Chatham to his Alexandria townhouse sometime in late autumn 1797, but there are indications that he did not strip all the furnishings from Chatham. Fitzhugh continued to entertain at Chatham even after the move to Alexandria. Apparently, the family frequently traveled back and forth between Alexandria and Chatham, at least until the death of Mrs. Fitzhugh on August 10, 1805.[84] A Chatham

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82. Ibid., October 18, 1805.

83. Mutual Assurance Society of Virginia, Policy 48, May 6, 1796, Archives Division, Virginia State Library. (Hereafter cited as MASV No. 48.) See Appendix B for copies of available fire insurance policies for Chatham.

84. William Fitzhugh to Benjamin Grymes, August 10, 18, 1799, Benjamin Grymes Papers, Alderman Library, University of Virginia.

houseguest reported in September 1800 that the Fitzhughs would stay at the farm until winter due to a yellow fever epidemic in Alexandria.[85] On October 30, 1800, Fitzhugh's eldest daughter, Ann Randolph, was married to Judge William Craik at Chatham.[86]

Q. Chatham's Slave Community

During the nine-year interval in which Fitzhugh tried to sell Chatham, he fluctuated between a total sale of the real estate, cattle, and livestock and merely the sale of the slaves on the estate. Evidently, the number of slaves varied at Chatham. For instance, in 1783 Fitzhugh possessed 103 taxable slaves, not including children or older individuals who were exempted from taxation by court order.[87] In 1801, the county tax records reported that Fitzhugh's overseer, Burkett Bowen, was responsible for 44 taxable slaves at Chatham.[88] After selling Chatham to Major Churchill Jones on May 9, 1806, Fitzhugh offered the plantation's slaves for sale in November of that year. On November 21, 1806, Fitzhugh had the following advertisement published in the Virginia Herald:

VALUABLE NEGROES FOR SALE

I will offer, at public sale, at Herndon's Tavern, in the Town of Fredericksburg, on Friday the 2nd day of January next, if fair, if not, the next fair day, for cash, between

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85. Frances Tucker to St. George Tucker, September 13, 1800, copy in DSC-QE, Chatham files.

86. Columbian Mirror and Alexandria Gazette, November 1, 1800.

87. Stafford County Tax Lists, 1783, Archives Division, Virginia State Library. That year the county taxed Fitzhugh's ownership of 29 horses, 28 cattle, and one stud horse.

88. Ibid., 1801. The number of livestock Fitzhugh kept at Chatham had decreased to ten. The decrease in both chattel and livestock resulted from Fitzhugh's emphasis on the Ravensworth plantation.

FIFTY AND SIXTY NEGROES

> Lately attached to the Chatham Estate, consisting of Labourers and Tradesmen, of different kinds, such as Carpenters, Blacksmiths, &c &c, also a good Miller, Cook, Gardner, trainer of Horses, and some valuable House servants. They are for the number as likely and as valuable a set of Negroes as any in Virginia; also some Work Horses and Farming Utensils. Should any person in the neighbourhood be disposed to purchase at private sale, prior to the said day, I will be ready to treat with them.[89]

R. A Slave Insurrection At Chatham

In the antebellum South, plantation owners constantly dreaded the threat of violence or insurrection from their slave quarters. Not long before Fitzhugh sold Chatham in 1806, a tragic incident involving the plantation's slave community brought death and injury to several persons. According to various accounts, one white man died and a number of others were whipped and beaten by the rebellious bondsmen in 1805. As a consequence of the affair, two slaves died and authorities incarcerated several others to await punishment. An article in the Virginia Herald on January 4, 1805, reported that:

> On Wednesday last, the Negroes belonging to Wm. Fitzhugh, esq. on his estate at Chatham opposite this town, after enjoying their usual relaxation from labor during the Christmas holidays, being ordered by their overseer, Mr. Starke, to go to work, rose in a body and refused compliance. In attempting to use more powerful arguments, we understand

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89. (Fredericksburg) The Virginia Herald, November 21, 1806. It must be noted that at the same auction in January 1807, Fitzhugh wanted to dispose of property in the City of Fredericksburg as well as in Westmoreland and Richmond counties.

> he was seized by them, tied up, and severely whipped, but by the friendly exertions of one of the blacks, he made his escape to Falmouth, from whence, he returned with four other gentlemen. These were also secured by the negroes, and underwent a severe corporal punishment. In consequence a warrant was issued for their apprehension, and a large party, armed, went out to apprehend them. The ringleader, with the others, were taken; but the former, in attempting later to escape was killed; another, in a like attempt was badly wounded, and a third in endeavoring to cross the river on the ice fell thro' and was drowned--Several of the principals have been committed to prison.[90]

A subsequent article related additional details of the affair. According to the Virginia Herald, "Benjamin Russell, one of the persons who assisted Mr. Starke, in quelling the Negroes at Chatham as mentioned in our last, died on Saturday in consequence of a wound received in that affair."[91]

Local authorities reacted swiftly and harshly to the Chatham incident by executing one slave, Abraham, for "conspiracy and insurrection" on January 15, 1805.[92] Two of his cohorts, Robin and Cupid, were also condemned to death, the former for "conspiracy and insurrection, and the latter for murder." They were later transported from Virginia, and, although available evidence does not specify

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90. (Fredericksburg) The Virginia Herald, January 4, 1805.

91. Ibid., January 8, 1805. For further information on the nature and ramifications of slave crimes, see Gray, History of Agriculture, I, 514-17, and U. B. Phillips, "Notes and Suggestions, Slave Crime in Virginia," The American Historical Review, XX (January, 1915), 336-40.

92. Condemned Slaves 1800-09, Box 2, Auditor's Item 153, Archives Division, Virginia State Library.

their ultimate destination, it is possible that they may have been sent farther south or removed to a slave colony in the Caribbean.[93]

Because slaves constituted a large part of a planter's capital investment, the state acquiesced to Fitzhugh's petition for financial remuneration for the loss of his property. He received a Virginia warrant of $1,000 for the bondsmen relocated by the local courts and $400 for Abraham.[94]

S. Death of William Fitzhugh

Following the sale of Chatham in 1806, Fitzhugh's health deteriorated rapidly. In December 1807, a visitor to Fitzhugh's home related to a friend that "Yesterday evening I walked up to Mr. Fitzhugh's--the dear old man is very feeble yet his face looks well."[94]

Fitzhugh lived only three years after he sold Chatham and died at Ravensworth, his Fairfax County plantation, on December 19, 1809, at the age of 69. Fitzhugh and his wife were buried at Ravensworth near Alexandria. Four days later, a praiseworthy obituary appeared in the Virginia Herald:

> It has often been our task to record the story of departed worth; but in the present instance a virtuous life of more than half a century, forms too proud an eulogium to need our humble praise.
>
> When the hero, the statesman, or the patriot, have left the scene of their earthly glories, science, and the arts do homage to their fame--but when the good man dies, the man

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93. Ibid.

94. Ibid., and Stafford County Petitions to the Virginia State Legislature, Archives Division, Virginia State Library.

95. Cornelia Lee to Eliza Collins, December 4, 1807, File 5108, Eliza Collins Lee Collection, Alderman Library, University of Virginia.

whose character embraced the highest attributes of humanity and whose life has passed in the practice of virtue, then let the affections of posterity consecrate his memory, and his excellent example become the theme of future praise.

The estimable man who has now left us could have but few enemies; he had many friends. In the various duties of a husband, parent, master and friend, the purity of his life, will stand the test of all enquiry. He is now gathered to his fathers & when arraigned at the awful tribunal of eternal happiness, the prayers of the many whom his fire has warmed, his bounty fed, and his charity relieved, will plead his cause with grateful energy and obtain that boon, which his virtues have so truely deserved; while his remains will rest among us in a spot endeared by his remembrances; whose verdant turf will be viewed with grateful sympathy; and the poor, unfortunate, the servant and the slave, on passing by shall give to his memory the tribute of a tear.[96]

In his will, Fitzhugh made generous provision for his younger relatives and offspring. To three grandnephews, William Fitzhugh Grymes, Benjamin Grymes, and George Grymes, he bequeathed "two tracts of land in the County of King George and Commonwealth of Virginia called and known by the names Eagle's Nest and Somerset containing when united somewhere about eighteen hundred acres. . . ." To his surviving daughter Mary Lee Custis (the future mother-in-law of Robert E. Lee) the "sume of two thousand pounds," and, since her sister Ann Randolph Craik had died that year, Mary received "all my tract of land situated in the Counties of Westmoreland and Richmond and State of Virginia near the Court House of the County of Westmoreland and also my tract of land situate in the County of Stafford. . . ." He also made a number of

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96. (Fredericksburg) The Virginia Herald, December 23, 1809.

smaller bequests, but the bulk of the estate went to his only son, William Henry Fitzhugh, as follows:

> . . . I leave all the rest and residue to my estate both real and personal or every sort, kin and description whether it be money, debts due or otherwise, with a hope that he will make a proper use of it, that he will prove himself a good and virtuous man, an affectionate brother and friend to all good men.[97]

The sizable estate that Fitzhugh left to his heirs firmly illustrates his significant economic role in 18th century Virginia.

T. Chatham Myths, Romance, and Folklore

Since Fitzhugh's day, much local and regional mythology has developed about Chatham. As pointed out earlier in this report, efforts by the author have been made to trace the various legends, traditions, and myths with the goal of either substantiating them with historical documentation or demonstrating their inaccuracy. Some of the most commonly circulated tales describe George Washington's seemingly inexhaustible relationships with the historic plantation. According to popular belief, Washington courted the winsome widow, Martha Dandridge Custis, at Chatham. This was impossible, because Washington married Martha on January 6, 1759, and Chatham was not built until some ten to twelve years later.

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97. Will, William Fitzhugh, dated September 3, 1805 (with codicils dated February 28, 1808, and December 6, 1809), Fairfax County (Virginia) Will Book J-1, Folios 244ff. Also see the appraisement and inventory of Fitzhugh's Ravensworth estate in ibid., Folios 385-94. The Ravensworth plantation included 232 slaves at an appraised value of $40,451 and other property valued at $47,500.82. Fitzhugh's will may also be found in Alexandria (Virginia) Will Book C, Folios 308-13. In that same volume (Folios 318-22) may be found the appraisement and inventory of Fitzhugh's estate that was attached to his Alexandria townhouse--two slaves, household furniture, books, silver, etc.

Another myth purports that Colonel John Dandridge, Martha Washington's father, died suddenly at Chatham, perhaps due to a heart attack. For example, S. J. Quinn in The History of the City of Fredericksburg, Virginia states:

> The most satisfactory explanation of Col. Dandridge's presence in Fredericksburg, that we have heard given, is that he was attending the celebrated races at Chatham, held by Wm. Fitzhugh, which drew to the town people from all sections of the country.[98]

Colonel Dandridge is buried at St. George's Church in Fredericksburg and the gravestone inscription reads: "Here lies the body of Col. John Dandridge, of New Kent county, who departed this life the 31st day of August 1756, age 56 years." Thus, Dandridge died when William Fitzhugh was 14 yers old and at least 14 years before Chatham was built.

Although in later life Fitzhugh owned race horses and took part in many contests, there is no conclusive available evidence to prove that races ever took place at Chatham during Fitzhugh's occupancy. As discussed previously, horse races were held at the annual fairs at Fredericksburg. Possibly some contests could have been held in the fields near Chatham on an ad hoc basis, but no existing evidence proves that Fitzhugh ever constructed a formal racecourse on the plantation.

An oft-repeated quotation allegedly uttered by Washington has no discernible factual basis. Georgia Dickinson Wardlaw in The Old and the Quaint in Virginia repeats Washington's unsubstantiated praise of Fitzhugh's well-known hospitality. According to Wardlaw, Washington told

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98. Quinn, The History of the City of Fredericksburg, pp. 236-37. According to Darter, Colonial Fredericksburg, p. 117, Fitzhugh "perhaps had the finest" racetrack in the Fredericksburg area. The author offers no evidence to support this contention. It would appear that Darter merely repeated undocumented stories about Chatham.

Fitzhugh that "I have put my legs oftener under your mahogany at Chatham than anywhere else in the world, and have enjoyed your good dinners, your good wines, and your good company more than any other."[99] George H. S. King, the noted Fredericksburg genealogist and historian, attempted to locate the original source of this quotation some 25 years ago. Replying to King's inquiry concerning this matter, Charles C. Wall, then resident superintendent of Mount Vernon, noted that "This quotation does not appear in any of the published letters (which would rule out the Washington papers at the Library of Congress). For my own part, I doubt that the statement was ever made. . . ."[100]

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99. Georgia Dickinson Wardlaw, The Old and the Quaint in Virginia (Richmond, 1939), pp. 151-52.

100. Charles C. Wall to George H. S. King, November 17, 1955, George H. S. King Papers, Vol. III.

CHAPTER III

CHATHAM UNDER MAJOR CHURCHILL JONES: 1806-22

Between the time that William Fitzhugh sold Chatham to Major Churchill Jones in 1806 and the outbreak of the Civil War in 1861, a number of individuals owned the plantation, all of them members of one extended family. Diversified agriculture, as opposed to emphasis on a single cash crop, continued to be the principal activity at Chatham during the antebellum years. Throughout the period from 1770 to 1861, Chatham retained the characteristics of a model tidewater plantation but not as a farm solely dependent on one crop agriculture. Chatham produced a diverse mix of crops and livestock.

A. Major Churchill Jones: Owner of Chatham, 1806-22

On May 9, 1806, Fitzhugh sold Chatham to his acquaintance and distant relative Major Churchill Jones. The major purchased the plantation for "$20,000 current money of the United States. . . ." According to the deed of conveyance, Fitzhugh

> doth give grant bargain and sell unto the said Churchill Jones his heirs and assigns the following tracts or parcels of land situate lying and being on the north side of the Rappahannock River in the County of Stafford and Commonwealth of Virginia viz: so much of the two tracts or parcels of land as is <u>not</u> included within the lines of Wilkinson's patent adjoining each other and lying on the said river, the one formerly the property of George Shepperd, escheated and granted to William Fitzhugh by patent dated 10 March 1696 for 350 acres, the said two parcels of land being parts of a larger tract granted unto John Catlett by patent 2 June 1666 and beginning at a beech at the mouth of Claybornes Run extending thence up the river 236 poles to a black oak standing on the bank of Rappahannock River, thence into the woods E.N.E. 480 poles to a white oak, thence S.S.E. 226 poles to where a hickory formerly stood thence W.S.W. to a beech by the run of Clayborne's Swamp, then down the swamp and branch to the beginning; also a tract of land near or adjoining the aforesaid purchased by William Fitzhugh of Landon Carter and Elizabeth, his wife, by deed dated 19 October 1793 for 588 acres and is bounded as follows:

> Beginning at the intersection of the lines of Waugh and Wilkinson and running thence S. 41 W 150 poles to a stake in an old field from thence S. 4° E. 230 poles to a stake in a field on the south side of Claiborne Run from thence S 41 W 61 poles to the present road to Falmouth from thence with the meanders of the said road S. 35 W. 42 poles S. 30 poles S. 20 E. 46 poles S.2° W.93 poles S.23 W.32 poles to the old mine road thence with that road S.1° W.20 poles S.17° E. 16 poles to Buchannan's line, thence with his line S.76° East 91-1/2 poles to Claiborne's Run, thence S.36° .37° E.180 poles to Catlett's line as is supposed, thence N.59°E.13 poles to Wilkinson's line, thence with his line to the beginning, subject however to all the conditions restrictions, covenants and reservations in the said deed contained from the said Landon Carter and Elizabeth, his wife, to the said William Fitzhugh which deed is now of record in the said County Court of Stafford . . .[1]

Jones must have paid less than $7,000 in cash because he gave a deed of trust to Fitzhugh for the sum of $13,333.33, "payable in four equal installments to commence April 5, 1807 with interest."[2] This land transaction included 1,288 acres--two 350-acre parcels that with chain of title had originated on June 2, 1666, and the 588-acre parcel acquired by Fitzhugh in 1793. By 1811, Jones had paid the debt on Chatham.[3]

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1. Deed, William Fitzhugh to Churchill Jones, May 9, 1806, Fredericksburg District Court Deed Book E, Folio 446, Archives Division, Virginia State Library.

2. Ibid.

3. Indenture of Release, Robert Randolph (executor of William Fitzhugh estate) to Churchill Jones, March 11, 1801, Stafford County Record Book AA, Folio 201, Stafford County Courthouse, Virginia.

B. The Jones Era at Chatham

Following Fitzhugh's occupancy, the next two owners were brothers, Churchill (1748-1822) and William (1750-1845) Jones. The brothers were the sons of Churchill and his wife Millicent (Blackburn) Jones, who lived in Middlesex County. Mrs. Jones died in 1751 and her husband succumbed in 1761. Relatives placed the two youths under the guardianship of their kinsman Colonel William Churchill, and the two boys grew up in the Middlesex County home of their uncle, Colonel Armistead Churchill.[4]

In 1769 Churchill Jones married his cousin, Judith Churchill, the daughter of Colonel Armistead Churchill. Armistead Churchill's wife, Hannah (Harrison) Churchill, was Colonel Nathaniel Harrison's sister. Harrison was William Fitzhugh's stepfather, and thus Chatham's first two owners were distant relatives by marriage.[5]

William married Betty Churchill, Judith's sister, in November 1774, and Judith died either before or during the Revolutionary War, leaving Churchill a widower.[6] On September 13, 1775, Churchill, with William and Betty Jones as assignees, leased 262 acres in the wilderness of Spotsylvania County from Alexander Spotswood, grandson of Governor Alexander Spotswood.[7] This land, which was known as Woodville, served

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4. Rev. James Power Smith, Jr., "Notes on the Ellwood House, Spotsylvania County, Virginia," Virginia Magazine, XLIV (January, 1936), 1-2. Colonel Armistead Churchill's home was known as Bushy Park until 1760. In that year it was destroyed by fire. In 1762 a new home was built and was known as Wilton.

5. George H. S. King Papers, Vol. IV.

6. Smith, "Notes on the Ellwood House," 4.

7. Lease, Alexander Spotswood to Churchill Jones, September 13, 1775, Spotsylvania County Deed Book J-1, Folio 118, Spotsylvania County Courthouse, Spotsylvania, Virginia. Although the land was legally located in Spotsylvania County, it was on the Spotsylvania-Orange county line. Hence it was often described as in the case of this deed as being located in Orange County.

as the home of Churchill (and apparently of William and Betty Jones) until he left to join the Continental Army in 1777.[8]

During the Revolution, Churchill Jones earned the rank of brevet-major and served with distinction in the South, but his brother refused to support the war with Great Britain. As a reward for his military services, Major Jones received patents to 4,000 acres of Kentucky land headed with the caption "three years captain of the Virginia line." He served from January 1, 1777, to the close of the war, principally under Colonel William Washington in South Carolina. Following the war, Jones was inducted into the Order of the Cincinnati, a veterans' organization formed by former officers in 1783. By 1806, Jones still had not received his land bounty, and on December 30 of that year he petitioned Congress for a warrant.[9]

Major Churchill Jones married twice following the Revolution. In 1787 he married Mary Thornton, the widow of the wealthy Colonel William Champe, another Revolutionary War officer, but she died in 1802. Before his purchase of Chatham, Major Jones married his third wife, Mrs. Martha (Selden) Douglas, the wealthy widow of William Douglas, a Scottish merchant from Petersburg, Virginia.[10] Following their marriage the couple spent some time that summer at Woodville, Jones' plantation in the Wilderness, a short distance from Ellwood where his brother William resided.[11]

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8. On February 17, 1777, William Jones leased a separate 642-acre tract from Alexander Spotswood. This tract, which was located about one mile from Woodville, became the first parcel of land of the large estate on which William later built Ellwood. Lease, Alexander Spotswood to William Jones, February 17, 1777, Spotsylvania County Deed Book J-1, Folios 125-28, Spotsylvania County Courthouse.

9. Master Index to Revolutionary Pensions, Bounty Land Warrants, and Churchill Jones, Bounty Land Warrants, Folder 300-04, Continental Army, Virginia, National Archives, Washington, D. C.

10. George H. S. King Papers, Vol. IV, and (Fredericksburg) The Virginia Herald, June 14, 1805.

11. Smith, "Notes on the Ellwood House," 6-7.

C. Social Life at Chatham: Mrs. Churchill Jones, Matchmaker and Homemaker

During her sixteen-year tenure at Chatham, Mrs. Churchill Jones played a major role in shaping the social life of the plantation through her activites as a matchmaker and homemaker. Not only did she have a significant impact on the social life at Chatham, but she also directed the efforts to lay out new gardens to enhance the attractiveness of the estate. She laid out the garden in a series of sloping terraces in front of the large brick structure. Thus, she continued the work originated by Fitzhugh to improve and to beautify Chatham's landscape.[12]

The general tone of the Gibson Family Papers at the Virginia State Library reveals the dominant role Mrs. Jones often played in domestic matters and the affairs of others. Mrs. Jones' niece, Martha Ann Elizabeth Macmurdo (1792-1867), lived with the Jones family when they moved to Chatham. She was the only child of Elizabeth (Selden) Macmurdo (1770-92), Mrs. Jones' sister. Later, she was joined at Chatham by another niece of Mrs. Jones, Elizabeth Selden, the child of her brother John W. Selden.[13]

Having no children of her own, Mrs. Churchill Jones may have lavished a great deal of attention on the two girls. The elder girl, Elizabeth Macmurdo, was reared from infancy by Mrs. Jones. Although Elizabeth was wooed by many young men whom Mrs. Jones considered highly eligible, she chose the hand of Patrick Gibson, a merchant from Richmond and a widower with several children from a previous marriage.[14] The available evidence illustrates that this decision greatly displeased both Major and Mrs. Jones.[15] The extent of the bitterness

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12. Betty Churchill (Jones) Lacy, "Memories of a Long Life," April, 1903, p. 4, DSC-QE, Chatham Files.

13. George H. S. King Papers, Vol. VI.

14. Ibid.

15. Patrick Gibson to Charles J. Macmurdo, November 10, 1812, Gibson Family Papers, Archives Division, Virginia State Library.

expressed by Martha Jones toward Gibson is apparent in the following letter which she addressed to him on January 20, 1813:

> I am not a little surprised and greatly distressed that you should again express a wish to visit me. Your seeing me could have no effect upon my fixed determination. I have made a solemn vow and called my God to witness it, that if Elizabeth marries under the present existing circumstances, which can never be removed but by the hand of Heaven--never to see her more--and my vow I would not break for ten thousand worlds. Should you be at a loss to know Mr. M. can explain them--my objections, and now let me beg that you will not again probe the wound in my afflicted bosom alas too deep already by another request which would only add to my wretchedness, for I can never see you. Don't write me on the subject ever again.[16]

Meanwhile, Elizabeth's father removed her from Chatham and sent her to live with another aunt in Cumberland County, Virginia, that winter. Despite a lengthy exchange of spiteful letters with Martha Jones, Elizabeth married Patrick Gibson on February 27, 1813, and reconciliation within the family occurred later that year.[17]

On the other hand, the younger niece, Martha Ann Elizabeth Selden, appears to have chosen the hand of one who had the tacit

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16. Martha Jones to Patrick Gibson, January 20, 1813, Gibson Family Papers, Archives Division, Virginia State Library.

17. Elizabeth Macmurdo to Churchill Jones, December 20, 1812; Churchill Jones to Elizabeth Macmurdo, December 27, 1812; Martha Jones to Patrick Gibson, January 20, 1813; Charles J. Macmurdo to Elizabeth Macmurdo, January 28, 1813; Robert Fitzgerald to Mrs. Churchill Jones, February 10, 1813; Elizabeth Fitzgerald to Elizabeth Bigson, April 16, 1813; James H. Fitzgerald to Mrs. Churchill Jones, July 8, 1813; Patrick Gibson to Elizabeth Gibson, September 8, 1813; and Martha Jones to Elizabeth Gibson, March 17, 1814, Gibson Family Papers, quoted and/or excerpted in George H. S. King Papers, Vol. VI.

approval of Mrs. Churchill Jones. In 1816, her niece Martha Ann was married to John S. Knox. On October 9, 1816, the Virginia Herald reported, "Married At Chatham, the seat of Major Churchill Jones on Thursday last by the Reverend Mr. McGuire, Mr. John S. Knox to Miss Ann Elizabeth Selden."[18]

Some five years later, Mrs. Jones did what she could to encourage the marriage of her husband's long-time friend, Judge John Coalter of Richmond, to her husband's only niece and daughter of William Jones, the widowed Hannah (Jones) Williamson. There is little doubt that through her efforts a packet of letters arrived at Chatham while the William Jones family visited there in 1821 containing correspondence from Judge St. George Tucker of Williamsburg, Virginia, and his granddaughter, Elizabeth Tucker Coalter. In these letters, Tucker and his granddaughter expressed their approbation to the proposed union of Judge Coalter and Hannah Williamson. Judge Coalter had been a widower since 1813 and his only daughter, Elizabeth Tucker Coalter, had written Hannah Williamson, expressing agreement with her father's marriage plans.[19] Less than a month later, Mrs. Jones wrote to her niece, Elizabeth Gibson, stating that:

> I am a strong advocate in favor of this match because I think it will be attended with happiness to her, as everyone speaks so highly of the Judge's good qualities. As to my giving you an idea of this epistle, I could not do it justice, and I should be loth to make it appear eloquent by an ill attempt. The two letters from Judge Tucker and Miss Coalter I did not see but hear their contents, which was very handsome.[20]

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18. (Fredericksburg) The Virginia Herald, October 9, 1816.

19. Martha Jones to Elizabeth Gibson, November 9, 1821, Gibson Family Papers, Archives Division, Virginia State Library.

20. Ibid., December 1, 1821.

Late in January 1822, Mrs. Jones traveled to Ellwood to assist with the wedding preparations. That February, Mrs. Jones wrote her niece that the marriage would take place, but that she would have to go alone to the affair because the Major was too ill to travel. According to an article in the Virginia Herald on February 16, 1822, the wedding occurred "on Thursday evening last at Elwood, by the Reverend Samuel B. Wilson, the Honorable John Coalter of Richmond to Mrs. Hannah Williamson."[21] It was the fourth marriage for the Judge, and the second for Mrs. Williamson.

D. The War of 1812: Its Limited Effect on Chatham

In June 1812 the United States and Great Britain went to war over a series of disputes and grievances that had arisen between the two countries since the end of the American Revolution. Although the tide of military action swept near Chatham, it did not affect the plantation directly. Nevertheless, the British attack on Washington, D. C., in August 1814 caused alarm at Chatham. On the night of August 24, the British burned the White House and other public buildings. The following day, Martha Jones wrote to Elizabeth Gibson informing her of a possible British attack in the Fredericksburg area as follows:

> . . . We have every reason to fear that Washington were in flames last night from the appearance of fire, & redness in the Skies--& sound of Cannon--the British shipping lie in sight of Cary Seldens--which is only 7 miles from us--say six Ships--Tenders & Barges--it is expected as soon as the main body of troops compleats all the mischief they can do at Washington, Alexandria & else where, they will attack us. We have only a short 600 raw melitia station at Camp Seldok. We have sent off 5 Waggon loads & am still packing up & shall leave this on the first alarm. Poor Chatham must stand it's ground. I expect it will be burnt certainly if Fredericksburg

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21. (Fredericksburg) The Virginia Herald, February 16, 1822.

goes--Should their be the least alarm in Richmond pray set off immediately for Chiloe--they have plenty of house roome & you know would be happy to see you & all your family--you shall hear from me when ever I have the leisure to write, which will not be very often--[22]

E. Major Churchill Jones Supports Internal Improvements That Affect Chatham

Major Jones became interested in a number of internal improvement projects following the War of 1812. In October 1817 Churchill Jones, his brother William, and a number of local associates pledged to buy 20 shares of stock valued at $50 a share in a turnpike company slated to construct a road from Orange County eastward to Fredericksburg, thus enhancing commercial enterprise in that area of Virginia. A local bank held a note for the value of the stock, but at the time of his death in 1822, Churchill Jones had not redeemed his portion of the note.[23]

In the early 1820s, Major Jones decided to build a bridge across the Rappahannock, a project financed by two local merchants, William A. and John S. Knox, the latter being the husband of Jones' niece. They credited Jones for "merchandize and other necessaries furnished and cash advanced on account of the Bridge erected by the said Churchill Jones across the Rappahannock River at Fredericksburg commencing in July 1821 and ending in January, 1823." Available documents demonstrate that Jones carried an account totaling $7,780.87 with the Knoxes. The account included funding for timber, stone, spikes, nails, iron, and supplies such as clothing, food, and wages for the laborers. There was

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22. "Letter of Martha Selden Jones, as Contributed by C. G. Chamberlayne," William and Mary Quarterly, XVIII (July, 1938), 291-93.

23. The Bridge Account, Washington and Thornton v. Fitzhugh, File 289, Fredericksburg District Court Records, Archives Division, Virginia State Library.

a bridge house with a $30 chimney and a "large lock for the Bridge House" that cost $1.50, and the construction foreman D. Horman received a voucher for $800 in wages for "services in superintending the building of the bridge across the Rappahannock River at Fredericksburg."[24]

To provide efficient access to the Chatham bridge, Jones advertised on May 30, 1822, that he would accept bids for a road to connect the Main Road (Chatham Lane) to the bridge itself, a distance of about four to five hundred yards. This road was to be completed by August 1 of that same year.[25]

F. Natural Disasters Damage Chatham

Violent acts of nature periodically caused extensive damage to agrarian enterprises. On May 21, 1818, a savage hail storm resulted in a great deal of destruction to Chatham, especially to the crops. Two excellent personal accounts of this fierce storm are extant. The first was part of a lengthy letter from Mrs. Churchill Jones to Mrs. Patrick Gibson as follows:

> . . . I will tell you and with sorrow to be hold it, on the 21st instant we were visited by the just judgements of an offended Creator--with the most tremendous hail storm ever seen here before. . . . Out of 500 panes of glass only 47 left and some of them cracked. The hail stones were as large as hens eggs. The hail flew across the rooms till the beds and everything was quite wet but that was not the most melancholy sight--our poor garden was torn all to pieces--all the peas cut down--every vegetable destroyed--the lovely flowers shared the same fate and the Poplars stripped of their foliage and all the shrubbery had the appearance as if the catapillar had eaten off all the

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24. Ibid.

25. (Fredericksburg) The Virginia Herald, June 1, 1822. Other than sketchy documentary references to Chatham Lane, little graphic evidence was found concerning the historic road pattern near Chatham.

leaves. You can have but a faint idea of our situation--the little fruit that the frost left us the hail has beaten off--no fruit--no vegetables--no flowers--no Beauty--all are gone. Poor Chatham has lost all except its old inhabitants and God grant that they may weather many a storm yet. I am thankful it has not been worse if my dearest and most beloved friends are spared and enjoy health I am content let whatever else befall me. Your uncle says the wheat and oats have suffered fully as much as the Garden; he does not expect to make a bushel of wheat and very few oats. It is my husband's opinion from calculation that our loss will be from the hail at least $2000.[26]

On May 23, 1818, a Virginia Herald article related that:

Between the hours of five and six on Thursday evening last, this town and neighbourhood were visited with a tremendous storm of hail from a cloud which arose, apparently but a few miles distant in the north. Stones of hail are not uncommon, but the oldest inhabitants can recollect none that would bear a comparison, in size, with that which fell at this time. Many hundreds of stones were picked up after the cloud had passed, that weighed more than an ounce. Though the approach of the cloud was gradual and gave sufficient warning as to its contents, yet but few profited thereby, even to secure their windows which had shutters, and but a small portion of the window glass exposed, escaped destruction. Perhaps the loss, in this article, is little short of 5000 panes. The gardens have suffered very much without doubt, the wheat and corn within its reach, suffered also.[27]

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26. Mrs. Churchill Jones to Mrs. Patrick Gibson, May 29, 1818, Gibson Family Papers, Archives Division, Virginia State Library.

27. (Fredericksburg) The Virginia Herald, May 23, 1818.

G. The Death of Major Churchill Jones

Major Churchill Jones died on September 15, 1822, a few days before his 74th birthday, at his summer home, Woodville, in Spotsylvania County. A family friend reported that his "disease was a most violent billious feaver" and "somewhat of a typhus cast." She went on to report that the death will "shorten the days of his devoted brother whose age and general character are little calculated to struggle with misfortune. . . ."[28] Many years later, his niece related that Jones died as the result of a "fever brought on by too much exposure in superintending the building of a bridge over the Rappahannock, the first erected at this point"--the structure that was constructed between July 1821 and January 1823.[29]

At the death of Major Churchill Jones, the Virginia Herald printed an obituary that was praiseworthy of his life. It read:

> In the death of this aged citizen, we have lost another of the surviving worthies of the revolutionary war. Major Jones was one of the earliest and most faithful defenders of his injured country in that long and arduous contest for liberty and freedom. At the commencement of the desperate struggle, he entered the army, then in his 23rd year, and continued to the service till the conflict had issued in the achievement of American Independence.
>
> Being discharged from the tented field, Major Jones sought, delighted, the more congenial shades of agricultural retirement. Here he lived long in the enjoyment of ease and opulence. And by his urbanity and kindness to his friends, his benovolence to the poor, and his affectionate deportment

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28. Elizabeth Tucker Coalter to Judge and Mrs. Saint George Tucker, September 23, 1822, Tucker Family Miscellaneous Manuscripts, 1804-1902, Manuscript Division, Alderman Library, University of Virginia.

29. Lacy, "Memories of a Long Life," p. 4.

toward the members of his family and of his extensive connexion, he has left behind him a large measure of public regard, and a memory which will long be cherished with peculiar sensibility by those who come within the more immediate sphere of his generous sympathies and active beneficence.[30]

H. Real and Personal Estate Values at Chatham During Major Churchill Jones' Tenure

Major Jones owned Chatham from May 9, 1806, to the time of his death on September 15, 1822. When Jones bought the plantation from Fitzhugh, the plantation consisted of 1,288 acres. According to a Stafford County tax book, Jones had sold 200 acres of one of the original 350-acre tracts by 1811, leaving a total of 1,088 acres on that year's tax rolls.[31]

During the Jones occupancy, local property taxes on real and personal property amounted to a rather light burden considering the amount of property owned by the Jones' family. The personal tax lists of 1815 show that Jones had at Chatham 50 taxable slaves, 15 horses, and 32 cattle. The list also enumerated:

1 Coach of $700 value
1 Clock
1 Bureau
1 Chest of Drawers (Mahogany)
1 Chest of Drawers (other wood)
1 Side Board
1 Clothes Press
9 Tables

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30. (Fredericksburg) The Virginia Herald, September 18, 1822.

31. Stafford County Tax Lists, 1811, Archives Division, Virginia State Library.

1 Mahogany Bedstead
1 Sopha
14 Mahogany Chairs
2 Carpets
2 Portraits in Oil
6 Portraits in crayon
2 Mirrors
2 Gold Watches
2 Silver Tea Pots
4 Silver Candlesticks
4 Silver Candlesticks, Plated
8 Silver Decanters
2 Silver Pitchers
1 Mill Renting for $100
1 Ice House
3 Houses exceeding $500 value--Valued to $6200.00[32]

Jones paid an $83.14 tax bill on this property, and taxes on the land were even lower. Between the years 1818 and 1821, he paid local property taxes of $14.85, $20.85, $27.20, and $19.59 on the 1,088 acres that constituted Chatham. According to the assessor, the total value of land and buildings amounted to $21,760 in 1821, while the buildings were valued at $10,000, a figure considerably lower than the value placed on them by the Mutual Assurance Society of Virginia.[33]

As had been the case during William Fitzhugh's tenure at Chatham, Major Churchill Jones continued to carry fire insurance with the Mutual Assurance Society of Virginia. In a policy dated January 12, 1815, the company describes the protection given the five main buildings listed in previous policies underwritten in 1796 and 1805. The main

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32. Ibid., 1815.

33. Ibid., 1815-21.

dwelling had a $9,000 coverage, while the entire group was valued at $20,600 and the mill amounted to $5,500.[34]

Jones and the Mutual Assurance Society of Virginia came to a new agreement concerning the property in May 1821. On this occasion, the total coverage of the six structures, including the mill, was established at $17,000. The Mutual Assurance agent valued the main dwelling house at $6,000 and the two wings at $3,000 each. Between 1815 and 1821, the deduction for "decay and bad repair" increased from $1,400 to $4,000, a figure that probably reflected increasing deterioration due to lack of maintenance.[35]

1. Chatham Mill

The Chatham mill first received mention in 1797 when William Fitzhugh advertised the plantation for sale. He described the mill as having "one pair of best French burr-stones, and one pair of Cologne; furnished with modern machinery. . . ."[36] As he continued his attempts to sell Chatham in 1805, Fitzhugh extolled the mill's economic potential by stressing that it rented for $500 a year.[37] The first site location appeared in an 1805 insurance policy placing the two-story, stone and wood structure an unspecified distance southeast of the kitchen. The building's dimensions were 52 feet, 4 inches long by 37 feet wide, and the insurance company valued the mill at $5,000.[38] In 1821 the insurance

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34. MASV No. 1330, January 12, 1815, Archives Division, Virginia State Library.

35. MASV No. 2865, May 30, 1821, Archives, Division, Virginia State Library.

36. (Fredericksburg) The Virginia Herald, February 14, 1797. Fitzhugh stated that the mill was "within a very small distance of navigation. . . ."

37. Ibid., October 18, 1805.

38. MASV No. 975, December 28, 1805, Archives Division, Virginia State Library. An historic base map that accompanied the 1961 NPS Master Plan

company described the mill as having one story above ground and the other story below grade and as having a value of $3,000.[39]

J. The Jones Estate: Real Estate, Chattel, and Personal Property

In addition to Chatham, Major Churchill Jones owned two other plantations in the area: one in Madison County and another, Woodville, in Spotsylvania County to the west of Fredericksburg. Formal inventories were made of Jones' possessions at the three estates following his death on September 15, 1822. The inventory of the Chatham estate was:

70 slaves, each mentioned by name	$16,423.00
1 Silver Cup	39.00
1 Dozen Tea Spoons	15.00
1 Silver Tureene, Salver and Spoon	180.00
4 Silver Salts	12.00
1 Set Silver Castors	50.00
4 Silver Candle Sticks	80.00
1 Silver Cream Pot	4.00
19 Decanters (various sizes and descriptions)	28.50
1 Silver Sugar Dish	20.00
1 Silver Milk Pott	8.00
1 Silver Tea Caddy	20.00
12 Cut Glass Tumblers	3.00
2 Looms with some fixtures	30.00
1 Loom with fixtures	20.00
6 Flax Wheels @ $3.00	18.00

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38. (Continued) for the park placed the "Lacy Mill" approximately one-half mile south-southeast of Chatham on a small stream (Claiborne Run) which flowed into the Rappahannock. It seems reasonable to assume that the mill was located near a stream because early mills utilized water for motive power. This site is not on the Chatham grounds presently owned by the National Park Service.

39. MASV No. 2865, May 30, 182, Archives Division, Virginia State Library. There are no apparent extant remains of the mill, but archeological field research may uncover this site.

6 Spinning Wheels	@ $2.50	15.00
3 Check Reels		4.50
1 Secretary and Book Case		50.00
1 Press		30.00
1 Mahogany China Press		40.00
1 Small Mahogany Table		10.00
12 Chairs		9.00
3 Cherry Bedsteads	@ $10.00	30.00
3 Small Beds	@ $20.00	60.00
2 Mattresses	@ $15.00	30.00
1 China Press		6.00
1 Carpet (Scotch)		10.00
1 Lot China Tea Ware		6.00
1 Set of Table China		25.00

(Then follows many items: pitchers, waiters, Irish linens, sheets, table cloths, napkins, pillow cases, dressing glasses, counterpanes, chaffing dishes, etc.)

1 Carriage (Coach) & Harness	400.00
1 Carryall	25.00
1 Cart	10.00
1 Horse Wagon	40.00
4 Carriage Horses	500.00

Also tools, farm equipment, ploughs, cultivators, harrows, wheat fans, shovels and axes.[40]

The marketable value of human chattel made up the bulk of each estate. At Chatham, the 70 slaves were appraised at $16,423, while the bondsmen at the Madison County plantation were worth some $9,000,

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40. Inventory of the Estate of Major Churchill Jones at 'Chatham,' Stafford County Record Book GG, Folio 321ff, Archives Division, Virginia State Library.

and the 44 hands at the Woodville plantation comprised most of the $12,885.70 valuation.[41]

The number of slaves kept at Chatham varied. During the Jones' period, the tally of bondsmen totaled 67 in 1810, 50 in 1815, 88 in 1820, and 70 in 1822. Depending on whether one consults the census data or local tax records, the figures change because taxable slaves did not include the entire slave population. Also, Jones owned several plantations to which slaves might be shifted depending on a priority need, and early records were not entirely accurate. All told, Churchill Jones owned well over 125 slaves according to the inventory of property prepared after he died.[42]

After the death of Major Churchill Jones, his brother William, who was serving as the executor of Churchill's estate, placed an announcement in the Virginia Herald concerning a public sale of all the perishable property at Churchill's three estates to be held on December 10, 13, and 17. The advertisement reported that the sale would consist of:

> Horses, Mules, Oxen a Large heard of Cattle, Sheep and Hogs, the crop of Corn, Oats and Fodder, Plantation Utensils, Household and Kitchen Furniture &c &c.
>
> Also, will be offered at public sale, on Friday the 13th of the same month, or next fair day, on the Orange plantation, near the Wilderness Tavern, all the Perishable Property on that Estate, being such articles as above are enumerated.

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41. Inventory of the Estate of Major Churchill Jones in Madison County and Inventory of the Estate of Major Churchill Jones at Woodville, Stafford County Record Book GG, Folio 321ff, Archives Division, Virginia State Library.

42. Bureau of the Census, Third Census of the United States 1810, and Fourth Census of the United States 1820, Stafford County, Virginia, National Archives.

> And on the 17th of the same month will in like manner be exposed to public sale, on the Madison Estate, all the Perishable Property on that Estate, amongst which are 1000 barrells of Corn, a Wheat Thrashing Machine, Distilling Apparatus complete &c &c.[43]

The sale held at Chatham on December 10, 1822, disposed of every imaginable item from 6 pickle leaves, which brought 15 cents, to a blind horse which raised $6 and a field high post bedstead that brought $7. The cash derived from this sale of Chatham items totaled $3,871.79, while that at the Madison County estate brought $3,823.68 and that at Woodville amounted to $803.67.[44]

Churchill Jones bequeathed his property to various friends and relatives, including his wife and brother, William. Jones stipulated that after "my debts are paid, I leave the remainder of my estate both real and personal to my beloved wife Martha Jones during her natural life, except the negroes I may hereafter set free, or other property I may dispose of in this instrument or by codicil."[45]

By the terms of the will, Jones manumitted a number of slaves, some of whom apparently resided at Chatham. According to the document, "I purchased a woman of Mr. William Fitzhugh, by the name of Lynny. I wish her to be free at the death of my beloved wife, and that my executors give her fifty dollars to enable her to move out of the State."

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43. (Fredericksburg) The Virginia Herald, December 4, 1822.

44. Stafford County Book GG, Folio 321, Archives Division, Virginia State Library.

45. Will, Churchill Jones, September 12, 1818, in Washington v. Jones' Executors, File 289, Fredericksburg Distict Court Records, Archives Division, Virginia State Library.

Jones also freed "Sam commonly called yallow Sam; Kiz who is the wife to Sam and all Kiz's children; Jenny and her son George; Dick, a carriage driver and Reuben."[46]

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46. Ibid. Although the documentary evidence demonstrates the presence of a slave community at Chatham, the author failed to uncover specific data pertaining to slave quarters or their location on the plantation. This is an area that requires further investigation and research.

CHAPTER IV

CHATHAM UNDER MRS. CHURCHILL JONES AND WILLIAM JONES: 1822-29

A. Mrs. Churchill Jones: Owner of Chatham Conveys Estate to William Jones

Martha Jones had little desire to remain at Chatham after her husband's death. Immediately following his death and the probate of his will, Mrs. Jones became dissatisfied with the provisions that had been made in the will regarding Chatham. The will provided that the Chatham property would pass to Martha "during her natural life," but at her death it would be given to her brother-in-law, William Jones. In happier days her letters always indicated personal fondness for William and his family, and the two families exchanged visits constantly. In November 1822, however, Mrs. Jones turned to Patrick Gibson, the man she had opposed in 1812-13 regarding marriage to her niece. After describing the upcoming sale of the personal effects and perishable property at Chatham on December 10, she wrote that William Jones was a compound of ignorance and obstinacy and "I had no conception he was the man I found him to be . . . he wants the heart and soul that his brother possessed."[1] Again on November 11, 1822, Mrs. Jones appealed to Gibson for advice concerning the disposition of the Chatham estate. She told him in detail of the deteriorating situation at Chatham, wondering that "If I take my third part of this estate, I should not think it adviseable to retain the house as it is too large for me."[2]

There are a number of letters in the Gibson Papers regarding Mrs. Jones' situation at Chatham during November and December 1822. She received considerable pressure to accept an annuity in lieu of her dower interest in Chatham and to vacate the premises.[3]

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1. Martha Jones to Patrick Gibson, November 5, 1822, Gibson Family Papers, Archives Division, Virginia State Library.

2. Martha Jones to Patrick Gibson, November 11, 1822, Gibson Family Papers, Archives Division, Virginia State Library.

3. George H. S. King Papers, Vol. VI.

Mrs. Jones concluded an agreement on December 28, 1822, with her brother-in-law in which she renounced all future interest in the estate to resolve this legal imbroglio. William agreed to pay her $800 annually, in return, for the rest of her life. To formalize the arrangement, both Mrs. Jones and William Jones were parties to an intricate legal agreement that described in detail the negotiations between the two individuals. The agreement stated in part, "she the said Martha Jones hath agreed to convey to the said William Jones all her right title and interest of in and to the estate of the said Churchill Jones, of every description, which she may or can be entitled, either in law or equity, as the widow and relict of the said Churchill Jones. . . ." Subsequently, the document stated that she had "by deed bearing equal date with these presents renounced the provision made for her by the last will and Testment of the said Churchill Jones, deceased."[4]

After the two parties concluded the agreement, Mrs. Jones moved to Richmond, Virginia, to be near her niece, Mrs. Patrick Gibson. Despite the break with William Jones, it appears that the widow Jones remained on amicable terms with Judge and Mrs. John Coalter (Coalter was Jones' son-in-law and later lived at Chatham), and she visited the plantation occasionally. For example, on July 14, 1834, she wrote to Mrs. Patrick Gibson that she had just returned from a five-day trip to Chatham "much to my satisfaction."[5]

On October 29, 1838, Mrs. Jones died in Richmond, and was interred in the old Blandford Cemetery in Petersburg. The Political Arena carried her obituary, which read as follows: "Died: In Richmond on Sunday evening last in her 76th year, Mrs. Martha C. Jones, formerly of Chatham, near Fredericksburg."[6]

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4. M. Jones v. Jones, File 156, Fredericksburg District Court Records, Archives Division, Virginia State Library.

5. Mrs. Churchill Jones to Mrs. Patrick Gibson, July 14, 1834, Gibson Family Papers, Archives Division, Virginia State Library.

6. (Fredericksburg) The Political Arena, November 2, 1838.

B. William Jones: Absentee Owner of Chatham, 1822-29

When Mrs. Churchill Jones gave up her interest in Chatham in December 1822, William Jones, the younger brother of Churchill Jones, became the legal owner. He was described as "broad shouldered, about 5 feet 4 inches, and heavy built. He wore short clothes and fair tops. He was energetic, intelligent and hospitable."[7] He was later remembered as a man who owned the last four-horse coach in Virginia, and who wore knee breeches and ruffled shirts to the day he died.[8]

Jones married his first wife, Betty Churchill, in 1774, and their only child, Hannah, was born six years later. Betty (Churchill) Jones died at Bush Hill, her daughter's home, in 1823. Hannah married David Williamson, a Fredericksburg merchant, in 1804.[9] Following Williamson's death, she married Judge John Coalter at Ellwood in 1822. When Hannah's widowed aunt, Martha Jones, relinquished claim to Chatham, her father probably invited the Coalters to stay at the plantation and conveyed it to them sometime later.

William Jones married again on July 31, 1828. His second wife, 16-year-old Lucinda (Lucy) Gordon, was 62 years younger than her new spouse. She was the daughter of Nathaniel Gordon and Elizabeth (Ellis) Gordon, and the grand-niece of Betty (Churchill) Jones, William's first wife.[10] A daughter, Betty Churchill Jones, was born at Ellwood to this couple on June 21, 1829, exactly 49 years after the birth of Jones' first daughter, Hannah.[11]

When Betty was about six years of age, Jones sent her to live with her half-sister at Chatham. The youngster spent the winter attending

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7. Quoted in Smith, "Notes on the Ellwood House," 6.

8. Ibid., 10.

9. (Fredericksburg) The Virginia Herald, October 11, 1804.

10. (Fredericksburg) The Political Arena, August 5, 1828.

11. Lacy, "Memories of a Long Life," p. 3.

Mrs. Little's school in Fredericksburg, returning to her home plantation, Ellwood, during the summer.[12] Following the death of 96-year-old William Jones in 1845, Betty became the legal ward of William H. Fitzhugh, Jr., a relative of the builder of Chatham. On December 1, 1845, Jones' will was admitted to probate. He left all of his property jointly to his two daughters, Mrs. Hannah Coalter, by then a widow, and Betty Churchill Jones, who would later marry James Horace Lacy on October 17, 1848.[13]

C. A Flood Damages Chatham Bridge

The original Chatham Bridge that had been completed in January 1823 lasted only three years. On June 25, 1826, heavy rains led to severe flooding along the Rappahannock and destroyed the bridge which was later rebuilt. The Virginia Herald carried a lengthy descriptive account of the flood:

> We had occasion, a few days since to notice a considerable and sudden rise in Rappahannock River, by which one bridge in the vicinity of our town was carried away: We have now a more melancholy duty to perform in recording the loss and almost entire of the two beautiful Bridges opposite this place, occasioned by another flood, which has not been equalled since the memorable Fall of 1814.
>
> On Sunday, between 2 and 3:00 the rain commenced and continued with short intermissions, to fall in heavy showers, until Monday morning when clouds dispersed. In the course of the day, the river began to swell, and on Tuesday morning it attained its greatest elevation.
>
> Many of the houses situated near the Wharves were now completely inundated and could only be approached in boats.

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12. Ibid.

13. Smith, "Notes on the Ellwood House," 9, and Spotsylvania County Marriage Register, 1795-1853, Spotsylvania Court House.

The bridge built by the late Major Jones, of Chatham, and which has been since it was erected, one of our most delightful promenades, first gave away and all that portion of its reaching from Brown's Island to the Stafford shore, moved off with the impetuous torrent. On reaching the lower Bridge, a few hundred yards distant, this heavy mass of timber carried with it several of the central arches of this Bridge, also; and, in less than an hour afterwards, the whole reaching from the abutments on either side, rose to the bosom of the flood, and floated down the resistless current. In the destruction of these bridges, our town has sustained a great public loss. The lower Bridge was owned by a Company; the upper was the property of the heirs of the late Major Churchill Jones. We have heard that Judge Coalter, the present proprietor of Chatham estate has expressed his intention of speedily replacing this bridge.[14]

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14. (Fredericksburg) The Virginia Herald, June 28, 1826.

CHAPTER V

CHATHAM UNDER JUDGE JOHN COALTER: 1829-38

A. Judge John Coalter: Owner of Chatham, 1829-38

Judge John Coalter (1769-1838) was the fifth owner of Chatham. Coalter was born August 20, 1769, on Walker's Creek in what was then Augusta, but now Rockbridge County, Virginia. As a youth he studied at Liberty Hall Academy of which he became a trustee in 1798.[1] In the autumn of 1787 at age 18, John Coalter became a tutor to three children at the household of Judge St. George Tucker, who lived at Matoax. Coalter's sponsor characterized the young man as a "decent, Augusta County man."[2] In one letter to his father, Coalter boasted of the people he met at Matoax, as being "Judges, Members of Congress, Colonels and their ladies."[3]

During the winter of 1787-88, Judge Tucker's wife, Frances (Bland) Tucker, died. Because Mrs. Tucker held the plantation in dower right as the widow of her first husband, John Randolph, her death removed that right and the widower, Judge Tucker, had to move. Tucker purchased a home from Governor Edmund Randolph in Williamsburg, a property now known as the Tucker House. In the fall of 1788, he moved his family to that house bringing with him the tutor John Coalter and Maria Rind, an orphan girl from Williamsburg who had spent ten years working at Matoax.[4]

In Williamsburg, Coalter continued his tutorial duties at the Tucker residence while studying law under Chancellor George Wythe. He

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1. John Stewart Bryan, "John Coalter," Proceedings of the Fortieth Annual Meeting, The Virginia State Bar Association, XLI (July 31-August 2, 1929), 460-68. Liberty Hall Academy later became Washington College and is now Washington and Lee University.

2. Mary Haldane Coleman, St. George Tucker, Citizen of No Mean City (Richmond, 1938), p. 90, and Elizabeth Tucker Bryan, "Some Further Account of John Coalter," ca. 1840, Elizabeth Tucker Bryan Papers, Virginia Historical Society.

3. Coleman, St. George Tucker, p. 90.

4. Ibid., pp. 95-112.

married Maria Rind at Williamsburg in 1791, and moved to Staunton, Virginia, where he established a law practice. On March 15, 1791, he received an appointment as sheriff of Augusta County, and on June 19, 1793, he was named Clerk of the District Court of Augusta. John Coalter also served as Commonwealth Attorney for Augusta County.[5]

On February 7, 1809, the Virginia legislature elected Coalter as one of the judges of the Circuit of Supreme Courts of Law. Governor James Monroe assigned him to the Twelfth Circuit on February 9, 1809, a district in what is now West Virginia. On May 11, 1811, Governor Monroe commissioned Judge Coalter to fill the vacancy on the bench of the Court of Appeals created by the April resignation of his mentor, Judge St. George Tucker. Judge Coalter occupied the bench until his resignation on March 23, 1821.[6]

John Coalter's first wife, Maria Rind, died in childbirth a year after their marriage. In 1795 Coalter married Margaret Davenport, who died two years later. A prominent attorney and twice widower, Coalter resided at Elmwood near Staunton where his mother-in-law, Mrs. Davenport, kept house for him.[7]

In 1801 the noted Virginia politician and Coalter's acquaintance, John Randolph, accompanied his half-sister, Ann Francis (Bland) Tucker, to Sweet Springs, Monroe County, in western Virginia for her health. While taking the cure at the springs, Miss Tucker met John Coalter, who had tutored her many years before. On June 5, 1802, Coalter married Ann Tucker (1779-1813) while residing at Elmwood with his mother-in-law, Mrs. Davenport.[8]

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5. Bryan, "John Coalter," 460-68.

6. Ibid.

7. Coleman, St. George Tucker, pp. 158-63.

8. Ibid.

The couple reared three children, Francis Lelia (born 1803), Elizabeth Tucker (born 1805), and St. George Tucker Coalter (1809-39). Ann (Tucker) Coalter died on September 12, 1813, at Red Sulphur Springs in Monroe County where her husband had taken her for medical reasons.[9]

B. The Coalters Move to Chatham

On February 14, 1822, Coalter married his fourth wife, Hannah (Jones) Williamson, the daughter of William Jones. Perhaps the Coalters stayed at Chatham occasionally following their marriage at the behest of Jones, but the first solid documentation placing Coalter in Fredericksburg does not appear until 1824.

In 1824 Major General Marie Joseph Lafayette made a triumphal return visit to the United States. He landed in Charleston, South Carolina, and made his way up the eastern seaboard that year. In late November 1824, he spent a couple of days in Fredericksburg, Virginia. Dinners, receptions, and a ball feted this illustrious hero of the American Revolution. Although Lafayette did not visit Chatham, a contemporary account does mention the presence of Judge Coalter at a Sunday dinner held to honor the distinguished visitor. Following a morning visit to the Fredericksburg Masonic Lodge No. 4, the General walked to the dining place. The account states that his "company was small, among whom were the Hon. Judges Brook and Coalter, and such of the citizens whose duties required them to be present."[10] Coalter's presence at the dinner implies that he must have been a familiar figure in the Fredericksburg area.

William Jones maintained legal ownership of Chatham until January 15, 1829, but apparently Coalter bought the property in late

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9. Ibid.

10. Fredericksburg, Virginia, November 27, 1824, Reception of General Lafayette in Fredericksburg (Fredericksburg, 1824). There is no mention that the General went to Chatham in this concise account.

1825. On December 17, Coalter informed his former father-in-law St. George Tucker, that "I have purchased Chatham and shall remove some of my negroes there immediately and all of them in the Spring, except such as may be necessary for my Town establishment."[11] Apparently, an arrangement permitted the Judge and his wife to reside at Chatham before the time that Jones legally conveyed the property to them.

C. Relationship of Coalter and James Madison

Although there is no documentary evidence to indicate that James Madison ever visited Chatham, available evidence does demonstrate that Coalter and Madison knew each other and corresponded periodically. For example, in November 1828, Coalter needed a copy of the proceedings of a state convention in Charlottesville and while in Richmond contacted Madison for assistance. Coalter signed himself as "Your old servant," and Madison closed in his reponse with "great esteem."[12]

D. Relationship of John Randolph to Chatham

The brilliant, though somewhat erratic Virginia politician, John Randolph of Roanoke (1773-1833), was a half-brother to Ann Frances (Bland) Tucker, the third wife of Judge John Coalter. Randolph's widowed mother had married St. George Tucker in 1778, and Tucker was young John Coalter's mentor in the 1780s and 1790s.

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11. John Coalter to St. George Tucker, December 17, 1825, Box 2, Elizabeth Tucker Bryan Papers, Virginia Historical Society. No deed for this specific transaction could be found, but a reference to it exists in a later deed. See Deed, John and Hannah H. Coalter to St. George Tucker Coalter, May 29, 1837, Stafford County Deed Book LL, Folio 63, Archives Division, Virginia State Library. Betty Churchill (Jones) Lacy later wrote that Coalter agreed to pay the annuity to Mrs. Churchill Jones. She also noted that the Coalters moved to Chatham two years after their marriage in 1822. Lacy, "Memories of a Long Life," pp. 2, 4.

12. John Coalter to James Madison, November 23, 1828, and Madison to Coalter, November 27, 1828, Series 1, October 21, 1827-January 25, 1830, Reel 22, James Madison Papers, Manuscript Division, Library of Congress.

Randolph carried on correspondence with his half-sister until her death in 1813. Thereafter, he was estranged from the Tucker/Coalter family for several years, partially because he had little love or respect for his stepfather. By 1821 he was chagrined at not having closer contact with the Coalter offspring. Writing to a nephew on February 28 of that year, he observed, "It is not my fault that my sister's children have been brought up strangers to me. I had the truest regard for their mother and have omitted no opportunity that has been allowed me to cultivate their acquaintance and attach them to me."[13]

When Elizabeth Tucker Coalter, the daughter of Judge John Coalter and his wife Ann Francis, turned sixteen years of age in 1821, Randolph began a lengthy period of correspondence with his half-niece that continued until his death in 1833. During the greater part of that 12-year period, Elizabeth resided at Chatham.[14]

The affection of Randolph for his half-niece increased as the result of her marriage to John Randolph Bryan, the godson of John Randolph, at Chatham on January 27, 1830. Their first child, John Coalter Bryan, was born at Chatham on March 2, 1831, and at least three other of the couple's ten children were born on the estate.[15] Following the birth of John Coalter Bryan, his father carried on an exchange of

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13. John Randolph to T. B. Dudley, February 8, 1821, John Randolph Papers, Manuscript Division, Library of Congress.

14. George H. S. King Papers, Vol. V. In his discussion of the relationship between Elizabeth and Randolph, King notes that there are 40 letters written by the latter to the former in the Bryan Family Papers that are located in the Manuscript Division of the Alderman Library at the University of Virginia.

15. Elizabeth Tucker Coalter Bryan to Elizabeth Gordon, January 29, 1830, and John Randolph Bryan to St. George Tucker, March 16, 1831, John Coalter Papers, Manuscript Division, Alderman Library, University of Virginia.

correspondence with Randolph, describing family life at Chatham and the progress of their first-born.[16]

John Randolph died in Philadelphia on May 24, 1833, while seeking medical treatment. During the hours immediately preceding his death, he attempted to write a note to his brother-in-law, Judge John Coalter. Shortly thereafter, he struggled to write another note to his half-niece, Mrs. John Randolph Bryan, who was then visiting her father at Chatham. The note, so far as its wandering thoughts were readable, read, "Dying. Home . . . Randolph and Betty, my children, adieu! Get me to bed at Chatham or elsewhere, say Hugh Mercer's or Minor's. To bed I conjure you all."[17]

E. Two Contemporary Descriptions of Chatham in the 1830s

In late March 1835, Charles Augustus Murray, the grandson of Lord Dunmore who was the Royal Governor of Virginia at the outbreak of the Revolutionary War, visited Fredericksburg. In his Travels in North America . . ., Murray described the community and then related his experiences at Chatham. He concluded the narrative with a laudatory description of his host at the plantation, Judge John Coalter, who was then in advanced years. The Englishman reported:

> Fredericksburgh is prettily situated on the banks of the Rappahanoc, which flows nearly around it. It does not seem a very busy or thriving place, although the discovery, which has lately been made, of gold in the neighboring mountains has called a mining company into existence, and may, if it realizes

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16. John Randolph Bryan to John Randolph, March 8, 1831, John Coalter Grinnan Papers, Virginia Historical Society.

17. John Randolph to Mrs. John Randolph Bryan, May 24, 1833, Box 2, Bryan Family Papers, Manuscript Division, Alderman Library, University of Virginia. For a discussion of events surrounding the writing of this note, see William Cabell Bruce, John Randolph of Roanoke, 1773-1833: A Biography Based Largely on New Material (2 vols., New York and London, 1922), II, 46.

their expectation, increase the importance and wealth of the town beyond calculation. . . .

A wooden bridge is thrown across the river, on the opposite bank of which stands Chatham the house of Judge Coalter. It is beautifully situated on an eminence, commanding a view of the town, and of the bold sweeping course of the Rappahanoc, whose wanderings the eye may trace up to Falmouth, a pretty village, where they are made to lend their aid to some extensive flour-mills established by Mr. Gordon, a Scottish proprietor, and one of the richest (as I am informed) in Virginia.

The first glance at Mr. Coalter's house impressed me with the idea that it was of ante-revolutionary date: the old brown coloured bricks, the straight green walks in the terraced garden, and the formal grenadier row of stately poplars, all betokened the old dominion. The family not being at home, I asked and obtained, permission to view the river and valley from the garden, which I enjoyed with much pleasure for some time. As I was on the point of retiring, the Judge returned, and politely interrupted my apologies for intrusion by an invitation to go in and take a glass of Madeira. Agreeably to this hospitable arrangement, I entered a small entrance-hall, floored with polished pine boards; the wainscotting of the parlour attracted my notice, when the Judge informed me that the house was of that date which I supposed, and had been built by a Mr. Fitzhugh, well known at that time.

Judge Coalter is a favourable, but not unfrequent specimen of the best class of American gentlemen; he is plain, courteous, and hospitable in his manner, well-informed on agricultural subjects, and with a high reputation as a lawyer. Having begun with that melancholy cypher 0, for his fortune, he has the merit of having raised himself by his ability,

industry and integrity, to the highest rank of his profession, and enjoys in his retirement, the respect and esteem of all his neighbors. These estimable qualities are lodged in a form that seemed well calculated to resist the attacks of time or disease, and are portrayed in a continence combining, with singular force, frankness, energy, and shrewdness. I regretted much my inability to avail myself of the extended hospitality which he urgently pressed upon me.[18]

The second period account, Recollections of Home For My Brothers and Children, was written by one of Judge Coalter's granddaughters, Delia (Bryan) Page (1833-1902). In her account which was published posthumously in 1903, she described Chatham in the 1830s or possibly 1840s, in highly romantic terms:

> But Chatham was like a second home to us, we were there so much. . . . It took those times and the quantity of good servants we had to keep such a place up. The floor like polished glass, the gravel walks, the beautiful flower beds and shrubbery. The tall poplars at the foot of the deep fall, standing in a long row like soldiers on guard, gave it an air of grandeur and protection. The spinning house, as we called it, was my delight. There I saw them weave cloth, good cloth, bright-colored homespuns, plaids and stripes, colored or black double cloth for men, single cloth for women, flax spun and woven; cotton and yarn for socks, all interesting and looking so busy. I used to love to carry them things--potatoes from

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18. Charles Augustus Murray, Travels in North America During the Years 1834, 1835, & 1836 Including A Summer Residence with the Pawnee Tribe of Indians in the Missouri and a Visit to Cuba and the Azore Islands (2 vols., London, 1839), I, 153-54. It is interesting to note that the entire description of Chatham written by Murray was plagiarized by Judge Francis T. Brook in his "Some Contemporary Accounts of Eminent Characters," William and Mary Quarterly, First Series, XVII (July, 1908), 5.

> Miss Maria's cellar, cabbage from the garden, meat from the smokehouse. I would ask for it, and they could not deny me. There I would hear them sing, and learned so many negro songs and hymns. I knew a quantity of them for I had an ear for music and jingle. These people were so proud and so affectionate--proud of Chatham, proud of their mistress and her people. "Uncle Charles," the elegant, would receive you at the salon door as if the place belonged to him. . . .They had no use for poor white people, and thought themselves entirely above them, and of "free negroes," too, they did not associate with them. We stood in great awe of Uncle Charles, the dining room servant, who would shake his head at us and say "ungenteel, young ladies" if we transgressed in any way.[19]

F. Chatham During the Coalter Years

William Jones officially conveyed the entire plantation to his son-in-law, Judge John Coalter, on January 15, 1829. The tax records for 1830, as well as for subsequent years, credit the Chatham estate as consisting of 1,088 acres located near the Rappahannock River. That year Coalter paid $17.41 taxes for the plantation.[20]

Judge Coalter continued to insure Chatham with the Mutual Assurance Company of Virginia. In a policy dated November 15, 1836, the main house with its two wings was valued at $6,750, the two nearby outbuildings at $625 each, and the mill at $2,000, for a total of $10,000. The company stated that it would cost this amount to replace the buildings if they were destroyed. The decreasing value placed on the property indicates that very little repair or refurbishment work had been

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19. Delia Bryan Page, Recollections of Home For My Brothers and Children (Richmond, 1903), pp. 48-49.

20. MASV No. 9279, November 15, 1836, Archives Division, Virginia State Library.

done at Chatham since the last insurance valuation in 1821, when it would have cost $21,000 to replace the principal structures at Chatham.[21]

On May 29, 1837, Judge Coalter deeded 400 of the 1,088 acres at Chatham to his only son, St. George Tucker Coalter. The Judge designated that the 400 acres be totally within the bounds of the 588-acre tract purchased by Fitzhugh from Carter in 1793. He conveyed to his son only the back lands along the road to Falmouth, not the lands along the river. By virtue of this deed, the land adjoining the house was reduced to 688 acres.[22]

G. Coalter's Ailing Son

In a display of paternal affection, Judge Coalter thus established a small farm for his son St. George. In addition to the 400 acres separated from Chatham, young Coalter bought another 278 acres from James Cooke, Adam Cooke, Martha Cooke, and Mary H. Cooke, for $3,000 on July 21, 1837.[23] This property was on the main road leading from Falmouth to Stafford Court House. When combined, the properties were known locally as St. George's Park.

Unfortunately, St. George Tucker Coalter had suffered from consumption (tuberculosis) for several years. He often sought relief at various health spas in Virginia in the 1830s, but his condition worsened following the 1837 land transactions. He died at a small house on his farm on August 19, 1839, at the age of 31.[24]

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21. Stafford County Tax Lists, 1830-35, Archives Division, Virginia State Library.

22. Ibid., and Deed, John and Hannah H. Coalter to St. George Tucker Coalter, May 29, 1837, Stafford County Deed Book LL, Folio 63, Archives Division, Virginia State Library.

23. Deed, James Cooke, Adam Cooke, Martha Cooke, and Mary H. Cooke to St. George Tucker Coalter, July 21, 1837, Stafford County Deed Book LL, Folio 65, Archives Division, Virginia State Library.

24. (Fredericksburg) The Political Arena, August 2, 1839. According to the index of Stafford County Deed Book LL, his will was recorded on page 571 of that volume. However, the entire will is no longer extant.

H. The Death of Judge Coalter

On February 2, 1838, Judge Coalter died at Chatham. Betty Churchill (Jones) Lacy later discussed the Judge's final illness and death in her "Memories of a Long Life." The little girl had been allowed to join company for dessert following a gala dinner party. She wrote that after dinner she

> was in the parlor when one of the ladies was asked to play on the large organ. My sister said to me, "Bettie go and ask your brother John to come and blow the organ." I ran down the long corridor from the old parlor to the chamber, and found Judge Coulter, having been suddenly stricken with paralysis, speechless, struggling to climb upon the bed. He rallied from this attack, but lived only a year.[25]

The death of Coalter was noted in various newspapers. The Fredericksburg Political Arena carried the following obituary:

> DIED: On Friday last at Chatham, his seat opposite Fredericksburg, of Paralysis, the Hon. JOHN COALTER, formerly one of the Judges of the Court of Appeals of Virginia. We leave to other and abler pens the grateful task of pourtraying the character and services of this estimable gentleman, contenting ourselves by observing that, in his death, Virginia has lost a patriotic citizen, his family an affectionate head and our society one of its most valued members.[26]

The Richmond Enquirer also lamented Judge Coalter's passing:

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25. Lacy, "Memories of a Long Life," pp. 4-5.

26. (Fredericksburg) The Political Arena, February 6, 1838.

Died: On the 2nd instant at Chatham, near Fredericksburg, John Coalter, Esq: formerly a Judge of the Court of Appeals of Virginia and long one of the most distinguished men of this Commonwealth. He fell a victim to Paralysis, of which he had an attack about twelve months since, but from which he in a great degree recovered. A stroke of a very recent date, it was hoped, would not be more serious; but we presume it has been reiterated and has brought him low.

He professed, we learn, to rely alone and altogether on our blessed Saviour, and spoke of joining those who had gone before him in heaven! His end was as calm and as firm and as considerate for the welfare and comfort of others, as his life has ever been. To the very last he was perfectly sensible.

A more excellent man never paid the debt of nature. We hope to see from the pen of some one who knew him well, a just tribute to the memory of one whose energy, fidelity, integrity and warmth of heart were the admiration of all who knew him, and who had discharged with the ability, the duties of the most responsible office of his native state.[27]

To commemorate his passing, Judge Coalter's children erected a memorial in St. George's churchyard in Fredericksburg. A lengthy inscription on the stone reads:

This Stone is Erected in Memory of John Coalter of Chatham

Of humble origin, he rose to eminence less by the display of uncommon talents than by moral worth, by an integrity that none ever questioned. A fidelity that evaded no duty, a

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27. (Richmond) The Enquirer, February 6, 1838.

firmness that defiled alike temptation and danger, and a sincerity, simplicity and kindness of nature that won the hearts of all who approached him. The records of his country testify the honorable posts he filled. Of his virtues all who knew him can speak, but the depth of his unpretending goodness is known only to the God whom he worshipped in the secret of his own heart. While in every act of his life he served Him openly, to Him who gave it, the spirit has returned, the dust lies here.

His children have placed this Stone to record his virtues to his children's children.

He was born at Rockbridge, Virginia August 20, 1769, and died at Chatham, near this place, February 2, 1838.[28]

I. The Disposition of the Coalter Estate

Judge Coalter possessed 688 acres at Chatham when he died. He also held at least two other plantations, Clark's (400 acres) and Mercer's (700 acres), which together were generally referred to as the Ferry Farm, and other acreage near Fredericksburg. The 688 acres included the Mill Tract on Claiborne Run which tax rolls previous to Coalter's death listed as being 150 acres, and the Stafford County records indicate that this property was bequeathed to the Judge's children. In his will, Coalter left a life estate, consisting of various properties, slaves, and 538 acres of Chatham itself, to his widow Hannah and her daughter, Janet S. Williamson. Inexplicably, 20 acres were added to the bequest to make the estate 558 acres.[29]

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28. This stone still stands in St. George's cemetery, and its inscription is still legible.

29. Will, Judge John Coalter, Stafford County Deed Book LL, Folios 190-99, Archives Division, Virginia State Library. Folios 193-95 of this

In 1839, the year following the Judge's death, the local tax rolls described 558 acres owned by his widow on the Rappahannock River with an interesting notation. The note read: "From John Coalter by will--these entries taken from report of the Commissioners appointed to divide John Coalter's estate."[30]

The 150-acre Mill Lot which adjoined the Chatham lands was listed in the tax books in the joint names of St. George T. Coalter and Judge Coalter's son-in-law, John R. Bryan, indicating that the tract had been left to them. Apparently, the Judge meant for these two tracts, which totaled 708 acres according to the tax rolls, to be combined at Mrs. Coalter's death.[31]

St. George Tucker Coalter acted as executor of his father's estate and offered the Ferry Farm, totaling some 1,100 acres in the vicinity of Fredericksburg, for sale in March 1838. He placed an advertisement in the Political Arena which gave a description of the lands to the south of Chatham as follows:

> That valuable tract of land lying between the lands of Mr. Pollock and Mr. Thompson, in the County of Stafford, and nearly opposite the town of Fredericksburg, late the property of John Coalter, deceased, is offered for sale.
>
> This tract comprises upwards of 200 acres of Rappahannock Flats of fine quality; upwards of 100 acres of

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29. (Continued) volume have been removed. They contain the portion of the will that later was involved in litigation. Thus, the will of Judge Coalter is the only one of the various owners of Chatham lands who died testate that has not been located in full. Further research into the question of Coalter's will should be undertaken.

30. Stafford County Tax Lists, 1839, Archives Division, Virginia State Library.

31. Stafford County Tax Lists, 1844, Archives Division, Virginia State Library, and George H. S. King Papers, Vol. II.

land on the hills cleared and about 700 acres in wood; in all about 1100 acres more or less.

The wood land is by far the best body of wood in the immediate vicinity of town; and the best part of the purchase money can be drawn from this source. There are no buildings on the tract, but the remarkably fine prospect from the hill and the beauty of the site for building, has made the situation the admiration of all who have seen it. This property offers as great inducements to gentlemen wishing to educate their children, and enjoy the benefit of fine society, as any other whatever. There are in the land several bodies of Freestone; manure can, with convenience, be drawn from town, and Green Sand Marl, of fine quality is found a few miles down the river, which may be boated up with great advantage.

Although the present proprietors will cultivate the land this year, a purchaser, wishing to build, or otherwise improve, will have full permission and opportunity to do so at once.

TERMS: One third cash, Bond, with approved security, and a deed of trust upon the property, will be required to secure the balance of the purchase money, for which most liberal credit will be given, the interest being punctually paid. The premises will be shown and any further information given by the subscriber living within four miles of Fredericksburg.[32]

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32. (Fredericksburg) The Political Arena, March 9, 1838. On December 31, 1838, Joseph Mann and John Teasdale bought the property. Deed, Executors of John Coalter Estate to Joseph Mann and John Teasdale, December 31, 1838, Stafford County Deed Book LL, Folio 405, Archives Division, Virginia State Library.

CHAPTER VI

CHATHAM UNDER MRS. HANNAH H. COALTER: 1838-57

A. Mrs. Coalter's Management of Chatham

Mrs. Hannah Coalter resided at Chatham until her death in 1857. She continued agricultural activities on the estate. The census records of 1850 indicate that she owned 400 improved acres and 200 unimproved acres having a total cash value of $6,000. The farm implements were valued at $150. The livestock on the farm included 9 horses, 2 asses or mules, 8 milch cows, 8 working oxen, 9 other cattle, 27 sheep, and 32 swine that were worth $700. In 1849 the farm had produced 700 bushels of wheat, 2,000 bushels of Indian corn, and 80 bushels of oats. Although the census forms contained spaces for numerous other items, this tabulation did not display evidence of garden crops, hay, flax, orchards, wine production, or wood.[1]

Local taxes increased on the Chatham property during Mrs. Coalter's ownership of the estate as the assessed valuation of the land and buildings increased. In 1839 she paid a tax of $14.21 on the land and buildings assessed at $14,202.48. By 1844 her tax liability rose to $27.43 on an assessed valuation of $21,940.36 for the land and buildings. The taxes amounted to $28.13 on a $23,436 assessed valuation in 1851, and they climbed to $111.60 on a $27,900 assessment in 1857, the year that she died.[2]

Mrs. Coalter continued to insure the Chatham property with the Mutual Assurance Society of Virginia. In a policy dated December 20, 1843, only the main house and the two nearby outbuildings, the laundry

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1. Seventh Census of the United States, 1850, Stafford County, Virginia, Schedule 4, Productions of Agriculture During the Year Ending June 1, 1850. The Slave Population Schedule of the Seventh Census indicates that there were only 9 slaves at Chatham in 1850--two adult males, two adult females, and five small children. This tabulation is questionable since Mrs. Coalter attempted to manumit her 92 slaves [(Fredericksburg) The Weekly Advertiser, September 5, 1857] through the instrument of her will, drawn up shortly before her death in 1857. Further research is needed to clear up this ambiguity.

2. Stafford County Tax Lists, 1839, 1844, 1851, 1857, Archives Division, Virginia State Library.

and kitchen, were protected. The company placed an $8,000 value on the property; there was no mention of the mill. This policy included a small sketch of Chatham Bridge or Coalter's Bridge, as it was denoted on the document. A subsequent policy dated October 15, 1850, is identical to the 1843 version. Because the total value of the three main structures at Chatham was $8,000, the market value of the 80-year-old house must have fallen precipitiously since 1796 when Fitzhugh insured the structure for $20,000.[3]

Chatham Bridge, at that time known as Coalter's Bridge, was sold to John R. Bryan, Hannah Coalter's son-in-law, on October 4, 1847, for $9,500. As part of the transaction, Mrs. Coalter, other occupants of Chatham, and servants were granted free passage across the toll bridge under the provisions of her husband's will.[4] On July 11, 1857, The Weekly Advertiser called attention to a "pretty sign" at Chatham Bridge Corner, directing the wayfarer to the Nicholson Blacksmith Shop.[5] This, as well as other contemporary evidence such as the Mutual Assurance Society policies, shows that at this point the span was called Chatham Bridge.

B. Foreign and Domestic Travelers Describe Fredericksburg and Vicinity

Foreign as well as domestic travelers continued to pass through the Fredericksburg area either on their way south to Richmond or north to Washington, D. C. In the 1840s and early 1850s, during Hannah Coalter's possession of Chatham, such individuals as Louis Fitzgerald Tasistro, James Silk Buckingham, Henry Howe, and Charles Dickens

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3. MASV No. 12285, December 20, 1843, and MASV No. 15384, October 15, 1850, Archives Division, Virginia State Library.

4. Deed, Richard C. L. Moncure, Commissioner, to John R. Bryan, October 4, 1847, Stafford County Deed Book OO, Folio 391, Archives Division, Virginia State Library.

5. (Fredericksburg) The Weekly Advertiser, July 11, 1857.

recorded their impressions of Fredericksburg, although none apparently visited Chatham.[6]

C. The Death of Mrs. Coalter: The Manumission of Chatham's Slave Community

After Mrs. Hannah Coalter died on August 28, 1857, The Weekly Advertiser carried a short obituary. The notice stated:

> Died: On Friday last, at her residence, Chatham, in Stafford County, Mrs. H. H. Coalter, relict of Judge John Coalter in the 77th year of her age.
>
> The memory of this excellent and venerable lady will be cherished by all to whom her faithful friendship, just purposes and unostentatious kindness and hospitality were known.[7]

In her will, which was written less than a month before her death, Mrs. Coalter bequeathed the bulk of the real and personal estate to her daughter, Janet S. Williamson. Upon the death of her daughter, the estate was to revert to the children of Betty Churchill (Jones) Lacy, Mrs. Coalter's half-sister. The will stated in part:

> First: I bequeath to my beloved daughter Janet S. Williamson for and during her life all of my estate both real and

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6. Louis Fitzgerald Tasistro, Random Shots and Southern Breezes Contains Remarks on the Southern States and Southern Institutions, with Semi-Serious Observations of Men and Manners (2 vols., New York, 1842), II, 213; Charles Dickens, American Notes for General Circulation (Paris, 1842), p. 167; James Silk Buckingham, The Slave States of America (2 vols., London, 1842), II, 551; and Howe, Historical Collections of Virginia, pp. 282-83. At least two sources, notably Lacy, "Memories of a Long Life," p. 4, and Smith, "Notes on the Ellwood House," 10, contain allusions to the tradition that Washington Irving visited Chatham, but no supporting documentation could be found to corroborate this story.

7. (Fredericksburg) The Weekly Advertiser, September 5, 1857.

personal, exclusive of my negroes after the payment of my debts, and the legacies and charges to which said estate is hereafter subjected.

Second: At the death of my said daughter all the estate and interest herein before devised to her, I bequeath to the children of Betty C. Lacy living at the time of the death of my said daughter and if any of her children be then dead leaving issue, such issue to take the portion to which its parent would have been entitled if alive.[8]

She gave small sums of money to other relatives and friends including $1,000 to her half-sister Betty. She also directed her executors to sell any portion of the estate for payment of debts, and for reinvestment purposes for her daughter.

Of particular interest to antebellum Fredericksburg was Hannah Coalter's attempt to manumit her 92 slaves. Manumission had become a heated political and social issue in the Old South by the 1850s. In an effort to avoid controversy, Hannah made provision for the freedmen to move to Liberia or the free states if they wished. Regarding the final attempt to free her slaves, the will's fourth and fifth provisions read:

Fourth: I hereby manumit my faithful servant Charles and direct my executors to provide him with a fund sufficient to take him to such state or country as he may elect to live in, and pay to him annuity of one hundred dollars during his life.

Fifth: I direct in regard to the balance of my negroes that they shall be manumitted on the 1st day of January 1858, and I authorize and request my said executors to ascertain what

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8. Will, Hannah H. Coalter, dated August 4, 1857, Stafford County Will Book RR, Folio 432, Archives Division, Virginia State Library.

> funds will be sufficient to provide the usual outfit for and to remove said negroes to Liberia and I hereby direct my executors to raise such fund or such an amount as in their judgment may be sufficient for that purpose from my said estate and to use the said fund in removing and settling said servants in Liberia or any other free state or country in which they may elect to live, the adults selecting for themselves and the parents for their infant children; and I further direct that if any of my said servants shall prefer to remain in Virginia instead of accepting the foregoing provisions it is my desire that they shall be permitted by my executors to select among my relations their respective owners, said selection to be made by the adults and parents as aforesaid.[9]

Mrs. Coalter's estate, exclusive of the slaves, was estimated to have been worth between $15,000 and $20,000, a sum sufficient to carry out the provisions of her will. Money was an important consideration in this case because some of the bondsmen were old, and many of them consisted of family groups composed of a mother with six, seven, or eight children.[10] On November 14, 1857, some 2-1/2 months after Mrs. Coalter's death, The Weekly Advertiser reported enthusiastically that most of the plantation's bondsmen had decided to retain their slave status by remaining at Chatham:

> We understand that most of the negroes of the estate have chosen Mr. Lacy as their master, prefering slavery and a residence on the old plantation, to their freedom in a strange country, the will of Mrs. Coalter giving them their freedom if they chose.

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9. Ibid.

10. Peachy R. Grattan, Reports of Cases Decided in the Supreme Court of Appeals of Virginia (Richmond, 1859), XIV, 365.

Freedom-Shriekers' will please make note of this.[11]

D. Chatham is Auctioned After Mrs. Coalter's Death

The two executors of Hannah Coalter's will, William H. Fitzhugh and Reuben L. Gordon, decided to place Chatham on public auction. (It is interesting to note that William H. Fitzhugh, Jr., was a distant relative of William Fitzhugh, the builder of Chatham.) It is likely that this decision stemmed from the realization that Janet S. Williamson, Hannah Coalter's only child and technically Chatham's seventh owner, would be incapable of running the large plantation. According to the available evidence, Miss Williamson suffered from various infirmities, including impaired vision and hearing and mental retardation. According to Betty Churchill (Jones) Lacy, Miss Williamson died sometime in 1858 in her late 40s.[12]

Once again, the local newspapers carried detailed descriptions of Chatham. From a survey of the advertisements, it is certain that local news editors continued to consider Chatham an extremely handsome estate. The advertisments cited below imply strongly that the plantation retained its status as an active farm at the time of Mrs. Coalter's passing. Numerous references to the livestock, fields, and gardens can be gleaned from reading the public announcements. There are specific references to the toll bridge, grist mill, and the two fisheries--important economic facilities which had been built some years before. The announcement in The Weekly Advertiser explained:

> As will be seen by the papers, that valuable property known as Chatham, the estate of the late Judge John Coalter, is to be sold at auction on the 10th of November if not sold at

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11. (Fredericksburg) The Weekly Advertiser, November 4, 1857.

12. J. Horace Lacy to Elizabeth Gibson, November 14, 1857, Gibson Family Papers, Archives Division, Virginia State Library; George H. S. King Papers, Vol. VI; and Lacy, "Memories of a Long Life," p. 2.

private sale previously. There is the most beautiful view from the mansion, which is situated on a high eminence, immediately on the banks of the Rappahannock. Those in want of one of the finest estates to be had, will do well by attending the sale.[13]

The Fredericksburg News advertisement went into greater detail concerning the upcoming sale:

> The undersigned, Special Commissioners of the Circuit Court of Stafford, will offer for sale at public auction, on the premises (unless the Real Estate be sold at private sale) on,
>
> TUESDAY, THE 10TH DAY OF NOVEMBER NEXT
>
> if fair, otherwise, the first fair day thereafter the
>
> REAL ESTATE,
>
> The Plate, and the Household and Kitchen Furniture belonging to the Estate of the late Judge John Coalter.
>
> This estate, the residence of the late Judge John Coalter, known as,
>
> CHATHAM
>
> contains about
>
> SEVEN HUNDRED AND TWELVE ACRES,

---

13. (Fredericksburg) The Weekly Advertiser, October 17, 1857.

lies on the Rappahannock River, immediately opposite the town of Fredericksburg--extends up to the village of Falmouth, and communicates with Fredericksburg by a toll bridge which the owner of the estate has a perpetual right to use, TOLL-FREE, for all family and farming purposes. The soil is productive and improvable. The meadow and table land of superior quality.

The site of the House is strikingly beautiful, with a Garden finely cultivated, and ornamented with very expensive terraces. The dwelling is of brick, in good repair, and has ten spacious rooms. There are also all necessary out houses farm buildings and a valuable

GRIST MILL

within a quarter of a mile of the town, on this estate.

There are also two good FISHERIES, from one which an abundant supply of Herring and Shad for the farm are annually taken, and the other is readily rented out.

The advantages of very kind, which the owner of this handsome residence and valuable farm will enjoy, are obvious, and will be readily appreciated by any one visiting the estate.

The Real Estate, unless previously sold at private sale, will be offered at 10 o'clock in the morning, on the day of the sale. The Terms are as follows:

For the Real Estate, ten percent of the purchase money in Cash and the residue in three equal payments, at six, twelve, and twenty four months from the day of sale; and after sale is confirmed by the court, a deed of trust on the said realty to be executed to secure the deferred payments, for which bonds with good personal security will be required at the sale.

For the personal property--all sums of twenty-five dollars and under, Cash--from twenty-five to fifty dollars on a credit of sixty days--over fifty and to one hundred dollars and over that amount, on a credit of six months, on bonds with good security.

At the same time and place, and on the usual terms, the Executors of the late occupant of the estate will sell the

HORSES, MULES, CATTLE, SHEEP, HOGS

CROP OF CORN, A LARGE SUPPLY OF FODDER

AND WHEAT STRAW

And all the farming Implements etc. . . .[14]

14. (Fredericksburg) The News, October 20, 1857.

CHAPTER VII

CHATHAM UNDER JAMES HORACE LACY: 1857-61

A. James Horace Lacy Purchases Chatham: 1857

On November 10, 1857, James Horace Lacy (1823-1906) bought Chatham at public auction for $36,950. Lacy had married Betty Churchill Jones (1829-1907) in 1848. She was the daughter of William Jones and a half-sister to Mrs. Hannah (Jones) Williamson Coalter. One week after the purchase of Chatham by Lacy, The Weekly Advertiser reported:

> This fine residence and farm was sold at public auction on Tuesday last for the sum of $36,950. Purchaser--Mr. J. Horace Lacy. This farm was purchased of Mrs. Lacy's father by Judge John Coalter and by this sale comes back into the same family that originally owned it.[1]

In a letter to Mrs. Elizabeth Gibson on November 14, 1857, Lacy commented on his purchase of Chatham. He wrote:

> As proprietor of Chatham I can now offer you the hospitalities of your old home. This consumation which you seemed so devoutly to desire has not been effected without difficulty and at great cost. Douglas Gordon was my competitor and I had to pay for it $36,950--$7,000 above its market value. But with Miss Janet's aid I feel confident that I can meet the payments, and make the property in a few years worth even more than I have given for it. Miss Janet seems greatly delighted and tho her health is still feeble, we hope she will now rapidly improve.
>
> Betty still tries to make out that she is not very much pleased, and elated, but it is apparent that her gratification is extreme, only softened down a little now by the thought that we must leave dear old Ellwood. You come to see us, you will find everything in the dining room just as in olden time,

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1. (Fredericksburg) The Weekly Advertiser, November 14, 1857.

sideboard, china press, clock &c. I also bought every article of furniture in Mrs. Coalter's chamber. Betty says she got everything she wanted, except the silver tureen, which was bought by Dr. William Braxton. We returned home on yesterday evening, to remain only a few days as Miss Janet stayed at Chatham. Charles received permission to remain in Virginia from the Court, and will be my Major Domo. He is now in charge of the house and Miss Barnes is with Janet.[2]

Meanwhile, the provisions in Mrs. Hannah Coalter's will regarding the manumission of the slaves at Chatham had been challenged by Lacy, his wife, their children, and Janet Williamson. Apparently, the Lacys were not willing to part with the slaves at Chatham. The suit grew out of a decree that upheld the Coalter will issued by the Stafford County Court of Appeals on September 29, 1857. The Lacys persisted, and the case went to the Virginia Supreme Court of Appeals which ruled 3-2 on May 24, 1858, that the will was void and that the "slaves remained in slavery."[3]

The court ruled the will invalid as it applied to the freeing of Mrs. Coalter's slaves because she presented them with a conscious choice between manumission and slavery. According to the decision, slaves did not enjoy the legal freedom of choice in such matters, and therefore were required by law to remain in bondage. The court ruling went on to state:

> The bill was filed to get the aid and direction of the (Stafford County) court in regard to the emancipation of the negroes. The only question decided by the court was that the slaves were emancipated by the will, unless they decline to

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2. J. Horace Lacy to Mrs. Elizabeth Gibson, November 14, 1857, Gibson Family Papers, Archives Division, Virginia State Library.

3. (Fredericksburg) The Weekly Advertiser, June 12, 1858, and The Daily Richmond Enquirer, June 10, 1858.

> accept its provisions and remain slaves; and as a consequence of such decision, a commissioner was directed to ascertain the election of said negroes under the provisions of the will. No question was raised by the pleadings or decided by the court as to the rights of those interested in the estate, should the fifth clause in regard to emancipation prove ineffectual. I think that the decree should be reversed, leaving open all questions respecting the rights of the parties interested in the estate, to be adjudicated when a proper case shall be made for that purpose. The slaves not being manumitted by will, they cannot be entertained as suitors in court, and as to them the bill must be dismissed.[4]

Although slavery as an institution had declined in Virginia for many years prior to Mrs. Coalter's death, the value of bondsmen increased as a result of the growing demand for slave labor on the booming southwestern plantations in Alabama, Louisiana, Mississippi, and Texas. In fact, Virginia and the other states in the upper South became large slave exporters in the decades between the 1820s and 1850s. As pointed out by Lewis C. Gray in his History of Agriculture, prices in Richmond in 1853 ran as high as $1,300 for a prime field hand, while the rate for young women commanded at least $1,000 on the auction block.[5] Thus, depending on the number of prime hands, children, and super-annuated adults, Mrs. Coalter's bondsmen could have been worth in excess of $50,000 when she died in 1857.

In February 1861, Lacy needed a sum of money, probably to pay back the funds he had borrowed to buy Chatham in 1857. He and his wife conveyed to Robert W. Carter a deed of trust for $10,000 at 6 percent interest payable in two years. This meant that if Lacy did not

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4. Grattan, Reports of Cases, pp. 407-8.

5. Gray, History of Agriculture, II, 663-67.

pay the loan, he would forfeit the property to Carter. William A Little acted as the trustee in the transaction.[6]

On June 10, 1823, James Horace Lacy had been born in St. Charles, Missouri, the son of a Presbyterian minister who later moved to Tennessee. He received his undergraduate education at Washington College (now Washington and Lee University) in Lexington, Virginia, and graduated from the legal department of that school, but he practiced law only for a short time. He was a great-nephew of William Graham, the first president of Washington College, and the nephew of Archibald Alexander, at one time the president of Princeton University. One historian characterized him as "one of the extensive planters, substantial capitalists and influental citizens of Spotsylvania County," and viewed his wife as "devoted" who was a "Gentlewoman of most gracious and gentle personality. . . ."[7]

In 1847, the enterprising Lacy met and courted his future bride at Eagle Point, the home of Mr. and Mrs. John Randolph Bryan, in Gloucester County, where he was employed as a tutor and she was visiting relatives after graduation from school in Fredericksburg. Following their marriage on October 17, 1848, the couple made their home at Ellwood which Betty had inherited after her stepmother, Lucinda (Gordon) Jones, remarried in 1847 after managing the Ellwood plantation for some nine years. In 1857 Lacy bought Chatham after the death of his sister-in-law.[8] Between 1858 and 1861 the Lacys spent their summers at Ellwood and wintered at Chatham.[9]

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6. Deed of Trust, Horace and Betty C. Lacy to Robert W. Carter, February 1, 1861, Sabine Hall Tray 2, Robert W. Carter Papers, Manuscripts Division, Alderman Library, University of Virginia.

7. Walter Williams, ed., A History of Northwest Missouri (3 vols., Chicago, 1915), II, 656. Also see (Fredericksburg) The Daily Star, January 29, 1906.

8. Lacy, "Memories of a Long Life," p. 5.

9. Smith, "Notes on the Ellwood House," 9-10.

B. Chatham on the Eve of the Civil War

Thus, Lacy acquired Chatham, comprising a total of 708 acres (712 listed in newspaper advertisements) in late 1857. For some undetermined reason, the Mill Lot was reduced by one acre, and appeared on the tax rolls as 149 acres. The house tract consisted of 558 acres, the same as it had been since the 1839 division per Judge Coalter's will. In 1859 Lacy's holdings at Chatham were reduced to 575-1/2 acres when he sold 132-1/2 acres to A. K. Phillips. According to the 1859 local tax records, the buildings were valued at $10,000, the total value of land and buildings was $24,040.75, and the tax bill was $96.17.[10] There is no record of any tax being paid on that property in 1859.[11] Lacy also had the grist mill repaired and refurbished in 1858-59 so that it could accommodate "the custom of both county and town." The Chatham Bridge was made available toll-free to those using the mill, which was now referred to as the Chatham Corn Mill.[12]

The Mutual Assurance Society of Virginia placed a slightly lower value on the dwellings at Chatham than did the tax assessors. A December 1857 policy reflected a value of $8,000 on the main house, the laundry, and the kitchen. A policy, dated December 1859, sketched the same three structures that appeared on preceeding policies, but this time indicated a total valuation of $11,250 on them.[13]

The 1860 census contains some revealing statistics about Chatham's development. According to this data, Lacy owned 550 improved acres and 250 unimproved acres valued at $40,000, plus farm implements valued at $1,000. The enumerator placed a more realistic worth on the

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10. Stafford County Tax Lists, 1859, Archives Division, Virginia State Library.

11. Ibid.

12. (Fredericksburg) The News, January 21, 1859.

13. MASV No. 18974, December 15, 1857, and MASV No. 20822, December 15, 1859, Archives Division, Virginia State Library.

property than did the local assessors. The plantation's livestock inventory included 6 horses, 9 asses or mules, 16 milch cows, 6 oxen, 16 other cattle, and 23 sheep, for a total value of $2,500. Agricultural crop products included 2,950 bushels of wheat, 1,500 bushels of Indian corn, 600 bushels of oats, 70 pounds of wool, 10 bushels of Irish potatoes, and 200 pounds of butter. The monetary value of animals slaughtered was $150.[14]

According to the 1860 slave census, Lacy did not keep many bondsmen at Chatham. In 1860 Lacy maintained 7 slaves at Chatham--4 males and 3 females, which included 3 male adults and 2 female adults.[15] It is likely that the majority of Lacy's slaves, including the 92 that he had acquired as the result of his successful suit against the manumission provisions of Hannah Coalter's will in 1857, were at Ellwood when the census was taken. In the words of Betty Churchill (Jones) Lacy, life for the Lacys "flowed on peacefully and happily" with "few events to make history until the breaking out of the Civil War."[16]

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14. Eighth Census, United States, 1860, Rappahannock-York Counties, Virginia, Schedule 4, Production of Agriculture During the Year Ending June 1, 1860. For undetermined reasons the acreage totals differed from the tax rolls.

15. Ibid., Slave Population Schedule.

16. Lacy, "Memories of a Long Life," p. 5.

CHAPTER VIII
CHATHAM AND THE CIVIL WAR:
1861-65

The onslaught of the Civil War brought great changes to Chatham and its inhabitants. The war forced the Lacy family far from its Stafford County home, the Thirteenth Amendment ended the chattel slavery system, considerable physical damage occurred at the plantation during the period between April 1862 and May 1863, and even the name Chatham was changed by its Union occupants to the Lacy House. Despite these pervasive changes, the Lacy family retained ownership of the plantation and returned to it once the hostilities were over.

A. James Horace Lacy's Military Career and Mrs. Lacy's Activities During the War

As the nation rushed toward civil war in the spring of 1861, the state of Virginia slowly moved toward secession.[1] Responding to this traumatic political separation, James Horace Lacy and thousands of other young Virginians joined the Confederate forces after Virginia seceded from the Union. He served as an aide-de-camp to Brigadier General Daniel Ruggles from April 22, 1861, until he was relieved June 7, 1861. When Ruggles left for the West, Lacy served under Major General Theophilus Hunter Holmes who commanded the Department of Fredericksburg, which protected the Potomac line.[2]

On June 10, 1862, Lacy had the misfortune of being captured by the Union forces in Virginia when he rode to Greenwood, his mother-in-law's house in Spotsylvania County, for a combination birthday dinner and reunion with his wife. His movements had been monitored,

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1. See James G. Randall and David Donald, The Civil War and Reconstruction (2d ed., Boston, 1969), pp. 180-89, for a discussion of the secession movement.

2. U. S. War Department, The War of the Rebellion: A Compilation of the Official Records of the Union and Confederate Armies, series I, vol. 2, (Washington, D. C., 1889), p. 933. Hereafter cited as Official Records. Further research should be conducted concerning the military career of Lacy. This section merely attempts to sketch the broad outlines of his military involvement and does not pretend to be a definitive study of the topic.

and the 76th New York was sent to capture him. Lacy tried unsuccessfully to escape out of the back of the house, but sprained his ankle in the attempt. The Union party took him to Fredericksburg where he was incarcerated for several days. The capture of Lacy, a prominent Fredericksburg area resident, created resentment among the local townspeople. According to Federal Brigadier General Marsena Patrick, on June 15, "Major Lacy has been captured and is a Prisoner. The people are very hostile & their demonstrations very disagreeable. . . ."[3]

During the spring of 1862, some Union sympathizers in Fredericksburg and Spotsylvania County had been arrested and sent to Richmond and later to Salisbury, North Carolina, for incarceration.[4] While available evidence sheds little light on such activities in the Fredericksburg area and none at all on Lacy's role in those activities, he was evidently involved in the arrests. Abner Doubleday, a Union Brigadier General, sent a letter to Colonel W. D. Whipple on June 14, 1862, discussing the arrest of Lacy in light of his efforts to arrest the pro-Union sympathizers as follows:

> I send today in pursuance of orders from the Secretary of War, Major Lacy, of the Rebel Army to be confined in Fort McHenry. This man is one of the most wealthy and influential proprietors of this part of the state, and by his persistent efforts last year in the cause of secession had great influence

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3. David S. Sparks, ed., Inside Lincoln's Army: The Diary of Marsena Rudolph Patrick, Provost Marshal General, Army of the Potomac (New York, 1964), pp. 95-96. Also see, Lacy, "Memories of a Long Life," p. 6; George F. Noyes, The Bivouac and the Battlefield; or, Campaign Sketches in Virginia and Maryland (New York, 1863), pp. 41-42; (Fredericksburg) The Free Lance, March 31, 1897; List of Staff Officers of the Confederate States Army, 1861-1865 (Washington, 1891), p. 93; and A. P. Smith, History of the Seventy-Sixth Regiment New York Volunteers (Cortland, 1867), pp. 75-76, for the events surrounding the capture of Lacy. This latter source indicates that a squad of some 40 men arrested Lacy and two associates while they were sitting around a camp fire in the vicinity of Fredericksburg.

4. Official Records, series II, vol. 4, pp. 860-62.

> in deluding many into its support. He was for a long time Chief of Staff to General Holmes and more recently to General Gustavas W. Smith. While acting in that capacity a number of Union citizens were arrested, sent to Richmond, and afterwards to Salisbury, North Carolina, where I am reliably informed, they are exposed to many hardships. He is regarded by the few remaining Union men here as by far the most dangerous rebel of the county and one whose release would be a signal for renewed persecution. Great efforts will undoubtedly be made by his influential friends to obtain his release, or some mitigation of his punishment.[5]

Lacy remained about three months in Federal captivity at Fort Delaware, Delaware. He was exchanged at Aiken's Landing, Virginia, for First Lieutenant W. V. Dick of the Fifth Ohio on September 21, 1862. At his exchange, he was listed as "First Lieut. James H. Lacy, aide to General G. W. Smith."[6]

The available evidence concerning Lacy's military career after his release indicates that he was appointed as a First Lieutenant, aide-de-camp, of the Confederate army on October 7, 1862 (to take rank on August 30, 1862), and ordered to report to General Gustavus W.

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5. Abner Doubleday to Colonel W. D. Whipple, June 14, 1862, Unfiled Papers and Slips Belonging in Confederate Compiled Service Records, National Archives. Lacy's involvement in the arrests should be the subject of further research.

6. Official Records, series II, vol. 4, p. 580, and W. Emerson Wilson to Will Greene, May 4, 1979, park files, Fredericksburg and Spotsylvania County Battlefields Memorial National Military Park. Also see Bruce Catton, "Prison Camps of the Civil War," American Heritage (August, 1959), 4-13, 96-7. Fort Delaware was situated on Pea Patch Island near the mouth of the Delaware River. Primitive shelter and unsanitary conditions led to the demise of some 2,400 Confederate prisoners.

Smith.[7] On April 11, 1863, he was appointed as a major quartermaster and was assigned to duty with Major General Samuel Jones' command as Inspector of Field Transportation of the Quartermaster Department at Dublin Depot in Pulaski County, Virginia.[8] From January 13 to March 3, 1864, he served on the staff of General E. Kirby Smith as Chief Inspector of Field Transportation in the Trans-Mississippi Department, stationed at Shreveport, Louisiana.[9] After being relieved as Chief Inspector, he apparently returned to Dublin Depot as the post quartermaster. In November 1864 he was assigned to duty with the Department of Southwest Virginia and East Tennessee as an inspector of field transportation at Dublin Depot.[10]

On March 9, 1865, his appointment as a major quartermaster was confirmed (to take rank on February 23, 1865) and ordered to report to the Office of the Quartermaster General.[11] E. C. Scoville, Captain Provost Marshal, discharged Lacy from the defeated Confederate army on May 13, 1865, and on August 5 Lacy took an amnesty oath. Two weeks

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7. Edward F. Witsell to Mrs. Richard A. Allen, December 13, 1949, park files, Fredericksburg and Spotsylvania County Battlefields Memorial National Military Park. This letter from the Office of the Adjutant General, Department of the Army, contains the results of a search of the Confederate army records concerning the military career of Lacy. In the Official Records, series I, vol. II, pt. 1, p. 993, it states that during 1862 Lacy was a volunteer aide on the personal staff of General Smith and that Smith cited Lacy as being actively engaged at Seven Pines. Smith did not give Lacy a rank in this document.

8. Edward F. Witsell to Mrs. Richard A. Allen, December 13, 1949, and Lacy, "Memories of a Long Life," p. 6. His appointment was not confirmed by the Confederate Senate.

9. Official Records, series I, vol. 34, pt. 2, pp. 864, 986, 1,014.

10. "Major James Horace Lacy's War Record," park files, Fredericksburg and Spotsylvania County Battlefields Memorial National Military Park.

11. Edward F. Witsell to Mrs. Richard A. Allen, December 13, 1949.

later on August 19, President Andrew Johnson granted Lacy a full pardon.[12]

When Lacy entered the Confederate army, Betty Churchill (Jones) Lacy apparently found it difficult to operate Chatham. According to her memoirs, she and her five children moved in the spring of 1861 to Fredericksburg, where she stayed at the home of a friend, Mrs. Henderson White. (There was no civilian occupation of Chatham until the end of the war.) She went to Greenwood in June 1862 to meet her husband who was making a hasty trip to see her and look after his property. After Lacy was exchanged in September 1862, Mrs. Lacy went to live in Lexington, Virginia, where she stayed with Lacy's aunts, Misses Nancy and Lizzie Graham. She spent most of the winter there. During the summer of 1863 she went to live at Bedford with Fanny (Coalter) Brown.[13]

In the fall of 1863, Betty Lacy joined her husband in Dublin Depot, Virginia, where he was stationed as the Field Inspector of Transportation. The Lacys stayed at the home of David McGavock, a wealthy local farmer who allowed them to live in a house on his plantation. She brought five or six servants with her, but reported that of the 240 slaves the Lacys had owned before the war, only two remained loyal to the family at its close--Uncle Harry and his wife Aunt Sidney.[14]

When Lacy was assigned to the Trans-Mississippi Department in January 1864, Betty stayed in the Dublin Depot area and remained there until the war ended. When the conflict terminated, she returned to

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12. "Major James Horace Lacy's War Record," "Amnesty Oath of J. Horace Lacy," and "Parole of J. H. Lacy," park files, Fredericksburg and Spotsylvania County Battlefields Memorial National Military Park.

13. Lacy, "Memories of a Long Life," pp. 5-6.

14. Ibid. The census data does not corroborate this number of slaves at Chatham. Perhaps, they were kept at other property owned by the Lacys or perhaps Mrs. Lacy's recollections were faulty.

Greenwood because Ellwood had been rented and was in bad repair because of its use as a hospital following the Battle of Chancellorsville in early May 1863.[15]

During the hostilities, General Robert E. Lee had ordered the furniture from Ellwood shipped to safety across the James River to Columbia, Virginia. At the war's close, the Lacys wrote to John R. Bryan, who had been taking care of the furniture, to send the household goods back to Chatham. Bryan shipped the furniture on a packet which sank. The Lacy family furniture remained submerged for two months. Later it was salvaged without appreciable damage, because it had been securely wrapped in tobacco. Mrs. Lacy later related that her family still used much of the furniture.[16]

B. Initial Federal Occupation of Fredericksburg: April-September, 1862

In the early years of the Civil War, the city of Fredericksburg exchanged hands on a number of occasions. On April 18, 1862, Union forces occupied Fredericksburg without too much resistance, but the retreating Confederates burned the Rappahannock River bridges, including the Chatham Bridge, with tar, shavings, and light wood in the cribwork.

Mrs. Betty Herndon Maury, at that time residing in the city, jotted down her impressions of the Confederate withdrawal in her diary. On April 18 she wrote:

> I went down to the river and shall never forget the scene there. Above were our three bridges, all in a light blaze from one end to the other and every few minutes the beams and timbers would splash into the water with a great noise. Below

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15. Ibid., pp. 6-7.

16. Ibid. This entire section on Mrs. Lacy's whereabouts during the war is based on her memoirs whose accuracy has come under suspicion.

were two large steam boats, the "Virginia" and the "St. Nicholas," and ten or twelve vessels all in flames. There were two or three rafts dodging in between the burning vessels containing families coming over to this side with their negroes and horses.[17]

To replace the razed bridges, the Federal engineers devised a ponton bridge built on canal boats to cross the Rappahannock. It was completed on May 3, 1862.[18] Mrs. Herndon commented on the ponton bridge project as follows:

> Went down yesterday evening to see the bridge of canal boats that the Yankees are building at the lower wharf. The boats are laid close together side by side. The length of the boat being the width of the bridge. Eight boats are in place and it already reaches more than half way across the river. The soldiers on the bridge and the surrounding boats were shouting and talking to the colored men and women on the wharf.[19]

Once the bridges spanned the river, life in occupied Fredericksburg returned to a semblance of order.

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17. Betty Herndon Maury Diary, June 3, 1861-February 8, 1863, vol. II, April 18, 1862, Manuscript Division, Library of Congress. This diary has been published in a limited edition of 25 copies (Alice Maury Parmelee, ed. The Confederate Diary of Betty Herndon Maury. Washington, 1938). A xerox copy of the published diary is in the library of Fredericksburg and Spotsylvania County Battlefields Memorial National Military Park.

18. Official Records, series I, vol. 12, pt. 1, p. 428 and series I, vol. 51, pt. 1, p. 72. That same day Secretary of War Stanton and other Washington officials met with McDowell and his staff. It is highly likely that the Stanton party visited the Lacy House briefly before returning to Aquia Creek.

19. Maury Diary, vol. II, April 30, 1862, Manuscript Division, Library of Congress.

Soon after the Confederate withdrawal, Major General Irvin McDowell, the commander of the Federal Department of the Rappahannock of the Army of the Potomac, established his headquarters at the Lacy House, the reference used by Union forces to denote Chatham. He had moved his corps of more than 30,000 men to Fredericksburg at the direct order of President Abraham Lincoln in the effort to protect Washington when Major General George B. McClellan, commander of the Army of the Potomac, began his Peninsula Campaign in late March and early April. According to McClellan's plans, the Federal navy would transport his army of nearly 150,000 men from Washington to Fort Monroe on the Virginia coast in the region between the York and James rivers known as the Peninsula and then he would move northwestward toward Richmond. After McClellan had departed for Tidewater Virginia, Lincoln concluded that the general had not compiled with the directive to leave enough men to protect Washington. Accordingly, the president ordered McDowell's corps, about to embark to join McClellan, to remain south of Washington between the capital city and the Confederate forces under General Joseph E. Johnston near Richmond.[20]

McClellan was thus deprived of a substantial part of his army, leaving him with something more than 100,000 men. By mid-May, he was within twenty miles of Richmond and by the latter part of the month he was approaching the city. He continued to press Lincoln to send McDowell to him from Fredericksburg, thereby creating a converging movement on Richmond as McDowell would strike from the north and McClellan from the southeast. To prevent this, General Lee devised a scheme whereby the commander of the Confederate forces in the Shenandoah Valley, Thomas J. ("Stonewall") Jackson, was directed to move northward, giving the impression that he meant to cross the Potomac toward Washington. In the brilliant Valley Campaign (April 30-June 9) Jackson defeated three separate federal armies and drove them to the

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20. Courtlandt Canby, ed., Lincoln and the Civil War (New York, 1958), pp. 78-89.

northern end of the valley. Partly to defend the approaches to Washington and partly to entrap Jackson, Lincoln rushed forces to the Shenandoah, including most of McDowell's corps. Jackson slipped back to safety before the various Union forces could converge on him, but McDowell's troops were so fatigued by their long march that their movement to McClellan had to be suspended.[21]

C. The Lacy House Serves As a Union Headquarters

While McDowell commanded the occupation forces at Fredericksburg from his headquarters at the Lacy House, he took steps to protect the Lacy's wheat crop for eventual federal use. He ordered that standing wheat be protected to save the crop and that fences, which had been destroyed by Union troops, were to be replaced to protect the wheat. Also, all officers not specifically attached to McDowell's immediate staff were commanded to "leave the Lacy house and take their horses from the stables."[22]

As a result of McDowell's efforts, little harm occurred at the Lacy House and plantation in the initial period of federal occupation. One Union veteran later recalled:

> About opposite to the central part of Fredericksburg, and a few hundred feet from the river, was an old Brick mansion, known as the Lacy house, from its owner. Lacy was a rebel from choice, and ranked as a Major in the Confederate army.

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21. Roy B. Basler, ed., The Collected Works of Abraham Lincoln (9 vols., New Brunswick, 1953), V, 232-34; Randall and Donald, The Civil War and Reconstruction, pp. 210-13; and Richard N. Current, T. Harry Williams, and Frank Freidel, American History: A Survey (2 vols., 3rd ed., New York, 1971), I, 388. Further research is required to determine the total number of troops at Fredericksburg under McDowell's command in the spring of 1862, which troops and how many were sent to the Valley, and which troops and how many were left in Fredericksburg as an occupation force when McDowell was dispatched to fight Jackson.

22. Official Records, series I, vol. 12, pt. I, pp. 42, 110-11, and series I, vol. 51, pt. 1, p. 70.

> His house was very large with no attempt at exterior ornamentation; within, however, wealth and art had left abundant evidence of their profuse employment to make the dwelling a fit abode for most refined and esthetic inhabitants. The grounds descended to the river in terraces, and the house and its surroundings could not well be surpassed for beauty, elegance and comfort.[23]

On May 10, Mrs. Lacy, accompanied by her children, returned to her home and told Union officers of her fears that damage would result from the large number of men billeted in the house.[24] In her memoirs, Mrs. Lacy noted little ill use of her home during its occupancy by McDowell. She did feel, however, that later Union generals who occupied the house and grounds allowed Chatham to be vandalized. According to her memoirs, the home was used by the

> Federals as a picket station, and the work of destruction carried still further. The old paneling was torn down for fire wood, and the doors and windows cut out. Uncle Jack, our old gardener, who was left in charge of the place, said he frequently saw the soldiers ride up one flight of stone steps, through the wide hall and down the other flight in the rear of the house.[25]

Thus Chatham became a victim of the war. While the Federal troops occupied Fredericksburg in 1862, the pro-Union editor of the Fredericksburg Christian Banner resumed publication of his newspaper.

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23. Theodore B. Gates, The Ulster Guard 20th N. Y. State Militia and the War of the Rebellion, Embracing a History . . . (New York, 1879), pp. 222-23.

24. Official Records, series I, vol. 51, pt. 1, p. 73.

25. Lacy, "Memories of a Long Life," p. 6.

In one published article, editor James W. Hunnicutt, a minister, demonstrated not only his political proclivities but a grim view of the Lacy House as he described the countryside near Fredericksburg:

> On last Saturday morning we visited some of our friends in the vicinity of Falmouth. On our way, we passed through the plantation of Mr. Lacy and were surprised to witness the entire desolation of all fencing and enclosures of every kind. His "beautiful farm" is one common "muster" ground. We thought what a pity that a man so comfortably situated as Mr. Lacy was should have suffered his ambition to drive him to help break up a government under which he had lived all his life, and which would have protected him and his possession forever, had he been satisfied. But in his strong efforts to exchange the best government in the world for secession--he has lost thousands, which he can never regain. Let this be a warning to him and to all other political adventurers and aspirants in all coming time.[26]

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26. (Fredericksburg) The Christian Banner, July 2, 1862. The scene at the Lacy House during its use as McDowell's headquarters was remembered by A. P. Smith of the 76th New York as follows:

> . . . He occupied the Lacy house as his headquarters. This is a brick building, near the left or northern bank of the Rappahannock, in plain view of Fredericksburg, and about two miles from Falmouth. The grounds surrounding it, which had been tended with so much care, were now covered with the tents of staff officers and orderlies; the fences were gone, the shrubbery destroyed, and the whole plain, now covered with troops, was, aside from the bustle of marshaling hosts, a barren, uninviting waste. Down the walks, which the proprietor had laid out with so much taste, the sentinel now paced, with his gun at a shoulder; where once the petted daughter admired her bright flowers, the "contraband" now held the war steed of the hated Yankee general or colonel; while in the parlor and halls where the fasionable "F. F. V.'s" were wont to congregate, perchance to sing themselves happy over
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> "The bonnie blue flag of a single star,"

President Lincoln and his chief Cabinet officers often visited top field commanders at the front. On May 3, 1862, Secretary of the Treasury Salmon P. Chase and Secretary of War Edwin M. Stanton met with McDowell at the Lacy House. Later on May 23, President Lincoln, Stanton, French Minister M. Mercier, and Captain John A. Dahlgren of the navy met at McDowell's Lacy House headquarters following their overnight trip from Washington. The civilian leaders conferred with the division and most of the brigade commanders during the morning, and later the same day, McDowell escorted the President over to Fredericksburg. After reviewing lines of cheering troops, Lincoln and his party left the Fredericksburg area that evening to return to Washington.[27]

The visit of Lincoln's party to Fredericksburg was described by James W. Hunnicutt, the aforementioned editor of the pro-Union Christian Banner. On May 27, he published the following editorial:

> President Lincoln and Hon. Edwin M. Stanton, Secretary of War visited Fredericksburg on last Friday, the 23rd instant. They rode in a carriage drawn by four fine iron-gray horses. They crossed the Rappahannock River on the canal-boat bridge,

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26. (Continued) now assembled the hero generals who were striking a blow at that very flag, and the infamous institution which sustained this scene of aristocracy, and pricking the bubble which, broken would show the "F. F. V.'s" to be really something other than the first families of Virginia. . . .

Smith, History of the Seventy-Sixth Regiment New York Volunteers, p. 66.

27. Official Records, series I, vol. 51, p. 1, pp. 75, 79; Herman Haupt, Reminiscences (Milwaukee, 1901), p. 49; Earl S. Miers, Lincoln Day by Day: A Chronology, 1861-1865 (3 vols., Washington, 1960), II, 114; John Gibbon, Personal Recollections of the Civil War (Dayton, 1978), pp. 32-33; Benjamin P. Thomas and Harold M. Hyman, Stanton: The Life and Times of Lincoln's Secretary of War (New York, 1963), pp. 195-96; and E. B. Long, The Civil War Day by Day: An Almanac 1861-1865 (Garden City, 1971), p. 215.

> and passed up Princess Anne Street to the Farmer's Bank, the headquarters of General Patrick, where the carriage stopped about five minutes, and then moved off, as we were informed, to visit some camp of soldiers out of the town. A large escort accompanied the distinguished visitors. There were no demonstrations of joy, however, from any of the citizens. If they were met by the Honorable Mayor and Common Council, we have not learned the fact.[28]

While encamped on the Stafford Heights, other guests reviewed the troops under McDowell. The 84th New York Infantry (14th Brooklyn State Militia) was one of McDowell's favorites, and while at Fredericksburg the regiment received new uniforms, complete with white gloves and paper collars for dress parades. According to the regimental history, the 84th New York "never appeared to better advantage than at a review tendered some English army officers from Canada, which took place at the Lacy House on a sunny day. The white leggins and bright red pants bespangling the green of the lawn as the regiment formed 'by file into line at double quick,' the band playing a hornpipe."[29]

In August 1862, Major General Ambrose E. Burnside, commander of the Ninth Corps, arrived in Fredericksburg to occupy the area between the Federal forces of McClellan on the Peninsula and Major General John Pope in northern Virginia. Burnside reached the

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28. Quoted in Rev. James W. Hunnicutt, The Conspiracy Unveiled. The South Sacrificed; or, the Horrors of Secession (Philadelphia, 1863), pp. 343-44.

29. C. V. Tevis and D. R. Marquis, comps., The History of the Fighting Fourteenth Published in Commemoration of the Fiftieth Anniversary of the Muster of the Regiment into the United States Service, May 23, 1861 (New York, 1911), pp. 250, 252. The dates of McDowell's occupancy of Chatham and some other contemporary accounts suggest that this review may have been east of Chatham near the Phillips House. cf. Official Records, series I, vol. 51, pt. 1, p. 71, and series I, vol. 12, pt. 1, p. 86.

Rappahannock on the night of August 3 and, like McDowell before him, set up his quarters in the Lacy House.[30]

While headquartered at the Lacy House, Burnside met with a number of local hostages ordered arrested by the War Department in retaliation for the arrest of seven Union sympathizers in Fredericksburg and Richmond who had been taken prisoner by Confederate authorities and incarcerated in Richmond and Salisbury, North Carolina. The general told his guests that the officials in the War Department in Washington, not he, had ordered them arrested. The local residents included G. H. C. Rowe, Mayor Montgomery Slaughter, John J. Berry, Michael Ames, Edwin Carter, J. H. Roberts, John F. Scott, William H. Norton, W. Roy Mason, John Coakley, Benjamin Temple, Abraham Cox, James Cooke, and Lewis Wrenn.[31] According to one of the arrested men, the hostages

> were marched over the temporary wire bridge built by the Federal Army to Chatham, the H'd Quar's of Maj. General Burnside's commanding the division of the U.S. Army encamped on the lower line of the Rappahannock. Gen. Burnside was very courteous and considerate toward us all. He dismissed the guard, which had accompanied us and still stood with fixed bayonets, and paroled us to walk through the grounds at pleasure. We remained here until near noon when we were assembled and the General, providing some very fine whiskey, invited the whole party to take a drink, an invitation which was unanimously accepted, and then we took passage on three carryalls for a station on the railway. . . .[32]

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30. Official Records, series I, vol. 12, pt. 3, pp. 528-29.

31. Ibid., series II, vol. 4, pp. 366, 375-76, 861. The Union sympathizers included four Fredericksburg area men--Charles Williams, Moses Morrison, Thomas Morrison, and Peter Couse and three others from Richmond. Also see Fredericksburg, Virginia, City Directory (Asheville, 1910-11), p. 15.

32. Lucille Griffith, ed., "Fredericksburg's Political Hostages: The Old Capitol Journal of George Henry Clay Rowe," Virginia Magazine of History, LXXII (October, 1964), 403.

After the defeat of Pope's Union forces at the Second Battle of Manassas on August 29-30, Burnside evacuated Fredericksburg by September 1 as the beaten Federals retired into the Washington defenses. The Fredericksburg area remained free of Union troops until November when Burnside, as the newly-appointed commander of the Army of the Potomac, returned to engage Lee's forces.[33]

D. Movement Toward Fredericksburg, September-November: 1862

In mid-September the Battles of South Mountain (September 14) and Antietam (September 17) in Maryland brought Robert E. Lee's first large scale invasion of the North to an unsuccessful conclusion. McClellan chose to keep his Army of the Potomac north of the Potomac River for rest and resupply, which allowed the battered Army of Northern Virginia an opportunity for similar refurbishment. President Lincoln demanded that McClellan pursue Lee's army to take advantage of the situation. Finally on October 26, 1862, the reluctant general started across the Potomac, moving southward east of the Blue Ridge Mountains.

By November 7, the main body of the Union troops was near Warrenton, Virginia, near the Orange and Alexandria Railroad about 40 miles northwest of Fredericksburg. In the meantime, Lee had divided his army, sending the Second Corps to Winchester in the Shenandoah Valley, while the First Corps, stationed at Culpeper Court House, blocked the Union advance. McClellan hoped to attack the divided enemy armies to destroy them separately, but this plan never came to fruition. The President relieved McClellan of his command, replacing him with Burnside, a military darkhorse.[34]

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33. Current, Williams, and Freidel, American History, I, 390.

34. Verin W. Whan, Jr., Fiasco at Fredericksburg (State College, 1961). Much of Whan's general treatment of the Battle of Fredericksburg has been used in this report. See Chapters II-IX of Whan as well as Kenneth P. Williams, Lincoln Finds a General: A Military Study of the Civil War (5 vols., New York, 1949-59), II, Chapters XV and XVI.

Immediately, Burnside altered the prevailing course of action recently pursued by McClellan. He submitted a plan to shift the line of operations from the Orange and Alexandria Railroad some 40 miles northwest of Fredericksburg, to the Richmond, Fredericksburg and Potomac Railroad, a line that ran from Fredericksburg southward to Richmond, the Confederate capital. He reasoned that the Army of the Potomac could throw Lee off balance by feinting movement toward Culpeper and Gordonsville, and instead marching swiftly toward Fredericksburg to seize the railroad and advance quickly toward Richmond.

Because the Rappahannock River below Fredericksburg was not fordable by large numbers of troops, Burnside requested that his superiors send ponton trains and supplies to rendezvous with the Army of the Potomac when it arrived from Warrenton. To keep Lee from counterattacking after Burnside arrived in the Fredericksburg area, he had to keep his opponent guessing. Burnside proposed to accomplish this feat by moving his cavalry and pickets toward Culpeper to draw the Confederates away from the real purpose of the troop movement. Above all, Burnside had to move quickly, a trait he was not known to possess.

After the Army of the Potomac occupied Stafford Heights, Provost Marshal Marsena R. Patrick helped convey Burnside's demands on November 22 that Fredericksburg surrender or face hostile Union artillery fire. Following an exchange of messages between the army and the city, a deputation that consisted of the city mayor, Montgomery Slaughter, Dr. William S. Scott, William A. Little, Brigadier General Joseph B. Kershaw, and Colonel Elbert Bland were met by Patrick "at the Lacy house, by the Back way (who) kept them nearly an hour." As a result of the meeting, it was agreed that the people of Fredericksburg had until 11 o'clock the next morning to evacuate the city and that the Federals would not shell the city unless fired upon by the Confederates.[35]

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35. Sparks, Inside Lincoln's Army, pp. 179-80.

While waiting for the pontons, Federal troops camped in the vicinity of the Lacy House. When the buildup of Confederate forces occurred on the opposite side of the river, these early arrivals moved to the rear in the vicinity of the Phillips House. Sergeant William J. Wells, of Company F, Forty-Eighth Regiment, Pennsylvania Veteran Volunteers, reported that "upon arriving at Fredericksburg we first encamped near the Lacy House which was but little back from the Northern side of the river."[36]

E. The Lacy House Becomes a Battlefield Headquarters

During the Fredericksburg Campaign, the Union commanders stayed at a number of private residences. Major General Edwin V. Sumner, who commanded the Right Grand Division of the Army of the Potomac, used the Lacy House as his headquarters. Burnside, as well as lesser officers, attended staff meetings at the Lacy House. Although Burnside came to the Lacy House, the Phillips House, about one mile east, became his headquarters. The Phillips House had been Sumner's headquarters initially, but he moved to the Lacy House for the battle. Burnside had moved forward to the Phillips House from the King House to the east which served essentially as general headquarters.[37]

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36. Quoted in Joseph Gould, The Story of the Forty-Eighth: A Record of the Campaigns of the Forty-Eighth Regiment Pennsylvania Veteran Volunteer Infantry During the Four Eventful Years of its Service in the War for the Preservation of the Union (Mt. Carmel, 1908), p. 95. Colonel Charles S. Wainwright described a "large house standing on the river bank, known as the 'Lacy House,' which was and they say is still a very fine place." Quoted in Allan Nevins, ed., A Diary of Battle: The Personal Journals of Colonel Charles S. Wainwright, 1861-1865 (New York, 1962), p. 132.

37. Robert Underwood Johnson and Clarence Clough Buel, eds., Battles and Leaders of the Civil War (4 vols., New York, 1887-88), III, 107. Also see Official Records, series 1, vol. 21, pp. 70-1, 90, 106-07, 113, 151, 153, 161. The exact day when Sumner occupied the Lacy House remains unclear, but it is clear that he used the structure as his headquarters during the battle. See William W. Teall, "Ringside Seat at Fredericksburg," Civil War Times Illustrated, IV (May, 1965), 25-7.

The headquarters at the Lacy and Phillips houses were described in a postwar account of Burnside's activities during the hostilities. The description included the following information:

> Not far from the river, stood the Lacy house, an old mansion surrounded by all the appurtenances of a wealthy Virginia planter. At a point about two thirds of the distance below Falmouth upon the edge of the upper plateau stood the Phillips House, a beautiful and costly mansion elaborately decorated and richly furnished. . . . It was occupied for the permanent headquarters of General Sumner, and became the headquarters of General Burnside on the day of the battle. It commanded an entirely unobstructed view of the town of Fredericksburg and all its environs, and it dominated the first and second terraces upon the opposite side of the river.
>
> In times of peace the prospect from the Phillips mansion must have been remarkably charming and delightful. The green slopes and fields of yellow grain, the distant hills, the rich forests, and the widening river must have presented a landscape of rare beauty. The two houses were doubtless the abodes of generous hospitality. The rooms were filled with smiling faces and graceful forms and the roofs rang with merry laughter. But all this was now changed. The smiling landscape had become a waste, desolated by the ravages of war. The turf was trampled by the careless feet of man and beast, the lawns and hillsides were broken by rifle pits and redoubts, the forests were fast losing their pride and glory, the fields were bare. The mansions occupied only in part or wholly abandoned by their owners were converted into officers' quarters, in which the refinements of life were hardly expected to have a prominent place. The cruel hand of war was reaping an abundant harvest of devastation, destruction and death.[38]

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38. Augustus Woodbury, Major General Ambrose E. Burnside and the Ninth Army Corps: A Narrative of Campaigns in North Carolina,

F. Burnside Determines to Attack Fredericksburg

By the time the pontons arrived, the growing number of Confederate troops stationed on the heights behind Fredericksburg demonstrated that Burnside would not be able to slip easily past Lee and march on Richmond. Now Burnside considered a frontal attack to dislodge the Southerners from their strong points. Since the Confederates had already fortified Fredericksburg, the Union leaders decided to look elsewhere for a suitable place to effect a river crossing. Two possibilities appeared feasible--Skinker's Neck, 14 miles downstream, or Port Royal, even farther downriver from Fredericksburg. The Federals decided upon the Skinker's Neck area, but the arrival of Confederate forces foiled that ploy. Next, Burnside decided to make a daring frontal attack on Fredericksburg, reasoning that perhaps even at that late date an element of surprise might be achieved by challenging the heart of the enemy defenses.

The army's engineers planned to build five bridges to permit the troops to cross the Rappahannock. Two bridges--just below Chatham--were to be thrown across the river to the foot of Hawke Street in Fredericksburg, the site of an old rope ferry, and a third--the middle bridge--near the razed railroad bridge at the lower end of the community. About one mile south of this middle bridge, near the mouth of Deep Run, two more bridges--the lower bridges--were to be built. Thus, a distance of two miles separated the upper bridges from the lower bridges.[39]

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38. (Continued) Maryland, Virginia, Ohio, Kentucky, Mississippi, and Tennessee, During the War for the Preservation of the Republic (Providence, 1867), pp. 205-06. No additional documentary evidence was found concerning the precise location of the "rifle pits and redoubts" mentioned above. Archeological investigations should be conducted to find the specific locations of the "rifle pits and redoubts."

39. Canby, ed., Lincoln and the Civil War, pp. 90-91, and Official Records, series I, vol. 21, pt. 1, pp. 181-82.

G. Union Batteries Located Near the Lacy House

Brigadier General Henry J. Hunt, chief of artillery for the Army of the Potomac, was in charge of providing ordnance to cover the bridge-building and river-crossing activities. He gathered 147 guns of all calibers, divided them into four commands, and ordered the artillerymen to protect the Union forces trying to cross the river. The Right Center group of 38 guns, including 24 light rifles and 14 light 12-pounders, took position from the ravine near Falmouth to a point close to the middle bridge site. Units from this command were stationed near the Lacy House. Colonel Charles T. Tompkins, First Rhode Island Artillery, directed this section and had the responsibility "to cover the pontoons and workmen, by subduing fire of the enemy's troops from the houses and cover opposite the points selected; to sweep the streets of all columns of re-enforcements and to destroy any guns that might be placed in position to bear on the bridges."[40]

Tompkins organized the emplacement of artillery near the Lacy House. The batteries were located: Company K, Fifth U. S. Artillery (4 12-pounders), Lieutenant David H. Kinzie, commanding, on the bluff about 300 yards to the right of the Lacy House; Company K, First U. S. Artillery (6 12-pounders), Captain William M. Graham, commanding, on the bluff immediately to the right of the Lacy House; Company G, Fourth U. S. Artillery (4 12-pounders), Lieutenant Miller, commanding, on the bluff, to the left of the Lacy House; Company K, Third U. S. Artillery (6 12-pounders), Lieutenant Turnbull, commanding, on the bluff near the ruined house and immediately to the right of the railroad; Company D, First Battalion New York Artillery (6 3-inch guns), Captain Kusserow, commanding, on the bluff to the left of the railroad; Company C, First Rhode Island Artillery (6 3-inch guns), Captain Waterman, commanding, on the bluff to the left of and adjoining Kusserow's battery; Company K, Fourth U. S. Artillery (6 12-pounders), Lieutenant Francis W. Seeley, commanding, on the bluff to the left of Waterman's battery, with his right

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40. Official Records, series I, vol. 21, pt. 1, p. 182.

resting on the road leading to the center bridge; and Company H, First Ohio, Lieutenant Norton, commanding, on the left of Seeley's battery.[41]

H. The Battle of Fredericksburg, December 11, 1862: Action Near the Lacy House

Burnside's battle plan fell behind schedule early on the first day of fighting. General Sumner planned to march his Grand Division across the upper and middle bridges into the city, and Major General Joseph Hooker was to follow the same path. As soon as this occurred, Sumner's units would march toward the Confederate positions on Marye's Heights to seize them. Hooker's troops were to support Sumner as well as to assist Major General William B. Franklin during his crossing of the lower bridges, and his subsequent movement southward along the old Richmond Stage Road.

Brigadier General Daniel P. Woodbury, who commanded the Volunteer Engineer Brigade from the Lacy House, was responsible for constructing the upper and middle bridges. Early on the morning of December 11, the Second Division of the Second Corps massed near the Lacy House. Muffled sounds of construction at the middle and upper sites alerted the Confederates to the Union activity. Under the leadership of Major Ira Spaulding, Fiftieth Regiment, New York Volunteers, the Union troops worked steadily through the early morning hours to erect three bridges, two of them directly between the bank immediately below the Lacy House and the city itself. At 6 A. M. William Barksdale's Brigade opened fire on the engineers, driving them from the partially completed ponton bridges. The Federals responded with small-arms and artillery fire. In addition to the artillery on Stafford

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41. Ibid., pp. 190-91. According to the available documentary evidence, these locations are the most specific references to the actual placement of the batteries near Chatham. No physical remnants of their precise locations appear extant, but an archeological investigation should be conducted to pinpoint artillery placement. Until 1867, the official designation for the basic artillery unit in the U. S. Army was "company" rather than "battery." The editors of the Official Records established a policy of using "battery" instead of "company" as the designation for artillery units.

Heights, the Fifty-seventh and Sixty-sixth New York regiments were sent to the Lacy House to protect the engineers as they worked nearby.[42] Each time that the Confederate fire quieted, the engineers attempted to resume their work, but the enemy responded with renewed vigor. A stalemate ensued that lasted throughout the morning hours. The accurate Confederate fire cost Woodbury's unit one officer and six privates killed and two officers and 41 privates wounded. Many of the pontons were riddled with rifle-musket fire, and ice floes also delayed the bridge construction.[43]

Meanwhile, Major James Magruder of the Fifteenth New York Engineers completed one of the lower bridges by 9 A. M. without major incident. Some Confederates fired at Magruder's troops, but the nearby cannon blasted the open ground on the other side of the river. The Southerners did not have the protection that their compatriots in town enjoyed. The other lower bridge was finished by 11 A. M. Although informed of this success, Burnside ordered Franklin to remain on the east side of the river until further notice.[44]

A volunteer party tried vainly to complete one of the upper bridges. Responding to this impasse, Burnside ordered a massive cannon bombardment of Fredericksburg at 12:30 P. M. The artillery pieces fired an average of 50 rounds each into the town between that hour and 2:30 P. M. Other than the roar of the cannon, the explosions of the shells, and the crash of buildings, little could be seen except for the town's church spires and rising palls of black smoke, denoting a burning structure.[45]

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42. George A. Bruce, The Twentieth Regiment of Massachusetts Volunteer Infantry, 1861-1865 (Boston and New York, 1906), p. 195-96.

43. Official Records, series I, vol. 21, pt. 1, pp. 167-68.

44. Ibid., p. 191.

45. Ibid.

At 9 A. M. three batteries had been placed on the bluff to the right of the Lacy House. The three batteries were: Company I, First U. S. Artillery, Lieutenant Edmund Kirby, commanding; Company B, First Rhode Island Light Artillery, Captain John G. Hazard, commanding; and Company G, First New York, Captain John D. Frank, commanding. Meanwhile, Graham's battery had been moved to a position to the right of Kinzie's. The increased Confederate fire prompted Colonel Tompkins to order all batteries under his command to fire. About an hour later, the Confederate fire ceased, and once again the engineers tried to build the bridges. Kinzie reported that two of his guns became inoperative, causing Tompkins to remove this battery from the line. He replaced it with Company A, Fifth U. S. Artillery, Second Lieutenant James Gilliss, commanding, who then occupied the position vacated by Kinzie's battery. Tompkins' batteries resumed firing at 11 A. M., maintaining a steady cannonade for some 30 minutes. Confederate sharpshooters who continued firing at the artillerymen on Stafford Heights managed to wound several of their opponents.[46]

These batteries took part in the mass shelling of Fredericksburg that lasted two hours. The guns around the Lacy House fired hundreds of rounds of solid shot and explosive shells at the beleaguered city across the river. During the intensive bombardment, Provost Marshal Patrick remained at the Lacy House. That evening he recorded in his diary that "I sat at the Lacy House and watched operations, having gone down to see what was meant by the White Hdkfs. from the windows. It proved to be colored people wanting, I suppose, that we should send for them--a thing utterly impossible."[47]

During this first day of battle, Company B, First Regiment, Rhode Island Light Artillery, under the command of Captain John G. Hazard, had been placed on the bluff upstream from the Lacy House.

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46. Ibid.

47. Sparks, Inside Lincoln's Army, p. 187.

After the battery took part in the bombardment of Fredericksburg, one of the artillerymen tried to describe the action that day, "The roar of the canon, the bursting of shells, the falling of walls and chimneys; added to the fire of the infantry on both sides, the smoke from the guns and burning houses, made a scene of the wildest confusion, terrific enough to apall the stoutest hearts."[48]

At 3 P. M. the batteries opened covering fire for some 30 minutes to support the crossing of the Seventh Michigan Regiment at the upper and the Eighty-ninth New York Regiment at the center ponton bridges. Later that afternoon, the command's rifled guns answered Confederate fire directed against the Union troops in Fredericksburg. At 7 P. M. Lieutenants Kirby and Gilliss and Captains Frank and Hazard were ordered to report to their division commanders. The four batteries, each consisting of six 12-pounders, had been placed in the general vicinity of the Lacy House. That day Hazard fired 384 rounds, Gilliss 392 rounds, and Kirby 600 rounds.[49]

Meanwhile, on the afternoon of the 11th, volunteer parties, numbering some 150 men from the Seventh Michigan and the Nineteenth and the Twentieth Massachusetts, began crossing the river in pontons under heavy fire. Each ponton was manned by three oarsmen. They established a small bridgehead in the town, and, with the help of reinforcements, they expanded the Union territory quickly. By 4:30 P.M. the engineers had completed one of the upper bridges. Then the entire Second Division started moving across the 440-foot long bridge into Fredericksburg.[50]

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48. John H. Rhodes, The History of Battery B, First Regiment Rhode Island Light Artillery in the War to Preserve the Union: 1861-1864 (Providence, 1894), p. 138.

49. Official Records, series I, vol. 21, pt. 1, pp. 191, 225, 267.

50. Ibid., pp. 191-92.

On the night of December 11-12 Brigadier General Oliver O. Howard cleared the Confederates from the city. Also, the engineers finished the second of the upper ponton bridges. Because some extra pontons remained, the engineers built a sixth crossing near the lower bridges. The ponton structures varied in length from 420 to 440 feet.[51]

Several contemporary accounts present graphic views of the activity that occurred near the Lacy House on the first day of the battle. A letter written by Major F. E. Pierce gives an idea of the military action that took place near the Lacy House. Pierce wrote to a friend:

> It seems as if we were to remain here for the winter, but Thursday morning at 2 a.m. [December 11th] orders came to be ready to move that morning at 6 o'clock. We had lots to do, rations to issue and little things that I can't mention. At 6 we started and marched out 5 miles in a round about course for Fredericksburg. Finally we were moved up (the 108 and 130) right back of the Lacey House (which was formerly Trinity College, afterwards a hotel) and details sent out of 60 or 70 men under charge of 2 commissioned officers to build another pontoon bridge across. I don't know as our experience in corduroying helped us any, but at daylight when it came my turn to go down with a squad of men, the bridge was across and I had instructions to make the approaches to the bridge--that is to dig the banks so that infantry artillery could get on and off from the bridge. It took about 2 hours when I reported back to the reg't again. The night we slept by the Lacey House, was very miserable, it froze hard. . . .[52]

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51. Ibid., series I, vol. 46, pt. 1, p. 647.

52. F. E. Pierce to Ed, December 17, 1862, mss. in DSC-QE, Chatham Files. As is readily apparent, the author of the letter was confused about the prewar use of the Lacy House.

Members of the Fifteenth Regiment Massachusetts Volunteer Infantry left some detailed accounts of the Battle of Fredericksburg. On the IIth, one wrote as follows:

> The morning was warm and delightful for December and the troops were in the best of spirits; the scene of the general breaking up of the camp was exciting in the extreme . . . after a short, two miles march, our brigade was halted back of the hill northerly from the Lacey House, and remained in that position until after four p.m., and while there we listened to the terrible firing. . . . None of us can ever forget that artillery fight. It lasted for six hours.[53]

On the afternoon of December 11, one of the assault units, the Forty-Eighth Pennsylvania, waited near the Phillips House to begin the march toward Fredericksburg. Because the ponton construction fell behind schedule, the regiment waited in vain that afternoon. About 3 P. M., Major Oliver C. Bosbyshell, in the company of Lieutenant Colonel Alfred Pleasants, rode closer to the scene of the action. He later reported:

> . . . Pausing in our route, at General Sumner's Headquarters [the Lacy House] there was spread below the once beautiful town of Fredericksburg, now in flames, and from all appearances doomed to soon become a mass of ruins. Whilst gazing on the destruction, Colonel Frick and Major Anthony, of the One Hundred-and twenty-ninth Pennsylvania came up, and proposed going to the river edge, which was lined with Union batteries, in order to obtain a still better view. Down we galloped, and very soon we became interested spectators of a glorious scene. We were directly over the spot where, all day long, the sappers and miners had been endeavoring to build a

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53. Andrew E. Ford, The Story of the Fifteenth Regiment Massachusetts Volunteer Infantry in the Civil War: 1861-1864 (Clinton, 1898), pp. 221-22.

pontoon bridge. This was almost immediately beneath the bluff on which the Lacy House stood. . . .[54]

Clara Barton, the founder of the American Red Cross, graphically described her impressions of the fighting in Fredericksburg as the noisy, fearsome artillery duels preceeded the battle. She witnessed part of the battle from the Lacy House and recorded her memories as follows:

> The men of Hooker and Franklin were right and left, but here in the center came the brave men of the silvery-haired Sumner.
>
> Drawn up in line they wait in beautiful grounds of the stately mansion whose owner, Lacy, had long sought the other side, and stood that day aiming engines of destruction at the home of his youth and the graves of his household.
>
> There on the second portico I stood and watched the engineers as they moved forward to construct a pontoon bridge. It will be remembered that the rebel army occupying the Heights of Fredericksburg previous to the attack was very cautious about revealing the position of its guns. . . .
>
> Maddened by the fate of their comrades, others sieze the work and march onward to their doom. For now, the balls are hurling thick and fast, not only at the bridge, but over and beyond to the limit of their range--crashing through the trees, the windows and doors of the Lacy House. And ever here and there a man drops in the waiting ranks, silently as a snow

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54. Oliver Christian Bosbyshell, The 48th in the War. Being a Narrative of the Campaigns of the 48th Regiment Infantry, Pennsylvania Veteran Volunteers, During the War of the Rebellion (Philadelphia, 1895), p. 95.

flake. And his comrades bear him in for help, or back for a grave.[55]

I. The Battle of Fredericksburg: December 12, 1862

Twenty-four hours behind schedule, large segments of the Union Army crossed the bridges on the morning of Friday, December 12. One of the units, the Fifty-First Pennsylvania, marched past the Lacy House early that morning. As it descended the "hill in front of the 'Lacy House' and close to the river, the rebel batteries directed their shots at it, but did no further harm than to hurry the regiment across the river."[56] Contemporary accounts do mention one regiment, the Twelfth New Hampshire, marching gaily down toward the ponton bridges. A regimental band played "Bully for You" just as several Confederate shells exploded in its midst, wounding and killing several of the musicians.[57] The accurate shooting from the opposite side of the Rappahannock ended the music as the band and infantry ran for shelter.[58]

The Right Grand Division also crossed at the same time concentrating in the city. General Howard's division of the Second Corps, which had crossed the night before, occupied the west half of Fredericksburg. The Third Division, commanded by Brigadier General William H. French, occupied the center portion, while the First Division of

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55. Quoted in Charles Sumner Young, Clara Barton: A Centenary Tribute (Boston, 1922), pp. 66-7. Barton is the only contemporary observer to report damage from small arms fire. The extant photographs do not corroborate her contention.

56. Thomas H. Parker, History of the 51st Regiment of P. V. and V. V. (Philadephia, 1869), p. 268.

57. William P. Hopkins, The Seventh Regiment Rhode Island Volunteers in the Civil War, 1862-1865 (Providence, 1903), p. 40.

58. Charles F. Walcott, History of the Twenty- First Regiment Massachusetts Volunteers in the War for the Preservation of the Union, 1861-1865, with Statistics of the War and of Rebel Prisons (Boston, 1882), p. 240.

Brigadier General Winfield S. Hancock moved into position directly behind French. The remainder of the Ninth Corps marched across the middle bridge and occupied the east portion of the city, extending beyond the city limits to touch General Franklin's right flank. General Sumner was also supported by ten batteries, totaling 56 guns, which had crossed with the various divisions. General Hooker's Center Grand Division remained on the east bank of the river waiting to offer support when needed.

On December 12, Colonel Tompkins ordered the rifled guns to answer the Confederate fire whenever required. Because troops crossed the middle and upper pontons throughout the day, the batteries stationed along Stafford Heights near the Lacy House were intermittently busy that day. Around 1 P. M. Lieutenants Seeley and Turnbull were ordered to report with their batteries to their division commanders, and Company H, First Ohio Artillery, was removed to another position.[59]

The night before the climax of the Battle of Fredericksburg, Clara Barton recorded her troubled thoughts concerning the forthcoming action. In writing to a friend in Falmouth, she noted:

> It is the night before a battle. The enemy, Fredericksburg, and its mighty entrenchments lie before us, the river between--at tomorrow's dawn our troops will essay to cross, and the guns of the enemy will sweep those frail bridges at every breath. . . .
>
> The camp fires blaze with unwonted brightness, the sentry's tread is still but quick--the acres of little shelter tents, are dark and still as death, no wonder, for as I gazed sorrowfully upon them, I thought I could almost hear the slow flap of the grim messanger's wings, as, one by one, he sought and selected his victims for the morning sacrifice--sleep weary

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59. Official Records, series I, vol. 21, pt. 1, p. 192.

ones, sleep and rest for tomorrow's toil. Oh! sleep and visit in dreams once more, the loved ones nestling at home. They may yet live to dream of you, cold lifeless and bloody, but this dream, soldier, is thy last, paint it bright, dream it well-- Oh northern mothers, wives, and sisters, all unconscious of the hour, would to Heaven that I could bear for you, the concentrated woe which is so soon to follow, would that Christ would teach my soul a prayer that would plead to the father for grace sufficient for you. God pity and strengthen you every one.[60]

J. The Army of the Potomac Readies for the Final Attack: Logistics and Communications Affect the Lacy House

Technical and logistical units made preparations to support the troops who bore the responsibility for the attack. Much new technology had appeared during the Civil War, and some was used to help sustain the Union offensive. The Signal Corps under the command of Captain Samuel T. Cushing, which consisted of 150 officers and men, connected the three grand division headquarters with the major subordinate field units across the river. The Signal Corps established stations at the Phillips House (General Burnside's Headquarters), the Lacy House (General Sumner's Headquarters), and General Franklin's Headquarters on the left flank. The signal officers used flags to communicate between the various stations, dependent of course on daylight and unimpaired visibility. On December 11-12, Lieutenants F. Wilson and R. Dinsmore manned the Lacy House signal station. A subsequent report praised their reaction to artillery fire, "The station of Lieutenants Wilson and Dinsmore also received the gift of shell and solid shot from the enemy. The latter

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60. Clara Barton to Elvira Stone, December 13, 1862, Series 1, Box 6, Clara Barton Papers, Manuscript Division, Library of Congress. Also see Blanche Colton Williams, Clara Barton: Daughter of Destiny (Philadelphia, 1941), pp. 84-85, and Ishbel Ross, Angel of the Battlefield: The Life of Clara Barton (New York, 1956), pp. 50-53.

officer displayed much coolness."[61] On the morning of the 16th all signal stations except the one at the Phillips House and one other were withdrawn. However, Lieutenants James A. Hebrew and William T. Barrett were posted at the Lacy House to observe and report all Confederate movement in Fredericksburg.[62]

To augment the visual signal stations, the Union Signal Corps tactically employed magnetic telegraphs for the first time in a battlefield in the United States. Under the supervision of Captain Cushing, reliable telegraphic communications were maintained between Burnside, Sumner, and Franklin as well as their supporting units. On December 12, the wire was extended to the Lacy House. Lieutenant David Wonderly remained in charge of this unit (Set B) until the 18th when the Signal Corps removed the line. During this interval, the signal operations at the Lacy House occasionally came under sporadic Confederate artillery fire. Reporting on his experiences, Wonderly wrote, "I was ordered to open a line with the Lacy house, opposite Fredericksburg, Va. I found the wire partially laid, and in one hour's time from leaving General Sumner's headquarters the line was in full communication with general headquarters." He also commented on some difficulties with the troops, "Teamsters and soldiers in general have occasioned much trouble and inconvenience, in order to satisfy an idle curiosity, by cutting and carrying off the wire. This, however, has been remedied to a great extent and communication is now carried on with brighter anticipations."[63]

The Union forces also used a recently developed form of observational technology, the hot air balloon. Behind the Phillips House,

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61. Official Records, series I, vol. 21, pt. 1, pp. 154-56.

62. Ibid., pp. 151-54.

63. Ibid., pp. 165-67. For more information on the development of the magnetic field telegraph apparatus, see George Raynor Thompson, "Development of the SC Field Telegraph, 1861-1863," Signal, XII (July, 1958), 23-29, 31, 34, and Office of the Beardslee Magneto-Electric Co., Beardslee Military Telegraph (New York, 1863), pp. 3-21.

Professor T. S. C. Lowe prepared a balloon for flight on the morning of December 13. Grounded until this moment to protect the movement of Union forces, Lowe planned to report Confederate troop deployments to Burnside. During this battle and the subsequent operations in the Chancellorsville campaign, Lowe and his assistants made many ascensions in the hot air balloons.[64]

K. The Battle of Fredericksburg: December 13, 1862

On the morning of Saturday, the 13th, a thick fog obscured the potential field of battle and delayed operations for several hours. Franklin began advancing on the left flank around 10 A. M. In accordance with Burnside's orders, Franklin threw forward Major General George G. Meade's division, supported by Brigadier General John Gibbon's division on the right, with Brigadier General Abner Doubleday's in reserve for emergency. Meade's advance encountered limited resistance in overrunning the Confederate's first defense line covering the military road considered by Burnside to be a major goal on the left flank. Suddenly, Jubal Early's division, part of Jackson's Corps, opened fire on Meade's troops, turning the Union attack into a rout. Only support from Gibbon's and Doubleday's divisions helped to prevent a general disaster from occurring on this wing of the Union Army.[65]

As the attack on the left unfolded, Sumner ordered his troops into action at 11 A. M. Of the two corps that constituted Sumner's Grand Division, Major General Darius N. Couch's Second Corps occupied Fredericksburg and Orlando B. Wilcox's Ninth Corps held the area between the left of Couch and the right of Franklin's command. Couch

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64. Lydel Sims, Thaddeus Lowe: Uncle Sam's First Airman (New York, 1964), pp. 194, 202-05. Also see F. Stansbury Haydon, Aeronautics in the Union and Confederate Armies With a Survey of Military Aeronautics Prior to 1861 (2 vols., Baltimore, 1941), for more information on this subject.

65. Douglas Southall Freeman, Robert E. Lee: A Biography (4 vols., New York, 1934-36), II, 160.

took the offensive as he ordered Brigadier General William H. French's third division from the town at noon. The attack formation as prescribed by Sumner was a column of brigades formed at 200-yard intervals. The formation, consisting of each brigade in a long line two lines deep, moving one behind the other at a specified distance, was designed to maintain the momentum of forward movement in the assault.

Before the Federal assault against the Confederate positions on Marye's Heights, Colonel Tompkins ordered Captains Waterman and Kusserow to open up their artillery pieces positioned at the Lacy House on the Confederate batteries which were firing on the Union troops in Fredericksburg. They continued a slow fire until the troops started moving toward Marye's Heights, but costly technical problems, resulting from faulty fuses and defective gun carriages which caused the shells to burst soon after leaving the gun barrel, limited their effectiveness. Later that afternoon the two batteries were taken across the river into the town.[66]

As they began moving from the limited shelter of Fredericksburg, the Union troops came under withering fire from Confederate batteries and rifle pits at the foot of and on Marye's Heights. Lieutenant General James Longstreet, who held the position in the rear of Fredericksburg, established an advance line behind a quarter-mile-long stone wall along the Telegraph Road at the base of Marye's Heights. Behind this wall, some 1,700 Confederates poured a devastating fire into the Federal assault units, killing and maiming them by the hundreds, as they moved, determinedly and desperately, toward Marye's Heights in wave after wave. The Federal attack was further hampered by the answering Union artillery fire from Stafford Heights, which, because of the defective shells, often fell short into its own ranks.[67]

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66. Official Records, series I, vol. 25, pt. 1, pp. 192, 198.

67. Whan, Fiasco at Fredericksburg, pp. 78-82, and Official Records, series I, vol. 21, pt. 1, p. 94. During the afternoon of December 13,

Despite the abortive attacks which continued throughout the afternoon of the 13th, Burnside refused to discontinue the disastrous assault against Marye's Heights and determined to renew the offensive the next day. Sumner and other subordinate commanders, however, finally persuaded Burnside to break off the attack. The Union lines remained intact until the night of the 15th, when the Army of the Potomac quickly withdrew across the ponton bridges to the north side of the Rappahannock during a heavy rainstorm.

The successful withdrawal was completed by the next morning. The various ponton bridges were taken up soon after to deny the Confederates an opportunity to make an easy crossing. The losses

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67. (Continued) Company L of the Second New York Artillery was ordered to remove from its redoubt near the Bryan House to a position behind the Lacy House. Jacob Roemer of Company L remembered the scene there as follows:

> The Battery remained in the redoubt the night of the twelfth, and opened fire the next morning at 7 A. M. During the night, there had been a heavy frost, and when the sun arose, the dampness caused such a dense fog, that orders were received to be very careful in firing, especially, as our cavalry pickets were crossing the river under cover of our fire. Nothing of importance to the Battery occurred until 3 P. M., when a order came for it to report forthwith to Gen. Sumner at the Lacy House where it arrived and reported at 5 P. M. Gen. Sumner ordered the Battery, to take position behind the Lacy House out of reach of the enemy's fire (though shot and shell were flying around on all sides) to be kept in readiness for any emergency. During the day, the Battery expended 128 rounds of ammunition and suffered no casualties. It remained at the Lacy House until 4 P. M. on the 15th, when by order of Lieut. Col. Hays, it went to occupy the redoubt previously occupied by Benjamin's Battery F and U. S. Art. on the extreme right. From there it was ordered to its old position on the left of the Fredericksburg and Washington R. R. to resume its former occupation of looking after the four redoubts and posting the infantry regiments on picket as they arrived each evening at 9 o'clock, in our front, near the river and on the left flank of the Ninth Corps.

L. A. Furney, ed., Reminiscences of the War of the Rebellion, 1861-1865, by Bvt.-Maj. Jacob Roemer (Flushing, 1897), p. 97.

during the battle amounted to a stunning blow to the Union cause. Burnside's force had totaled nearly 114,000 to Lee's 82,000 men. Union losses included 1,284 killed and 9,477 wounded, 1,769 missing--total casualties 12,527, while the Confederates lost 5,300 men with 600 killed. About two-thirds of the Union casualties occurred in the heavy fighting at the stone wall.[68]

L. The Lacy House and Grounds Used as a Hospital and Cemetery

The Lacy House saw further duty following the Battle of Fredericksburg. The Federals used the house as a hospital for some of those wounded in the fighting across the river. It must be noted that the Lacy House was not the only hospital in the area. Even during the height of the battle, various residences, churches, and the courthouse in the city of Fredericksburg, as well as ten field stations and outlying plantation homes such as the Fitzhugh farm some three miles to the northeast, served as emergency shelters for the wounded and dying.[69]

Jonathan Letterman, a U. S. Army surgeon, who had been appointed as the Medical Director of the Army of the Potomac on June 23, 1862, had made careful preparations for medical support activities before the Battle of Fredericksburg. According to his subsequent report:

> . . . Ample supplies of medicines, instruments, stimulants, and anaesthetics were ordered from New York and Washington for the medical purveyor, who, after his arrival at Aquia Creek, was kept busily employed at this depot in issuing to the medical officers. In addition to these supplies, large quantities over and above what were required for issue, of beef stock, stimulants, dressings, milk, coffee, tea, blankets, and underclothing were ordered and kept on hand, ready to be sent

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68. Whan, Fiasco at Fredericksburg, pp. 121-22.

69. Thomas G. Murphy, Four Years in the War: The History of the First Regiment of Delaware Veteran Volunteers (Philadelphia, 1866), p. 93.

to any point, where they might be needed. All the hospital Autenrieth wagons that could be procured were distributed. I regretted that there were not enough to supply each brigade; but this I had no power to remedy. . . .[70]

Letterman also described the hospital system for the Union right flank, which included an obvious reference to the Lacy House:

For the accommodation of the wounded of the troops designated for attack on the enemy upon our right, and before our bridges were laid, the hospital organizations of the first and second divisions of the Ninth Corps were established on the morning of the IIth, in a ravine near the Phillips house, about two-thirds of a mile distant from the river, where they would be protected from the guns of the enemy, easy of access, and have an abundance of wood and water. A number of hospital tents were here erected, and others were kept in store, ready to be pitched if they should be needed. . . . Further to the right and in a sheltered spot near the railroad, where there was an abundance of wood and water, a number of hospital tents were pitched, which constituted one of the division hospitals of the Second Corps. A house [i.e., the Lacy House] on the bank of the river, opposite the city, was also used as a hospital by the Second Corps.[71]

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70. Jonathan Letterman, "Extracts from a Report of the Operations of the Medical Department of the Army of the Potomac from July 4th to December 31st, 1862," in The Medical and Surgical History of the War of the Rebellion (1861-65) (Washington, 1875), p. 100. Also see George W. Adams, Doctors in Blue: The Medical History of the Union Army in the Civil War (New York, 1952), pp. 187-89, for an account of the Federal medical support activities prior to Fredericksburg.

71. Letterman, "Extracts," p. 101.

According to the available sources, the number of wounded who received treatment at the Lacy House varied greatly. For example, Clara Barton claimed that:

> Twelve hundred men were crowded into the Lacy House which contained but twelve rooms. They covered every foot of the floors and porticos and even lay on the stair landings'. A man who could find opportunity to lie between the legs of a table thought himself lucky. He was not likely to be stepped on. In a common cupboard, with four shelves, five men lay, and were fed and attended. Three lived to be removed, and two died of their wounds. Every man had left his blood in Fredericksburg--every one was from the Lacy house. My hand dressed every wound--many of them in the first terrible moments of agony. I had prepared their food in the snow and winds of December and fed them like children.[72]

An examination of more formal records and an evaluation of the physical dimensions of Chatham itself, indicate that the number of casualties housed at the Lacy House was appreciably smaller than the 1,200 claimed by an overworked and emotionally drained Barton.

As mentioned earlier, the three division hospitals of the Second Corps, which had borne much of the brunt of the three-day battle on the Union right, were grouped together near the railroad station and west of the Phillips House. Each had 14 to 17 medical officers in attendance with supplies and tents. One account notes that 280 wounded were treated at the Lacy House.[73] A "hospital register" reported that 371 patients were treated in the house between December 13 and 15.[74]

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72. Quoted in Young, Clara Barton, 71. Also see Clara Barton, "Description of Battle of Fredericksburg," undated lecture (ca. 1866-68), Clara Barton Papers, Manuscript Division, Library of Congress.

73. Louise C. Duncan, "The Campaign of Fredericksburg, December 1862," The Military Surgeon, XXXIII (July, 1913), 20.

74. Hospital Register 150, Division 5, A. C. Reg. 131, National Archives. The register notes that 211 men died at the Lacy House. The

In addition to Clara Barton, Walt Whitman, the poet, served as a volunteer nurse during the Civil War. He came to the Fredericksburg area looking for his brother George who had been wounded in the fighting. Whitman related:

> Began my visits (December 21, 1862) among the camp hospitals in the Army of the Potomac, under General Burnside. Spent a good part of the day in a large brick mansion [i.e., the Lacy House] on the banks of the Rappahannock, immediately opposite Fredericksburg. It is used as a hospital since the battle, and seems to have received only the worst cases. Outdoors, at the foot of a tree, within ten yards of the front of the house, I notice a heap of amputated feet, legs, arms, hands, etc.--about a load for a one-horse cart. Several dead bodies lie near, each covered with its brown woolen blanket. In the dooryard, toward the river, are fresh graves, mostly of officers, their names on pieces of barrel staves or broken board, stuck in the dirt. (Most of these bodies were subsequently taken up and transported North to their friends.)
>
> The house is quite crowded, everything impromptu, no system, all bad enough, but I have no doubt the best that can be done; all the wounds pretty bad, some frightful, the men in their old clothes, unclean and bloody. Some of the wounded are rebel officers, prisoners. One, a Mississippian--a captain--hit badly in the leg, I talked with him some time; he asked for papers, which I gave him. (I saw him three months afterward in Washington, with leg amputated, doing well.)

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74. (Continued) identity of the troops treated at the Lacy House should be a matter for further research. It is likely that the troops treated at the Lacy House were from Howard's Second Division of the corps that had crossed the upper ponton bridge into the town on the 11th and the two divisions of the corps under Brigadier Generals William H. French and Winfield S. Hancock that had led the assault against Marye's Heights on the 13th.

> I went through the rooms, down stairs and up. Some of the men were dying. I had nothing to give at that visit, but wrote a few letters to folks home, mothers, etc. Also talked to three or four who seemed most susceptible to it, and needing it.[75]

By January 1863, the medical staff had evacuated the wounded from Fredericksburg to large military hospitals in and around Washington. Thus, hospital facilities, such as the Lacy House, provided temporary centers for the treatment of Federal casualties until they could be removed to more permanent medical centers.[76]

Contemporary evidence suggests that a number of soldiers were buried on the Lacy House grounds following the battle. Photographs taken not long after the fighting clearly denote low mounds of dirt that may have been some of the graves. Following the war, at least 98 soldiers were disinterred from the Lacy House grounds.[77] Burial details moved the bodies to the new National Cemetery atop Marye's Heights just south of Fredericksburg, a site that had not been reached by those Union soldiers who had died in the battle. Many of the disinterred bodies remained unknown, but a number of the bodies bore some means of identification. While many of the deaths occurred shortly after the

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75. Richard M. Bucke, ed., Walt Whitman, The Wound Dresser: Letters Written to His Mother from the Hospitals in Washington During the Civil War (New York, 1949), pp. 22-23.

76. Ibid., p. 24.

77. Robert K. Krick, the chief park historian at Fredericksburg and Spotsylvania County Battlefields Memorial National Military Park, provided the rationale for the figure 98 in a memorandum to Ronald W. Johnson on May 28, 1976. The memorandum may be found in the DSC-QE, Chatham Files.

fighting, several troops died in camp during late winter or early spring of 1863.[78]

Although the wounded Union troops were probably removed not long after the battle, the Lacy House continued to be the scene of military activities during the late winter and spring of 1862-63. For example, Major G. Moxley Sorrel, a Confederate officer, later explained the purpose of a humanitarian trip across the river to the Lacy House several days after the battle. He had been asked to convey a message from Lee to Burnside concerning the reprehensible manner in which Union burial parties disposed of their dead in the vicinity of Fredericksburg. According to Sorrel, Northern burying parties were making "hideous work with the dead soldiers; throwing them in heaps in shallow trenches, barely covered; filling the country ice houses and wells with them; indeed, doing this work most brutually for themselves, and intolerably for our citizens." Sorrel crossed the Rappahannock in a leaky craft, the ponton bridge having been removed to prevent the Confederate troops from utilizing it to attack the Union lines. He went on to report:

> . . . Leaving my soldier to the good care of the friendly pickets, I mounted and was led to the large house on the hill, at that time in use as a hospital. There my escort left me and I found myself for the night in the great kitchen of the establishment, filled with bright warmth and savory smells of good food.

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78. "Soldiers removed from Lacy Farm," Stafford County, Book B, Burial Register, Fredericksburg National Cemetery. See the Appendix for a complete list of the known Chatham burials. Also see, Statement of the Disposition of Some of the Bodies of Deceased Union Soldiers and Prisoners of War Whose Remains Have Been Removed to National Cemeteries in the Southern and Western States (Washington, 1869), IV, 24, and Roll of Honor, (No. XXV) Names of Soldiers who Died in Defense of the Union, Interred in the National Cemeteries. . . . (Washington, 1870).

A blanket or two had to do me for bedding, but I was soon asleep, after the soldier cooks had given me food, always with full respect to rank and authority.

To see what they had, its quality, its abundance, filled one's heart with envy when contrasted with the doled-out, bare necessities of life the lot of our own uncomplaining fellows.

Here in this great kitchen were huge swinging vessels of odorous real coffee; immense chunks of fat, fresh beef of all parts of the animal, great slabs of dessicated vegetables, which, when thrown with knuckles of meat and good flesh into the boiling cauldron, puffed out, swelling each vegetable into something like freshness, and then with free dashes of salt and pepper, behold a soup of strength and tastiness fit for Faint Heart to fight on. They gave me of it all and I tasted all, sleeping well and early up.

My man, who had fared well too, was soon at hand, and the boat raised, bailed out, landed us safely on our own bank.[79]

A more negative version of Sorrel's mission appeared in a letter written by Captain Charles M. Blackford to his wife on January 8, 1863. The captain complained:

He was most discourteously made to spend the night in the kitchen of Major Lacy's House Chatham without bed or bedding being offered him, and with nothing to eat but a bowl of soup, which some common soldier offered him. This treatment of

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79. G. Moxley Sorrel, Recollections of a Confederate Staff Officer (2nd ed., New York, 1917), pp. 146-47.

> General Longstreet's chief of staff, who came on an errand of mercy to their dead and wounded, I consider one of the most outrageous violations of the courtesies of war which has yet taken place. . . .[80]

M. Major Lacy's Limited Role at the Battle of Fredericksburg

At this point it would be germane to review the role that Major Lacy played in the Battle of Fredericksburg. According to a personal account, Lacy observed the Battle of Fredericksburg, but took no direct part in the fighting. On December 10 he carried an unspecified dispatch from Major General Gustavus W. Smith to General Lee, who invited him to stay at headquarters for several days. Lacy spent the night in Fredericksburg with his brother, the Rev. Beverly Tucker Lacy, at the house of a mutual friend. His brother later became unofficial Chaplain General for Jackson's Second Corps.[81]

When the battle began on the morning of the 11th, Lacy heard the cannon and "double quicked it out of the doomed town" as the "streets were swept by a hail-storm of grape and shrapnel." Lacy crossed the Confederate main line of resistance to reach Lee's headquarters battery. Later he recalled that:

> Afar across the valley and the river in the gray light of the early morning could be seen the white porches of my home, Chatham, made historic by Federal army correspondents, as the "Lacy House." The porches were filled with officers and gayly dressed women, and from half a score of brass bands rang out

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80. Quoted in Susan Leigh Blackford, comp., Letters from Lee's Army; or Memoirs of Life In and Out of the Army in Virginia During the War Between the States (New York, 1947), p. 155.

81. J. Horace Lacy, "Lee at Fredericksburg," The Century Magazine, XXXII (August, 1886), 605. The unspecified dispatch is referred to in a dispatch from Lee to Smith on December 12. Official Records, series I, vol. 21, p. 1,060.

across the valley "Yankee Doodle" and "Hail, Columbia!" The commanding officer of the battery asked me if I would permit him to scatter the unbidden guests at my home. . . .[82]

Lacy remained at the Fredericksburg conflict until Saturday, December 13, when a messenger informed him that he had been ordered to return to his duties with General Smith in North Carolina.[83]

N. General Robert E. Lee and Chatham

Popular legend has grown over the years linking General Robert E. Lee to Chatham. Apparently, Lee never gave an order to fire directly at the Lacy House on the morning of December 11, 1862, although Lacy claims to have urged Lee to authorize the shelling of his home. Lee's unsubstantiated statement to Lacy that morning--a statement incidentially that has been repeated in many subsequent romantic accounts of this battle--went as follows, "Major I never permit the unnecessary effusion of blood. War is terrible enough at its best, to a Christian man; I hope yet to see you and your dear family happy in your old home. Do you know I love Chatham better than any place in the world except Arlington! I courted and won my dear wife under the shade of those trees!"[84] The author of an article which appeared in the Magazine of American History in June 1887 repeated the same story, and thus gave it further credence.[85] The alleged comment was given even wider currency and respectability by John T. Goolrick, a local Fredericksburg historian, in his Historic Fredericksburg, written in 1922:

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82. Lacy, "Lee at Fredericksburg," 606.

83. Ibid., 607.

84. Quoted in Ibid., 606.

85. M. Conway, "Fredericksburg First and Last," Magazine of American History XVII (June, 1887), 463-64.

> During the battle of Fredericksburg, General Lee stood on "Lee's Hill," an eminence near Hazel Run, and between Marye's Heights and Hamilton's crossing. Looking across the Rappahannock he could see "Chatham," the great winged brick house where General Burnside had headquarters [actually Burnside had moved back to the Phillips house], and where, under the wide spreading oaks, General Lee had won his bride, the pretty Mary Custis. The fine old place was now the property of Major Lacy, who rode up to Lee and said: "General there are a group of Yankee officers on my porch. I do not want my house spared. I ask permission to give orders to shell it." General Lee, smiling said: "Major, I do not want to shell your fine old house. Besides, it has tender memories for me. I courted my bride under its trees."[86]

Unfortunately, Goolrick did not cite the source of his statement, but he may have gleaned it from the alleged eyewitness account left by Lacy or from the contemporary observations of Reverend James Power Smith. The alleged incident has appeared in many other publications. Although this is a pleasant romantic story, it is somewhat questionable that Lee would have wasted precious powder and shot to hit a distant target outside the accurate range of his artillery. As was discussed earlier in this chapter, the record is quite clear, however, that a number of Confederate shells dropped in the general vicinity of the Lacy House. It is more than likely that these projectiles had been directed at the Union troops who built and later crossed the ponton bridges below the Lacy House and were not a futile effort to dislodge Union officers from the occupied mansion.

To confuse the issue further, a Lee biographer, Douglas Southall Freeman, addressed the question in his 1934 study Robert E.

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86. John T. Goolrick, Historic Fredericksburg (Richmond, 1922), p. 52.

Lee. Freeman states, "Through the smoke, Lee found himself looking across the Valley of the Rappahannock to see if he could locate in the yard at Chatham the old tree under which he had wooed Mary Custis." Unfortunately, Freeman does not provide a definitive source for this quotation, but rather indicates that the statement was given to him by Captain J. P. Smith.[87]

The contemporary historian cannot verify the data offered to Freeman by the Presbyterian minister, James Power Smith, who died many years ago. According to Lacy's 1886 account, he did not meet Captain J. P. Smith, an aide-de-camp to Stonewall Jackson, until December 13.[88]

The Lee family did have definite ties to William Fitzhugh, the builder of Chatham. William Fitzhugh in his letters to his nephew Captain Benjamin Grymes, mentions several times that General Henry Lee, his cousin, visited him. Lee was then married to his second wife, Ann Hill Carter of Shirley, whose father was related to Fitzhugh and whose sister Elizabeth had married Colonel Robert Randolph, Mrs. Fitzhugh's brother. Following the death of General Henry Lee, his widow and children suffered extreme "economic circumstances" until they were aided by William Henry Fitzhugh, the only son of William Fitzhugh of Chatham. Mrs. Lee and her family resided in Fitzhugh's Alexandria town house at

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87. Freeman, Robert E. Lee, II, 461. In the footnote where he cites Smith as the source of the alleged quotation by Lee, Freeman appends the notation that "For Lee's memories of Chatham see Lee to Mrs. Lee, Dec. 8, 1861" in Robert E. Lee, Jr., Recollections and Letters of General Robert E. Lee (New York, 1904), p. 57. In checking this source (the original of which may be found at the Virginia Historical Society), one finds that the letter was written not to Mrs. Lee but instead to Lee's daughter, Annie. Writing from South Carolina, where he was strengthening the Confederate coastal defenses, Lee included the following comments about Chatham that reveal little in the way of "memories" or familiarity with the estate: "I am very glad you visited Chatham. I was there many years ago, when it was the residence of Judge Coalter, and some of the avenues of poplar, so dear to your grandmama, still existed. I presume they have all gone now."

88. Lacy, "Lee at Fredericksburg," 607.

607 Oronoco Street, and from that dwelling Robert E. Lee went to West Point.

Popular legends have tied Robert E. Lee to Chatham in other ways. Many of these beliefs are romantic fabrications concerning the early life of this Southern military chieftain. Freeman stated that Lee spent holidays at Chatham and cited Dabney H. Maury as the source. Maury's Recollections of a Virginian state:

> Our greater Lee, Robert Edward, used to make his summer home at Chatham, that old, colonial house just opposite Fredericksburg, then the residence of Fitzhugh. Stratford, where Lee was born, lies on the Potomac, near Wakefield, the birthplace of Washington. Mrs. Lee found the place too unhealthy for summer residence, and moved, with her children, up to the purer air of Chatham.[89]

This supposition is confusing because Robert was only three years old when his mother left Stratford for Alexandria. Freeman uses the Maury source to indicate that Robert spent holidays at Chatham in later boyhood, but Chatham was not "then the residence of Fitzhugh." Lee was born in 1807, and it may be recalled that in 1806 William Fitzhugh sold Chatham to Churchill Jones, who owned the plantation until 1822. No available evidence connects the Lees to the Jones family. Furthermore, Fitzhugh had been living in Alexandria since the late 1790s. Maury's statement reflects the influence of too much local legend and too little substantive fact, and Freeman used this source too liberally to illustrate a popular contention.

William Fitzhugh of Chatham lived long enough to see his only grandchild survive infancy. Mary Anne Randolph Custis was born

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89. Dabney Herndon Maury, Recollections of a Virginian (New York, 1894), p. 3. Also see Freeman, Robert E. Lee, I, 34.

October 1, 1808. She was the daughter of George Washington Parke Custis and his wife Mary Lee Fitzhugh. George Washington Parke Custis was the step-grandson and adopted son of George Washington. Mary Anne married Robert E. Lee at Arlington on June 30, 1831. A cursory review of the personal correspondence of Lee at the Virginia Historical Society does not refer to a Chatham courtship.[90]

Shortly after the marriage of Lieutenant Robert Edward Lee and Mary Custis, the couple went to Ravensworth--an old Fitzhugh plantation--for several days with Anna Maria Sarah Fitzhugh, the widow of William Henry Fitzhugh who had died prematurely in May 1830. Throughout his life as he advanced in his military career, Lee maintained his contacts with the Fitzhugh relatives. Discounting traditions and the one letter to his daughter in 1861, no hard evidence links Lee to Chatham either as a suitor or a guest.

In summary, the very thin evidence (some of which was misinterpreted by Freeman) does not conclusively point to Lee's courtship at Chatham. The 1861 letter to his daughter and the statement "I was there many years ago" suggest a single visit. In an age when romance and courtship were often the topic of a great deal of intra-family conversation, Lee missed a golden opportunity to tell his daughter about her mother. The statements concerning the possible cannonading of the Lacy House and the oft-repeated story that Lee courted his bride-to-be at the historic plantation, must be relegated to the realm of romantic folklore. Only Lacy's personal memoir suggests that the major and General Lee conversed at the Battle of Fredericksburg.

O. The Army of the Potomac in Winter Camp Near the Lacy House: December 1862-April 1863

Following the defeat at Fredericksburg and subsequent abortive maneuvering, the Army of the Potomac went into winter quarters. During

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90. Lee Papers, Virginia Historical Society.

the winter of 1862-63, the various unit encampments opposite Fredericksburg on the Stafford Heights near the Lacy House comprised a vast camp that numbered well over 100,000 inhabitants.[91]

A survey of regimental histories reveals the abysmal level of lodgings and conditions the men of the Army of the Potomac endured that winter. For example, the Thirteenth Regiment, New Hampshire Volunteers, was one of the units that erected winter camp in the vicinity of the Phillips House. The Thirteenth New Hampshire was situated about one mile from the Lacy House, as were most other units. Because of Chatham's proximity to the Confederate lines across the river, Northern troops did not stay too close to the historic plantation, but the house was utilized in other ways that winter.[92]

A former member of the Ninth Regiment, New York Volunteers, later described the general appearance of the winter encampment in the vicinity of Stafford Heights. According to him:

> The general appearance of camp could not be said to be inviting to one unaccustomed to it. The stranger viewing it, or even the convalescent returning after an absence more or less protracted, saw that there had been no attempt at architectural

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91. Further research is necessary to establish the location of the camps and the identity of the units that occupied the sites in the immediate vicinity of Chatham.

92. S. Millet Thompson, Thirteenth Regiment of New Hampshire Volunteer Infantry in the War of the Rebellion, 1861-1865: A Diary Covering Three Years and a Day (Boston and New York, 1888), p. 93. The individual who kept the regimental diary reported that disease caused considerable distress to the troops that winter, that sanitary conditions remained primitive, and that flour sold for $25 a barrel and butter $85 a pound. He went on to say that "all night long the sounds go up of men coughing, breathing heavy and hoarse with half choaked throats, and groaning with acute pain."

uniformity. Indeed this would have been impossible with the materials at hand.

> As he gazed at the various structures throughout the camps, with their canvas roofs discolored by various kinds of dirt stains, and with their gaping rents caused by storms or black margined holes burned by sparks from their own chimneys, in some cases patched with stray bits of old rubber blankets or odd pieces of discarded tent cloth of almost every hue, he would not have been inclined to worship it as a shrine of beauty. A nearer view disclosed mud everywhere, banked up against the houses and plastered between the logs to keep out the cold. . . .[93]

Other contemporary descriptions of camp life illustrate the refuse and wreckage of war. A member of the Fifth Regiment, New Hampshire Volunteers, wrote:

> The scenes about Falmouth were strange, indicating the cost and waste of war. There were many abandoned camps and corrals, than which nothing can be more the picture of desolation. Acres of land were covered with dead horses and mules, scattered about in convenient groups. Their bloating, decaying, festuring bodies filled the air with an intolerable stench, and afforded a disgusting feast to the thousands of buzzards which gorged themselves until unable to fly or walk and then spewed out the half digested, fluid filth, filling the air with an awful stench, offensive to all the senses beyond any power of expression. The scene would cause the spectator to

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93. Matthew J. Graham, The Ninth Regiment New York Volunteers (Hawkins Zouaves) Being A History of the Regiment and Veteran Association from 1860 to 1900 (New York, 1900), pp. 392-93.

flee in a sickening horror, his face pale and distorted, his body bowed and convulsed, his stomach nauseated and heaving.[94]

From dismal, dank camps such as those described above, pickets and guards moved toward the Union lines near the Lacy House as well as Stafford Heights in general. James Madison Stone of the Twenty-First Massachusetts remembered the situation in the vicinity of the Lacy House during late December:

> Doing picket duty down by the river was pretty uncomfortable work the last of December, and the 21st was honored with that kind of duty altogether too often. Sitting or crouching in those rifle pits, always on watch through those long winter nights was pretty tough. One night a lot of the boys broke into the Lacy house, a fine, large mansion that stood a short distance back from the river, and tore a pipe organ to pieces, each man taking a pipe and the next morning when we returned to camp we all played,--perhaps you would call it a tune. . . .[95]

Millet Thompson, of the Thirteenth New Hampshire, remembered January 22, 1863, as being "Rainy, cold, disagreeable, and the mud almost fathomless. The whole Reg. is hurried off early for picket duty on the river near the Lacy house. A strong double line of pickets are posted along much of the river bank. The Lacy House was once a splendid place, but is now terribly torn and battered." He went on to

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94. William Child, A History of the Fifth Regiment New Hampshire Volunteers in the American Civil War, 1861-1865 (Bristol, 1893), p. 169.

95. James Madison Stone, Personal Recollections of the Civil War (Boston, 1918), p. 119.

say that on January 31 it was "Very cold and clear. Ground frozen hard. Picket sent from the 13th to the river near the Lacy House."[96]

A formal schedule of picket duty permitted the soldiers from each unit several days of rest per month--a welcome respite during the bitter winter weather. One private later wrote that in a

> short time we were removed to the Lacy House, opposite Fredericksburg, some four miles from our camp. The details for this duty were made for three days at a time, and came about three times a month, so that during the remainder of the winter we had to spent three consecutive days out of every ten in this delightful spot. There were but three posts to stand at this point, and they along the bank of the river, so that during the three days' tour of duty, no one stood guard for more than one relief, and some not at all. This was, unlike most picket duty, not desirable, as our reserve was stationed in a ravine hear the Lacy house, without warm food, or even fire to make coffee--so indispensable to a soldier, entirely without shelter, and for the greater portion of the time with clothing wet through, and frozen stiff, unable during the whole time to lie down or sleep. The weather for the entire winter was terribly severe, raining and freezing most of the time. . . .[97]

As did other units, the Fifteenth Massachusetts did its share of picket duty along the Rappahannock in early 1863. On March 18, a colonel in the unit wrote:

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96. Thompson, Thirteenth Regiment of New Hampshire Volunteer Infantry, pp. 102, 105.

97. Eugene A. Cory, "A Private's Recollections of Fredericksburg" in Personal Narratives of Events in the War of the Rebellion, Being Papers Read Before the Rhode Island Soldiers and Sailors Historical Society, Third Series--No. 4, (Providence, 1884), p. 14-15. Also see Orville S. Kimball, History and Personal Sketches of Company I, 103 N.Y.S.V. 1862- 1864 (Elmira, 1900), pp. 28-29 for a description of picket duty.

> I was the corps officer of the day yesterday, and was on horseback a good portion of the time. I went the entire picket line of our corps from right to left, making about eighteen miles. My headquarters were at the Lacy House on the bank of the river, opposite Fredericksburg. From where I was, I could converse with the people in Fredericksburg. The rebel pickets are posted thickly all up and down the entire river as far as I went. The Lacy House was one of the finest houses in all Virginia, and furnished magnificently, but now it is a complete wreck.[98]

Life for the medical officers was little better than for the enlisted men in the army camps near the Lacy House during the winter of 1862-63. For example, A. T. Hamilton, Assistant Surgeon, 148th Pennsylvania Volunteers, wrote:

> A new life opens; the tented fields', the morning sick call; the Lacy House and its environments where the battle of Fredericksburg was fought; the frowning cannon in position to respond to any of the enemy may open from Marye's Heights; the rebel picket within hailing distance, and the frequent firing on the line necessitated the presence of a medical officer with the picket detail. The experience with one hundred of our men on picket duty at night when covered with blanket both of wool and snow while sleeping; the sick in the quarters and hospital tent made a round of duty that kept me busy while in camp Falmouth, to say nothing of camp discipline, fatigue duty, drill, dress parade or policing camp grounds. . . .[99]

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98. Ford, The Story of the Fifteenth Regiment, pp. 241-42.

99. A. T. Hamilton, "The Surgeon's Story," in The Story of Our Regiment: A History of the 148th Pennsylvania Vols. (Des Moines, 1904), pp. 166-67.

P. Union Volunteers Establish a Rest Station at the Lacy House

During the winter of 1862-63, many women volunteers came to Fredericksburg to care for troops who suffered from inadequate diets, substandard housing, and debilitating climatic conditions caused by rain, snow, and cold weather. Mrs. John Harris, the secretary of the Ladies Aid Society of Philadelphia, used the Lacy House as a "rest station," where for many weeks she attempted to meet the physical needs of the Union troops. From time to time a Mrs. Beck and Mrs. Mary W. Lee, an immigrant from Northern Ireland who represented the Union Volunteers Refreshment at Philadelphia, assisted her.[100]

Mrs. Harris attained considerable popularity with the troops. She procured a stove, some cornmeal, and ground ginger and, with wine and crackers, prepared daily a large supply of hot ginger panada for the pickets as they came in from the line. The young troops, extremely fond of this preparation, waited patiently in line to receive a generous sample from Mrs. Harris' bakery. An individual who wrote a sympathetic biography of this woman, described a typical Sabbath morning at the Lacy House:

> Could you have looked in upon us at breakfast time this day of sacred rest, your eye would have fallen on scenes and groupings all out of harmony with its holy uses. One cooking-stove pushed to its utmost capacity, groaning beneath the weight of gruel, coffee, and tea, around it clustered soldiers, shivering, drenched to the skin, here and there a poor fellow coiled upon the floor, too full of pain and weariness to bear his own weight. Seated along the table, as closely as

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100. Linus P. Brockett, Women's Work in the Civil War: A Record of Heroism, Patriotism and Patience (Philadelphia, 1867), pp. 149, 157, 482, 485-86. Besides narrating the activities of the women who served at various Civil War battlefields, Brockett described the organizations that sponsored their work. For instance, the Ladies Aid Society of Philadelphia spent nearly $25,000 for war relief work during the conflict.

possible, were others, whose expressions of thanks told how grateful the simple repast was--bread, stewed fruit, and coffee. All alike were wet and cold, having been exposed throughout the night to the driving snow and rain, the most uncomfortable one of the season. Two poor boys groan under the pressure of pain; they are carried to the chamber, their wet stockings removed, feet bathed with camphor, spice tea given them, and an ambulance sent for. Now we return to our room of all-work. The vapor from the clothing of the soldiers, mingled with the steam from the coffee and gruel, condenses on my glasses; the eye waters, too, and the lungs are oppressed with the heavy atmosphere, and for a moment I am ready to give up; but only for a moment. Suddenly the word "halt" is heard, and an instant after such a chorus of coughs smites upon our ears, and each one seems to say, "What the hand findeth to do, do it with all thy might." Seventy-two of our defenders stood there in the raw March wind, in need of something to keep the powers of life in action. Thoroughly wet, icicles on their blankets after a sleepless night, a march of from three to five miles before them, sinking every step over shoe-top in mud and slush,-could you have seen the eager pressing forward, tin cup in hand, to secure the coveted portion, simple as it was, you would feel that God's own day was honored.[101]

Officers, as well as enlisted men, periodically visited Mrs. Harris' operations at the Lacy House. In early March 1863, Robert McAllister wrote:

I rode over yesterday to the Lacy House on the river bank of Fredericksburg to see Mrs. Harris. She was very kind and gave me a loaf of homemade bread, which I brought back with

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101. Frank Moore, Women of the War; Their Herioism and Self-Sacrifice (Hartford, 1866), pp. 196-97.

me. But we can now get bread without much difficulty, as we have a Brigade bakery. The Lacy House is a very large mansion, and Mrs. Harris has it for her headquarters with two other ladies, all engaged in the good work of dispensing to the sick and needy. They are doing a great deal to relieve the suffering. Mrs. Harris looks real healthy--very different from what she once did.[102]

Occasionally, the Provost Marshal asked for aid from the women who stayed at the Lacy House. On April 25, 1863, General Patrick recorded the following entry in his diary, "Have had a couple of women up for examination they having come from Richmond--Have sent them down to the Lacy House to be examined--Searched--by these ladies--Mrs. Harris and Mrs. Beck--"[103] As the Army of the Potomac's ranking policeman, Patrick did not want individuals who crossed between the lines to carry vital military information to the enemy's intelligence corps.

The humanitarian activity continued at the Lacy House until mid-June 1863, when Mrs. Harris left with the Union forces who would be involved in the Battle of Gettysburg on July 1-3. In addition to the three women mentioned previously, other heroic women tended the sick and wounded in the Fredericksburg area. They included Mrs. Almira Fales, Mrs. Arabella G. Barlow, the wife of Brigadier General Francis C. Barlow, Miss Cornelia Hancock, Mrs. Plummer, and Miss A. Gilson.[104]

In May 1864, Mrs. Mary W. Lee arrived back in Fredericksburg to care for the sick and wounded troops who arrived in that community

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102. James I. Robertson, Jr., ed., The Civil War Letters of General Robert McAllister (New Brunswick, 1965), p. 269.

103. Sparks, Inside Lincoln's Army, p. 236.

104. Brockett, Women's Work in the Civil War, pp. 73, 226-27, 644.

after the battles of the Wilderness (May 5-6) and Spotsylvania Courthouse (May 8-21). Hunger was a constant problem, yet Mrs. Lee did not have many kitchen appliances or utensils to use. Remembering that Mrs. Harris had abandoned a cooking stove at the Lacy House, she crossed the river to look for the stove. She found it and moved it to Fredericksburg where she used the battered relic to prepare gruel and panada. While at the Lacy House, she also discovered several old kettles which she took to Fredericksburg to be used to serve the wounded and sick.[105] During her stay in Fredericksburg the "old stove was kept constantly hot, and her skilful hands were employed from morning till night and often from night till morning again in the preparation of food and delicacies for the sick."[106]

Q. President Lincoln Reviews the Army of the Potomac: April 1863

Despite drastic morale problems in the Army of the Potomac following the disaster at Fredericksburg and the "mud march", General Burnside's successor, Major General Joseph Hooker, infused a renewed spirit in the troops by the following spring. As part of the efforts to rally the men, President Lincoln and his wife visited the army camps around Falmouth and Fredericksburg in early April 1863. Lincoln presided at formal military reviews on at least two occasions--the review of the cavalry corps on Monday, April 6, and a large scale review of two corps of the Army of the Potomac on Thursday, April 9.[107]

Contrary to popular belief, the President did not review the troops at the Lacy plantation but on the Fitzhugh farm less than two miles to the northeast. On May 2, 1863, Harper's Weekly carried an

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105. Moore, Women of the War, pp. 162-63.

106. Brockett, Women's Work in the Civil War, p. 487.

107. Darius N. Couch, "Sumner's Right Grand Division," in Battles and Leaders of the Civil War, III, 119-20; "Review of the Army of the Potomac," Harper's Weekly, VII (May 2, 1863), 282; and Alonzo H. Quint, The Potomac and Rapidan, Army Notes, From the Failure at Winchester to the Reinforcement of Rosecrans 1861-63 (Boston, 1864), p. 291.

extensive account of the event on April 9, specifically referring to the Fitzhugh farm, not the Lacy House. An eyewitness account refers to the considerable distance that separated the review grounds from Fredericksburg, not merely the short distance across the river that separates the Lacy House and the city. According to the Harper's Weekly account

> the view from the review grounds was magnificent. Out upon a little swell of upland were crowded the President, the generals, and the staff and over all the plain stretched the columns of the army. In the distance were the camps, the river, the spires of Fredericksburg, and the frowning batteries beyond; behind us, miles of mud-walled villages, long white-topped baggage wagons and cannon on the hills. . . .[108]

After observing the cavalry corps' April 6 review, Alonzo H. Quint, Chaplain of the Second Massachusetts Infantry, rode with a companion toward the Lacy House. As he rode toward the house, he related that:

> A natural curiosity took us to the brink of the river a mile and a half off. The Lacy mansion stands near it, and from the terraces of its garden, almost overhanging the narrow stream, we looked down into Fredericksburg. . . . Where we stood were loyal watchmen. The owner of the deserted house is in the rebel army; his garden is a disaster but what moved me most, a child's rocking-horse stood by a door, unharmed in all the strife.[109]

R. The Chancellorsville Campaign: April-May 1863

In late April 1863, "Fighting Joe" Hooker determined to challenge the Army of Northern Virginia west of Fredericksburg. As the

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108. "Review of the Army of the Potomac," 282.

109. Quint, The Potomac and Rapidan, p. 291.

weather improved, the Army of the Potomac broke its winter camp. Leaving part of his force on the Rappahannock, Hooker struck camp on April 27 and arrived at the country crossroads of Chancellorsville three days later. On April 27, the Eleventh and Twelfth Corps had set out for Kelly's Ford, some 25 miles upstream, and the Fifth Corps had begun moving on the 28th. Hooker ordered the Sixth and First Corps to cross the Rappahannock below Fredericksburg to create the illusion of a movement in that direction. The Second Corps was to traverse the river at Banks' Ford, about two miles upstream from Falmouth, and John Gibbon's Second Division, Second Corps was to remain encamped near Falmouth.

On May 2, Gibbon established temporary headquarters at the Lacy House. Once again a field telegraph connected the general headquarters near the ruins of the Phillips House (burned that February) to the Lacy House and later across the river to the city. On May 5 the line was taken up when Gibbon moved his headquarters.[110]

Early on May 3, Major General John Sedgwick arrived in Fredericksburg, ready to mount an assault against Marye's Heights. Although the Union forces encountered stiff opposition, they carried the high ground well before noon. During the day, Gibbon's men crossed the Rappahannock near the Lacy House on ponton bridges. Thus, unlike the previous December, the first day of the Second Battle of Fredericksburg was a successful venture for the Northern forces.[111] However, the early gains made by the Union at Fredericksburg went for naught, as the Confederates reoccupied Marye's Heights on the 4th. The next day the Union troops removed the ponton bridges and dismantled the telegraph station at the Lacy House. A Union surgeon summarized the two-day

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110. Official Records, series I, vol. 25, pt. 1, pp. 220, 222, 226-27.

111. Huntington W. Jackson, "Sedgwick at Fredericksburg and Salem Heights," in Battles and Leaders, III, 224-33.

battle as follows, "We have had two days of pretty hard fighting; the first day winning everything, the second losing all we had gained."[112]

S. Limited Military Activity Near the Lacy House: 1863-65

The Lacy House did not play much of a role in action subsequent to the Chancellorsville Campaign. It did, however, continue to serve the Union forces stationed along the picket lines established on Stafford Heights. One participant, Samuel Harris of the Fifth Michigan Cavalry, later related his experiences while on picket duty which included an encounter with Brigadier General George Armstrong Custer during the summer of 1863. He wrote that his regiment

> camped on the hills about a mile from the river, and nearly opposite the Lacy house. . . .
>
> I was ordered to take my company (A) and take command of the picket line, from the Lacy house to the street running through Falmouth. The full length of the line was not over one mile but it was the worst line I ever had command of. My headquarters were in the Lacy house. Not a man could show his head but a reb bullet would zip too close to him for comfort. They would fire on the pickets every chance they could get. They were very angry at the terrible defeat they got at Gettysburg.
>
> I ran all the horses inside the Lacy house and barricaded the doors and windows in the lower part of the house the best I could, and arranged my men in the second story, the better to defend themselves, as I expected the rebs would come over

112. Martha Derby Perry, comp., Letters From a Surgeon of the Civil War (Boston, 1906), p. 32.

and try to capture us at any time, and especially in the night.[113]

At Custer's suggestion, Harris arranged a brief truce to allow the general an opportunity to visit with Brigadier General Thomas Rosser, a West Point classmate then stationed in Fredericksburg with the Confederate army. The visit occurred without incident.[114]

Although the Lacy House slipped into the backwater of the war, limited activity occurred near the house toward the end of the conflict. Union engineers constructed a 440-foot long ponton bridge nearby, probably to support soldiers moving to Spotsylvania in May 1864.[115] As related earlier, Mrs. Mary Lee visited the house that same month to retrieve an old cookstove. Finally when the war ended, an observer related that a ponton bridge still existed near the Lacy House. Captain R. G. Carter later wrote that he marched into Fredericksburg in May 1865 "across the town via Hanover street, up Water or Caroline streets, and down to the pontoon bridge opposite the Lacy house, thence through Falmouth and by the Stafford Court House road. . . .[116]

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113. Samuel Harris, Personal Reminiscences of Samuel Harris (Chicago, 1897), p. 45.

114. Ibid., pp. 45-46.

115. Official Records, series I, vol. 46, pt. 1, p. 647.

116. Robert G. Carter, Four Brothers in Blue (Washington, 1913), p. 506.

CHAPTER IX
CHATHAM UNDER JAMES HORACE LACY: 1865-72

Chatham and its owner survived the bitter Civil War. Although the plantation suffered damage, the three principal buildings on the estate remained intact and were made liveable again by Lacy's diligent efforts during the postwar Reconstruction period. As will be discussed in the remaining chapters of this report, Chatham changed significantly during the period between the 1860s and the 1970s. Depending on the owner's inclinations and interests, the property either benefited from attention to its upkeep or suffered from the lack of it.

A. Chatham's Recovery from Wartime Damage during the Reconstruction Period: 1865-72

When the war in Virginia ended in April 1865, Mrs. Lacy and her children remained at Greenwood until Chatham could be made inhabitable. According to her account, the

> appearance of the old place when we first returned was heart rending. All the paneling had been stripped from the walls, every door and window was gone, literally only the bare brick walls were left standing. The trees had been cut down, the yard and garden were a wilderness of weeds and briers, and there were nineteen Federal graves on the lawn. It was not until November that the waste places were sufficiently repaired for us to take possession, and then we had only attempted to restore part of the house.[1]

Shortly after the war, J. T. Trowbridge published an account of his travels through the devastated South. He appeared in Fredericksburg taking walks in and around the community. He observed that the most noteworthy of his walks

> was a morning-visit to the Lacy House, where Burnside had his headquarters. Crossing the Rappahannock on the pontoon

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1. Lacy, "Memories of a Long Life," p. 7.

bridge, I climbed the stone steps leading from terrace to terrace, and reached the long-neglected grounds and the old-fashioned Virginia mansion. It was entirely deserted. The doors were wide open, or broken from their hinges, the windows smashed, the floors covered with rubbish, and the walls with the names of soldiers and regiments, or pictures cut from the illustrated newspapers.[2]

This forlorn description of the Lacy House squares with an emotional personal account written by Mrs. Betty Lacy many years later--a grim picture of wartime desolation and damage at the historic plantation. In addition to its service as wartime officers' billets, staff headquarters, battlefield hospital, and emergency cemetery, frequent traffic certainly must have resulted in considerable wear and tear on Chatham's structural fabric. The fields, gardens, and yard suffered from the trampling and movement of horses, mules, wagons, and men. Several contemporary wartime photographs depict a yard virtually denuded of vegetation. In short, military occupation devastated the plantation and surrounding countryside. Douglas H. Gordon, writing from Fredericksburg on January 30, 1863, to his wife Ann Eliza, noted that all of the trees at Chatham had been cut down and the whole Stafford Heights area had been stripped.[3]

Once again, 20th century folklore concerning the continuity of certain trees allegedly planted by Washington is not supported by the

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2. J. T. Trowbridge, The South: A Tour of Its Battle-fields and Ruined Cities, A Journey Through the Desolated States, and Talks with the People (Hartford, 1867), p. 113. These two accounts and other wartime observations cited in the previous chapter depict the cost of the war to Chatham. Unfortunately, no documentary evidence has yet been found to describe Lacy's efforts to rehabilitate the home or the plantation.

3. See Freeman, Lee's Lieutenants, I, 742. The Army of the Potomac in winter quarters (1862-63) undoubtedly used much of the local timber on the plantation for firewood and construction.

study of contemporary wartime photographs. From a review of Civil War records, photographs, and soldiers' recollections, practically all extant plants and trees, with a few exceptions, were planted after the war ended and life returned to a semblance of order at Chatham. Of course, a limited number of trees may have survived the wartime damage to reach maturity in the 20th century.[4]

Although the bitter conflict had wreaked much havoc on Chatham, the industrious Major Lacy, without slave labor, made a dramatic comeback regarding the productivity of the farm. The tax value of the property dropped from $24,040 to $18,041 between 1860 and 1865.[5] According to the Ninth Census in 1870, Chatham consisted of 400 improved and 250 unimproved acres valued at $40,000. Farm implements were worth $1,000. Wages paid, a new statistic, amounted to $1,000 that year. (With the end of slavery as a labor system, the Virginia farmers who had owned bondsmen now had to work out a wage structure with their former slaves.) In 1870 there were fewer animals at Chatham than ten years earlier. The number of livestock included 6 horses, 8 milch cows, and 20 swine for a total value of $1,000. Crop productivity in 1869 included 1,200 bushels of wheat, 2,100 bushels of corn, 900 bushels of oats, 50 pounds of butter, and 14 tons of hay. The value of livestock slaughtered totaled $200. Apparently, Lacy had become involved in a new endeavor--forest products--which amounted to a value of $1,800. The

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4. The staff of Fredericksburg and Spotsylvania County Battlefields Memorial National Military Park had tested the age of about ten of the largest trees at Chatham in November 1978. Scott Blaine of the Virginia Division of Forestry, who conducted the tests for the park, discovered that the only trees still standing that date from the Civil War period are the two catalpas (160-70 years old), the two black locusts (150-75 years old), and the blackberry (150-70 years old) on the front lawn. The other trees tested appear to be less than 120 years old (such as the linden on the front lawn). The increment boring method was used to test the tress, and it should be borne in mind that such a test only provides estimates of the actual age of the trees.

5. Stafford County Tax Lists, 1860 and 1865, Archives Division, Virginia State Library.

total value of property at Chatham reached $70,000 as compared to personal property valued at $2,000.[6]

B. The Lacy Family

The 1870 Census Population Schedule also sheds some light on the Lacy family itself. That year, Lacy (age 47) and his wife Betty (age 40) lived on the plantation with their 8 children, ranging in age from 19 to 2, and their respective birth dates were: Agnes, August 31, 1851; William Jones, August 4, 1855; Elizabeth Bryan, January 12, 1856; Graham Gordon, August 8, 1858; Lucy Lyle, July 15, 1860; James Horace, Jr., November 1, 1862; Sallie McGavock, April 3, 1865; and Beverly Randolph Drury, February 28, 1868. The Lacys also employed a number of black house servants including Hannah Gray, age 80; H. Armistead, 19, domestic servant; Ann Eliza Armistead, 26, cook; M. Armistead, 14, nurse; and J. Armistead, 60, gardener.[7]

Some of Lacy's children forged distinctive careers for themselves. Graham (1858-1952) was "reared on the fine old plantation," thus gaining "his early educational discipline under the direction of private tutors, besides having the fortuitous influences of a home of distinctive culture and refinement." After graduating from the Virginia Military Institute, he went to Sedalia, Missouri, to study law and then moved to St. Joseph where he practiced law, organized a bank, and became a prominent community leader.[8] Drury Lacy (1868-1937) followed in his older brother's footsteps by moving to St. Joseph to work as a banker.[9] In contrast to the successful commercial careers of the two

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6. Ninth Census of the United States, 1870, Stafford County, Virginia, Agricultural Schedule, and Population Schedule, p. 12.

7. Ninth Census, 1870, Stafford County, Virginia, Population Schedule, p. 12, and "One Branch of the Lacy Family," copy of mss. in DSC-QE, Chatham Files.

8. Williams, History of Northwest Missouri, pp. 656-57.

9. (Fredericksburg) The Daily Star, January 29, 1906.

brothers, Sally (1865-1960) went to China as a Presbyterian missionary, and J. Horace, Jr., (1862-1944) became a noted Presbyterian minister in Winchester, Virginia.[10] Agnes Lacy (1851-1917), the Major's eldest daughter, married James Power Smith, an aide-de-camp to Stonewall Jackson during the war and later a Presbyterian minister and family historian.[11]

C. Lacy's Postwar Civilian Activities

The major and his wife assumed an important role in the work of the Ladies' Memorial Association, formally organized on May 10, 1865. The women of Fredericksburg were among the first in the South to take an active part in decorating the graves of the Confederate war dead--a gesture that ultimately led to Decoration Day and later Memorial Day to honor the nation's fallen warriors. Those who attended the initial meeting elected Mrs. Lacy one of the association's five vice presidents. The members made plans to sod and refurbish the Confederate graves in the local cemetery, and by the following fall a committee, consisting of Major Lacy, C. M. Braxton, and Dr. F. P. Wellford, bought land for a new Confederate cemetery. Meanwhile, the association did its best to locate wartime graves on battlefields and nearby farmlands, but lack of sufficient funds proved to be a major problem.[12]

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10. H. Kerr Taylor, "A Servant of One, A Servant of All," Presbyterian Survey (January, 1961), 39, and (Fredericksburg) The Daily Star, January 29, 1906. A Lacy grandson, Sterling Byrd Lacy, served as Lieutenant Governor of Colorado between 1925-27.

11. "One Branch of the Lacy Family," mss. in park files, Fredericksburg and Spotsylvania County Battlefields Memorial National Military Park, and Verner McClelland, "James Power Smith, Jefferson College, A. B. 1857," Washington and Jefferson College Historical Collections, 1950, mss. in park files, Fredericksburg and Spotsylvania County Battlefields Memorial National Military Park. Little is known about the lives and careers of the three other Lacy children: William (1855-84); Elizabeth (1856-1929), who married the minister Alfred Jones; and Lucy (1860-92). Further research is needed to determine the activities in which they became involved.

12. "A Leaf from the Past," Ladies' Memorial Association of Fredericksburg, Virginia Records, copy of mss. in DSC-QE, Chatham Files, and S. J. Quinn, The History of the City of Fredericksburg, Virginia (Richmond, 1908), pp. 186-88.

The association turned to Lacy to help raise the necessary funds for its activities. He accepted the association's request to "represent the urgent need of the Association, whenever and wherever he may think the cause would meet with sympathy and support." While in Baltimore, the Major raised some $2,000. Next he journeyed to Louisiana to look after some property, and while there he collected an additional $8,000. In 1870 a number of prominent former Confederates living in New Orleans including P. G. T. Beauregard wrote a "letter of commendation" for the "Holy Cause he represented . . . to the memory of our glorious Confederate Dead."[13]

On the evening of October 13, 1870, the day following the death of Robert E. Lee, prominent Fredericksburg citizens held a memorial service for the departed Confederate leader. At the close of the proceedings, J. Horace Lacy "read an impressive tribute to the memory of our lamented chieftain."[14]

A few months later, a more festive occasion highlighted the Chatham social scene. On April 25, 1871, James Power Smith, the young Confederate captain who had allegedly met Lacy briefly at the Battle of Fredericksburg and had later become a Presbyterian minister, married the major's oldest daughter, Agnes Lacy.[15]

Major Lacy ran for political office in the fall of 1873, seeking to represent Spotsylvania County in the state legislature in Richmond. In September, a political correspondent of the Louisville Courier Journal

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13. "A Leaf from the Past," and Letter of Commendation, February 14, 1870, Subscription List-L 541, Confederate Museum, Richmond, Virginia. Also see Smith, "Notes on the Ellwood House," 12-13; Goolrick, Historic Fredericksburg, pp. 106-08; and (Fredericksburg) The Daily Star, January 29, 1906, for additional details on this subject.

14. The Fredericksburg Ledger, October 13, 1870.

15. James Power Smith, comp., "Ancestry of Major James Horace Lacy," copy of mss. in DSC-QE, Chatham Files.

attended the Conservative Democratic convention in Richmond. He reported derisively that "It is the classic Wilderness of Spotsylvania which now contains the cave of the winds. Should Major Lacy succeed in the canvass, he can have his 'thunder' bottled and embalmed at the public expense in the volumes of the acts and journals of the Legislature, and then he can turn the laugh on the wicked, economical newspaper men."[16] Lacy won the election and served one term in the legislature in 1874-75.[17] The Major continued his political activities well into the 1880s, presiding over the Democratic nominating convention for the Virginia state senate in 1885 and engaging in the public debate over the best means of settling the state debt in 1886.[18] A minor boomlet developed to have Lacy named state superintendent of schools in the late 1880s, but he did not get the position.[19]

When Lacy died on January 27, 1906, a relative, Joseph Bryan, published a tribute in the Richmond Times-Dispatch. The eulogy read:

> A most striking and picturesque figure was removed from the scene of Virginia society in the death of Major James Horace Lacy, who died yesterday evening at Fredericksburg.
>
> To rare intellectual gifts, highly cultured by a liberal education and extensive reading, he added the charm of a

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16. The Fredericksburg Ledger, September 9 and November 11, 1873.

17. Swem and Williams, Register of the General Assembly, p. 329. For a running commentary on Lacy's campaign, one should consult the following issues of (Fredericksburg) The News: September 4, 18, 1873; October 6, 20, 27, 1873; and November 6, 10, 1873; (Fredericksburg) The Virginia Herald: September 4 and November 10, 1873; and The Fredericksburg Ledger: September 1, 5, 9, 12, 22, 1873; October 10, 24, 28, 31, 1873; and November 4, 11, 1873.

18. (Fredericksburg) The Free Lance, September 8, 1885, and March 9, 1886, and (Fredericksburg) The Daily Star, January 29, 1906.

19. Untitled, undated clipping [1887], DSC-QE, Chatham Files.

gracious and delightful manner, and with almost unequalled powers as a conversationalist he possessed those of an orator of uncommon ability. He was a typical representative of the now almost extinct class of Southern planters whose pride of ownership of plantations and negroes was almost always solemnized by a sense of duty to his bondsmen and fellow mortals.

He lived for years at Chatham and Ellwood in almost baronial style, but never forgot the simplicity of manner which always bespoke the Virginia gentlemen, who was native to the manner born and to whom hospitality was an inborn instinct. To such men, patriotism was an inborn quality, and to them the idea of debasing their duty to their State to corrupt and selfish ends was unknown and to them modern graft was impossible.

The conditions that produced these men are completely changed in a radical revolution at once sweeping and ruthless. But the fact that they existed among us will leave an impression which must serve to stimulate to higher purposes in public and private life those who have seen the men who represented Virginia in her halcyon days.[20]

Adding its voice to the eulogies, the Daily Star said of Lacy:

Major Lacy was a Virginia gentleman of "Old Virginia" courtly in manners, a very Chesterfield in bearing, kind of heart, generous of impulses, without an enemy and with many, many friends, a loyal Virginian, and unsullied citizen, a true Confederate at 82 years of age. The Angel of Death touched him and won his immortal soul to the bright and better beyond.[21]

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20. Richmond Times-Dispatch, January 28, 1906.

21. (Fredericksburg) The Daily Star, January 29, 1906.

Mrs. Betty Churchill (Jones) Lacy died some fifteen months after her husband. An article in the Daily Star reported that she was a "woman of high Christian character, universally loved by all who knew her. She was a devoted member of the Presbyterian church and was interested in all its work."[22] Another paper characterized her as a "lady of the old time, of dignity and gentleness and refinement, ruling well her own household, bringing up her children in the nurture and admonition of the Lord."[23]

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22. Ibid., May 3, 1907.

23. Untitled clipping, May 8, 1907, DSC-QE, Chatham Files.

CHAPTER X
CHATHAM UNDER THE OLIVER WATSON FAMILY: 1872-89

A. Oliver Watson Purchases Chatham: 1872

J. Horace Lacy owned Chatham for nearly seven years after the Civil War. During that period, he refurbished the estate, restoring the buildings and the productivity of the land. Despite his success in restoring the plantation, Lacy faced increasingly straightened financial difficulties in the postwar years, resulting from the loss of his slaves, the cost of the necessary improvements, and two deeds of trust that had been secured against the plantation in 1861 and 1867. The first deed of trust had been made to raise money to pay for Chatham, while the second resulted from a local court judgment against Lacy in April 1867, ordering him to set up a trust fund for his minor children.[1] Thus, for the Lacys the postwar years became a "dreary and disheartening struggle" that, according to the later reminiscences of Mrs. Lacy, "tried men's souls even more severely than the four long years of conflict."[2] In light of these circumstances, the Lacys had determined to sell Chatham and retire to Ellwood by the early 1870s.

In 1872 Lacy sold Chatham, consisting of 468-1/2 acres to Oliver Watson, a native of Williamsport, Pennsylvania, for $23,900.[3] Although the census data for 1870 indicates that Chatham's agricultural productivity recovered from the effects of the Civil War, property values in the Fredericksburg area deteriorated during the Reconstruction period,

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1. Deed, J. Horace Lacy to John L. Marye, Jr., and William A. Little (trustees), May 28, 1867, Stafford County Deed Book UU, Folios 259-60, Archives Division, Virginia State Library. According to the deed, Agnes, William J., Elizabeth, and Graham B. were to receive $2,750.57 upon reaching their majority. In order to meet this obligation, Lacy borrowed at least $8,771.63 against Chatham. In addition to the house and land, the deed of trust listed the "household and kitchen furniture now at Chatham, consisting of the usual articles of said description including piarro plate china, glass ware, carpets. The work animals employed there, to wit six horses and five cows. The agricultural implements now used there including wagon, carts. . . ."

2. Lacy, "Memories of a Long Life," p. 7.

3. Deed, J. Horace and Betty C. Lacy to Oliver Watson, December 11, 1877, Stafford County Deed Book UU, Folio 355, Archives Division, Virginia State Library.

and Lacy lost some $10,000 on his original investment in Chatham in the sale to Watson. On January 1, 1872, the Virginia Herald, obviously speculating about the figures, commented on the transaction:

SALE OF A FINE ESTATE

> That fine estate lying in Stafford County, opposite Fredericksburg known as "Chatham," the head centre of large hearted hospitality and magnificant entertainment for the last century, has been sold at private sale by Marye, Fitzhugh and English, Land Agents, to Mr. Oliver Watson of Williamsport, Penna. for $25,000. It contains a little over 500 acres and was purchased on the death of Mrs. Judge Coalter, just before the war, by Major J. H. Lacy, at a cost of some $35,000 or more. We trust that Mr. Watson has determined to make his home in our midst, as we already have members of his family settled around us.
>
> Such acquisitions are desirable in every point of view, and are warmly welcomed.[4]

It should be noted that Oliver Watson did not receive an unrestricted legal title to Chatham until 1877. The delay was caused by the time it took Lacy to satisfy two deeds of trust (1861 and 1867) that had been secured against the plantation. In that year Lacy satisfied his financial obligations and the title went "free and clear" to Watson. The deed conveyed the

> estate called Chatham situated in the County of Stafford and state of Virginia opposite the town of Fredericksburg containing 468-1/2 acres with all the buildings and improvements thereon, the fisheries, shores, landings and the rights and privileges of

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4. (Fredericksburg) The Virginia Herald, January 1, 1872.

> crossing the "Chatham" bridge adjoining said land free of toll for the Family, servants teams and said horses, cattle of the said Farm with all rights, liberties and privileges belonging on and pertaining to said Estate. The main tract upon which the buildings and improvements are situated contains by a recent survey made by C. M. Braxton and W. Gordon in June, 1874, 424-1/2 metes and bounds. . . .

The deed also conveyed a second tract

> known as the 'woodlot'. . . situated on Claiborne's run now adjoining or nearly adjoining on the North east by the land of Miles Scott and in the West by the said railroad containing 44 acres connected with and being part of the said Chatham farm. . . .[5]

Lacy continued to pay the taxes on Chatham until 1877. In 1874 the tax liability was $85.10 on a $17,020 assessment, reflecting lower property values after the Civil War.[6]

Watson, as had all other previous owners, insured Chatham with the Mutual Assurance Society of Virginia. In 1878 he insured the property for $5,000, a sum that included $250 for the laundry and the kitchen.[7]

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5. Deed, John L. Marye, Jr., and William A. Little, Trustees, to Oliver Watson, December 11, 1877, Stafford County Deed Book OO, Folio 355, Archives Division, Virginia State Library.

6. Stafford County Land Books, 1873-78, Stafford County Court House, Stafford, Virginia.

7. MASV No. 32970, December 31, 1878, Archives Division, Virginia State Library.

B. Oliver Watson: Owner of Chatham, 1872-83

Oliver Watson, the Williamsport, Pennsylvania, banker, owned Chatham from 1872 to 1881. He was born in Loyalsock Township, Lycoming County, Pennsylvania, on November 10, 1811. During his early years, he lived in extremely modest circumstances but rose to a position of affluence in later life. Between 1830 and 1832, he served as an apprentice blacksmith, but then returned to school. He later taught in the small rural schools that dotted the coutryside. Following a teaching career that lasted from 1834-36, Watson read law in the office of James Armstrong at Williamsport. He made rapid progress in his legal studies and was admitted to the Lycoming County bar in 1837. Working in partnership with others or by himself, Watson practiced law for the next twenty years.[8]

Watson exploited the economic opportunities of the mid-19th century. For example, in 1856, he was elected president of the West Branch Bank in Williamsport, and he held that office until his death. In addition to his legal and banking activities, Watson served for nearly thirty years as president of the Market Street Bridge Company. In 1870, two years before he acquired Chatham, Watson, at age 57, possessed real estate holdings and a personal estate each valued at $75,000.[9] He dealt extensively in unimproved land, and at the time of his death owned several farms in Pennsylvania and two in Stafford County, Virginia. According to the History of Lycoming County, "Mr. Watson was a successful business man, an able lawyer, and a shrewd financier, and acquired through the passing years a handsome competence."[10]

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8. John F. Meginnes, History of Lycoming County-- Pennsylvania (Chicago, 1892), pp. 703-04.

9. Ninth Census, Williamsport, Pennsylvania, Population Schedule, p. 20.

10. Meginness, History of Lycoming County, pp. 703-04.

Watson married Marietta Scott on November 16, 1843. They had eight children, six of whom reached adulthood. The children included William S., Mary Jane, Emma, who later married Charles Jones from Fredericksburg, Oliver, Jr., John H., and Thomas. William's eldest daughter, Marietta, named for her grandmother, was married at Chatham.[11]

C. Emma (Watson) Jones: Owner of Chatham, 1882-83

Following a period of illness and almost total blindness, Watson died on September 1, 1882. A local newspaper eulogized Watson as a man "honored and respected through a long and busy life, the veteran lawyer, banker and politician leaves behind him a name unsullied and a record of which any man might be proud."[12] Just before he died, Oliver Watson drew up his will which was recorded both at the Stafford and Lycoming county courthouses. In the document he divided his estate between his wife and children. His son Oliver, Jr., received the Little Falls Farm and the adjoining mill tract which comprised some 900 acres of Stafford County land, and his daughter Emma received Chatham with certain financial attachments. The will stated in part:

> . . .I give and bequeath to my daughter Emma Jones my farm in Stafford County, Virginia, known as Chatham farm with the wood lot adjoining it, and also the wood lot that I purchased of Alcock about six miles from Chatham and known as the wood lot, containing nearly four hundred acres, and all the horses, cattle and other stock and all the farming implements and utensils owned by me which shall be upon said farm at the time of my death for all which she is to be charged against her

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11. Ibid., pp. 703-04. Also see, Emerson Collins and John Jordan, Genealogical and Personal History of Lycoming County Pennsylvania (New York, 1906), pp. 378-80, and Colonel Thomas W. Lloyd, History of Lycoming County Pennsylvania (Topeka, 1929), p. 820, for additional biographical material on the Watson family.

12. (Williamsport) The Daily Gazette and Bulletin, September 2, 1880.

position of my estate on the final distribution thereof the sum of twenty five thousand five hundred dollars. . . .[13]

D. Oliver Watson, Jr.: Owner of Chatham, 1883-89

Not wanting to maintain her role as an absentee Stafford County planter, Emma Jones sold Chatham to her brother Oliver, Jr., then a resident at Buffalo, New York, on November 8, 1883, for $25,000.[14] Since he had borrowed money to pay his sister, she continued to pay the taxes at Chatham, at least until the time of the next transfer of the land in 1889. The younger Watson's tardy payment of the deed of trust would cause serious problems for the next owner some years later.[15]

E. Rental of Chatham to Samuel T. Shadle

A Pennsylvanian named Samuel T. Shadle apparently leased the Chatham farm from the Watsons between 1874 and 1889, and there is no record of Watson's occupation of Chatham in the 1880 Census for Stafford County.[16] Shadle, however, surfaces in the 1880 Stafford County Census. At that time he was 46 years old and his wife 48, and they had three children at home. The census enumerator listed him as a farmer. Shadle also had four black laborers working at Chatham as follows: Isaac

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13. Will, Oliver Watson, September 5, 1882, Stafford County Will Book R, Folio 124, Archives Division, Virginia State Library.

14. Deed, Emma (Watson) Jones to Oliver Watson, Jr., November 30, 1883, Stafford County Deed Book 2, Folio 33, Archives Division, Virginia State Library.

15. Deed, Oliver, Jr., and Ella Watson to American Surety Co., May 2, 1885, Stafford County Deed Book 2, Folio 294, Archives Division, Virginia State Library, and Stafford County Land Books, 1882-89, Stafford County Courthouse.

16. James. E. Perkins to John L. Pratt, November 13, 1936, copy of mss. in DSC-QE, Chatham Files. Dr. Perkins visited Chatham in 1936 and in a thank you letter to John L. Pratt, the owner, mentioned his grandfather's lease of the farm.

Ford, age 38; Austin Jackson, 18; Henry Weaver, 18; and William Brooks, 13.[17]

From an analysis of the agricultural data in the 1880 census, Chatham did not reflect the postwar productivity attained during Lacy's ownership. A protracted period of absentee ownership had led to retrenchment and reduced the plantation's value. For instance, the value of Chatham was only one-half that of 1870, and the value of farm implements had dropped from $1,000 to $430. The net worth of the farm's livestock, however, had risen from $1,000 in 1870 to $1,350 in 1880. Shadle paid out $600 in wages to the hired help who worked an average of 30 weeks in 1879, a figure considerably below the $1,000 in 1870. The value of Chatham's produce totaled $2,400 in 1880. Interestingly, the number of improved acres dropped from 400 to 104 during the 1870s. Evidently, Shadle operated the plantation for Watson on a much smaller scale than did Lacy, as the 1870s saw an increased emphasis on livestock rather than crop production.[18]

Nevertheless, Chatham must have prospered to a certain extent during the Shadle tenancy. In December 1879 a visitor to Fredericksburg sent to a Williamsport newspaper the following account of Chatham: "This old and large plantation is owned by your townsman, O. Watson, Esq., the banker and extensive farmer. The cultivation of this magnificent plot of land is carried on and managed by Samuel T. Shadle, the popular farmer, son of Michael Shadle, of Nippenose Valley."[19]

Samuel T. Shadle was born in the Nippenose Valley near Williamsport on October 9, 1833. He married Rachel S. Phillips on April 9, 1855. They had six children, three of whom reached adulthood--Henry

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17. Tenth Census of the United States, 1880, Stafford County, Virginia, Falmouth District Population.

18. Tenth Census, Stafford County, Virginia, Schedule 2, Productions of Agriculture During the Year Ending June 1880.

19. The Williamsport Sun, and Lycoming Democrat, January 14, 1880.

Watson, Edna Adella, and Lulu Maud. Following his tenure at Chatham, Shadle departed for the Midwest.

Oliver Watson must have personally known Samuel T. Shadle in Pennsylvania. It is unlikely that Watson would have trusted a stranger to manage his large Virginia estate. Furthermore, the fact that Shadle named his son Henry Watson suggests a possible close personal relationship between Oliver Watson and Samuel T. Shadle.

F. Oliver Watson, Jr.'s Tenure at Chatham

Although details of the Watson occupation of Chatham remain sketchy, evidence strongly suggests that Oliver, Jr., and his wife made the mansion their home in the 1880s. A mortgage deed dated May 12, 1885, listed their address as "Fredericksburg, Virginia."[20] In July 1886 Watson was voted one of the ten vice presidents of the local Agricultural Fair Association.[21] On Easter Monday in April 1887, Trinity Episcopal Church held an election for vestrymen and Oliver Watson was one of the eleven named to that office.[22] The Rappahannock Electric Light and Power Company was chartered in Fredericksburg in 1887 to light thirty street lights, and Oliver Watson was listed as one of the four owners of the firm.[23] These associations and other activities to be discussed hereafter provide strong evidence placing the Watsons at Chatham in the 1880s.

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20. Deed, Oliver, Jr., and Ella Watson to American Surety Co., May 12, 1885, Stafford County Deed Book 2, Folio 294, Archives Division, Virginia State Library.

21. (Fredericksburg) The Free Lance, July 20, 1886.

22. Ibid., April 19, 1887. Watson donated a Tiffany window to the church, which was then situated on Hanover Street. When the church moved to its new site, the window was dismantled at considerable expense and is now in storage.

23. Ibid., August 19, 1887.

G. Sporting Activities at Chatham

In July 1886, a well attended horse racing event was held at Chatham in conjunction with the eighth annual regatta on the nearby Rappahannock. On June 22, 1886, the Free Lance reported:

> The regatta & horse races to be held here on the 5th of July are now an assured success. The boys have worked hard. . . .
>
> The horse races will be run on Chatham Farm where a circular tract of a half mile is now being laid out and such other preparations are being made as will insure the successful running of these races. No tolls will be charged on Scott's Bridge that day and all persons going to races will be able to cross and re-cross free. Our Stafford friends will, for one day at least, thanks to efforts of Rappahannock Boat Club cross Scott's Bridge without payment of usual tolls.
>
> The entrance to the race ground is at the gate leading into Mr. Watson's on the top of the hill above Scott's bridge, on the White Oak Road. A small admission will be charged all persons going into the grounds to pay expenses of races. They shall be liberally patronized as it is the intention of management to make them a yearly affair if successful. All persons gathering into the grounds will be furnished a badge, to be pinned in a conspicuous place, and all persons found on the grounds without a badge will be promptly removed. The best order will be maintained, as there will be a number of special police appointed who will be on the grounds. . . .
>
> There will be 4 exciting races including entries from Spotsylvania, Caroline, King George, Stafford, [and] Orange counties. One of the principal attractions will be a grand hurdle race of one mile, over eight hurdles. In addition to horse races, there will be a foot race in which Mr. Egan of Washington and Mr. Walter Williams formerly of Fredericksburg

and other celebrated runners will participate. Handsome purses will be offered in all these races.

The races will be run between 10 AM & 2 PM. In the afternoon, the annual Regatta of the Virginia Association of Amateur Oarsmen will be held. These races will include four oared gigs and shell end single games.

The interest in gigs center around [the] Richmond Crew, at present Champion holders of [the] French Cup and the Alexandria Crew, that finished second last year, after one of the most closely contested and exciting races ever scene.

Crews from New York, Philadelphia, Baltimore and Washington will compete in shell races; also several fine amateur scullers.

All of the races rowed over the usual coarse passing Scott's Island on the Stafford side; finishing above the bridge, the best view of [the] races [can be] seen from Scott's Island which is delightfully shaded. . . .[24]

On July 5 nearly 1,000 people were attracted to Chatham for the five racing events. In the first event, W. O. Hazard of the Free Lance beat F. M. Ellison in a 220-yard sprint. The second race was a one-half mile dash involving eight horses which was won by Aubie, a horse owned by a Mr. Tomlinson of Fredericksburg. The third event was a foot race between Mr. Egan, a champion long distance runner from Washington, D. C., and Hazard which the latter won. In the fourth race, a 3/4-mile dash for thoroughbreds, Golden Slipper won by one length. The fifth race, a 5/8-mile hurdle event, was won by Page Nelson, a brown stallion ridden by its owner R. C. L. Moncure, Jr.[25]

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24. Ibid., June 22, 1886.

25. Ibid., July 9, 1886.

From a reading of the contemporary accounts of these festivities, several items are worthy of note. At that time the venerable Chatham Bridge (Scott's Bridge) remained a toll operation. Also, the accounts of horse racing at Chatham demonstrate that horse racing did occur at the historic plantation, if not in Fitzhugh's day then later. Thus, it is possible that subsequent observers may have confused the races held in the 1880s with an earlier date.

H. A Watson Wedding at Chatham

In April 1888, Marietta W. Watson, the granddaughter of Oliver Watson, Sr., married Carlton B. Hazard, the son of Fredericksburg's mayor, at Chatham. Her uncle, Oliver, Jr., hosted the affair. The Free Lance reported:

> The historic Chatham is situated on the north hills of the Rappahannock across from Fredericksburg, appeared beautiful in its present green leaves and buddings of bowers in its lawn carpeted with tender grass. . . . Six rooms on the first floor were left open for the evening. The two large parlors in the center of the building were handsomely decorated with smilex, running cedar, white lilacs, in related with artistic effect with numerous candles. These added to the already elegantly furnished rooms used, caused the appearance to be most elegantly anesthetic. . . .
>
> It was the general verdict that Mrs. and Mr. Oliver Watson were the most charming hostess and host, in whose presence their guests all felt entirely at home after the fashion of old Virginia hospitality and that the wedding was most beautifully and successfully arranged.[26]

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26. Ibid., April 27, 1888.

CHAPTER XI
CHATHAM UNDER ALBERT O. MAYS: 1889-1900

Oliver Watson, Jr., who was apparently in some financial difficulty, sold Chatham to Albert O. Mays on May 25, 1889. Chatham then consisted of 468-1/2 acres that included "fisheries, shores, and landings," and the transaction also included horses, cattle, farm implements, and vehicles. Albert, assisted by his father M. M. Mays, partially financed the purchase with a 7-year note for $9,985 at 6 percent interest underwritten by the Society of Shakers, Pleasant Hill, Kentucky.[1] Apparently, the transaction did not go smoothly, and Watson subsequently brought suit against Mays and others. In October 1889, Mays sold a parcel of Chatham to his two sisters, Fanny Owen Myers and Mary Myers. Watson, however, filed suit because he did not receive the proceeds of the Shaker 7-year bond due in 1889. The complicated litigation was settled with Mays still in possession of the Chatham property, and eventually Oliver Watson, Jr., and his wife Ella Porter moved to London, England.[2]

The new owner of Chatham, 23-year-old Albert O. Mays, had come to Virginia from Stark County, Ohio, in 1889. In 1900 Mays paid a tax of $47 on the $11,784.50 assessed valuation of Chatham. According to the 1900 Census, he was listed as a farmer living at Chatham with his 54-year-old mother Caroline and a younger sister Mary, age 31, who later married Fredericksburg businessman Jake Goldsmith. Both his sister and mother had been born in Ohio.[3]

In 1897 a series of intricate legal proceedings caused Mays to lose Chatham in a foreclosure suit. A suit in the Circuit Court of

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1. Deed, Oliver Watson, Jr., to Albert O. Mays, May 25, 1889, Stafford County Deed Book 4, Folios 128-31, Archives Division, Virginia State Library.

2. Ibid. and Oliver Watson v Albert Mays, et al., November 7, 1889, Stafford County Deed Book 4, Folio 198. Also see Meginness, History of Lycoming County, p. 704.

3. Twelfth Census of the United States, 1900, Stafford County, Virginia, Schedule No. 1, Population, and Stafford County Land Book, 1900, Stafford County Courthouse.

Stafford County involved the American Surety Company of New York and Letitia Souther, the executrix of Henry Souther, an individual who had a financial lien on Oliver Watson's property. Because Mays had partially financed the purchase of Chatham by assuming Watson's deed of trust with the American Surety Company in 1885, he ultimately lost the plantation in the court decision. As of 1897, Watson still owed nearly $13,000 to the American Surety Company of New York. Thus a local court on April 6, 1897, ordered Special Commissioner St. George R. Fitzhugh to sell the real estate after "advertising the same twice a week for four consecutive weeks in some newspaper published in Fredericksburg. . . ."[4]

As a result of the court order, St. George R. Fitzhugh placed an advertisement in a Fredericksburg newspaper concerning the public sale of three parcels of land that Oliver Watson, Sr., had originally purchased from J. Horace Lacy in 1872. At the sale, which would take place on May 12, 1897, in front of the Exchange Hotel in Fredericksburg the following parcels would be offered:

> 1st. A Tract of Wood Land, containing about 385 acres in Stafford County, on the Ridge Road, about six miles above Falmouth, adjoining the lands of Thomas Wallace, Mrs. Allen Withers and Jno. P. Randolph, known as the Alcocke Tract.
>
> 2nd. The Chatham Mansion House and about 12 acres of land adjoining the same, in the county of Stafford, immediately opposite the City of Fredericksburg. The Mansion House is an elegant, massive building of brick, built in colonial times, with beautiful grounds surrounding it, within ten minute walk of the postoffice and railroad depot in Fredericksburg.

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4. Stafford County Chancery Book, 1866 to 1900, Folio 533, Stafford County Courthouse.

3rd. The splendid estate on the Rappahannock river, in Stafford, immediately opposite Fredericksburg, known as Chatham, containing about 456 1/2 acres, with valuable barn and other buildings thereon, recognized as one of the most valuable and desirable properties in Eastern Virginia.

Terms of Sale: For cash sufficient to pay the sum of $12,894, with interest from January 22, 1897, and the costs of suit and of sale of said real estate, and as to any surplus, upon a credit of twelve months, with deed of trust on the property to secure the same, and evidenced by note bearing interest from day of sale.[5]

Thus, Mays was forced to place Chatham on the auction block to fulfill his unsatisified debt.

At the public sale on May 12, Mays was the successful bidder, and thus he retained ownership of the three parcels for $13,750.[6] Mays paid for the property with a series of bonds secured by yet another deed of trust on Chatham.[7]

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5. Undated clipping in DSC-QE, Chatham Files.

6. (Fredericksburg) The Daily Star, May 12, 1897.

7. Deed, St. George R. Fitzhugh to Albert O. Mays, May 18, 1897, Stafford County Deed Book 7, Folios 285-86, Archives Division, Virginia State Library.

CHAPTER XII
CHATHAM UNDER FLEMING G. BAILEY: 1900-09

A. Elizabeth H. Bailey Purchases Chatham: 1900

In 1900 a 30-acre portion of the Chatham plantation changed ownership again, undoubtedly due in part to the shaky financial situation of Mays. On August 20, 1900, Elizabeth H. Bailey, the wife of Fleming G. Bailey, of Griffin, Georgia, bought

> in fee simple the Chatham Mansion House on the estate known as Chatham in Stafford County Virginia on the north bank of the Rappahannock River opposite Fredericksburg, together with thirty acres and 234/1000 of an acre of said Chatham Estate connected with said Mansion House and all the buildings thereon which said parcel of land herein conveyed has been surveyed by E. H. Randall County Surveyor of Stafford County and a plat thereof made by said surveyor which is attached to this deed as part thereof, and said parcel of land is described in said plat which bears date on August 13, 1900 as follows: "Beginning at A which is a plug driven on the north east edge of the Falmouth River Road forty links from the western gate post of a gate running up said road keeping principally upon the north east edge of said road N. 35°48' W. 14.02 chains to a plug at B on east edge of said road and north west side of a small bridge. Thence leaving the road and passing up a hill N. 27° E. 1.765 chains to a white oak at C. Thence N. 16°20' E. 31-1/2 links to a plug at D. which is driven about two feet north west of a large white oak. Thence N. 40° E. 73 links to an Aelantus tree at E. Thence N. 55°14' E. 69 links to a cedar at F. Thence N. 65°13' E. 1.015 chains to a persimmon at G. Thence N. 61°20' E. 1.115 chains to a fence post which I marked. Thence N. 38° E. 2.015 chains to I. a honey pod tree. Thence N. 52°5' E. 1.945 chains to a mulberry at J. Thence N. 56°28' E. 2.42 chains to K a corner brace post of a wire fence. Thence S. 39°50' E 3.26 chains to L a plug driven on fence bank on the south west side of a farm road at its turn to the north east. Thence crossing the road at the turn and running N. 50°45' E along the south east edge of the same 16.25 chains to M, a post driven on fence bank. Thence S.

39°50" E 10.13 chains to two sassafras posts at N. Thence S. 58°32' W 16.495 chains to O, a fence post on the south west side of the aforesaid farm road and on the southern side of the road leading into the curtelage. Thence continuing with some bearing Viz. S. 58°32 W 2.36 chains to the fifth walnut tree in the row at P. Thence S. 28°55' W 2.72 chains to Q a fence post near a hog pen. Thence along a plank fence S. 31°20' W 4.235 chains to a plug at R. Brink of hill. Thence down the hill S. 29°48' W. 4.31 chains to the point of beginning, containing an area of 30.234 acres. Being part of the tract of land known as Chatham containing 468 1/2 acres. . . .

Furthermore, Mays granted to Elizabeth H. Bailey and all future owners of the 30.234-acre parcel of Chatham

a right-of-way forever along the present road from the point designated as O on said plat to the public road leading from the east end of the Chatham bridge to White Oak, and a right of way forever along the present road at the foot of the lawn running from the east end of Chatham bridge to Falmouth. And a right of way forever over that part of Chatham estate not herein conveyed from the beginning point A, on said plat, to the said public road leading from the east end of said Bridge to Falmouth. . . . And it is further covenanted . . . that the present private road laid down on said plat as running from O to L shall never be closed or obstructed, and that the owner or occupier of said remainder of the Chatham Estate shall forever have a right of way over said road. . . .[1]

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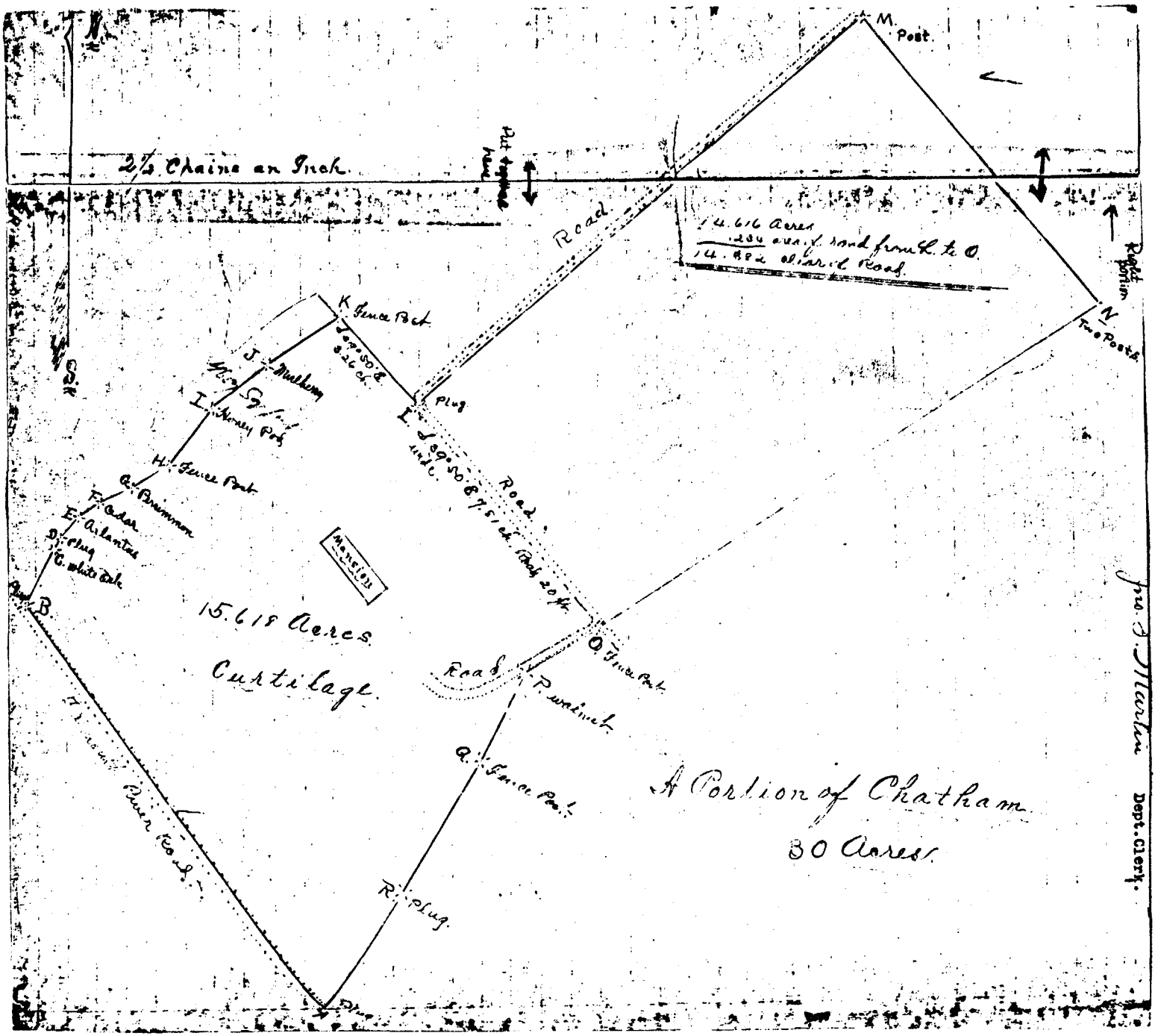
1. Deed, Albert O. Mays to Elizabeth H. Bailey, August 20, 1900, Stafford County Deed Book 9, Folios 154-55, Archives Division, Virginia State Library. The map that accompanies the deed may be seen on the following page.


2½ Chains an Inch.
Pt. to be laid off.
M. Post.
Road.
14.616 Acres
.234 avea. of land from K. to O.
14.382 of arrival Road.
Right portion
N. Two Posts
K. Fence Post
J. Mulberry
I. Hickory Post
H. Fence Post
G. Brimmon
F. Cedar
E. Atlantas
D. Plug
C. White Oak
B.
S.W.
Plug
L. Leg. So. 67 E. 5 ch. Rock 20 lks.
Road.
MANSION
15.618 Acres
Curtilage.
O. Fence Post
Road
P. unmarked
Q. Fence Post
R. Plug
Plum Road
A Portion of Chatham
30 Acres
Jno. J. Martin
Dept. Clerk.

As partial payment for the 30.234-acre parcel, Elizabeth H. Bailey agreed to pay the $10,000 bond executed by Mays and underwritten by Souther in May 1897.[2]

A photograph taken ca. 1900 reflects the condition of Chatham during the Bailey's tenure at the plantation. In 1905 the Baileys paid a tax of $14 on their 30 acres at Chatham.[3] The size and configuration of this 30.234-acre tract remained the same until its final private owner deeded the property to the National Park Service in 1964.

Thus, with the Bailey purchase, Chatham proper (house and immediate grounds) was detached from the historic plantation lands. Although the mansion house, ancillary structures, and 30.234 acres remained intact, the property no longer could be considered a major farm. In effect, Albert O. Mays subdivided the Chatham plantation. In June 1903 Mays sold a 245-acre tract to Max Buell of Spotsylvania who ultimately conveyed it back to him in 1905,[4] and also sold two parcels to the Richmond, Fredericksburg, & Potomac Railroad Company.[5] In January 1904, Mays sold a 44-acre parcel known as the Chatham Woodlot to Jake Goldsmith, a Fredericksburg businessman and Mays' brother-in-law.[6]

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2. Ibid. Also see (Fredericksburg) The Daily Star, August 18, 1900. In addition to Chatham, Elizabeth H. Bailey and her husband had recently purchased another farm in Stafford County.

3. Stafford County Land Book, 1905, Stafford County Courthouse.

4. Deed, Albert O Mays to Max Buell, June 20, 1903, and Deed, Max Buell to Albert O Mays, January 27, 1905, Stafford County Deed Book 10, Folios 230 and 499, Archives Division, Virginia State Library.

5. Deed, Albert O. Mays to Richmond, Fredericksburg, & Potomac Railroad Company, June 5, 1903, Stafford County Deed Book 10, Folio 214, Archives Division, Virginia State Library.

6. Deed, Albert O. Mays to Jake Goldsmith, January 7, 1904, Stafford County Deed Book 10, Folio 294, Archives Division, Virginia State Library.

Two years later Albert O. Mays sold another parcel of Chatham land to Elizabeth Bailey. In a deed dated May 13, 1906, he conveyed an area of 4,657 square feet to her, providing she and her husband with the right-of-way to the gate at the north end of her earlier purchase.[7]

B. Fleming G. and Elizabeth H. Bailey: Owners of Chatham, 1900-09

The Baileys moved to Chatham from Griffin, Georgia, and returned there when they sold the house in 1909 because of their aging parents and business interests. Both of the Baileys came from prominent Georgia families. Mrs. Bailey's father was Captain Henry P. Hill, a Confederate veteran and later a member of the Georgia House of Representatives. Her mother was Augusta Pritchard, daughter of Dr. William H. Pritchard and Elizabeth Cotton. Mr. Bailey's mother was Susan Mary Grantland who married David Jackson Bailey, a member of the Georgia legislature for many years. Since both of their families had ties to Virginia, it is likely that the Chatham property appealed to the Baileys for sentimental reasons. Both of the Baileys enjoyed horseback riding, and Mr. Bailey was an enthusiastic hunter and fisherman. Bailey died on September 15, 1915, at the age of 58, and his wife succumbed on September 13, 1935, at the age of 74.[8]

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7. Deed, Albert O Mays to Elizabeth H. Bailey, June 26, 1906, Stafford County Deed Book 11, Folio 139, Archives Division, Virginia State Library.

8. Mrs. Albert L. Clark to A. Wilson Greene, September 13, 1977, copy of mss. in DSC-QE, Chatham Files; telephone interview with Judge John H. Goddard, Griffin, Georgia, June 15, 1977; and Bailey-Tebault House, National Register of Historic Places Inventory--Nomination Form, Department of the Interior, National Park Service. The Baileys did not have any children.

CHAPTER XIII

CHATHAM UNDER THE HOWARD AND SMITH FAMILIES: 1909-14

A. Howard/Smith Ownership of Chatham: 1909-14

The Baileys owned Chatham until January 30, 1909, when they sold the property to Allan Randolph Howard, the cashier of the Conway, Gordon, and Garnett National Bank in Fredericksburg.[1] According to The Daily Star, the Chatham grounds were "attractive, having a variety of trees and shrubbery, walkways and terraces," and the estate had been the "scene of lavish hospitality and many memories of romance."[2] Some of that romance can be gleaned from reading the poem "The Chatham Oak," published anonymously in The Daily Star on the day that the property was conveyed to Howard and his wife Frances R. The first stanza of the poem read:

> At "Chatham" in Virginia, stands an Oak
> That the Captain of the Battles, through the smoke
> Of the cannon, roaring thunder
> Standing Stalwart, man of wonder--
> Glimpsed a moment saw the swaying
> Of its noble branches--then,
> Moved his lips in silent praying
> As her eyes shone bright before him,
> And with strength renewed they bore him
> Through the fight with holy sight
> Of the courage and the spirit
> Of the Right![3]

According to a deed dated February 1, 1909, Howard quietly conveyed his Chatham property to Harriet G. Smith, who was Howard's mother-in-law. The deed, which contained the words "do not publish" in the margin, conveyed the

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1. Deed, Elizabeth H. Bailey to Allan Randolph Howard, January 30, 1909, Stafford County Deed Book 12, Folios 85-7, Archives Division, Virginia State Library.

2. (Fredericksburg) The Daily Star, January 28, 1909.

3. Ibid., January 30, 1909.

> Chatham Mansion house on the estate known as Chatham in Stafford County, Virginia on the North Bank of the Rappahannock opposite Fredericksburg together with 30 acres and 234/1000 of an acre of said Chatham estate connected with the said Mansion House and all the buildings thereon which said parcel of land being conveyed is the same identical property conveyed by deed of Elizabeth Bailey and Flemming Bailey her husband to the said A. Randolph Howard which deed is dated January 30, 1909 and to which deed from Albert O. Mays to Elizabeth Bailey of date August 20, 1900 together with plat of estate by E. H. Randall, County Surveyor of which special reference is made.

The deed also conveyed the 4,657-square foot parcel deeded to Elizabeth H. Bailey by Albert O. Mays on May 13, 1906, and henceforth deeded to Howard by the Baileys on January 30, 1909.[4] Howard also secured a deed of trust for the sum of $20,000 to pay for the purchase. He pledged to redeem the twelve notes before January 1, 1914. Also in 1909, Howard bought a parcel of land containing 7,767 square feet adjoining his Chatham property. Howard acted as the attorney for Mrs. Smith in all of these land and financial transactions as well as in her efforts to collect debts on the estate left by her late husband.[5]

Although Mrs. Smith was a widow, no available record documents that she ever lived permanently at Chatham. Thus, while Mrs. Smith owned Chatham, she apparently permitted her daughter's family to

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4. Deed, A. Randolph and Frances L. Howard to Harriet G. Smith, February 1, 1909, Stafford County Deed Book 12, Folio 126, Archives Division, Virginia State Library.

5. Deed of Trust, A. Randolph and Frances R. Howard to William W. Butzner (Trustee), February 1909, Stafford County Trust Book T-2, Folio 224, Stafford County Courthouse, and Deed, Harriet G. Smith to A. Randolph Howard, February 6, 1909, Stafford County Deed Book 12, Folio 87, Archives Division, Virginia State Library.

reside at the mansion. The family consisted of Allan Randolph Howard (1866-1937), his wife Frances Lightfoot (Smith) Howard (1871-1916), both natives of the Fredericksburg vicinity, and their two children William Key (1904-81) and Frances Randolph (1894-1978). Chatham served principally as a rural home for the Howard family. They raised thoroughbred race and show horses but did little other farming and employed a butler and stableman.[6]

Shortly after he bought and "sold" the house, Howard employed 25 workmen to improve the interior of the main house and surrounding grounds. The refurbishment project began in February 1909. An examination of early 20th century photographs reveals that painting and other improvements were made at Chatham in the early 1900s, a period that corresponds to the Howard ownership.[7]

By March 1914 Harriet G. Smith had become financially hard-pressed. On March 14, she sold her property in Fredericksburg--a "Certain Mansion House, and grounds, directly opposite Fredericksburg in Stafford County, Virginia known as Chatham made up of two parcels of land--containing 30.234 acres and a second containing 4657 square feet with improvements" to the Conway, Gordon, and Garnett National Bank in Fredericksburg of which her son was the cashier.[8] The conveyance of

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6. Personal interview with William Key Howard, March 2, 1976, and Robert K. Krick to Ronald W. Johnson, July 2, 1976, copy of mss. in DSC-QE, Chatham Files. Also see (Fredericksburg) The Daily Star, January 25, 1909. Following Howard's death at the age of 71 in 1937, (Fredericksburg) The Free Lance-Star commented on his passing. The paper stated that he was a "member of a distinguished family and . . . held a leading position in business and civic affairs. . . ." (Fredericksburg) The Free Lance-Star, December 10, 1937.

7. (Fredericksburg) The Daily Star, February 18, 1909.

8. Deed, Harriet G. Smith to Conway, Gordon, and Garnett National Bank, March 14, 1914, Stafford County Deed Books 12, Folio 126, and 13, Folio 272, Archives Division, Virginia State Library.

the two properties was subject to two deeds of trust, including one for $20,000 against Chatham taken out by her son in February 1909.[9]

B. A Chatham Ghost Story

Mrs. Randolph Howard allegedly related to friends that on several occasions she saw an apparition, a lady dressed in white "in the garden walking up and down a path, leading by way of some marble steps to the terrace below, known as the 'Ghost Walk.'" The "White Lady" was reputed to appear once every seven years, on June 21, between noon and midnight. No one has reported seeing the "White Lady" since Mrs. Howard's "sightings."

As the unsubstantiated story goes, the Chatham ghost was an English girl, the daughter of a famous writer who fell in love with a drysalter who had embalmed her dead parrot. The drysalter reciprocated the lady's affection, prompting her enraged father to send his daughter to America. Eventually she came to Chatham, but despite the gay social life there she pined for her lover. The drysalter followed the girl to Virginia, but when her father discovered his presence, he locked her in her room each night. In Virginia Ghosts Marguerite du Pont Lee relates that

> the drysalter procured a ropeladder which he threw up to her window and a boat was moored on the Rappahannock. All preparations were made when a servant of General Washington, who was visiting there at the time, told him, and he, counseling secrecy to her Father, had the drysalter caught and locked up; and when the pale lady descended the ladder she was received not in her lover's arms, but in those of the General, who bore her with a "stout grip" into her Father's room! The Father hurried away and back to England, where he married her off to a man of his own choosing.

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9. One of the deeds of trust was the aforementioned deed taken out to cover the purchase of Chatham.

On her death bed she announced her intention of walking on the Chatham terrace every seventh anniversary of her death--which occurred on June 21, 1790.[10]

10. Marguerite du Pont Lee, Virginia Ghosts (Berryville, 1966), pp. 27-29. Lee has come under attack as a researcher and author. Thus, this tale should be used judiciously.

CHAPTER XIV
CHATHAM UNDER THE MARK SULLIVAN FAMILY: 1914-20

Because of undisclosed financial problems, the executives of the Conway, Gordon, and Garnett National Bank decided to liquidate voluntarily the institution's assets. As part of the liquidating process, the agent, P. V. D. Conway, sold three parcels of Chatham land, consisting of 4,657 square feet, 7,767 square feet, and 30.234 acres respectively to Marie M. B. Sullivan, the wife of the noted journalist and editor of Collier's Weekly Mark Sullivan, on November 28, 1914. She paid $10,000 in cash and a three-year, $20,000 note for the property.[1] A few weeks before the Chatham purchase, Mrs. Sullivan and a friend had come to Fredericksburg to "look over Chatham and plan the improvements which are to be made."[2]

Mark Sullivan was born in Avondale, Pennsylvania, on September 10, 1874, and died at West Chester in the same state, August 13, 1952. In the early 1900s, he became a well-known writer and editor affiliated with the Ladies' Home Journal, McClure's Magazine (the muckraking publication), and Collier's Weekly. The period of Sullivan's editorship of Collier's corresponds with his ownership and occupation of Chatham. Later, he published a six-volume popular history entitled Our Times: The United States, 1900-1925 and completed his autobiography The Education of An American in 1938.[3]

While living at Chatham with his wife, the former Marie McMechen Buchanan of Baltimore, Sullivan commuted to Washington and

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1. Deed, Conway, Gordon, and Garnett National Bank to Marie M. B. Sullivan, November 28, 1914, Stafford County Deed Book 15, Folio 318, Archives Division, Virginia State Library.

2. Soon after the purchase of Chatham by the Sullivans, Allan Randolph Howard was charged with embezzling $14,000 from the Masonic Lodge in Fredericksburg. The case was settled out of court in January 1915. (Fredericksburg) The Free Lance, December 4, 1914, and (Fredericksburg) The Daily Star, January 22, 1915.

3. Albert Nelson Marquis, ed., Who's Who in America: A Biographical Dictionary of Notable Living Men and Women of the United States (Chicago, 1921), XI, 2,753.

New York to conduct his business. The couple raised three children at Chatham--Sydney, Mark, and Narcissa. According to a Fredericksburg resident who visited Chatham as a young girl to play with the Sullivan children, the owner displayed a cheerful disposition and possessed "snow white hair and a ruddy complexion." While worshipping in the local Presbyterian church, the Sullivan family occupied the former Lacy pew.[4]

Although the ownership of Chatham had changed several times since J. Horace Lacy's tenure, the various owners kept the fire insurance policy with the Mutual Assurance Company of Virginia up to date. In fact, clauses had been inserted in deeds of trust stipulating that insurance policies cover the value of Chatham. A policy dated May 28, 1915, shows that the Sullivans insured the main house for $5,000 and the guest house (former laundry) for an additional $250.[5]

Two undated newspaper advertisements, which were published shortly after the end of World War I when the Sullivans were making preparations to sell Chatham, describe the old home in glowing but somewhat inaccurate terms. One advertisement read:

> It is described as charmingly situated and spacious grounds, amidst large trees of beautiful foliage, with a long stretch of lawn on the west front of the house. Upon the first terrace are tennis courts, upon the second the rose gardens, containing 2,000 bushes and divided by a boardwalk of old box that has flourished for a hundred years, from which branch off near the half mile of concrete walks.
>
> The mansion is considered the best example of Colonial Architecture of the Georgian Period in Virginia. The original

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4. Personal interview with Mrs. Hanford Carter, October 22, 1976, Fredericksburg, Virginia.

5. MASV No. 32970, May 28, 1915, Archives Division, Virginia State Library.

plans for it and the house in England, are said to have been designed by Sir Christopher Wren, to whom was largely due the English Renaissance. [Wren died in 1723 nearly 50 years before Chatham was built.] Extending a space of 210 feet, there are the large reception hall through the middle, panelled from floor to ceiling in 25 feet square connecting the two fronts.

Flanking the house at each end are brick houses, containing three rooms each, one is used for guests, and one for servants. The entire house is furnished with old fashioned mahogany furniture, some of which has an unbroken family record of 200 years. All woodwork is white, the walls are tastefully covered with expensive paperings and adorned with paintings of great value. There is hot and cold water in each room. Hot water heat and electric lights throughout the house. Numerous substantial out buildings are suitably placed.

There are 40 acres more or less belonging to the estate which one half are grounds surrounding the mansion, [and] much available land in pasture adjoining may be purchased. The Rappahannoc River furnishes the best facilities for motor boating, fishing, duck deer quail turkey and other shooting obtains in that section. Chatham is one hour and 15 minutes from Washington. Ten trains daily. Chatham may be purchased either furnished or unfurnished. And with or without its present complete equipment of horses, carriages, harnesses and jerseys. This is truly a wonderful old place, very beautiful in perfect condition, price without equipment--$45,000.

The other advertisement also described Chatham in romantic and somewhat inaccurate terms:

FOR SALE

"CHATHAM"

One of the most desirable and historically important country places in America, located fifty-five miles from Washington, on a terraced bluff overlooking the Rappahannock River at Fredericksburg. Within ten minutes of station, with excellent express train service, and directly on the main automobile highway from Washington to the South now being concreted by the Government. The brick dwelling house, 210 feet long, built about 1722, is considered the finest example of long Colonial architecture in America. While carefully preserving every original detail of paneling, etc. the house has recently been throughly modernized by its present owner, Mr. Mark Sullivan, with its own water system, electric lights, hot-water heat and four bathrooms. The brick stable, the barn, the dairy, the two guest houses and the tenant houses are supplied with electric light and running water. The fifty-three acres include fifteen acres of lawn, with magnificent trees, vegetable garden, orchard, asparagus bed, etc. This is one of the two or three finest and best preserved of the Virginia Colonial manors. Among its numerable historic associations is the fact that Washington spent his honeymoon here. Can be bought now at an extraordinarily reasonable figure. Address your own broker, or H. W. Hilleary, 1000 Vermont Avenue, Washington, D. C.[6]

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6. Undated advertisements, copies of mss. in DSC-QE, Chatham Files.

CHAPTER XV

CHATHAM UNDER THE DANIEL DEVORE FAMILY: 1920-31

A. The Daniel Bradford Devores Acquire Chatham: 1920

By 1920 Sullivan had grown weary of the long commute to Washington from Fredericksburg. He also wanted to provide a better education for his children than what was available locally. Thus, the Sullivans traded Chatham to Daniel B. and Helen G. S. Devore of Washington, D. C., for their home at the corner of 22nd and Massachusetts Avenue, N. W., in 1920. In addition the Devores paid $1,000 to the Sullivans. On November 16 the Sullivans deeded their Chatham property to Helen G. S. Devore.[1]

The property consisted of 30.234 acres and two other small parcels--4,657 square feet and 7,767 square feet. In addition, the Devores purchased another 17.01-acre tract near the house. This land had been purchased by Mark Sullivan from Horatio E. and Bessie B. DeJarnette of Princeton, West Virginia, for $3,835 on January 7, 1920.[2] The previous owner of this tract had been Lewis R. and Susan Watson who had purchased this tract on May 21, 1919.[3] A racially restrictive covenant, indicative of the times, was placed in the deed between the Sullivans and Helen G. S. Devore concerning blacks on the 17.01-acre tract. The covenant, which had first appeared in the deed between Watson and the DeJarnettes reads:

> It is hereby expressly provided that no part of the property hereby conveyed shall ever be owned or occupied in any manner by a person of African descent or lineage, except that person occupying such property or parts thereof, may

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1. Deed, Mark and Marie M. B. Sullivan to Helen G. S. Devore, November 16, 1920, Stafford County Deed Book 18, Folios 542-46, Archives Division, Virginia State Library.

2. Deed, Horatio E. and Bessie B. DeJarnette to Mark Sullivan, January 7, 1920, Stafford County Deed Book 18, Folio 536, Archives Division, Virginia State Library.

3. Deed, Lewis R. Watson to Horatio E. and Bessie B. DeJarnette, May 21, 1919, Stafford County Deed Book 17, Folio 546, Archives Division, Virginia State Library.

allow his or their domestic servants to reside upon the premises.[4]

B. Restoration of Chatham

Before they moved into Chatham, the Devores underwrote an extensive restoration program of the historic home. They employed Washington, D. C., architect Oliver H. Clarke and Evan Davies, a builder and contractor from Highland Springs, Virginia, to restore the home. Working with a crew of 34 laborers, the architect and builder removed the front and rear Greek Revival porches and erected "Georgian doorways of Indian limestone," thus reverting Chatham's external appearance to the colonial period. As the workers removed the front porch they found, according to the Fredericksburg Free Lance-Star, a block with the following inscription: "John Hall, Builder, October 11, 1859." To date, no other contempory evidence has been uncovered to corroborate this inscription. What had formerly been designed as the front of the building was changed to the rear so that the mansion would front on the side away from the river. The laborers also removed the tennis courts and added large gardens in the area that had been at the rear of the house. This was done under the direction of Mrs. Devore and David Hanlon, an Irish-born gardener who had once worked for the Rothschilds in Great Britain. A 7-foot wall, some 650 feet long, was built to surround the spacious, ornate gardens. The arrangement of the rooms in the interior was changed to conform to their colonial design. The original floors were left in the house and were reinforced with new beams without removing the floor. Plaster was removed and replaced with hand-hewn wood panels, and the house was furnished with period pieces.

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4. During the 1920s the Devores bought a number of land parcels that had been part of the original Chatham plantation. These included certain lots in Blocks A and C. These deeds are recorded in Stafford County Deed Books 25, Folios 94, 366, and 26, Folios 114-15, Archives Division, Virginia State Library.

The rooms were lighted almost entirely with candles--some wax and some electrified.[5]

Further information of historical interest came to light as the workmen removed several layers of old wallpaper from a small entrance hall in the north wing. They found a number of signatures left by Union officers attached to the Army of the Potomac during the Civil War. The graffiti was written in pencil on white plaster and then covered with wallpaper. This data corroborates contemporary accounts that commented on scribbling on Chatham's interior walls. According to the Free Lance-Star, the signatures included General Burnside; Brigadier General Judson Kilpatrick, Commanding 3rd Division Cavalry Corps; Lieut. James B. Seywell, 1st New York Mounted Rifles; T. W. Moffett, 3rd Indiana Cavalry; Brig. General Abraham Buford, September 2, 1863; Capt. Nelson, Co. B., 1st Reg. New Jersey Corps; John F. Bradshaw, April 1, 1865; and F. D. Gorham. Apparently many other signatures were scrawled on the walls, which were difficult to decipher. The writing reportedly extended from a wooden chairboard up as high as the tallest soldier could reach from the floor.[6]

Mrs. Devore provided the impetus to transform the historic home and gardens into a Virginia showplace. While living in

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5. (Fredericksburg) The Free Lance-Star, June 22, 1921. A word of caution must be expressed concerning the data contained in this newspaper article. As of this time no date has been found to corroborate the reference to John Hall. The 1860 census records for Fredericksburg do not mention a man by that name in the community, and contacts with George H.S. King, a local historian, produced no supportive evidence. In 1977, historical architect Gerald Karr of the Denver Service Center came to the tentative conclusion that the porches may have been added prior to the 1859 date.

6. Ibid., and (Baltimore) The Sun, June 27, 1921. The articles implies that Oliver H. Clarke may have taken a photograph of the graffiti but the architect's personal papers have not been found. An investigation conducted by art conservator Walter Nitkiewicz and park technician Chris Calkins on September 22-23, 1977, failed to uncover the graffiti, although some illegible penciling was uncovered.

Fredericksburg, Mrs. Devore became locally known as an active participant in garden club work. Fredericksburg women named her as the first president of the Rappahannock Valley Garden Club in 1924. Seven years later, a local newspaper glowingly described the Chatham garden as "one of the most beautiful and most noted in Virginia."[7]

In addition to the restoration project, the home became an object of attention in numerous articles and publications. Francis Benjamin Johnston, the noted photographer, came to Chatham in the late 1920s to record the attributes of the mansion, outbuildings, and grounds.[8] In fact, the Devores drew such considerable attention to Chatham that the next private owner would encounter much difficulty in deflating the public's interest in the estate.

In March 1929 a representative showplace article in Town & Country described the mansion and gardens in glowing terms. The article, which featured some of the photographs taken by Francis Benjamin Johnston, included the following lengthy description:

> Colonel and Mrs. Devore have had Chatham for a matter of six years. . . . Certain graceless additions to the house have been removed so that it once more presents the simplest and most dignified of fronts, impelling respect for its wise proportions and the concentration of its ornament to the single unit of the entrance doors on both the driveway and the garden

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7. (Fredericksburg) The Free Lance-Star, October 24, 1931. Shortly before his death in 1943, Oliver H. Clarke said in a newspaper interview that the restoration of Chatham "is my best dream come true. There is nothing to compare with the satisfaction that one gets from bringing new life to something old and beautiful." (Washington) The Times-Herald, February 22, 1943. Also see (Washington) The Star, December 14, 1943, for Clarke's obituary.

8. Johnston's photographs are held by the Library of Congress and some were printed with the following article: Augusta Owen Patterson, "An Eighteenth Century Home in Virginia," Town & Country (March 15, 1929), 63-70, 116.

sides. The approach to the house is very handsome. A curving drive leads to old stepping stones of slate. A broad green allee stretches across the front of the house. There is a rich planting of box against the walls. The general impression is parklike and English. Stepping stones lead from the house to a delicately wrought rail with the opening bars of "Home, Sweet Home" employed for their design. Double stairs descend to a wide terrace. More steps terminate in a temple of Flora. The view over the Rappahannock is in the British tradition; an arched bridge, weeping willows, a general Currier & Ives tempo. Lovely. Quiet. Somewhere on the house level, near the driveway, is a gay and pagan pan, in a pillared shelter. There are grotesque English garden figures; and miles of box transplanted from old estates. The present owners are building a wall of old bricks around the entire property, solidifying the contour of the land and insuring privacy.

After the custom of most old Southern houses, the hall goes through the center. This permits an instant realization of the glory of the terrace and the sunken garden on the other front. . . . The garden itself profits by the kindly state of cedar avenues and broad allees with vistas, then intimately divides and subdivides itself into well directed color and fragrance. There is an iris garden; there are handsome areas of peonies and delphiniums, standard roses, standard wistaria; casual gardens, and practical gardens, where the seedlings are raised. Somewhere is an avenue of dogwood, near the guest house . . . which was once also a schoolhouse, and now serves as a small and comfortable week-end place when the big house is not open. Out through one of the garden gates is the way to Colonel Devore's hobby, a pleasant aviary. This provides most efficient and tidy summer homes for the aristocrats of the species: Amhearsts; Ring Necks; Golden pheasants. The flowers, old and new, have to do their best to keep up with them in the matter of color.

Concerning the interior of the mansion, the author observed:

> The interior of the house has that fine simplicity which we find such a refuge from the complexities of modern life. The square hall has the old floors and wainscoting. The adjoining drawing-room, where the paneling was sacrificed to the destructiveness of war, reproduces the original walls with fidelity and understanding. The work was done by hand by two old farmers, who had been carpenters in the old country and were induced to get out the kits they had brought from England to do those things which they had learned as boys and young men to do so competently and so intelligently. Their skill and meticulous care as to the exactness of proportions and conscientiousness in the matter of execution give the room an authenticity which would have been impossible through the medium of machine labor. The dining-room continues the arrangement of tall narrow panels but adds a cornice enrichment in character with the greater ceremony of the room. From the drawing-room leads a little corridor which has been painted to match the original strong green found beneath more recent pigment. This corridor is characteristic and attractive, with arched recesses and old blinds like those at Shirley. It leads to the President's bedroom, on the same floor; the green room, where Lafayette slept, as well as the Father of his Country and his successors in high office.
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> As the exterior of the house has benefited by Mrs. Devore's personal interest in and knowledge of landscape treatment and gardening, so the interior is permitted a fulfillment of the promise made by the background through the use of the solidly handsome Eighteenth Century furniture, generally English, occasionally American and French, which Mrs. Devore owned and enjoyed many years before she was conscious of the existence of Chatham. The pedestal sideboard in the dining-room is a collector's piece. The pair of gilt Queen Anne mirrors above the twin console tables in the hall,

the double-headed cabinets and walnut and gilt chairs with the shell cresting on the knees and the cabriole legs ending in pieds de biche in the drawing-room. These are all reminiscent of the expert work done by British cabinet makers for clients of taste and discrimination. Stretched in a long panel of politely bright color in front of the delicately proportioned Adam grate in the drawing-room is an old Persian rug with a curiously French feeling. From the garden the light flickers through the gold damask draperies to the Colonial yellow of the satin fabric covering the long sofa. In the large panel over the fireplace, is a old portrait of Jefferson. In the hall are rich, dark portraits of Mr. Thomas Brading by Reynolds and of Gentleman Smith, an actor contemporaneous to Sheridan, by Zoffany. . . .[9]

C. The Devores: Owners of Chatham, 1920-31

Colonel, later Brigadier General Daniel Bradford Devore, had a long and distinguished military career. He was born in Monroe County, Ohio, on May 14, 1860. Upon receiving a nomination to attend the United States Military Academy at West Point, Devore entered that institution in 1881 after having attended Mt. Union College for one term. He graduated in 1885, 29th in a class of 39, and was commissioned a 2d lieutenant in the 23d Infantry on June 14 of that year. He served at Fort Wayne in Michigan and Fort Niagara in New York during the late 1880s, and, after serving at Fort Sam Houston and at the Headquarters, Department of Texas, in San Antonio, he served as an Assistant Professor of Mathematics at West Point from 1892 to 1897. In 1898 Devore saw service in the Spanish-American War, served in the Philippines during the insurrection led by Emilio Aguinaldo in 1899-1900 and again in 1903-06, and later in the Panama Canal Zone in 1916-17. Rising to the rank of Brigadier General in the U. S. Army, he organized the 45th and 46th regiments of infantry and served in France from September to December

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9. Patterson, "Eighteenth Century Home," 64-67, 116.

1918 in World War I. While on a special assignment to Norway in early 1898, Devore purchased a herd of some 500 reindeer which were shipped to Alaska to become the ancestors of the great reindeer herds in that area. He retired as a colonel on April 5, 1922, with a 40-year military career to his credit, and eight years later he became a "tombstone" Brigadier General.[10]

Little is known about Devore's private affairs before the time that he bought Chatham in 1920. He married Helen G. S. Stewart, the daughter of Alexander Stewart, a wealthy Wisconsin lumberman, paper mill operator, and congressman, in 1918, and her inherited wealth probably underwrote the restoration of Chatham. The couple had no children. Following the sale of Chatham, the Devores lived in northwest Washington, D. C., in a home which they built in 1925-28 at the corner of 24th and Wyoming Streets.[11] Devore became the last surviving member of the West Point class of 1885 and died at his Washington home in March 1956 at the age of 95, and his wife passed away in July 1960. In her will she left the bulk of a $10,000,000 estate to a trust fund "for the care of worthy and deserving children who are physically or mentally ill or crippled or for research, education or prevention of diseases common to children."[12]

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10. (Fredericksburg) The Free Lance-Star, March 13, 1956; George W. Cullem, Biographical Register of the Officers and Graduates of the U. S. Military Academy at West Point, New York Since Its Establishment in 1802, Supplement VII, 1920-30 (Chicago, 1930), pp. 226, 376, 390, 404, 409-10; "Vital Statistics Questionnaire," copy of mss in DSC-QE, Chatham Files; 1970 Cullem Memorial Edition Register of Graduates and Former Cadets, 1802-1970, of the United States Military Academy (The West Point Alumni Foundation, 1970), p. 284; and Who's Who in The Nation's Capitol, 1923-1924 (Washington, 1924), p. 115.

11. Interview of George E. Hamilton and Norman Frauenheim by A. Wilson Greene, February 9, 1979; (Fredericksburg) The Free Lance-Star, March 13, 1956; (Washington) The Star, July 27 and September 24, 1960.

12. (Washington) The Star, April 18, 1961.

CHAPTER XVI
CHATHAM UNDER JOHN L. PRATT: 1931-75

A. John L. Pratt Purchases Chatham: 1931

On November 14, 1931, the Devores sold Chatham to John Lee Pratt, a wealthy industrialist who had grown up in nearby King George County. Pratt paid $150,000 cash for the structures, a 30.234-acre tract, and two other parcels containing 4,657 square feet and 7,767 square feet, respectively.[1] Chatham had appreciated considerably in value in the 1920s as a result of the Devores' restoration program, and Chatham would continue to rise in value during the 44-year ownership of the property by Pratt. From a local tax assessment of $5,500 in 1931, a depression year, the valuation of Chatham increased to $125,000 in 1972 and $204,100 in 1975.[2] Other than improvements in the heating and water systems, Pratt did little to enhance the main structure's interior or exterior appearance. Great efforts, however, were directed toward improving the gardens and fields.

When the Devores sold Chatham to Pratt, the retired military officer briefed the new owner about the men that he had employed on the farm. To take care of the extensive gardens, Devore had hired six men, paying the supervisor, R. L. Gallahan, $125 a month and the others (Hugh Frost, Silas Allen, Leslie Gallahan, Wallace Gallahan, and Leslie Sullivan) $15 a week. Devore employed two other men (W. W. Fines and Victor Rose) to handle the farm crop production and one man, Theodore Catlett, to take care of the chickens and other fowl. Devore reported that R. L. Gallahan, Fines, and Catlett lived on the farm raising their own vegetables in private gardens.[3]

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1. Deed, Helen G. S. Devore to John L. Platt, November 14, 1931, Stafford County Deed Book 29, Folios 548-52, Archives Division, Virginia State Library; "Sales Contract," October 15, 1931, copy of mss. in DSC-QE, Chatham Files; and (Fredericksburg) The Free Lance-Star, October 24, 1931.

2. Stafford County Land Books, 1931, 1972, 1975, Stafford County Courthouse.

3. "Workmen at 'Chatham'," D. B. Devore to J. L. Pratt, n.d., copy of mss. in DSC-QE, Chatham Files.

Through the years, Pratt continued to carry fire insurance with the Mutual Assurance Company of Virginia. For example in 1936, the company underwrote $5,250 in coverage on Chatham, and although Pratt tried to have the coverage increased, he was unable to do so. In response to his inquiries, the Richmond-based insurance company indicated that since the early 19th century it had attempted to limit its losses by terminating insurance on country residences because that property was often far removed from adequate fire protection services. The firm, however, had never deleted Chatham and two other Virginia residences from its active rolls but had instead slowly decreased coverage of those structures over the years. Hence the decreasing coverage provided for Chatham was the result of a deliberate company policy.[4]

To augment his fire protection coverage for Chatham, Pratt paid for additional insurance underwritten by the Liverpool and London and Globe Insurance Company. In late 1931 he paid for $25,833 in coverage on all buildings at Chatham which were evaluated as having a net worth of $77,500. The insurance amounted to one-third the market value of the buildings. To receive this coverage, Pratt paid a premium of $515.30 for a five-year policy beginning in November 1931. During the following May the company increased the value of the property to $80,000 and the fire protection coverage to $26,666.33. This increase reflected the proposed construction of a 1-1/2 story frame, asbestos shingle roof dwelling known as the "Gardener's Cottage," situated about 250 yards northeast of the main dwelling.[5]

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4. MASV Receipt, February 15, 1936, and R. L. Gordon, Jr., to John Lee Pratt, January 29, 1954, copies of both mss. in DSC-QE, Chatham Files.

5. The Liverpool and London and Globe Insurance Co., Ltd., Policy J601008, November 14, 1931, copy of mss. in DSC-QE, Chatham Files. This policy was updated in May 1932, and the new premium cost an additional $19.02. The structure known as the "Gardener's Cottage" is located at present on Chatham Lane.

B. The Chatham Gardens

Since the Devore ownership in the 1920s, Chatham had become known for its spacious and beautiful gardens. However, they became a slight personal nuisance to Pratt, especially following his wife's death in 1947. In the late 1940s, individuals constantly urged Pratt to open the gardens to the public during Virginia Garden Week each spring. Although he was not opposed to doing this as a public service, he did not want to open Chatham itself to the public. The Pratt correspondence files contain a number of letters written during this period to the ladies who sponsored Virginia Garden Week telling them of his personal wishes relative to Chatham. In one letter written on February 21, 1948, Pratt informed Mrs. C. James Andress, President of the Garden Club of Virginia:

> The answer to the question of what we should do about Chatham during Virginia Garden Week has ever been a debatable one. On one hand, we have always wanted to cooperate with the Garden Club in their efforts to restore some of the old historical gardens of Virginia, and have taken pride in their accomplishments. On the other hand, our interest in Chatham was simply a place to live a quiet life, its beauties to be shared by our close friends. We have always hated to build it up in the public mind as a "show place" and then commercialize it for only one week. This has always been repugnant to our thinking.
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> Nevertheless our answer in the past has usually been to open the gardens during Garden Week, and then for months regret having done so because of the number of persons who did not get to Chatham during Garden Week and then assumed that they were free to drive in and look around at any time. The number of such persons is always many times greater immediately after Garden Week than at any other time of the year, with the result that we usually promised ourselves that we would not open the following year.

> We find it embarrassing that the Garden Club in late years have increasingly been encouraging people who open their gardens during Garden Week, to also open their homes to the public. We have always refused to open our house, with the result that many of those whom we had hoped would be pleased by a visit to our gardens expressed their displeasure because they were not allowed to see the interior of the house. We hope always that our house shall be for our friends and those whom we invite to enter. It is distasteful to me to think that there is a price that allows any one who has the price to invade my home. We can never consent to open our house for a price regardless of how deserving the object is for which the funds are being raised.[6]

As a personal gesture to local Fredericksburg area residents, Pratt opened his gardens on a limited basis on one Saturday afternoon each year during the period when the gardens were at their best.[7]

C. John L. Pratt's Career

John Lee Pratt was born October 22, 1879, at Aspen Grove in King George County. He had three brothers and two sisters. Pratt's father, Alexander Pratt (1841-1910), fought in the Civil War and surrendered at Appomattox. Pratt's mother, the former Agnes E. Jones,

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6. John L. Pratt to Mrs. C. James Andrews, February 21, 1948, copy of mss. in DSC-QE, Chatham Files. Pratt donated all funds realized from the garden week program to the organization. Also see (Fredericksburg) The Free Lance- Star, April 24, 1950. Shortly after they bought Chatham, the Pratts had a double hedge of large boxwood planted. This hedge had been purchased by the Devores for $1,500 several years before but had been left at the home of Nelson W. Payne, twelve miles west of Fredericksburg. (Fredericksburg) The Free Lance- Star, January 19, 1932.

7. John L. Pratt to Mrs. R. T. Barton, Jr., October 25, 1949, copy of mss. in DSC-QE, Chatham Files, and (Fredericksburg) The Free Lance-Star, April 14, 1949.

was the daughter of James Edward Jones of Edgehill in King George County. His mother died in 1885 when he was six years old. He attended Bethel School in the White Oak area of Stafford, and when he was 13 the M. S. Chancellor Farm Implement Store in Fredericksburg employed him as an apprentice. As he assembled horse-drawn farm equipment, Pratt received an introduction to basic machinery, a prelude to his later successful engineering career. Following his public school education, Pratt attended Locust Dale Academy, a private institution in nearby Madison County for two years. After a year at Randolph-Macon College in Ashland, Virginia, he entered the University of Virginia in 1902, graduating with a civil engineering degree three years later.[8]

After graduation, Pratt received offers to work for E. I. duPont de Nemours & Company and the American Bridge Company. Although the job with the American Bridge Company would have paid more, a professor advised him to take the duPont offer because he felt it would offer more valuable experience. Except for a brief interval in 1918 when he received a special assignment with the General Motors Corporation (GMC) in Detriot, he remained with duPont from July 1, 1905, to November 1919.[9]

Pratt's successful engineering projects with duPont brought him to the personal attention of Colonel Hamilton MacFarland Barksdale, then a high-ranking executive who recognized the young man as an exceptionally talented person. Barksdale sent Pratt to New York to work closely with the top officials of the duPont company. Between 1909 and 1914, Pratt traveled throughout the nation helping to select sites for new duPont plants, and among those locations selected for new plants were Waynesboro and Hopewell, Virginia. In 1914 he traveled to Chile to study that nation's nitrate industry, and during World War I Pratt worked to

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8. (Fredericksburg) The Free Lance-Star, December 22, 1975.

9. Ibid., and John L. Pratt, "Official Biography," August 1960, copy of mss. donated by General Motors Public Relations Library to DSC-QE, Chatham Files.

boost the company's munitions production and upgrade its automobile self-starter and diesel engine divisions.[10]

During the war, duPont and the fledging General Motors Corporation became associated with one another, and from time to time duPont made certain key executives available to GMC president William Crapo Durant for special assignments. On December 1, 1919, Pratt left duPont permanently to work for the GMC. Pratt's business acquaintances already held him in high esteem. One colleague wrote to Pratt shortly after the young executive left duPont, "now I can tell you this without fear of being misunderstood, I wish to say that there are not in my acquaintance in the United States three engineers whose opinion I would give as much for as I would give for your own on any subject you would be willing to throughly investigate."[11]

Known for his good sense, hard work, and skilled organizing talent, Pratt rose quickly through the ranks of General Motors. Postwar America witnessed the boom in GMC fortunes as the company rapidly surpassed its chief rival, the Ford Motor Company, in the early 1920s. Both the GMC and Pratt matured together as he became a key second echelon executive. His combination of skills as an engineer and executive made him valuable to the growing concern, and he founded a personal fortune later estimated to range between 100 and 200 million dollars.[12]

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10. Supreme Court of the United States, United States of America, Appellants v. E. I. duPont de Nemours and Company, et al, Transcript of Records, Vol. III, Appeal from the United States District Court for the Northern District of Illinois, filed June 14, 1955, pp. 1387-90, in John L. Pratt Papers, General Motors Institute Alumni Foundation's Collection of Industrial History, Flint, Michigan. Hereafter cited as Pratt Papers, GM Institute.

11. Hugh L. Cooper to John D. Pratt, December 9, 1919, Pratt Papers, GM Institute.

12. Richard Austin Smith, "The Fifty-Million-Dollar Man," Fortune, LVI (November, 1957), 176-78.

After serving as the special assistant to the president of General Motors and as chairman of both the inventories and appropriations committees of the corporation, Pratt was named as general manager of the GMC accessory divisions on May 1, 1921. These companies included Hyatt Roller Bearing, Remy Electric, Jaxon Steel Products, Dayton Engineering Laboratories, Harrison Radiator, Lancaster Steel Products, New Departure Manfacturing, United Motors Service, Delco Light, Champion Ignition, Klaxon, Frigidaire, and Dayton Wright.[13] The corporation named him vice president on November 16, 1922, and in April 1923 he became a director of General Motors. He served as a member of the corporation's executive committee from September 1924 until its dissolution in 1935.[14] Pratt officially retired from the corporation in May 1937, although he had been on leave since 1935.

D. Pratt's Participation in the World War II Effort

Immediately before the Second World War, President Franklin D. Roosevelt established a War Resources Board headed by Edward R. Stettinius, Jr., the president of United States Steel, to review the industrial mobilization plan of the Army-Navy Mobilization Board. On August 9, 1939, the President named Pratt to the War Resources Board along with Karl T. Compton, the president of the Massachusetts Institute of Technology, Harold G. Moulton, the president of the Brookings Institution, Walter G. Gifford, the president of the American Telegraph and Telephone Company, and Brigadier General Robert E. Wood, the president of Sears, Roebuck and Company. This civilian advisory board group completed its review that fall recommending American preparedness for a major conflict.[15]

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13. Financial America, May 4, 1921, and The Journal of Commerce, May 5, 1921.

14. (Fredericksburg) The Free Lance-Star, December 22, 1975.

15. Forrest G. Pogue, George C. Marshall: Education of a General, 1880-1939 (New York, 1963), p. 343, and personal interview with Forrest G. Pogue, March 5, 1976, Washington, D. C.

During the Second World War, the wealthy and influential Pratt served the nation as a "dollar a year man." In 1941, as a member of the Office of Production Management, he represented that bureau on the Economic Defense Board. He resigned from that position on September 15 to accept a consultant's job with the Lend-Lease Administration headed by his personal friend, Edward R. Stettinius, Jr., with whom he had worked on the War Resources Board. Pratt resigned from that organization on December 1, 1943, and later served as a senior consultant and assistant of administration with the Foreign Economic Administration under the State Department in 1944.[16]

In this latter position Pratt traveled to Great Britain with Under Secretary of State Stettinius in 1944 to confer with government officials concerning the Lend-Lease program. The mission lasted from March 10 to May 4. Cordell Hull, Secretary of State, told the press that the Stettinius mission was going to London for "talks . . . informal and exploratory . . .[on] matters that are of interest to the two Governments at this time."[17] A comprehensive official diary kept by the mission details the adventures encountered and the subjects discussed by this civilian group as its members traveled to and from wartime Europe.[18] While Pratt did not formulate American wartime policy, his superiors called upon him for advice and counsel concerning the production of war material and its flow to the battle front--a matter attested to by his personal diary of the London mission.[19]

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16. William S. Kundson to John L. Pratt, September 5, 1941, in U. S. Production Planning Board folder, 1941, and correspondence with United States Office of Lend-Lease Administration folder, 1943-44, in John L. Pratt Papers, Manuscript Division, Alderman Library, University of Virginia. Also see "Personal Security Questionnaire," April 27, 1954, John Lee Pratt, in Pratt Papers, GM Institute.

17. "The Presidency," Time, XLIII (March 27, 1944), 17-18.

18. "Diary of Mission to London," 1944, John L. Pratt Papers, Manuscript Division, Alderman Library, University of Virginia.

19. Pratt's Diary of Mission to London, folder, 1944, John L. Pratt Papers, Manuscript Division, Alderman Library, University of Virginia.

In December 1947, Pratt received a "Certificate of Merit" for his wartime Lend-Lease work. His former boss, Stettinius, wrote a personal commendation praising Pratt "for exceptionally meritorious conduct in the performance of outstanding service to his country as Senior Consultant of the Office of Lend-Lease Administration and to the Under Secretary of State." Stettinius continued that Pratt

> served as Senior Consultant to the Lend-Lease Administration through the period of initial organization and the later more difficult period of policy formulation and administration. His wide engineering knowledge and his ripe judgement derived from years of business experience were of inestimable value to the Administration and to the senior members of the staff, all of whom turned to him constantly as Elder Statesman for advice in making difficult decisions. . . . Serving later with the Under Secretary of State and subsequently with the Secretary of State, he brought to bear upon the activities of these two officers the same unselfish and kindly wisdom that had given strength to the Lend-Lease Administration.[20]

It is apparent that Pratt knew a great number of powerful and prominent individuals. These included the industrialists at duPont and GMC, businessmen and bureaucrats like Edward Stettinius, military chieftains such as George C. Marshall (whom Pratt unsuccessfully sponsored as a director of the GMC following the war), and politicians such as U. S. Senator Harry F. Byrd from Virginia. Many of these persons slipped into Chatham for occasional quiet weekends or for periodical vacations. Pratt, however, kept their presence at Chatham out of the local newspapers, and the only indication one has of such visits can be gleaned from the Pratt Papers in the Alderman Library at the University of Virginia and the GM Institute's Alumni Collection in Flint,

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20. Edward R. Stettinius, Jr., to John L. Pratt, October 30, 1947, Correspondence with Edward R. Stettinius folder, Box 6, John L. Pratt Papers, Manuscript Division, Alderman Library, University of Virginia.

Michigan, and the testimony of Pratt's surviving acquaintances and employees.

E. The Pratts' Philanthropic Endeavors

Pratt and his wife Lillian Thomas, a native of Philadelphia whom he had married in 1918 and who died in 1947, created the John Lee and Lillian Thomas Pratt Foundation to disperse their personal fortune among a variety of scholarly, research, and philanthropic causes. While the foundation concentrated its philanthropy on Virginia institutions such as the University of Virginia, Virginia Polytechnic Institute and State University, Washington and Lee University, Randolph-Macon Women's College, and the Virginia Museum of Fine Arts, it also provided funds for various research activities at Johns Hopkins University in Baltimore, Maryland, including the establishment of the McCollum-Pratt Institute to study vitamins and micronutrients. When providing funds to various organizations and institutions, the Pratts generally did so anonymously, desiring as little publicity as possible. In addition to serving on the board of trustees of Johns Hopkins University, he served on the boards of various other research and philanthropic institutions such as the Brookings Institution, Virginia Museum of Fine Arts, Explorers Club, Alfred P. Sloan Foundation, and the Sloan-Kettering Institute.[21]

During her lifetime, Mrs. Pratt built up a valuable collection of Russian Tzar Nicholas II's family jewels, many of them crafted by the internationally known House of Fabergé. She bequeathed the magnificent collection, as well as other valuable antique furniture, to the Virginia Museum of Fine Arts in Richmond in 1947. According to an article in Time, the 600-jewel collection included the following:

A world globe of topaz on a solid gold base.

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21. (Fredericksburg) The Free Lance-Star, December 22, 1975, and "Personal Security Questionnaire," John Lee Pratt, April 27, 1954, in Pratt Papers, GM Institute.

A rock crystal Easter egg rimmed with diamonds and topped with a rare 27-carat Siberian emerald. By twisting the emerald and peeking into the egg, the Czarina could see twelve gold-framed miniatures of her favorite palaces, radiating from a thin gold axis.

An oval gold snuffbox with a cameo sea scene on its lid, framed by 50 large diamonds.

An emerald bird in a golden cage set with pearls, on a jade base.[22]

Besides donating large sums of money, Pratt instigated a number of research projects that delved into the natural sciences, some of which were conducted at Chatham. In the late 1950s, Pratt patronized research investigating the ginkgo tree at Chatham. An extensive survey of the literature about this ancient tree resulted in a scholarly article in the Virginia Journal of Science in 1959.[23] Pratt funded further studies of this tree in the early 1960s and donated a 20-year-old ginkgo tree from Chatham to the University of Virginia for experimental purposes.[24] Pratt's support of research on the ginkgo tree resulted in cooperative research on the species with a number of laboratories including those at the Boyce Thompson Institute, the University of Wisconsin, Rutgers University, the University of Vermont, the U. S. Department of Agriculture, and the Brookhaven National Laboratory. Upon his death, a scientist from the Virginia Technological Institute recalled the extensive experimental farming Pratt had conducted at Chatham. According to the scientist who had worked with Pratt at Chatham on the ginkgo tree

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22. "Royal Haul," Time, XLVI (November 24, 1947), 61.

23. Alicelia Hoskins Franklin, "Ginkgo Biloba: Historical Summary and Bibliography," The Virginia Journal of Science, X (July, 1959), 131-41.

24. (Fredericksburg) The Free Lance-Star, January 9, 1961.

project, "The man had a phenomenal mind . . . he was intrigued for example, with weeds and what it is about weeds that enable them to so effectively resist diseases and natural enemies."[25]

In 1964 Pratt donated a one-half mile long strip of land, amounting to 23 acres, along the Rappahannock to the National Park Service for an addition to Fredericksburg National Military Park. During the Battle of Fredericksburg, this area had been the bridgehead site of the upper ponton bridge. To complete the bridgehead grant, Dr. and Mrs. Thomas B. Payne and Miss Mary B. Garnett donated four lots in the 1300 block of Sophia Street in Fredericksburg to the National Park Service. The deed in which the Pratt property was transferred gave the land for "use of the United States of America in developing Fredericksburg National Military Park and developing and maintaining points of historical interest located upon the property." Thus, the park was enabled to interpret the Battle of Fredericksburg from the standpoint of the attacking Northern forces for the first time since its establishment in 1927.[26] Of even greater significance to the National Park Service in 1964, Pratt bequeathed Chatham to the federal agency in a codicil to his will dated March 18, 1964. According to recent tax records, the home and surrounding 30.234 acres were valued at $204,000 at his death in 1975.[27]

Pratt died in his sleep at Chatham on December 20, 1975, at the age of 96. According to a press release from the Board of Directors of the General Motors Corporation, Pratt was an "executive of profound

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25. Rudolph T. Major, "Recollections of John Lee Pratt and of his Interest in the Ginkgo Tree," May 7, 1976, in DSC-QE, Chatham Files. Quotation in Warren Strother, "Philanthropist Pratt has Impact on Many," Virginia Techgram, February 1976.

26. (Fredericksburg) The Free Lance-Star, March 14, 1964.

27. Will, John L. Pratt, February 21, 1963 (with first codicil, March 18, 1964, and second codicil, January 12, 1966), Stafford County Will Book 15, Stafford County Courthouse.

wisdom, considered judgement and infinite common sense whose contributions to the progress of General Motors were many and varied and of the highest order." The press release went on to say that "Apart from business, he was a quiet philanthropist to whom many have been and will remain indebted and grateful."[28]

Pratt bequeathed an estate estimated at some $60,000,000 to nine Virginia colleges and Johns Hopkins University. Other than personal bequests to relatives and employees, Pratt divided his estate into 100 equal shares. He gave 20 percent of the shares, which amounted to some $12,000,000, each to the University of Virginia, the Virginia Polytechnic Institute and State University, and Washington and Lee University. Ten percent of the shares were given to Randolph-Macon Women's College, and four percent each to Hampden-Sydney College, Hampton Institute, Hollins College, Randolph-Macon College, and Sweet Briar College. He also gave ten percent of the shares to Johns Hopkins University. Pratt stipulated that none of the funds could be used for the construction of new buildings, the acquisition of additional grounds, or the improvement of existing facilities. Instead the funds were to be allocated for upgrading academic programs, student scholarships, faculty salaries, and for purchases of new laboratory equipment.[29]

F. Research on Chatham Commissioned by Pratt

In addition to his philanthropic endeavors, Pratt took a personal interest in the history of Chatham. Thus, he allocated a considerable sum of his personal resources to uncover the story of the historical development of Chatham. Throughout his ownership of Chatham, Pratt donated important historical resources to Virginia libraries

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28. General Motors Corporation Board of Directors, "Deaths of Messrs. John Lee Pratt and Graham F. Towers," January 5, 1976, copy of mss. in DSC-QE, Chatham Files.

29. (Fredericksburg) The Free Lance-Star, January 9, 1976, Washington Post, January 10, 1976, and Will, John L. Pratt, February 21, 1963, Stafford County Will Book 15, Stafford County Courthouse.

and archives, sponsored several research projects to explore Chatham's past, and commissioned Fredericksburg genealogist George H. S. King to carry out extensive research on the home in various repositories in Virginia and elsewhere. In fact, Pratt utilized King's talents for some three decades to research the lives and contributions of those who had lived in the mansion. Throughout the years, King attempted to debunk the legends, tales, and folklore concerning Chatham and to provide a well-researched historical profile of its construction and development. Despite the numerous misleading stories and articles that have appeared throughout the years concerning the history of Chatham, it was King's six-volume work that provided the best and most sound historical data on the plantation until the time that the National Park Service acquired the mansion and grounds in 1975.

RECOMMENDATIONS FOR FURTHER RESEARCH

Although the known primary and secondary research materials concerning Chatham have been examined with varying degrees of thoroughness, a number of important questions and unresolved issues still remain. Thus, the following topics and/or issues should be the subject of further research on Chatham:

1. Documentation relative to the date as well as to the details concerning the original construction of Chatham.

2. Documentation relative to the structural evolution of Chatham--questions such as the date and details of the construction of the porches.

3. Documentation concerning alleged visitors to Chatham such as James Monroe, James Madison, Washington Irving, and Robert E. Lee.

4. Identification of sources (and their contents) that have contributed to the growth of legends, tales, and folklore concerning Chatham.

5. Documentation concerning the historic road system and the Chatham mill.

6. Documentation relative to the slave population and slave quarters at Chatham.

7. Documentation relative to the will of Judge John Coalter.

8. Documentation relative to the activities of James Horace Lacy in arresting pro-Union sympathizers in Virginia during the spring of 1862.

9. Documentation concerning military career and later political activities of James Horace Lacy and experiences of the Lacy family during the Civil War.

10. Documentation to determine the total number of Federal troops at Fredericksburg under McDowell's command in the spring of 1862, which troops and how many were sent to the Valley to check Jackson's Valley campaign, and which troops and how many were left in Fredericksburg as an occupation force.

11. Archeological investigations should be conducted to determine the specific locations of the rifle pits and redoubts in the vicinity of Chatham before the Battle of Fredericksburg in December 1862 as well as that of the emplacement of the artillery batteries before and during the battle.

12. Identification of the units of troops treated at Chatham while it was used as a hospital during the Battle of Fredericksburg.

13. Research in the Records of the U. S. Sanitary Commission relative to Chatham.

14. Documentation concerning Chatham during the Civil War--specific location of the Federal camps and identification of the units that occupied sites nearest Chatham during the winter of 1862-63.

15. Documentation relative to the construction, modification (if any), and utilization of the various outbuildings at Chatham.

16. Although the park has some 273 illustrations of Chatham in its holdings at present, further efforts should be made to locate historic woodcut drawings, watercolor paintings, and portraits of the Chatham mansion, its surrounding grounds, and its owners.

17. Documentation on the lives of some of the post-Civil War owners and their impact on Chatham such as the Oliver Watson, Albert O. Mays, and the Fleming G. Bailey families.

18. Documentation pertaining to the 1920-21 restoration of Chatham by architect Oliver H. Clarke; especially the location and examination of his personal papers (if any).

19. Although the park has some eleven oral interviews with persons having some familiarity or historical relationship with Chatham, further contacts should be made with the surviving descendents of former Chatham owners.

20. Further systematic research in Fredericksburg-area newspapers relative to Chatham.

21. A historical base map should be prepared for Chatham to complete all of the components required by NPS-28 for a historic resource study.

APPENDIXES

APPENDIX A
CHAIN OF TITLE FOR CHATHAM:
1666-1976

The data below has been extracted from the text of the report, and all documentation is contained therewithin.

1. June 2, 1666. The origin of the Chatham lands. Sir William Berkeley, the Governor of Virginia, granted a tract of 2,000 acres to Colonel John Catlett. The grant began at the present upper boundary of the plantation Rumford on the northern side of the Rappahannock and extended up the river almost to present-day Falmouth.

2. September 8, 1668. Catlett conveyed the entire patent to William and Leonard Claiborne. When William died, the entire Catlett patent devolved upon Leonard.

3. July 25, 1688. Leonard sold the Catlett patent of 2,000 acres in fee simple to the Reverend John Waugh of Stafford County.

4. At some undetermined point, two other Virginians, George Sheppard and John Chadwell, bought some land from Waugh.

5. March 10, 1696. The Proprietors of the Northern Neck granted 350 acres, which had reverted following Sheppard's death to William Fitzhugh, the great-grandfather of William Fitzhugh, the builder of Chatham.

6. November 6, 1697. Colonel William Fitzhugh purchased 350 acres from Chadwell. This tract and the one mentioned in item 5 descended without sale of any part to William Fitzhugh, the builder of Chatham. He built Chatham on this land.

7. October 19, 1793. Fitzhugh bought a 588-acre tract from Landon Carter. The tract was located to the rear of the two original tracts that fronted the Rappahannock.

8. May 9, 1806. Fitzhugh sold Chatham, which consisted of buildings and 1,288 acres, to Major Churchill Jones for $20,000.

9. 1811. Jones sold 200 of the 1,288 acres that he had purchased from Fitzhugh.

10. September 14, 1822. Jones died on this date. He had willed Chatham to his wife by stipulating that after "my debts are paid, I leave the remainder of my estate both real and personal to my beloved wife Martha Jones during her natural life. . . ." Chatham then consisted of 1,088 acres.

11. December 28, 1822. Mrs. Jones concluded an agreement with her brother-in-law in which she renounced all future interest in Chatham. It stated in part that ". . . .she the said Martha Jones hath agreed to convey to the said William Jones all her right title and interest of in and to the estate of the said Churchill Jones, of every description, which she may or can be entitled. . . ." At that time, Chatham consisted of 1,088 acres.

12. January 15, 1829. Jones relinquished legal title to Chatham to Judge John Coalter, his son-in-law, although available evidence places Coalter at Chatham as early as 1824. Chatham consisted of 1,088 acres.

13. May 29, 1837. Judge Coalter deeded 400 of the 1,088 acres to his son, St. George Coalter. The Judge designated that the 400-acre tract be totally within the bounds of the 588-acre section purchased by Fitzhugh from Carter in 1793. The transaction reduced Chatham to 688 acres.

14. February 2, 1838. Coalter died on this date. He willed 538 acres to his widow, but inexplicably 20 more acres were added to make it a 558-acre tract. Coalter willed a 150-acre parcel (Mill Lot) to his children.

15. August 28, 1857. Hannah Coalter died on this date. Her daughter, Janet S. Williamson, was given "during her life all my estate both real and personal. . . ." Apparently, the Mill Lot was added to the

588-acre tract. The executors decided to sell Chatham due to Williamson's mental and physical infirmities.

16. November 7, 1857. James Horace Lacy purchased Chatham at auction for $35,950. Although a local newspaper advertised 712 acres for sale, the land records indicate that he bought 708 acres.

17. 1859. Lacy sold 132-1/2 acres to A. K. Phillips.

18. December 21, 1871. Lacy sold Chatham and 468-1/2 acres to Oliver Watson for $23,900.

19. September 1, 1882. Watson died on this date. According to his will, he gave to his "daughter Emma (Watson) Jones my farm in Stafford County, Virginia, known as Chatham farm with the wood lot adjoining it. . . ." Chatham then consisted of 468-1/2 acres.

20. November 30, 1883. Emma Jones sold Chatham to her brother Oliver Watson, Jr., for $25,000. The plantation consisted of 468-1/2 acres.

21. May 25, 1889. Watson sold Chatham to Albert O. Mays. Chatham then comprised 468-1/2 acres with "fisheries, shores, and landings. . . ."

22. May 12, 1897. Mays repurchased Chatham at an auction after he had lost it to a creditor. The plantation sold for $13,750 and totaled 468-1/2 acres. In the late 1890s Mays began to sell off the Chatham lands piecemeal. From this point the chain of title will only trace the land on which the mansion is located.

23. August 20, 1900. Mays sold the "Chatham Mansion House" together with "thirty acres and 234/1000 of an acre of said Chatham Estate. . . ." to Fleming G. and Elizabeth H. Bailey.

24. May 13, 1906. Mays sold a 4,657-square-foot parcel to the Baileys.

25. January 30, 1909. The Baileys sold Chatham to Allan Randolph Howard. The purchase included the buildings, and two land parcels consisting of 30.234 acres and 4,657 square feet.

26. February 1, 1909. Howard conveyed Chatham amd the two tracts, consisting of 30.234 acres and 4,657 square feet, to Mrs. Harriet Smith.

27. May 18, 1909. Howard purchased a 7,767-square-foot parcel.

28. March 14, 1914. Mrs. Harriet G. Smith sold a "Certain Mansion House, and grounds, directly opposite Fredericksburg in Stafford County, Virginia, known as Chatham made up of two parcels of land--containing 30.234 acres and a second containing 4,657 square feet with improvements" to the Conway, Gordon, and Garnett National Bank of Fredericksburg.

29. November 28, 1914. The liquidating agent for the Conway, Gordon, and Garnett National Bank sold Chatham with three parcels of land, consisting of 30.234 acres, 4,657 square feet, and 7,767 square feet to Marie M. B. Sullivan.

30. November 11, 1920. Mark and Marie M. B. Sullivan sold Chatham, along with the 30.234-acre parcel and two smaller tracts--4,657 square feet and 7,767 square feet--to Helen G. S. Devore.

31. November 14, 1931. The Devores sold Chatham to John Lee Pratt who paid $150,000 cash for the buildings, the 30.234-acre tract, and two other parcels containing 4,657 square feet and 7,767 square feet.

32. March 17, 1964. Pratt deeded Chatham and the adjoining 30.234-acre parcel to the National Park Service.

33. May 18, 1976. The National Park Service received legal title to Chatham as a result of Pratt's death on December 20, 1975.

N. 48.

Form of the Declarations for Assurance.

I the underwritten William Fitzhugh residing at Chatham in the county of Stafford do hereby declare for Assurance in the Mutual Assurance Society against Fire on Buildings of the State of Virginia, established the 26th December, 1794, agreeable to the several acts of the General Assembly of this state, to wit:

My Brick Buildings on Chatham now occupied by myself & Family situated between [illegible] and [illegible] in the county of Stafford. Their dimensions, situation and contiguity to other buildings, as also the walls are built of, and what the buildings are covered with, are described in the hereunto annexed description of the said Buildings, on this paper signed by me and the appraisers, and each valued by them as appears by their certificate hereunto annexed, to wit:

The dwelling do marked	A. at	2000	Dollars	Eight thousand Dollars
The Wing do.	B. at	4500	do.	four thousand five hundred do.
The Wing do.	C. at	4500	do.	four thousand five hundred do.
The Kitchen do.	D. at	1800	do.	Eighteen hundred do.
The Nursery do.	E. at	600	do.	Six hundred do.
The	do.	F. at	do.	do.
The	do.	G. at	do.	do.

say Twenty Thousand one hundred Dollars in all.

I do hereby declare and affirm that the above mentioned property is not, nor shall be insured elsewhere, without giving notice thereof, agreeably to the policy that may issue in my name, upon the filing of this declaration, and provided the whole sum do not exceed four fifths of the verified value, and that I will abide by, observe, and adhere to the Constitution, Rules and Regulations as are already established, or may hereafter be established by a majority of the insured, present in person, or by representatives, at a general Meeting to be agreed upon for the said Assurance Society. Witness my hand and seal at Fredericksburg the 5th day of May — 179 5 ex.

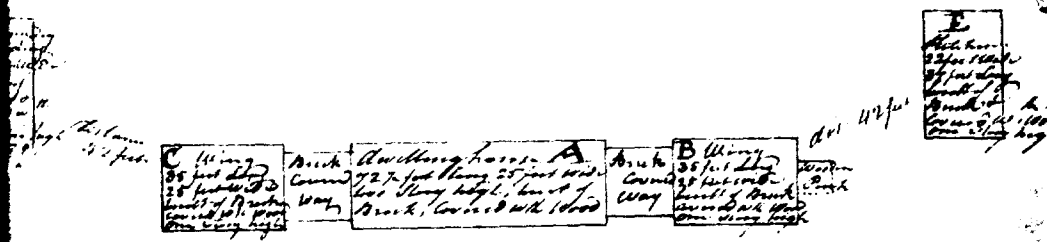
William Fitzhugh (Seal)

WE the underwritten, being each of us House-Owners, declare and affirm that we have examined the above mentioned Property of William Fitzhugh Esq and that we are of opinion that it would cost to rebuild Twenty Thousand Eight Hundred Dollars to build the same, and is now actually worth Twenty Thousand four hundred Dollars in ready money, and will command the same as above specified to the best of our knowledge and belief.

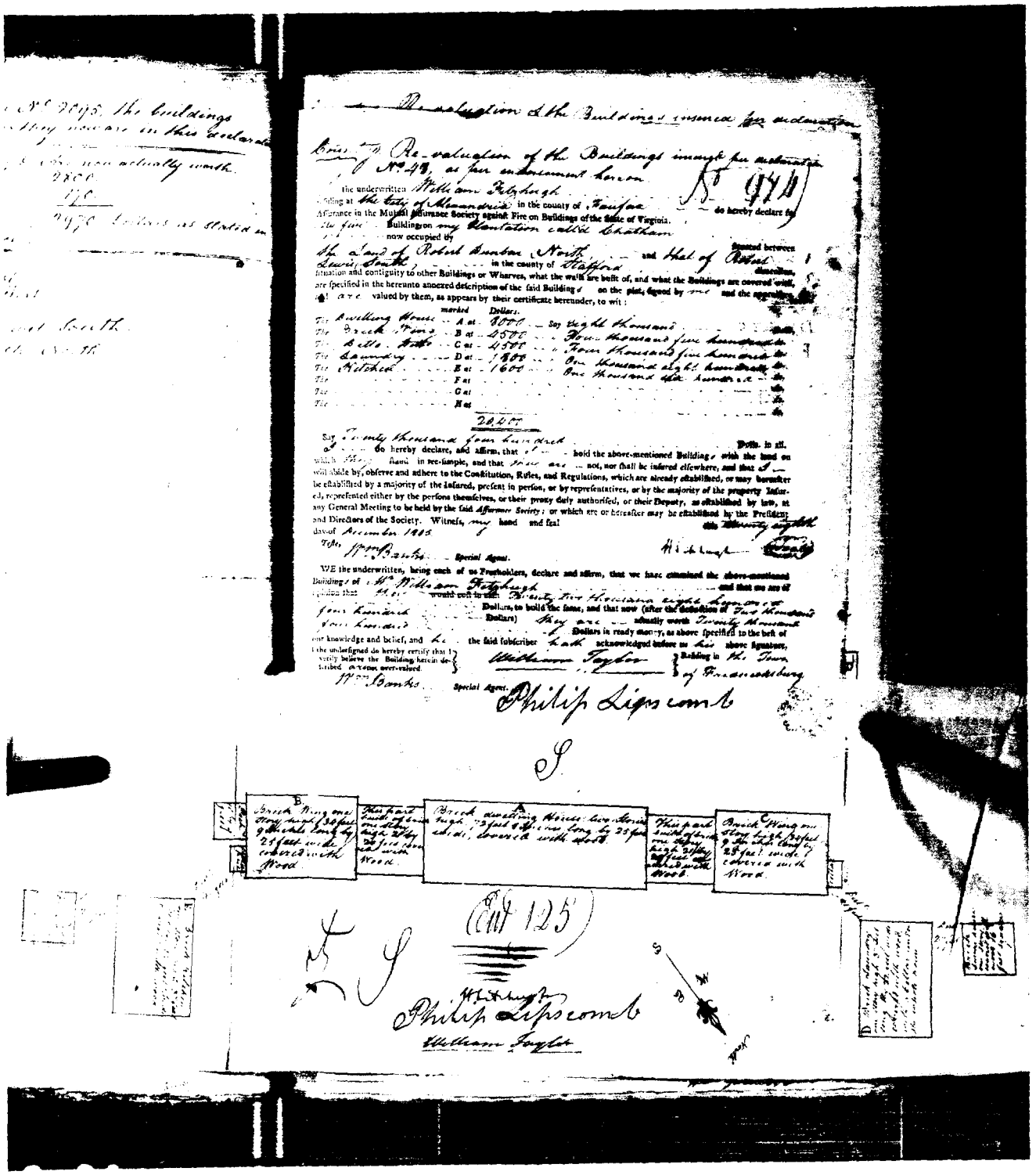
Fredericksburg Sc.

The foregoing Valuation was sworn to & subscribed before me, a Magistrate for the said Corporation, the 5th day of May in the year 1795 Given under my hand this 5th day of May in the year 1795

William Fitzhugh, residing in Chatham
The Willis
William Smith
Fredericksburg
Fontaine Maury



West — Rivers Rappahannock



Re-valuation of the Buildings insured for ordination

No 974

Re-valuation of the Buildings insured for ordination
No 948, as per endorsement hereon

I the underwritten William Fitzhugh
residing at the City of Alexandria in the county of Fairfax
do hereby declare for Assurance in the Mutual Assurance Society against Fire on Buildings of the State of Virginia.
The said Building on my Plantation called Chatham
now occupied by
the Land of Robert Bunbar (North and that of Robert Stanford between Lewis Burke, in the county of Stafford dimellon,
situation and contiguity to other Buildings or Wharves, what the walls are built of, and what the Buildings are covered with, are specified in the hereunto annexed description of the said Building on the plat, signed by me and the appraisers, I are valued by them, as appears by their certificate hereunder, to wit:

	marked	Dollars.	
The Dwelling House	A at	8000	Say Eight thousand
The Brick Store	B at	4500	Four thousand five hundred
The Mills & Kiln	C at	4500	Four thousand five hundred
The Laundry	D at	1800	One thousand eight hundred
The Kitchen	E at	1600	One thousand six hundred
The	F at		
The	G at		
The	H at		
		20400	

Say Twenty thousand four hundred Dolls. in all.

I do hereby declare, and affirm, that I hold the above-mentioned Building with the land on which it stands in fee-simple, and that there are not, nor shall be inferred elsewhere, and that I will abide by, observe and adhere to the Constitution, Rules, and Regulations, which are already established, or may hereafter be established by a majority of the Insured, present in person, or by representatives, or by the majority of the property Insured, represented either by the persons themselves, or their proxy duly authorised, or their Deputy, as established by law, at any General Meeting to be held by the said Assurance Society; or which are or hereafter may be established by the President and Directors of the Society. Witness, my hand and seal this Eleventh day of December 1805

Test Wm Banks Special Agent. William Fitzhugh

WE the underwritten, being each of us Freeholders, declare and affirm, that we have examined the above-mentioned Building of Mr William Fitzhugh and that we are of opinion that the same would cost to rebuild Twenty five thousand eight hundred Dollars, to build the same, and that now (after the deduction of Five thousand four hundred Dollars) they are actually worth Twenty thousand Dollars in ready money, as above specified to the best of our knowledge and belief, and I the said Subscriber hath acknowledged before us this above Appraisal.

I the undersigned do hereby certify that I verily believe the Building herein described is neither over-valued nor under-valued.

William Taylor } Building in the Town of Fredericksburg

Wm Banks Special Agent. Philip Lipscomb

S

B
Brick Wing one Story and a half high 38 feet 9 Inches long by 21 feet wide covered with Wood

This part built with Brick one Story high 24 feet long 20 feet wide covered with Wood

A
Brick dwelling House two Stories high 73 feet 6 Inches long by 29 feet wide, covered with Wood

This part built with Brick one Story high 24 feet long 20 feet wide covered with Wood

C
Brick Wing one Story high 9 Inches high 9 Inches long by 28 feet wide covered with Wood

(Plat 125)

S

Philip Lipscomb
William Taylor

APPENDIX B

INSURANCE POLICIES FOR CHATHAM WITH THE MUTUAL ASSURANCE SOCIETY OF VIRGINIA: 1796-1859

No. 1330 [Revaluation of a Building formerly declared for Assurance by Chatham Estate as per declaration No. 974.

I the underwritten Churchill Jones

residing at Chatham in the county of Stafford do hereby declare for assurance in the Mutual Assurance Society against fire on buildings of the State of Virginia, my frame building on my farm called Chatham now occupied by myself situated between the Rappahannock River on the West and the lands of Robt. Dunbar & William Sanders on the North & East in the County of Stafford Dimensions, Situation and Contiguity to other Buildings or Whatves, what the walls are built of, and what the Buildings are covered with, are specified in the hereunto annexed description of the said Buildings on the Plat signed by me and the Appraisers, and are valued by them, as appears by their Certificate hereunder, to wit:

No. 1330.

		Hundreds.	Thousands.		Dollars
The Dwelling House	A at	$600.	Say	Nine Thousand	Dollars
The Ming & Cellar	B at	$500.	,	Four Thousand five hundred	do.
The Office with	C at	$500.	,	Two Thousand five hundred	do.
The Laundry	D at	1400.	,	fourteen hundred	do.
The Kitchen	E at	1300.	,	Twelve hundred	do.
The	F at				do.
The	G at				do.
The	H at				do.
		$2600.			

Say Twenty Thousand Six hundred Dollars all.

I do hereby declare and affirm, that I hold the above-mentioned building with the land on which it stands in fee simple and that it is not, nor shall be insured elsewhere, and that I and my heirs and assigns will abide by, observe and adhere to the constitution, rules and regulations, which are already established, or may hereafter be established by a majority of the insured, present in person, or by representatives, or by a majority of the property insured, represented either by the persons themselves, or their proxy duly authorised, or their deputy, as established by law, at any general meeting to be held by the said *Assurance Society*; or which are or hereafter may be established by the Standing Committee of the Society. Witness my hand and seal this 12 day of January 1815

Churchill Jones (Seal)

Teste,

A R Taylor Special Agent.

WE the underwritten, being each of us Freeholders, declare and affirm, that we have examined the above-mentioned building of Maj. Churchill Jones and we are of opinion that they would cost in cash Twenty Five Thousand dollars to build the same, and that now (after the deduction of Four Thousand dollars for decay or bad repair) are actually worth Twenty Thousand Six hundred dollars in ready money, as above specified to the best of our knowledge and belief. As witness our hands.

I the undersigned do hereby certify that I verily believe the buildings herein described are not over-valued.

Robert Ellis
Jr Robinson
Freeholders

A R Taylor Special Agent.

The Special Agent will write on the Margin.

North, 300 Poles on the Land of William Sanders

A

Laundry House, Kitchen and Office with Cellar under, Plat No 22 & 23.

North, 300 Poles on the Land of William Sanders

No. 790 Declaration of Building formerly declared for Assurance by Churchill Jones as per declaration No. 1330. 1334

I the underwritten Churchill Jones

residing at Chatham in the county of Stafford do hereby declare for assurance in the Mutual Assurance Society against fire on buildings of the State of Virginia, my dwelling buildings on my lots at Chatham now occupied by myself situated between the the Land of Alexander Walker on the North, and that of Mary Thompson on the South

in the County of Stafford — Dimensions, Situation, and Contiguity to other Buildings or Wharves, what the walls are built of, and what the Buildings are covered with, are specified in the hereunto annexed description of the said Buildings on the Plat signed by me and the Appraisers, and are valued by them, as appears by their Certificate hereunder, to wit:

	Marked.	Dollars.		Dollars.
The Dwelling house	A at	6000	Say Six Thousand	do.
The Wing to ditto	B at	3000	" Three Thousand	do.
The Wing to ditto	C at	3000	" Three Thousand	do.
The Laundry	D at	1000	" One Thousand	do.
The Kitchen	E at	1000	" One Thousand	do.
The Mill house	F at	3000	" Three Thousand	do.
The	G at			do.
The	H at			do.
		$ 17000.		

Say Seventeen Thousand dollars

I do hereby declare and affirm, that I hold the above mentioned buildings with the land on which they stand in fee simple and that they are not, nor shall be insured elsewhere, and that I and my heirs and assigns will abide by, observe and adhere to the constitution, rules and regulations, which are already established, or may hereafter be established by a majority of the insured, present in person, or by representatives, or by a majority of the property insured, represented either by the persons themselves, or their proxy duly authorised, or their deputy, as established by law, at any general meeting to be held by the said *Assurance Society*; or which are or hereafter may be established by the Standing Committee of the Society. Witness my hand and seal this 1st day of May 1821.

Churchill Jones Seal

Teste,

A R Taylor Special Agent.

WE. the underwritten, being each of us Freeholders, declare and affirm, that we have examined the above mentioned buildings of Mr. Churchill Jones and we are of opinion that they would cost in cash Twenty Thousand dollars to build the same, and that now (after the deduction of Seven Thousand dollars for decay or bad repair) are actually worth Ten Thousand dollars in ready money, as above specified to the best of our knowledge and belief. As witness our hands.

I the undersigned do hereby certify that I verily believe the buildings herein described are not over-valued.

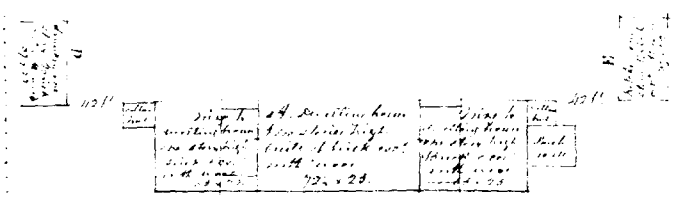
William Stone
Wm Mc Connico

A R Taylor Special Agent.

East a Public Road

These buildings are within less than half a mile of the limit of the Corporation of Fredericksburg — The dotted line represents the boundaries of the lots, each more than 2 acres of Land — A B C D are contiguous to each other — E & F to no house whatever — A R Taylor Sp. Ag.t

Churchill Jones
William Stone
Wm Mc Connico



Rappahannock River

No. 9279 { Reconsideration of Buildings formerly declared for Assurance by Charles Ames per Declaration No. 2360

I the undersigned John Coalter residing at in the county of Stafford do hereby declare for Assurance in the MUTUAL ASSURANCE SOCIETY against Fire on Buildings of the State of Virginia, my building I am now occupied by myself situated on the East bank of the Rappahannock River opposite the Town of Fredericksburg in the county of Stafford the dimensions, situation and contiguity to other buildings or wharves, what the walls are built of, and what the building I am covered with, are specified in the hereunto annexed description of the said building I on the plat signed by me and the appraisers, and am valued by them, as appears by their certificate hereunder, to wit:

	Marked.			Dollars.
The Dwelling	A at	$ 6750	Say Six Thousand Seven hundred & fifty	Dollars.
The Laundry	B at	625	Six hundred & twenty five	do.
The Kitchen	C at	625	Six hundred & twenty five	do.
The Mill	D at	2000	Two Thousand	do.
The	E at			do.
The	F at			do.
The	G at			do.
The	H at			do.
		$10000.		

Say Ten Thousand dollars

I do hereby declare and affirm, that I hold the above-mentioned building with the land on which they stand in Fee Simple and that they are not, nor shall be insured elsewhere, and that I & my heirs and assigns will abide by, observe and adhere to the constitution, rules and regulations, which are already established, or may hereafter be established by a majority of the insured, present in person, or by representatives, or by a majority of the property insured, represented either by the persons themselves, or their proxy duly authorised, or their deputy, as established by law, at any general meeting to be held by the said *Assurance Society*; or which are, or hereafter may be established by the Standing Committee of the Society. Witness my hand and seal this 16th day of November 1836.

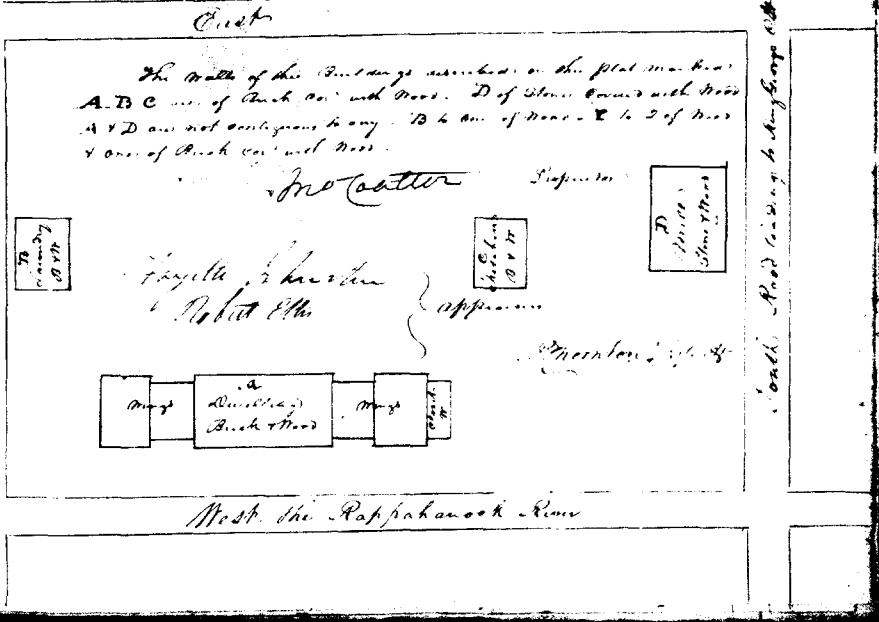
Teste, J Thornton, Special Agent. J McCoalter (Seal)

We, the underwritten, being each of us freeholders, declare and affirm, that we have examined the above-mentioned building of J McCoalter and we are of opinion that they would cost in cash to build the same, and are now actually worth Ten Thousand dollars in ready money, as above specified, to the best of our knowledge and belief. As witness our hands.

Fayette Thornton
Robert Ellis
Appraisers

I, the undersigned, do hereby certify that I verily believe the building I herein described are not over-valued.

J Thornton, Special Agent.



No. 12,215 } Recapitulation of Buildings formerly declared for Assurance by

H. H. Coalter per Declaration No. 9279

We, the undersigned Hannah Coalter widow of Elizabeth C. Wife of John R. Bryan & their children and John Coalter Jenny Blair & Mary C. children of St. Geo. Coalter dec'd Heirs of Jno. Coalter dec'd residing at Chatham and Executors do hereby declare for Assurance in the Mutual Assurance Society against Fire on Buildings of the State of Virginia, our Three Building s on The Chatham Estate East of the Rappahannock River now occupied by The said Mrs Hannah Coalter situated between The Chatham Land's North west East, The old stage road to Potomac Creek & Alex. and the Rappahannock River West,

in the county of Stafford the dimensions, situation and contiguity to other Buildings or Wharves, what the walls are built of, and what the Building s are covered with, are specified in the hereunto annexed description of the said Building s on the plat signed by us and the appraisers, and are valued by them, as appears by their certificate hereunder, to wit:

		Marked.		
The	Dwelling	A at	$6750 Say Six Thousand Seven Hundred & fifty	Dollars.
The	Laundry	B at	625 = Six Hundred & twenty five	do.
The	Kitchen	C at	625 = Six Hundred & twenty five	do.
The		D at		do.
The		E at		do.
The		F at		do.
The		G at		do.
The		H at		do.

$8000

Say Eight thousand Dollars

We do hereby declare and affirm, that we hold the above-mentioned Building s with the land on which they stand in the name Hannah Coalter for life and the others in fee simple and that they are not, nor shall be insured elsewhere, and that we our heirs and assigns will abide by, observe and adhere to the constitution, rules and regulations, which are already established, or may hereafter be established by a majority of the insured, present in person, or by representatives, or by a majority of the property insured, represented either by the persons themselves, or their proxy duly authorized, or their deputy, as established by law, at any general meeting to be held by the said *Assurance Society*; or which are, or hereafter may be established by the Standing Committee of the Society. Witness our hand s and seal s this 20 day of October H. H. Coalter

Test: Jn. McHenry Special Agent.

We, the underwritten, being each of us freeholders, declare and affirm, that we have examined the above-mentioned Building s of H. H. Coalter of this County and we are of opinion that having regard to their local situation, state of repair, and the present cost of building, they are now actually worth Eight thousand dollars in ready money, as above specified, to the best of our knowledge and belief.

As witness our hands.

Robt C. Bruce
Jno. Coleman

I, the undersigned, do hereby certify that I verily believe the Building s herein described to be not over-valued.

Jn. McHenry A.S. Special Agent.

These Buildings are not contiguous

L B Laundry Walls Brick roof wood 35 x 21

H. H. Coalter

Frame Bk wood 1 story 52 x 24

A Dwelling Walls Brick roof wood 2 stories 60 x 24

Frame Brick wood 52 x 24

Robt C. Bruce
Jno. Coleman

Kitchen Walls Brick roof wood 35 x 21

Countersigned

8

No. 15384 } Revaluation of Building declared for Assurance by Mrs H. Coalter & the Heirs of John Coalter as per Declaration No. 12286

We, the undersigned Mo M Herndon Special Agent, and J P Hill and B J Herndon Appraisers, do hereby certify that we have viewed and revalued the Building heretofore declared for Assurance, in the Mutual Assurance Society against Fire on Buildings of the State of Virginia, by Mrs H. Coalter and the Heirs of John Coalter as per their Declaration for Assurance, Numbered 12286

The said Building S are at present owned by Mrs. Hannah Coalter and the Heirs of John Coalter

and are occupied by Mrs H Coalter residing at That Mis are situated on the Chatam Lands East of Rappahannock river between Fredricksburg & Falmouth in the County of Stafford, : We further certify, that their dimensions, situation and contiguity to other Buildings or Wharves, what the walls are built of, and what the Building S are covered with, are specified in the hereunto annexed description of the said Building on the plat signed by us: And we, the undersigned Appraisers, have valued the said Building S, and certify their actual value to be, as expressed in our certificate hereunder, to wit:

		Marked.		
The	Dwelling	A at	$6781 Say Six Thousand seven Hundred & Eighty one	Dollars.
The	Laundry	B at	$718 - Six Hundred & twenty five	Dolls,
The	Kitchen	C at	675 - Six Hundred & Twenty five	Dolls,
The		D at		do.
The		E at		do.
The		F at		do.
The		G at		do.
The		H at		do.

$8000

Say Eight Thousand Dollars Dollars in all

Witness our hands, this 15 day of October one thousand eight hundred and 56

J. M. Herndon Special Agent for the M. A. Society

B J Herndon Appraiser, residing in

Appraiser, residing in

We, the underwritten, being each of us freeholders, declare and affirm, that we have examined the above-mentioned Building of Mrs H. Coalter & Heirs of J. Coalter and we are of opinion that having regard to their local situation, state of repair, and the present cost of building, they are now actually worth Eight Thousand dollars in ready money, as above specified, to the best of our knowledge and belief.

As witness our hands.

B J Herndon

J. P. Hill

I, the undersigned, do hereby certify that I verily believe the Building herein described are not over-valued.

Mo M Herndon Special Agent.

The Buildings described in this Plat are contiguous neither to each nor any other

B

Laundry
walls Brick
roof wood
1 story
35 x 21

A

Wing Brick & Wood 52 x 24	Dwelling all wood 2 Stories 69 x 24	Wing Brick & Wood 52 x 24

* This building (some writing) all Brick & with wood

C

Kitchen
Brick & with wood
1 story
35 x 21

J M Herndon Ap. Agt
B. J. Herndon
J. P. Hill
Ass'ts

Roads from Fredericksburg East and Falmouth

No. 18974 Valuation of Building insured by Assessors in the Mutual Assurance Society against Fire on Buildings in the State of Virginia, by Hannah Coalter in the Mutual Assurance Society against Fire on Buildings in the State of Virginia, No. 15384

We, the subscribers, B.S. Henderson & J. Hurd, Special Agent, and Appraisers, do hereby certify that we have viewed and valued the Building mentioned in the Application of Hannah Coalter in the Mutual Assurance Society against Fire on Buildings in the State of Virginia, No. 15384

That the said Building is [illegible] owned by

J. Horace Lacey residing at Chatam

and is occupied by himself

That it is situated on The East bank of the Rappahannock river on Chatam Estate opposite the Town of Fredericksburg in the County of Stafford: We further certify, that their dimensions, situation and contiguity to other Buildings or Wharves, what the walls are built of, and what the Building is covered with, are specified in the foregoing annexed description of the said Building on the plat signed by us. And we, the undersigned Appraisers, have valued the said Building, and certify that in our actual value to be, as expressed in our certificate hereunder, to wit:

	Names.			
The	Dwelling	A at	$6750 Six Thousand Seven Hundred & fifty	Dollars
The	Laundry	B at	$25 Six Hundred & twenty five	do.
The	Kitchen	C at	$25 Six Hundred & twenty five	do.
The		D at		do.
The		E at		do.
The		F at		do.
The		G at		do.
The		H at		do.
			$8000	

Say Eight Thousand Dollars in all.

Witness our hands, this 15th day of Dec. one thousand eight hundred and 57

B.S. Henderson Special Agent for the M. A. Society

B.S. Henderson Appraiser, residing in Fredbg

J. Hurd Appraiser, residing in Fredbg

We, the underwritten, being each of us freeholders, declare and affirm, that we have examined the above-mentioned Building of J.H. Lacey and we are of opinion that having regard to their local situation, state of repair, and the present cost of building, they are now actually worth Eight Thousand dollars in ready money, as above specified, to the best of our knowledge and belief.

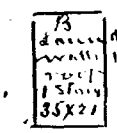
As witness our hands.

B.S. Henderson

I, the undersigned, do hereby certify that I verily believe the Building herein described is not over-valued.

B.S. Henderson

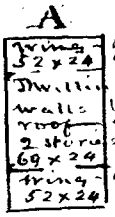
SPECIAL AGENT.

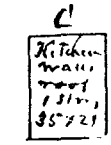


Dwelling A of the Plat is Conts 1 Building entirely of wood

Laundry B is contiguous to 1 Building entirely of wood

Kitchen C is contiguous to 3 Buildings entirely of wood & 1 the Brick one with wood





Roof is white oak [illegible]

Laborer Omitted

No. 20822 } Revaluation of Buildings formerly declared for Assurance by Mrs Hannah
Woolter & the Heirs of the Late Declaration No. 18974

I Horace Lacy

residing at Chatam, in the county of Stafford, do hereby declare for Assurance in the Mutual Assurance Society against Fire on Buildings of the State of Virginia, my three Building I on the Chatham Lacy farm occupied by myself & family, situated between the said road on the East and the Rappahannock river on the west, and opposit to Fredricksburg in the county of Stafford the dimensions, situation and contiguity to other Buildings or Wharves, what the walls are built of, and what the Building is covered with, are truly specified on the annexed plat of the said building & valued by the appraisers, as appears by their certificate hereto attached, to wit:

		MARKED.		
The	Dwelling	A at	$10.000 Say Ten thousand	Dollars.
The	Laundry	B at	$25 Five Hundred & Twenty five	do.
The	Kitchen	C at	$25 Five Hundred & Twenty five	do.
The		D at		do.
The		E at		do.
The		F at		do.
The		G at		do.
The		H at		do.

$11.250

Say I Eleven thousand two Hundred & fifty Dollars

do hereby declare and affirm, that I hold the above-mentioned Building & with the land on which they stand in fee simple and that they are not, nor shall be insured elsewhere, and that I and my heirs and assigns will abide by, observe and adhere to the constitution, rules and regulations, which are already established, or may hereafter be established by a majority of the insured, present in person, or by representatives, or by a majority of the property insured, represented either by the persons themselves, or their proxy duly authorised, or their deputy, as established by law, at any general meeting to be held by the said Assurance Society; or which are, or hereafter may be established by the Standing Committee of the Society. WITNESS my hand and seal this 15th day of December 1859

J. Horace Lacy SEAL.

Test. S. M. Herndon SEAL.

SPECIAL AGENT. SEAL.

B
Laundry
Walls Brick
roof wood
52 x 24

A

Wing
Walls Brick
roof wood
52 x 24

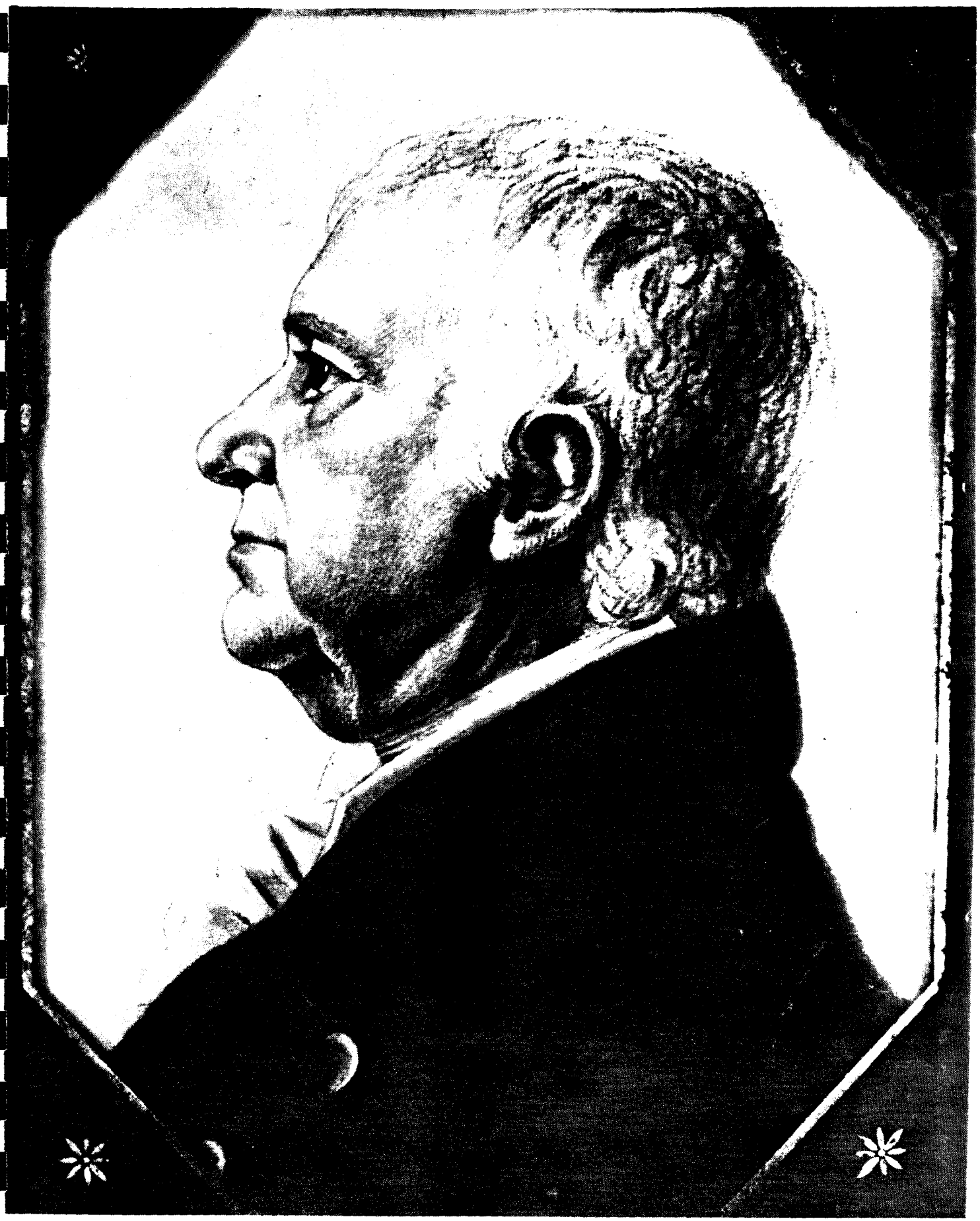
Dwelling
Walls Brick
roof wood
2 Stories
69 x 24

Wing
Walls Brick
roof wood
52 x 24

The Building Marked A in this Plat is Contiguous to no other Building
That marked B is Contiguous to
1 Building Entirely wooden
The Building marked C is Contiguous
to 3 Building Entirely wooden and
to 1 Building of Brick Cov'd with wood

C
Kitchen
Walls Brick
roof wood
35 x 21

ILLUSTRATIONS



1. Portrait of William Fitzhugh, late 18th century. Artist unknown.



2. James Horace Lacy. Courtesy of Mrs. Hanford Carter, Fredericksburg, Virginia.



3. Betty Churchill Jones Lacy. Courtesy of Mrs. Hanford Carter, Fredericksburg, Virginia.



4. Photograph of Chatham, west elevation, March 1863. T. H. O'Sullivan, photographer. Signal Corps photograph. Courtesy of the Library of Congress.



5. Photograph of Chatham, west elevation, spring 1863. T. H. O'Sullivan, photographer. Signal Corps photograph. Files of Fredericksburg and Spotsylvania County Battlefields Memorial National Military Park.



6. Fleming G. and Elizabeth H. Bailey, ca. 1910. Files of Fredericksburg and Spotsylvania County Battlefields Memorial National Military Park.



7. Photograph of Chatham, west elevation, ca. 1900. Courtesy of Cook Collection, Valentine Museum, Richmond, Virginia.



8. Photograph of Chatham, west elevation, ca. 1910. Courtesy of Cook Collection, Valentine Museum, Richmond, Virginia.



9. Photograph of Chatham, west elevation, ca. 1909-13 (from original color post card). Files of Fredericksburg and Spotsylvania County Battlefields Memorial National Military Park (supplied by William Key Howard, Fredericksburg, Virginia).



10. Photograph of Chatham, west elevation, ca. 1909-13. Files of Fredericksburg and Spotsylvania County Battlefields Memorial National Military Park (supplied by William Key Howard, Fredericksburg, Virginia).



11. Photograph of Chatham, west elevation, ca. 1909-13. Files of Fredericksburg and Spotsylvania County Battlefields Memorial National Military Park (supplied by William Key Howard, Fredericksburg, Virginia).



12. Photograph of Chatham, west elevation, printed in Harper's Bazaar, August 1914. Files of Fredericksburg and Spotsylvania County Battlefields Memorial National Military Park.



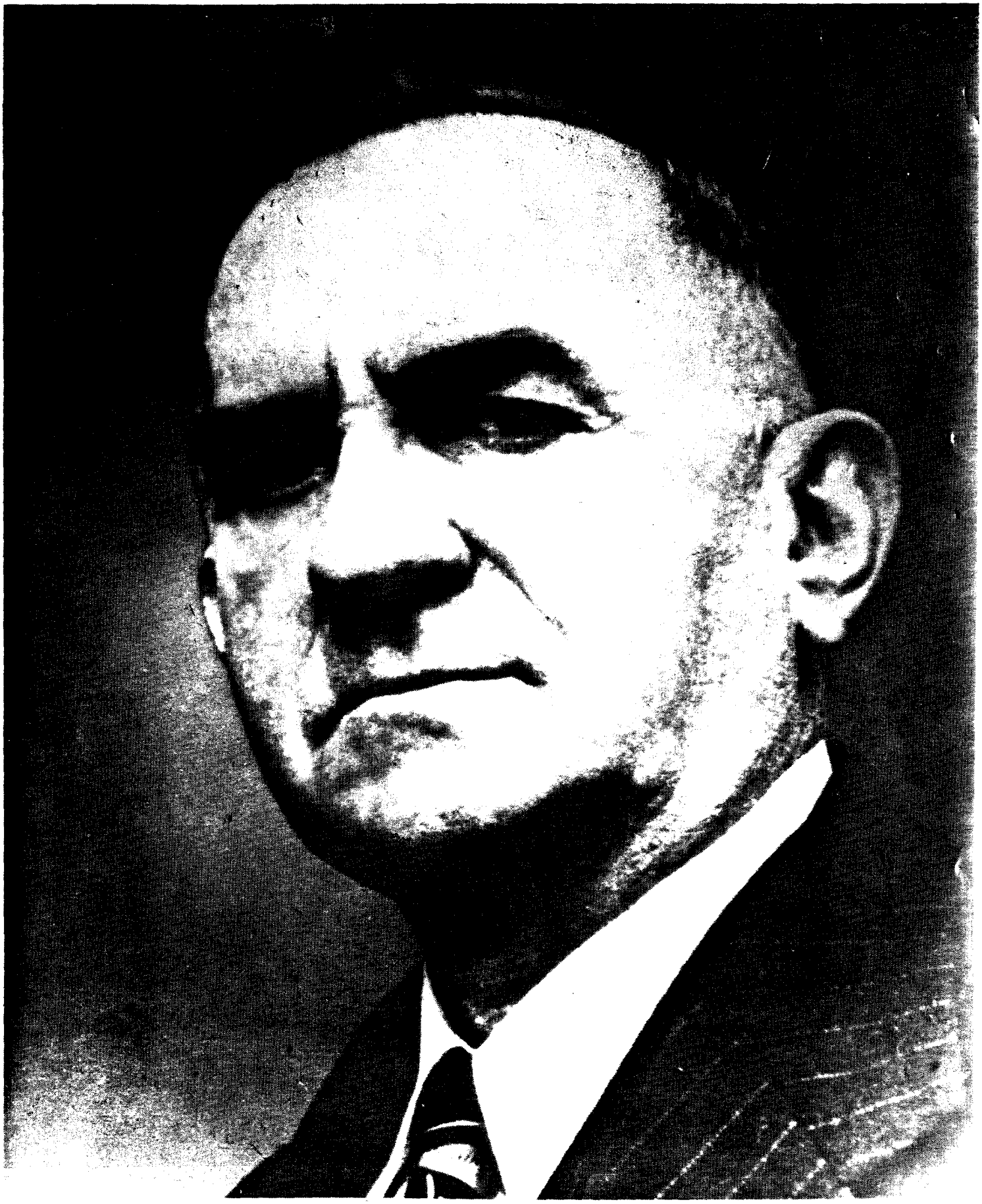
13. Photograph of Chatham, west elevation, ca. 1927. Francis Benjamin Johnston, photographer. Courtesy of the Library of Congress.



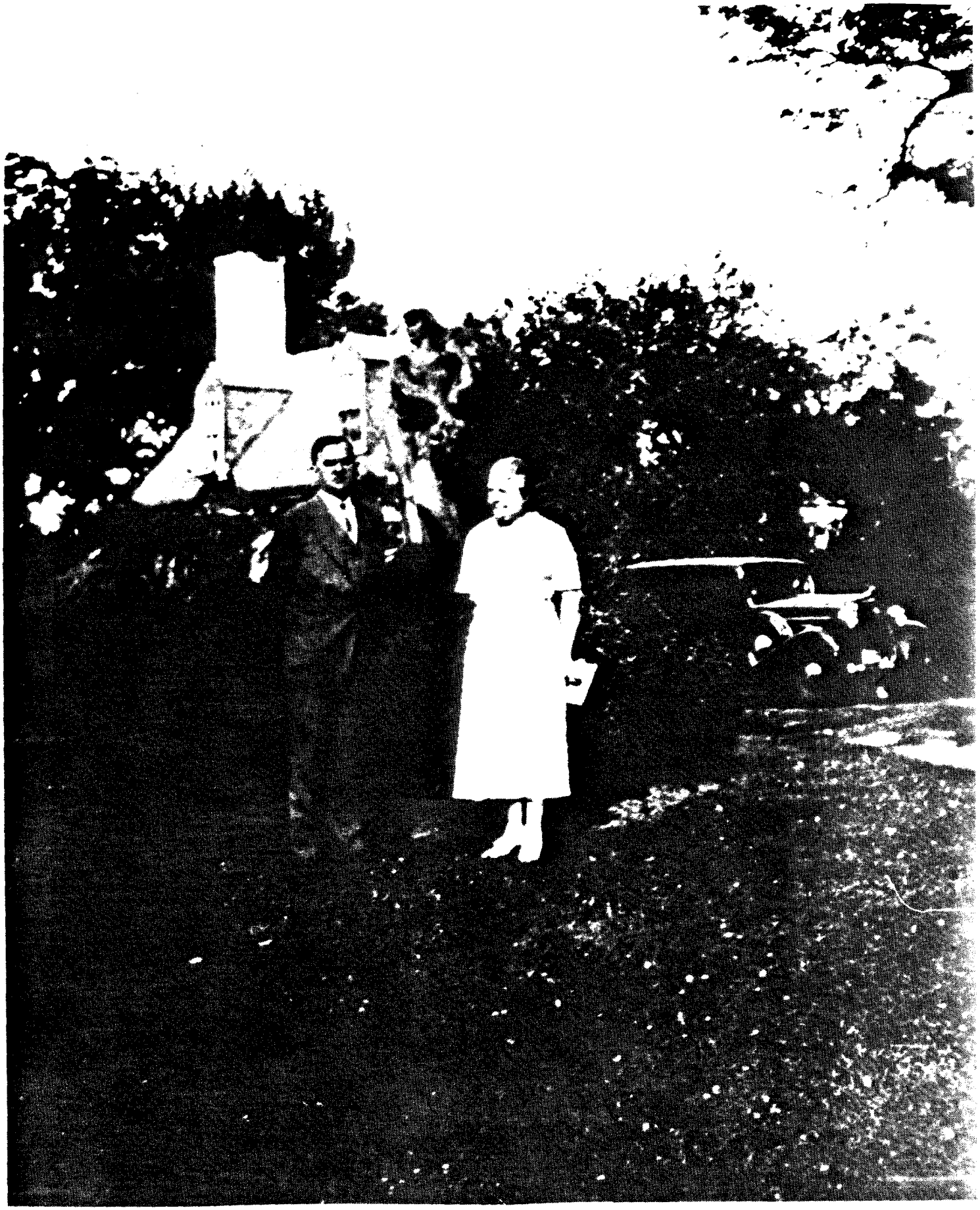
14. Photograph of Chatham, west elevation, ca. 1927. Francis Benjamin Johnston, photographer. Courtesy of the Library of Congress.



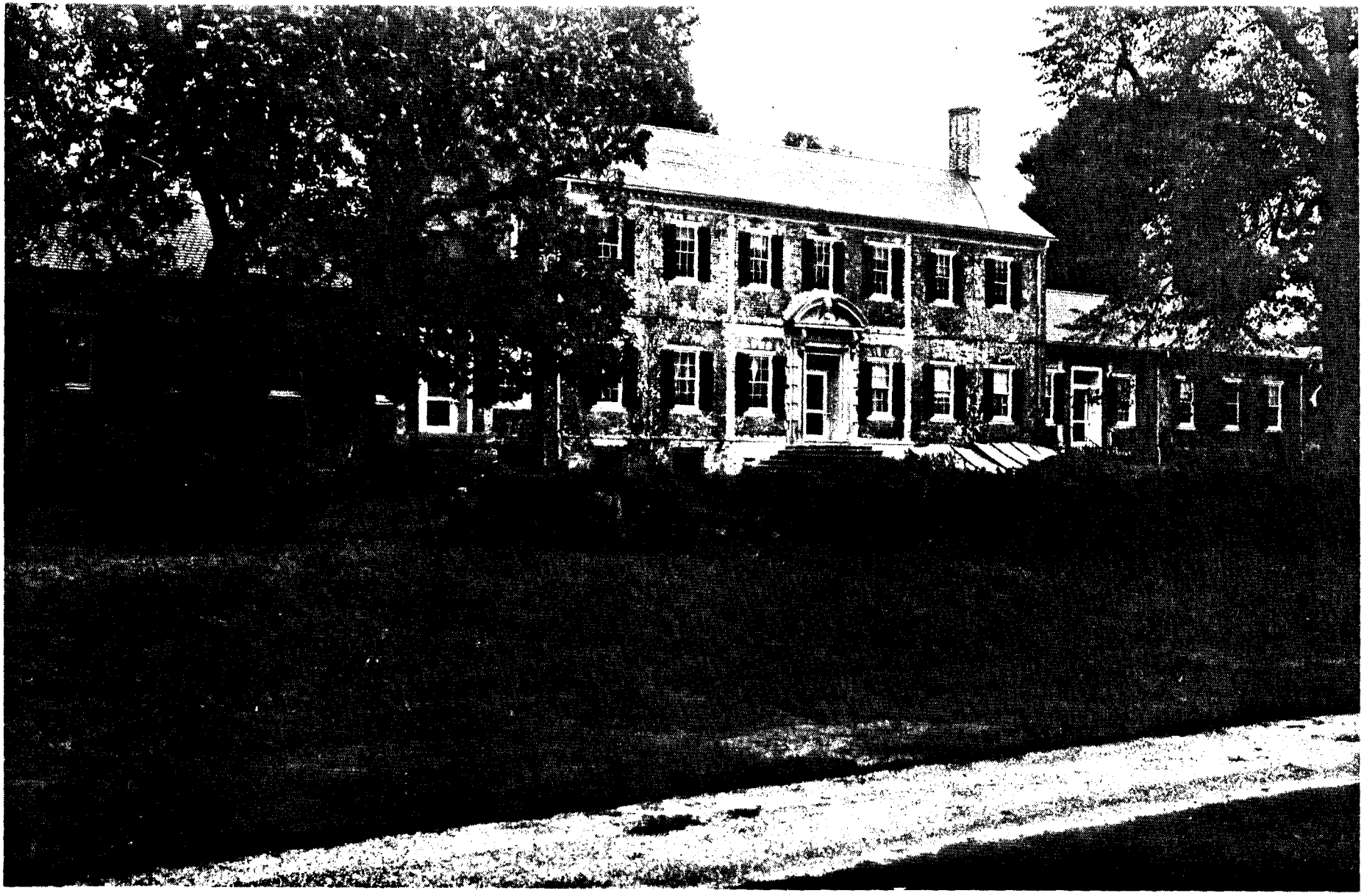
15. Photograph of Chatham, east elevation, ca. 1927. Francis Benjamin Johnston, photographer. Courtesy of the Library of Congress.



16. John Lee Pratt. Courtesy of General Motors Institute Alumni Foundation's Collection of Industrial History, Flint, Michigan.



17. Photograph of John Lee and Lillian Thomas Pratt, standing outside of Chatham's kitchen, ca. 1938. Courtesy of General Motors Institute Alumni Foundation's Collection of Industrial History, Flint, Michigan.



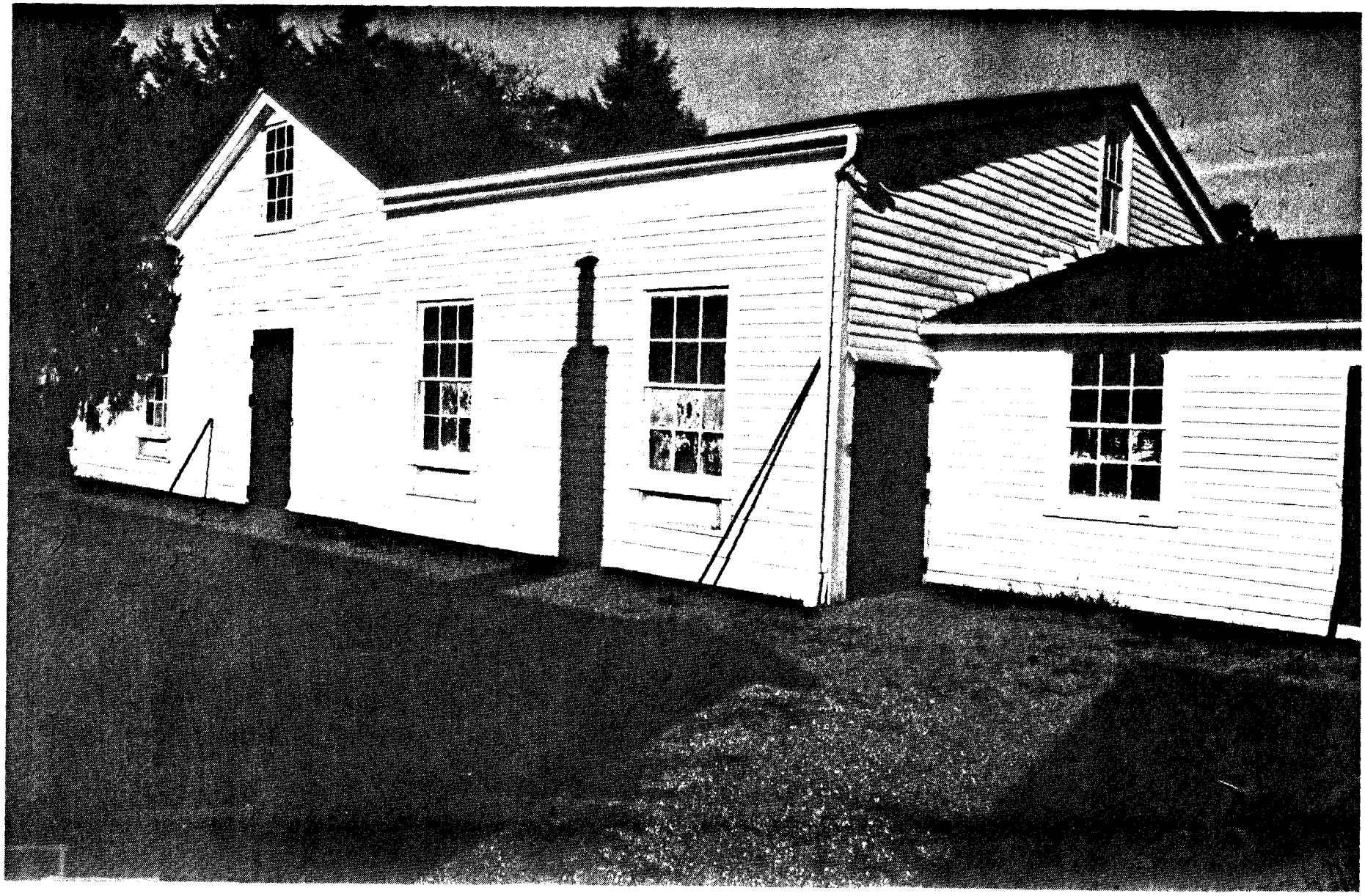
18. Photograph of Chatham, west elevation, 1976. Gerald Karr, photographer.



19. Photograph of the kitchen building at Chatham (ca. 1771), south elevation, 1976. Gerald Karr, photographer.



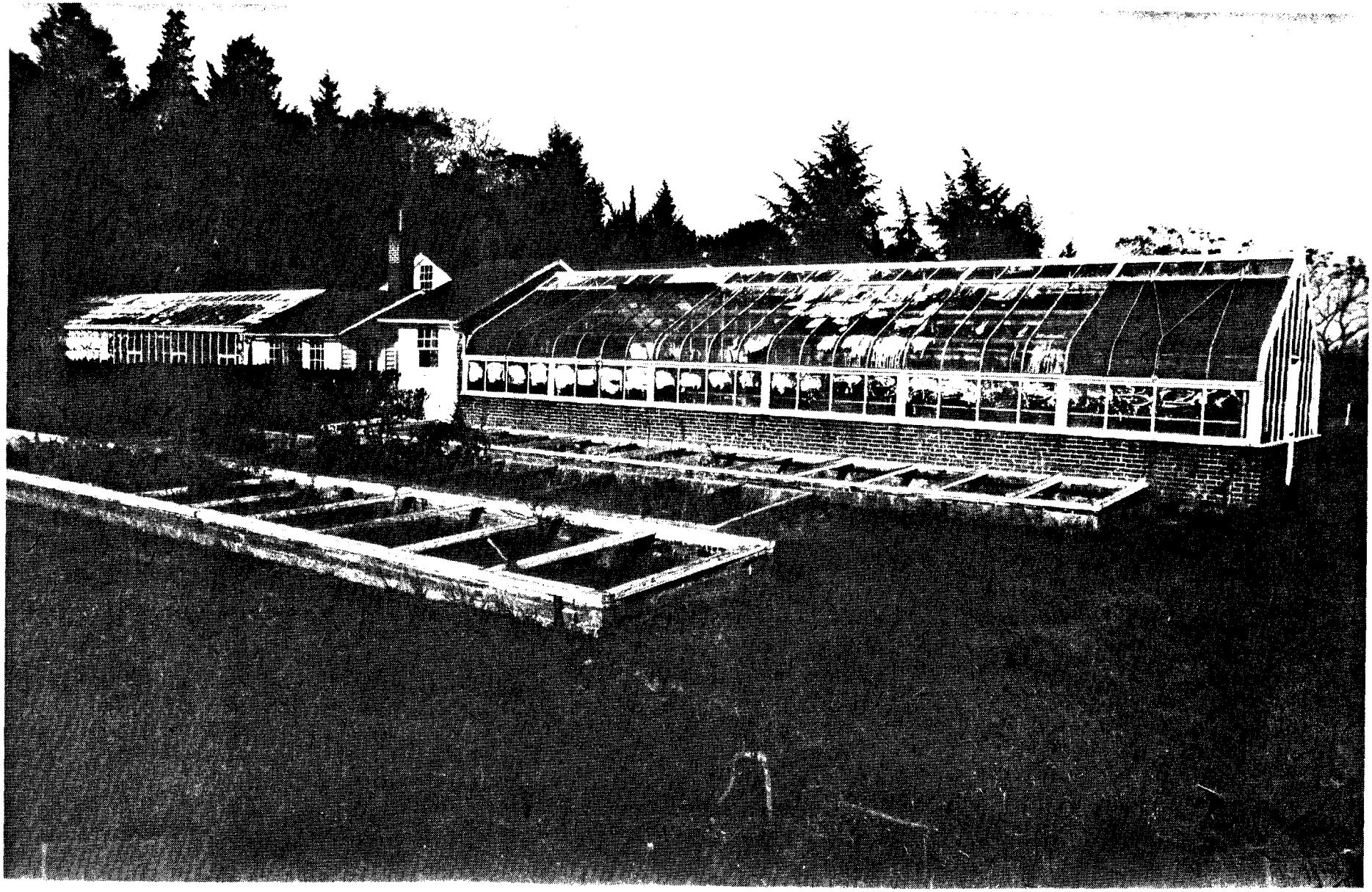
20. Photograph of the laundry building at Chatham (ca. 1771), south elevation, 1976. Gerald Karr, photographer.



21. Photograph of dairy barn at Chatham (ca. late 19th or early 20th century), looking west, 1976. Gerald Karr, photographer.



22. Photograph of garage/stable at Chatham (ca. late 19th or early 20th century), looking east, 1976. Gerald Karr, photographer.



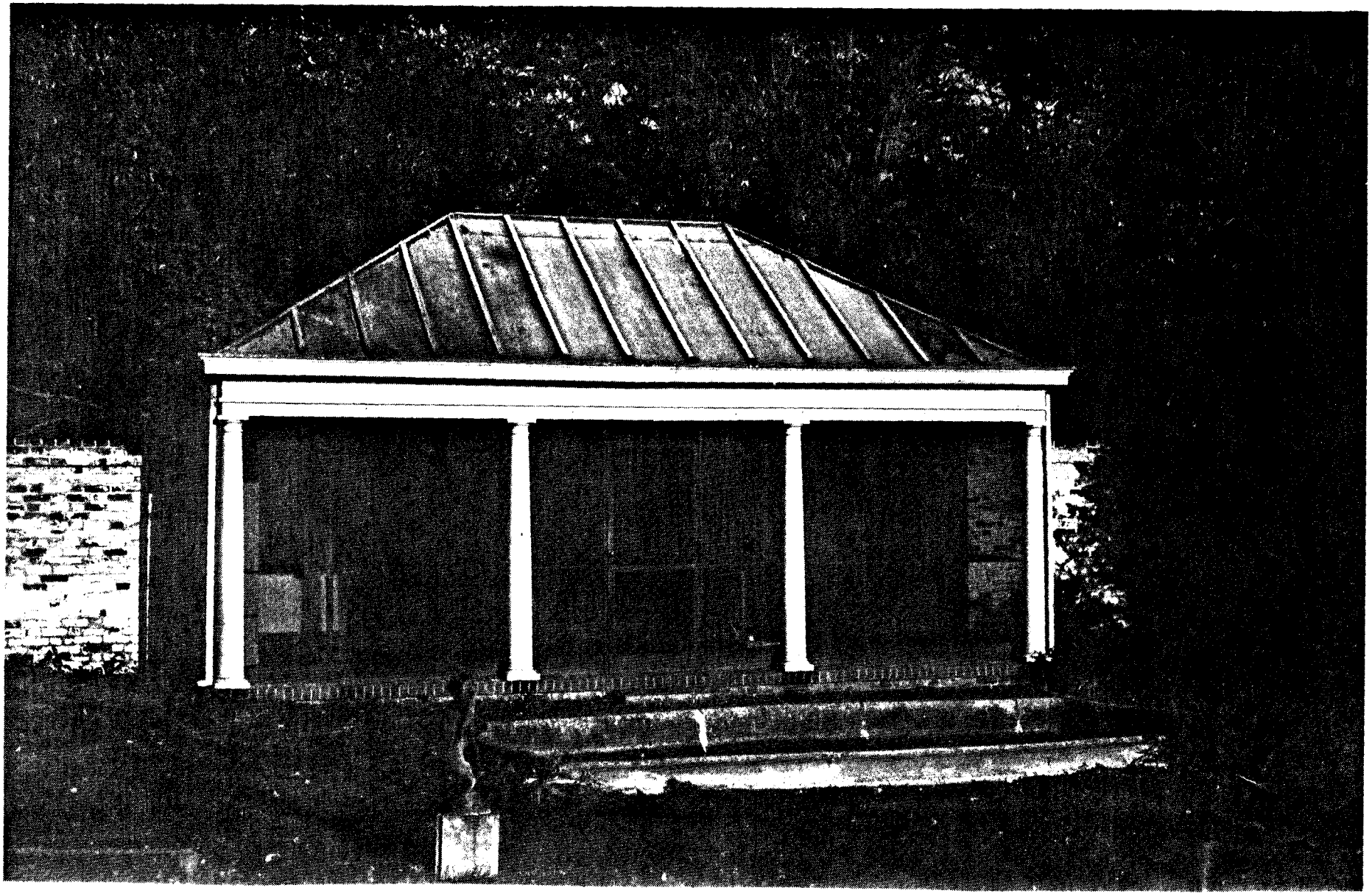
23. Photograph of greenhouses at Chatham (building on the left ca. late 19th century and building on the right constructed in 1935), looking north, 1976. Gerald Karr, photographer.



24. Photograph of milk house at Chatham (ca. early 20th century), south elevation, 1976. Gerald Karr, photographer.



25. Photograph of watchman's office at Chatham (ca. early 20th century), north elevation, 1976. Gerald Karr, photographer.



27. Photograph of summer house at Chatham (1940), south elevation, 1976. Gerald Karr, photographer.

MAPS AND SKETCHES

1. "Sketch Showing Position of Pontoon Bridges and Guns Covering Them at Fredericksburg, Va. December 11-15, 1862." Printed in Atlas to Accompany the Official Records of the Union and Confederate Armies, 1861-1865, ser. I, vol. 21, plate XXV.

PLATE XXV.

SKETCH 4.

SHOWING POSITION OF

PONTOON BRIDGES

AND

GUNS COVERING THEM

AT

FREDERICKSBURG, VA.

December 11-15, 1862.

Scale, 0 1/8 1/2 3/4 1 Mile

H^d Quarters Army of the Potomac
Near Falmouth Va Dec 22 1862.

Forwarded to Engr Department with letter of this date [Dec 20]

C. B. Comstock
Asst Engrs Chief of Staff

Guns in position on left bank

7	4½-inch rifles
22	20-pdr rifles
36	10-pdr rifles
68	3-inch rifles
46	Light 12-pdrs
179	guns

— Union

Winchester Island

FALMOUTH

N

S

Lacy

Brown's Island

FREDERICKSBURG

Claiborne's Run

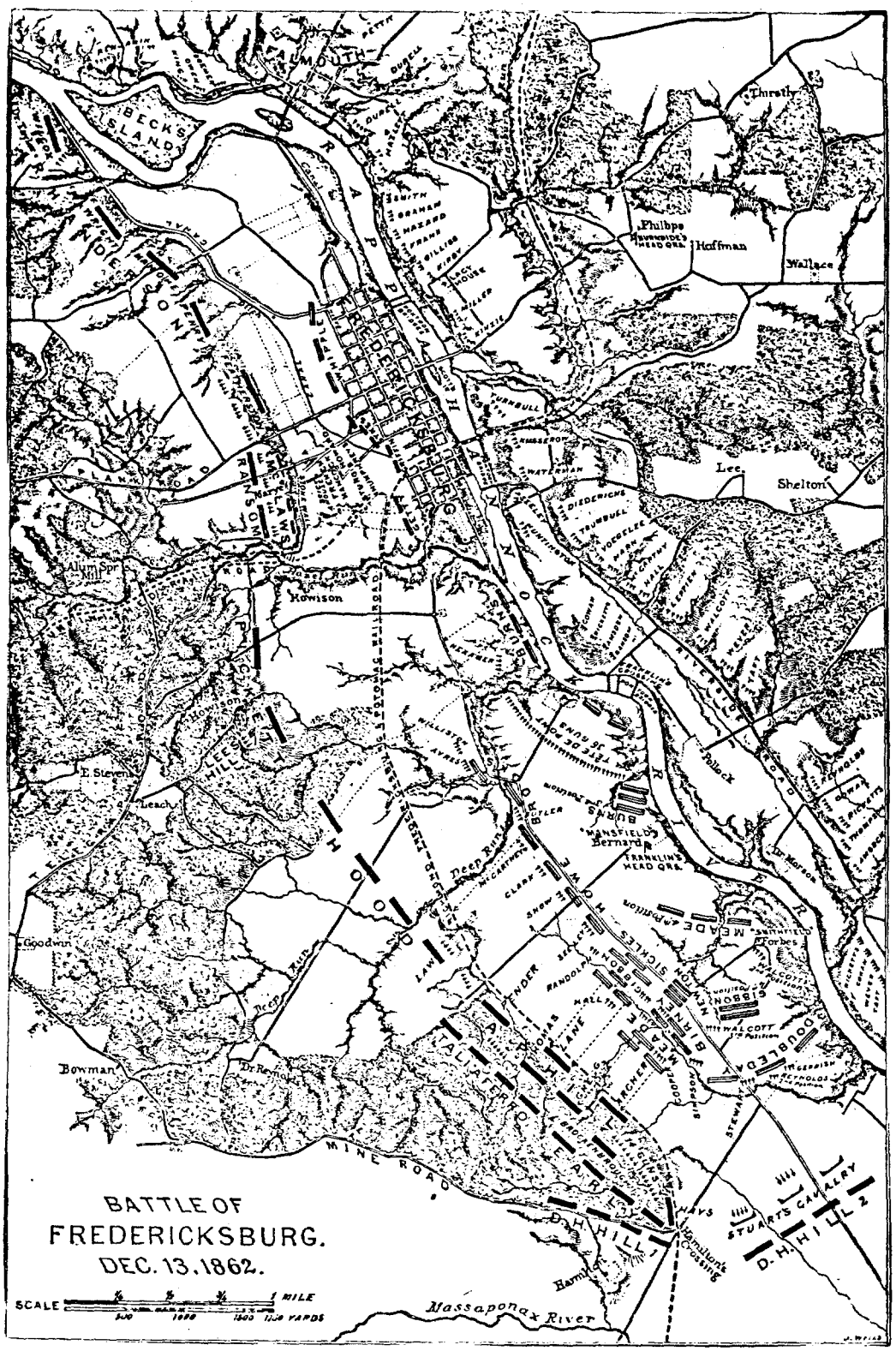
Hazel Run

Mansfield

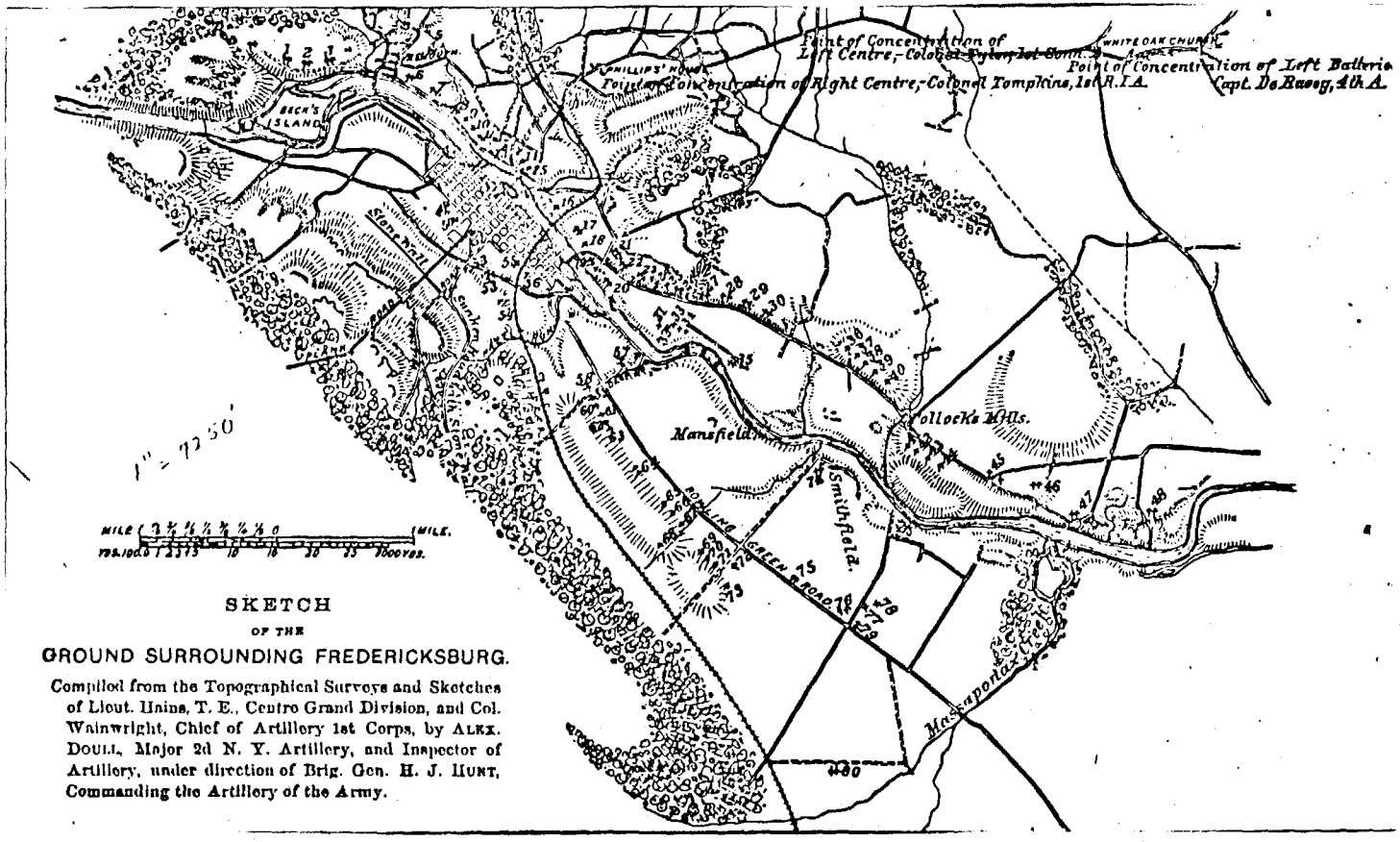
Pollocks Mill

Accompanying report of Lieut. C. B. Comstock, U.S. Corps of Engineers.
SERIES 1. VOL. XXI. PAGE 168.

JULIUS BIEN & CO. LITH. N.Y.



2. "Battle of Fredericksburg. Dec. 13, 1862." Printed in Battles and Leaders of the Civil War, III.

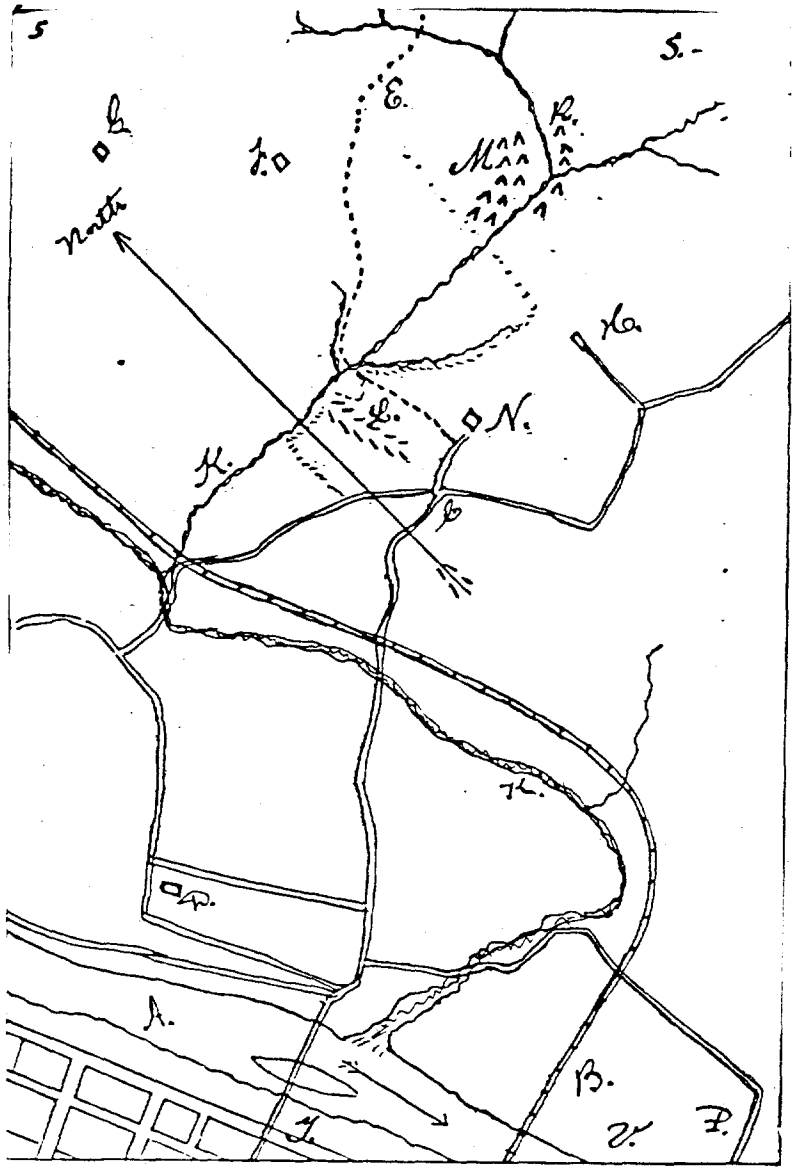


3. "Sketch of the Ground Surrounding Fredericksburg." Printed in Official Records, ser. 1, vol. 33, pt. 1., pp. 1,126-27.

EXPLANATION OF SKETCH.

BATTERIES OF—

1. King.
2. Owen.
3. Roemer.
4. Pettit.
5. Durell; second position.
6. Durell.
7. Hazlett.
8. Smith.
9. Graham.
10. Hazard.
11. Frank.
12. Gilliss.
13. Kirby.
14. Miller.
15. Kinzie.
16. Turnbull.
17. Kusserow.
18. Waterman.
19. Seeley.
20. Huntington.
21. Diedericbs.
22. Trumbull.
23. Voegelee.
24. Harn.
25. McCarthy.
26. Hall.
27. Hall, 5th Maine.
28. Wolcott.
29. Wever.
30. Taft.
31. Cowan; second position.
32. Ricketts; second position.
33. Amsden; second position.
34. Ransom.
35. Simpson.
36. Reynolds.
37. Cowan.
38. Ricketts.
39. Thompson.
40. Amsden.
41. Ricketts; third position.
42. Cowan; third position.
43. Wever; second position.
44. Taft; second position.
45. Wever; third position.
46. Cowan; fourth position.
47. Taft; third position.
48. Ricketts (one section); fourth position.
49. Waterman; second position.
50. Kusserow; second position.
51. Kirby; second position.
52. Hazard; second position.
53. Frank; second position.
54. Dickenson.
55. Arnold.
56. Phillips.
57. Hexamer.
58. Williston.
59. Ayres.
60. Butler.
61. McCartney.
62. Clark.
63. Snow.
64. Seeley; second position.
65. Randolph.
66. Turnbull; second position.
67. Hall; second position.
68. Hall; third position.
69. Amsden; third position.
70. Ransom; second position.
71. Cooper.
72. Simpson; second position.
73. Simpson; third position.
74. Wolcott; second position.
75. Wolcott; third position.
76. Stewart.
77. Gerrish.
78. Reynolds; second position.
79. Rebel guns; first enfilading position.
80. Rebel guns; second enfilading position.



CAMP OPPOSITE FREDERICKSBURG, WINTER OF 1862-3.

Tracing of Official Map. Scale, three inches to one mile. With points located by the writer in May 1885.

DESCRIPTION OF MAP.

A. Rappahannock River. B. Richmond & Fredericksburg R. R.
C. Orange Turnpike, or White Oak road, passing the Phillips House N.
D. Major Lacy. H. Hoffman. N. Phillips House.
F. Ruins of a house. G. Roy. K. Claiborne Run.
P. Road to central ponton bridge.
L. Ravine in field where Prof. Lowe had his balloons.
E. Wood road leading from Phillips House and passing north of the camp of the Thirteenth, to Thirstley's house half a mile distant.
M. Camp of Thirteenth, company tents. R. Tents of Thirteenth, field and staff. S. Camp of the 4th R. I. Regiment.
T. Fredericksburg. V. Stafford Heights.
The whole region about Claiborne Run is rough and timbered, but the timber is most dense near the part of the Run north of the Phillips House.

4. "Camp Opposite Fredericksburg, Winter of 1862-3." Printed in Thompson, Thirteenth Regiment of New Hampshire Volunteer Infantry, pp. 90-91.

5. "Sketch of Battles of Chancellorsville, Salem Church and Fredericksburg, May 2, 3 and 4, 1863, Prepared by order of General R. E. Lee, By Jed. Hotchkiss, Topogr. Engr. 2d. Corps, A. NV." Printed in Atlas to Accompany the Official Records of the Union and Confederate Armies, 1861-1865, ser. I, vol. 25, plate XLI.

Accompanying report of Lieut. G.K. Warren
SERIES I VOL XXV Part I PAGE 765

SKETCH
OF THE
BATTLES OF
CHANCELLORSVILLE, SALEM CHURCH
AND
FREDERICKSBURG,
May 2, 3 and 4, 1863.

Prepared by order of
GENERAL R. E. LEE,
BY
JED. HOTCHKISS, Topgl. Engr. 2d Corps, A.N.V.

Scale
0 1 2 3 4 miles

Confederate Troops
Confederate Troops and Works
Union Troops
Union Troops and Works

MAP
OF THE
ACTION AT DRANESVILLE, VA.
December 20th 1863
U.S. Forces Commanded by
BRIG. GEN. E.O.C. ORD.
Drawn by
H.H. Strickler Co. A 96th Pa. Reserves
Published by authority of the
HON. THE SECRETARY OF WAR
Office of the CHIEF OF ENGINEERS U.S. Army
1875.

JULIUS BIEN & CO. 11TH N.Y.

6. "Fredericksburg Prepared by Bvt. Brig. Gen. N. Michler, Major of Engineers from Surveys under his direction By Order of Brig. Gen. & Bvt. Maj. Gen. A. A. Humphreys, Chief of Engineers and under the Authority of the Hon. Secretary of War 1867." Printed in Atlas to Accompany the Official Records of the Union and Confederate Armies, 1861-1865, ser. I, vol. 21.

1.

FREDERICKSBURG

Prepared by

Bvt. Brig. Gen. N. MICHLER, Major of Engineers

from Surveys under his direction

By Order of

Brig. Gen. & Bvt. Maj. Gen. A.A. HUMPHREYS, Chief of Engineers

and under the Authority of the Hon. Secretary of War

1867.

Scale

0 1/4 1/2 3/4 1 mile

Surveyed and drawn by Maj. J.E. Weyss,
Assisted by F. Theilkuhl, J. Strasser and G. Thompson.

Union
Confederate

RAPPAHANNOCK RIVER

Hamilton's Crossing

Massaponax River

Old Richmond Stage Road

Telegraph Road

Morrison

Underwood

Orange Plank Road

Hazel

Cunningham

Benson

Hoffman

King

Lee

Shelton

Sands

Hale

Wild Jett

Pollock

Pollock's Old Mill

Furney

Jones

W. Brown

E. Stevens

Leach

Ipson

W.S. Williams

J. Mills

Mills

N

S

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W

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