Memorandum

To: Regional Director, Southeast Region

From: Acting Superintendent, Fredericksburg

Subject: Jackson Shrine Booklet

Acting Assistant Regional Director Arnold's memorandum to the Superintendent, November 29, 1968, requested certain information about the proposed Eastern National Park and Monument Association booklet on "Stonewall" Jackson and the Chandler Plantation (Jackson Shrine).

Park Historian Hapke gave the essentials of the proposal to Mr. Rogers by telephone, before the December 3 meeting of the Publications Committee. This memorandum furnishes more details for the consideration of the E.N.P.A.A. Board in January.

The booklet would have about fifteen (15) illustrations, all photographs (including photo-copies of paintings or engravings), except for one map to be drawn. The tentative list follows (not necessarily in order of appearance):

✓ Thomas J. ("Stonewall") Jackson, profile photograph of 1863, taken near Fredericksburg, just before the Chancellorville Campaign, while Jackson's wife was visiting him.
✓ T.J. Jackson - full face (Winchester photo)
✓ Last meeting of Lee and Jackson at Chancellorville, engraving of painting by J. L. Hapke.
✓ Last conference (Sheppard) drawing from 1874, Oct. 30th.
✓ Diorama of the wounding of Jackson at the Chancellorville Visitor Center. (Hapke - oil, Denny Studio)
✓ Monument where Jackson fell mortally wounded, Chancellorville.
✓ Mrs. T. J. Jackson.
Photo of exhibit map at the Jackson Shrine showing route of Jackson's ambulance from the Confederate field hospital near Chancellorsville to Chandler's.

The Chandler office (plantation outbuilding), where Jackson died, old view. Library of Congress

Chandler office (Jackson Shrine), modern photo to match picture just above.

Interior of room where Jackson died, old view.

Interior of death room today, bed

Ditto, similar view, another stage of decay.

Outdoor painting and audio station with the Jackson Shrine in background. Painting shows arrival of Jackson's ambulance at the Chandler Plantation. Close-up of painting

View of Chandler buildings after the war.

Photo of oil portrait of Thomas Coleman Chandler, owner of Fairfield Plantation.

Most of these are on hand. Estimated cost of prints, copying, etc. - $200.00.

If color would run the selling price of the booklet up too much, we should not recommend color. A color cover, however, would definitely promote sales. There are several good possibilities for a cover in color; one would be the painting showing the arrival of Jackson's ambulance at Chandler's.

The only art work involved would be a map to give the relationship of the Jackson Shrine (Guineas, Va.) to Chancellorsville and Fredericksburg. (No park literature presently has such a map.) Rough estimate - $200.00.

This should show Chancellorsville Battlefield in some detail, at least.

In our initial memorandum suggesting this booklet, we mentioned as models the NPS Popular Study Series and the Association's self-guiding tours.

We mentioned both because we were thinking in terms of size. Both are 5" x 7". It is not intended that this be a self-guided book. The guide was considered as a model for the type of paper; the slick paper and somewhat harder cover of the Fredericksburg self-guiding tour booklet would be preferable to the flimsier stock of the Popular Study Series. The format would be more or less that of the study series. Our proposed booklet, however, ought to be a bit more like a regular book, with chapters starting on their own pages.

The booklet could be slightly larger than 5 x 7, but ought not to be too large for an average jacket pocket. It should be permanent, handsome and durable enough for bookshelf, yet still of the simpler stapled folio type. (That type is not only cheaper, but really more durable than the larger glued paperbacks.)
here would be three sales outlets: the Fredericksburg Visitor Center, the
Chancellorsville Visitor Center, and the Jackson Shrine.

If the booklet were not priced too high, we might expect some 3,000 sales
the first year. This figure is based on past visits and estimated future visits
to the park, as related to purchase of other booklets.

Tentative Outline of Contents:

(These are not actual chapter headings.)

Preliminary to Chancellorsville. (Jackson's wife and infant
daughter visit him at his headquarters near Fredericksburg.
Brief flashback to pick up his career.)

The Battle of Chancellorsville. (Just enough of the battle
narrative to tell Jackson's story.) Jackson's wounding and
treatment on the field.

The journey to Chandler's. (Flashback to Jackson's camp
there in 1862, before the Battle of Fredericksburg, and the
kind treatment he received from the Chandler family).

Destination Fairfield. Here would be told the Chandler story
with brief mention of Guinnes's Station (now Guinea, Virginia)
and the Thornton family. (Plantation outbuilding was owned by the Chalmers.

Jackson's arrival, stay and death at Chandler's in the little
office (plantation outbuilding).

Fairfield and Guinnes's Station: other Civil War connections.
(The Chandler plantation office as cavalry headquarters;
Jackson's staff "Sandy" Pendleton sick at Chandler's occupying
same bed Jackson died on; skirmish at Guinnes's Station during 1864;
Grant's visit to the office, where Mrs. Chandler described the
death of Jackson.)

Fairfield after the Civil War. What happened to the Chandler
family. Decay of Fairfield and subsequent preservation and
restoration of the office.

(Handwritten notes on the page)

Donald L. Jackson

Donald L. Jackson
Memorandum

To: Superintendant

From: Park Historian Hapal

Subject: Historic tructures Report, Part II, Architectural Data, Jackson Shrine, Fredericksburg

In his letter of transmittal to the Director, March 12, Acting Regional Director Fulvaney approved Architect Orville S. Carroll's report, with two exceptions: (1) There should be no attempt to recreate the historic scene and therefore the smokehouse and log stable were not approved and (2) Although the suggested comfort station in the log building would meet a long felt need, the comfort station is not a part of the approved master plan.

I should like to go on record as regretting these exceptions and respectfully suggest that you ask the Regional officials to reconsider their position. As to the point that the comfort station is not a part of the master plan at present, I would bow to that and simply reconstruct the log structure for historical effect, with provisions for possible future use as a comfort station.

I believe that both the log building and the smokehouse are vital parts of the historic scene and should be there to give meaning to the Jackson Shrine, which was the office of the Chandler plantation Fairfield. Even though the Jackson Shrine is a memorial rather than a homestead, the office ought not to risk the effect of existing in a vacuum. One of the hardest things the visitor has to understand is that this little house was not a main dwelling and that it was not just a small building stuck up on a bare hill all by itself, like a lone ship in a sea of grass. True, our purpose is not, and should not be, to restore the whole plantation scene. One would not dream of rebuilding the long gone main house because Jackson died next door in the office, but the two outbuildings around the office would at least give a hint of the complex, a starting point, as it were, for the imagination. It is to be remembered that Jackson had spent some
time at the plantation before his last visit; the Chandlers had been kind to him and he had expressed a preference for staying there after his wounding. That the place was important, showing a little of what it was good interpretation. Great events cannot be considered except in the context of locale, and military history cannot be divorced from its social background. The more there is to see, the more a visitor will learn and the longer he will stay to enjoy. If the idea of a mere memorial were pushed to an extreme, we could even dispense with the office and erect a simple shaft. We are, of course, all interested in doing more than that. I submit that the erection of the smokehouse and log structure would cost relatively little and their presence would add immeasurably to the setting and to the story.

Ralph Hapke
Park Historian

This is a copy of Superintendent Leigh’s memo of November 11 in which he suggests changes in the above plan. Staff re-
view here produced the thought that the parking area is rather restricted for easy maneuverability and should be increased in width by at least five feet, and preferably ten. I concur in these suggestions as well as those of the Superintendent and approve the plan subject to your acceptance and incorporation of the changes in the working drawings.

The estimate of $3,000 for moving and replacing the existing 600 pound is considered low.

(Signed) Sister Sue
Regional Director
Memorandum

To: Chief, EODC

From: Regional Director, Region One

Subject: Preliminary Drawing No. NP-FS-3027, Landscape Development Plan, Jackson Shrine, Fredericksburg

Attached is a copy of Superintendent Worthington's memorandum of November 21 in which he suggests changes in the above plan. Staff review here produced the comment that the parking area is rather restricted for easy maneuverability and should be increased in width by at least five feet, and preferably ten. I concur in these suggestions as well as those of the Superintendent and approve the plan subject to your acceptance and incorporation of the changes in the working drawings.

The estimate of $2,000 for moving and replanting the existing 300 shrubs is considered low.

(Sgd.) Elbert Cox

Regional Director

Attachment

Copy to: Supt., Fredericksburg
November 21, 1961

Memorandum

To: Regional Director, Region One
From: Superintendent, Fredericksburg National Military Park

Subject: Preliminary Drawing, NMP-FS 3027, Landscape Development Plan, Jackson Shrine

The following revisions are suggested for the reasons given:

1. Eliminate the Flower and Vegetable Garden.

A shortage of labor and water would prevent maintenance of this feature as an interpretive, or even decorative, exhibit. All except the most enthusiastic gardeners in this part of the country confine their efforts to spring flowers because of the hot and extremely dry summer season. Almost all of the proposed site is covered by field turf. The remainder will revert in short order.

2. Eliminate the orchard.

For the same reasons as above and one additional: Orchard cultivation is recognized as a most expensive operation. Allow site to be taken over by field grasses. Once this section was under agricultural permit, such demand could revive.

3. Do not bituminous surface roads and parking area. Based on bank gravel facilities are more in keeping with the scene. Another point is that in years to come access to the Memorial from Virginia 606 may be by way of Jackson Avenue. It is a dedicated street but has never been developed.

4. If the crushed stone indicated for walks will be loose, some other material should be used. Bituminous surface was included in plan because of a need during wet spells or when heavy dew was on grass. It may be that a simple beaten down ungrazed path will do.

5. What is meant by steel edging?

C. R. Worthington, Jr.
Superintendent
To: Regional Director, Region One

From: Chief, EODC

Subject: Preliminary Drawing, HFS-FS-J027, Landscape Development Plan, Jackson Shrine, Fredericksburg-Spotsylvania

Submitted for your review and approval are two prints of the subject drawing.

The plan is based upon data gathered by Mr. Stemhagen and Mr. Mayrose on a recent visit to the site. It is recommended that the planting be done by park forces; the obliteration, paving and other construction by contract.

A Preliminary Estimate is attached.

[Signature]

Robert C. Hall
Chief

Attachments (3)

Copy to: Superintendent w/3 attachments —
# Jackson Shrine - Fredericksburg - Spotsylvania

## Preliminary Estimate - Entrance Road, Parking Area, Planting

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Road and Parking Area</th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Machine grading</strong> $75/100'**</td>
<td><strong>$ 550</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gravel - 600 lb./sq. yd.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>$1675 sq. yd. x 600 lb./sq. yd. x $3.00/ton</td>
<td><strong>2,500</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bituminous surface treatment</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>$1,675 sq. yd. x $1.00/sq. yd.</td>
<td><strong>1,675</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Locust Post Guard Rail - treated and installed</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>26 posts @ $5.00 ea.</td>
<td><strong>130</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

| Obliterating Turnaround                                                              |       |
| **Remove and replace 900 sq. ft. sod**                                              | **900** |
| **Leveling 200 sq. yd. soil**                                                       | **800** |
| **Fine grading and seeding 1300 sq. ft.**                                           | **300** |

| Crushed stone walk 3000 sq. ft. (333 sq. yd.)                                       |       |
| Crushed stone 400 lb./sq. yd.                                                      |       |
| $133 sq. yd. x 400 lb./sq. yd. x $3.00/ton                                          | **125** |

| Steelonging - 1/4" x 4"                                                              |       |
| 925' @ $1.00/ft.                                                                   | **1,000** |

| Remove and replant existing shrub mass of 200 shrubs                               | **2,000** |
| **Parvola and plant hedge, perennials and ivy**                                     | **1,300** |
| **Purchase and install one 40' tapered, tilting, aluminum flagpole**                | **800** |
| **Red Oak foundation wall marker 156" @ $15.00/ft.**                                | **2,340** |

**Total:** **$14,620**

---

**RECEIVED**

**NOV 2**

**Fredericksburg National Military Park**
Memorandum

To: Superintendent, Fredericksburg

From: Acting Regional Chief of Operations

Subject: Expenditures in Connection with Jackson Shrine Research Project Report

In his memorandum of October 25, 1961, Mr. Land reported that $166.68 was expended for photographs, maps, and photographic supplies in the compilation of data for the Historic Structures Report - Jackson Shrine. These expenses must be considered administrative and cannot be charged to the construction project, rehabilitation of Jackson Shrine.

Since it is early in the fiscal year, it is entirely possible that savings can be effected in your operating funds to absorb this expenditure.

W. E. O’Neil, Jr.
Acting Regional Chief of Operations
Memorandum

To: Superintendent, Fredericksburg

From: Acting Regional Chief of Operations

Subject: Expenditures in Connection with Jackson Shrine Research Project Report

In his memorandum of October 25, 1961, Mr. Land reported that $166.68 was expended for photographs, maps, and photographic supplies in the compilation of data for the Historic Structures Report - Jackson Shrine. These expenses must be considered administrative and cannot be charged to the construction project, Rehabilitation of Jackson Shrine.

Since it is early in the fiscal year, it is entirely possible that savings can be effected in your operating funds to absorb this expenditure.

(Signed)

V. E. O'Neill, Jr.
Acting Regional Chief of Operations
October 25, 1961

Memorandum

To: Regional Director, Region One

From: Acting Superintendent, Fredericksburg National Military Park

Subject: Expenditures in Connection with Jackson Shrine Research Project Report

A total of $160,68 was expended for photographs, maps, photographic supplies, et cetera, in compilation of data for the Historic Structures Report - Jackson Shrine. These expenditures were charged to our operating fund accounts. Since the Rehabilitation of Jackson Shrine, P.C.P. No. B-37-2, Program Authorization No. 62-29, dated September 8, 1961, is programmed for this fiscal year, would it be possible to issue an initial work order for supplies and materials to cover this cost? When this project is ready to be initiated, a work order (first revision) could be issued to cover the entire amount.

This procedure, if approved, would alleviate a burden on our taxed operating funds.

Weldon B. Land
Acting Superintendent
Memorandum

To: Regional Director, Region One

From: Chief, NRDQ

Subject: Historic Structures Report, Part I, Jackson Shrine - Fredericksburg and Spotsylvania

The Administrative Data Section and the Historical Data Section of the subject report have been reviewed by the interested personnel of this office.

The Historic Data Section contains a great deal of architectural and technical recommendations which we believe should receive further study by one of our architects experienced in restoration techniques. Based on these studies an Architectural Data Section will be prepared by this office.

With the above exception we recommend approval of these two sections of the report.

Signed
Robert G. Hall
Chief

Copy to: Supt., Fredericksburg and Spotsylvania - Assistant Director, Design and Construction (2)
Fredericksburg and Spotsylvania
National Military Park
Fredericksburg, Virginia

October 13, 1961

Memorandum

To: Regional Director, Region One

From: Superintendent, Fredericksburg

Subject: Historic Structures report, part I, Jackson Shrine

In proofreading this report, we missed an incorrect picture number. Since this is the important Library of Congress photograph, we are desirous of having it right on all copies. On page 38, please correct the picture code number (second paragraph) to LC-87154-5290.

My recommendation is subject to the following observations:

1. Restoration of the former tennis court at Fairfield was a part of our Master Plan for many years. It was enclosed; today, expose, much of it as natural. Inappropriateness, and a sprinkling of old-fashioned flowers and bulbs would be more in keeping with the cottage and the General himself. This is the intent of PUB 52-54. The "plantation complex" could be interpreted best, without distracting the simple flavor, by well planned outdoor devices.

2. There appears to be little, if any, paint in reconstructing the buildings. If we were going to rebuild the Chandler house, the garden as well as dependencies would be a proper part of the plans. This goes for the Innsbrook also.

The history of Fairfield is better told outside than inside. In the Shrine itself should be concerned strictly with the story.

C. F. Northinton, Jr.
Superintendent

Copy to: Chief, ECDC
To:  Regional Director, Region One  
From:  Superintendent, Fredericksburg  
Subject:  Historic Structures Report, Part I, Jackson Shrine  

Attached for your recommendation is Part I of the Historic Structures Report on Jackson Shrine. This was written by Mr. Hapnel according to guidelines for preparation of Historic Structures Reports and Region One Memorandum 61-1.  

My recommendation is subject to the following observations:  

1. Restoration of the former terraced garden at Fairfield was a part of our Master Plan for some years. For obvious reasons it was dropped: initial expenses, maintenance costs and natural difficulties, and finally, inappropriateness. A simple treatment with open lawn, a few appropriate shrubs, and a sprinkling of old-fashioned flowers and bulbs would be more in keeping with the cottage and the General himself. This is the intent of PCP 4-34. The "plantation complex" could be interpreted best, without distracting the simple flavor, by well planned outdoor devices.  

2. There appears to be little, if any, point in reconstructing other buildings. If we were going to rebuild the Chandler home, then garden as well as dependencies would be a proper part of the future. This goes for the iceshouse also.  

The history of Fairfield is better told outside than inside the Shrine itself should be concerned strictly with the story.
4. The armchair and secretary would appear to be unsuitable for so modest a structure and do not fit in with the general theme of interpretation which I think should be adopted.

5. I don't follow the argument in the last paragraph on page 100. General condition of building, saving original timbers, obstacles such as the hardened Insulex and other considerations will dictate method of procedure. We put our trust in the architects.

O. P. Northington, Jr.
Superintendent

Attachments - 2

Copy to: Chief, EDC
w/c attachment

Since the report will be finished at such a late date, I wonder if actual construction can be begun before spring 1964. If such is the case, I favor postponing further research until after Labor Day.

O. P. Northington, Jr.
Superintendent
Frederickburg and Spotsylvania
National Military Park
Fredericksburg, Virginia

July 6, 1961

Memorandum

To: Regional Director, Region One

From: Superintendent, Fredericksburg National Military Park

Subject: Historic Structure Report, Jackson Shrine

According to Mr. Happel this project should be completed by September 1. The delay has been caused by shortage of personnel and exceptionally busy visitor season.

Since the report will be finished at such a late date, I wonder if actual construction can be begun before spring 1962. If such is the case, I favor postponing further research until after labor day.

G. F. Northingt., Jr.
Superintendent
HISTORIC STRUCTURES REPORT

PART I

for

JACKSON SHRINE

Fredericksburg and Spotsylvania National Military Park
Fredericksburg, Virginia
PART I

JACKSON SHRINE

Fredericksburg and Spotsylvania
National Military Park
Fredericksburg, Virginia

Recommended

Superintendent ___________________________ Date

Regional Director ___________________________ Date

Chief, Division of Design & Construction ___________________________ Date

Approved

Director ___________________________ Date
The structure will be used as both an exterior and interior exhibit. Here the great Confederate general, Thomas J. Jackson, also known as "Stonewall," was wounded by his own men in the battle of Chancellorsville. The building at the time was used as a plantation office, and later as a room where supplies were exhibited as such. The room where Jackson was wounded will be displayed as it was then, and a third room will house a museum.

I. ADMINISTRATIVE DATA

II. HISTORICAL DATA

NOTE: The architectural section and the landscape section to be prepared by Office of Design and Construction.

As no archaeological research is needed or planned, this section is omitted.

The furnishings and exhibit data are incorporated in Chapter VIII, "An Interpretive Plan," in the Historical Data section.
a. Jackson Shrine

b. The structure will be used as both an exterior and interior exhibit. Here the great Confederate general, Thomas J. Jackson, died on May 10, 1863, after having been accidentally wounded by his own men in the Battle of Chancellorsville. The building at the time was used as a plantation office, and one room will be exhibited as such. The room where Jackson died will be displayed as it was then, and a third room will serve as a small museum.

c. The structure will be operated under the Park's annual appropriation. Funds totaling $1,000 have been programmed in the 1962 fiscal year for additional furnishings, in Project Construction Proposal B-37-2.

d. The preliminary estimate of cost of rehabilitation is $19,800 (B-37-2). Grading, seeding, planting, and erection of flagpole - $4,800 (N-54).
The Place Where "Stonewall" Jackson Died

by

Ralph Nappel
Park Historian
Fredericksburg and Spotsylvania
National Military Park
Fredericksburg, Virginia

1961
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The Jackson Shrine, so named by the Railroad, was restored by the Richmond, Fredericksburg and Potomac Railroad Company in 1927-23 and donated by that Company to the United States of America in the mid-'30's. Now a part of the Fredericksburg and Spotsylvania National Military Park, this cottage, or "office," was an outbuilding on Thomas Coleman Chandler's Fairfield plantation, near Guinea's Station (Guinea) in Caroline County, Virginia, to which place General T. J. ("Stonewall") Jackson was taken after his wounding on the Chancellorsville Battlefield in Spotsylvania County. The great Confederate general died in Chandler's outbuilding on May 10, 1863. (Another feature of the Park is the spot on the Chancellorsville field where Jackson fell, about 9 a.m., May 2, 1863, a mistaken victim of his own men's muskets.)

Despite the continued competence of the mighty R. E. Lee, Jackson's fall left an unfilled gap in Lee's lines. No other corps commander of Jackson's brilliance emerged.

David Lloyd George, who knew a general or two in his time, visited Jackson's death place in 1923 and said: "That old house witnessed the downfall of the Southern Confederacy."
The National Park Service has long wished to restore the Fairfield office more nearly to its 1863 appearance. It is the purpose of this study to provide not only information for much further restoration, but also a history full enough to serve as the basis of any future interpretation.

Mrs. L. H. Elliott Campbell, Clerk of the Court for Caroline County, and Mrs. Cary Crismond, Clerk of Shenandoah, and their staffs, have been very helpful. Mr. C. B. Gramel, Librarian of F. W. Washington College, Frederickburg, has continued to aid me. I should like also to mention Mr. John W. Dudley of the Virginia State Library, Richmond; Indeed, State Librarian Randolph Church and all his staff are always to be commended for cooperation with researchers.

Mrs. Henry Lee Taylor of Ashland was most gracious in helping me get access to the letter her mother, Mrs. Lee (Chandler) Fenderson, wrote to Dr. T. L. P. Freeman about Fairfield. This letter is in the Freeman papers, Library of Congress. Mr. David C. Barnes of the Library, expedited my getting a copy of this letter. Mrs. Vernon H. Lee, Jr., and Mrs. Campbell Chandler, of Virginia, were kind enough to clear up several points. Mr. W. R. Beene of Frederickburg was most cooperative in describing the Rixey family of the 1820's.

I should like further to cite the aid of Mr. John F. Davids, Librarian, Massachusetts Historical Society, Boston; Lewis E. Parks, Dept. of History, University of Maryland.
Acknowledgements

All lists of acknowledgments are incomplete, but the following people particularly come to mind.

Mr. George M. King, Fredericksburg genealogist, has assisted me greatly. Mr. T. Elliott Campbell, Clerk of the Court for Caroline County, and Mr. Cary Crimmond, Clerk of Spotsylvania, and their staffs, have been very helpful. Dr. C. H. Quenzel, Librarian of Mary Washington College, Fredericksburg, has continued to aid me. I should like also to mention Mr. John W. Dudley of the Virginia State Library, Richmond; indeed, State Librarian Randolph Church and all his staff are always to be commended for cooperation with researchers.

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I should like further to cite the aid of Mr. John G. Cushing, Librarian, Massachusetts Historical Society, Boston; Mr. David S. Sparks, Dept. of History, University of Maryland;
Dr. R. L. Hilldrup, Head of History Dept., Mary Washington College; Mr. C. E. Merwine, Jr., Assistant to President, R.R. & P. R. Co., Richmond, Va.; Dr. Henry J. Carthen, Richmond, Va.; Mr. Lee Wallace, Historian, National Park Service, Washington.

I am grateful, too, for favors of the press; to publishers Charles and Joseph Rose for use of the files of the Free Lance-Star; to City Editor James McKnight for allowing me to run a story about the project, resulting in several important leads; to Mr. Paul Manns of the Caroline Progress for reprinting that article.

In connection with research on photographs and maps, I should like to cite the courtesies of Mrs. Keith Courtney of Stafford County; Mr. William E. Jones of Spotsylvania County; Mr. Houston Cooper of Fredericksburg; Mrs. Ralph T. Catterall and Miss Elizabeth J. Lance of the Valentine Museum, Richmond; and Miss Jane Robinson of the Duke University Library, Durham, N. C.; Mr. Walter A. Ristow, Map Division, Library of Congress; Miss Josephine Cobb and Mr. A. F. Wunts, the National Archives.
Chapter I

Guiney's and Guinea, before and after the Civil War

The death there of a Civil War hero, Thomas Jonathan ("Stonewall") Jackson, put the Virginia hamlet of Guiney's Station on the map of American history. Originally the designation of a neighborhood in Caroline County, the name was that of an 18th century family. The station came into being about 1836 when the Richmond, Fredericksburg and Potomac Railroad reached the vicinity. R. F. & P. track extended to Fredericksburg in 1837. Stage coaches from the north met the cars at successive railheads until the line reached the Potomac River at the mouth of Aquia Creek in 1842. For years thereafter, steamboat connections were made at Aquia. In those days, Guiney's was officially titled Guiney's Depot and listed as being 49 miles north of Richmond and 12 miles south of Fredericksburg.¹

The Guiney family suffered the variations of spelling common to colonial times, being carried in the records as Cinney and Guinney. Guiney, the standard form in Civil War accounts, seems to be the usual spelling by other bearers of that Irish name (for instance, the late poet and essayist Louise Imogen Guiney), who pronounce their name guin'-nee. The Caroline group apparently always used the short "i" sound, facilitating the corruption to Guiney.
The first settlers around the point later to be Guiney's Station were concerned with transportation before railroads were even dreamed of in Virginia. This concern partly caused the creation of Caroline County. Planters at the headwaters of the York River in the upper regions of Essex, King and Queen, and King William counties were a long way from everything, including their respective court houses. The westward push of the frontier, increasing distances from the county seats, worked throughout Virginia history toward the formation of new counties. There was more than this involved here, however. The York River, soon losing itself in a fan of little streams, was of no help to the people in the upper reaches who wanted an outlet to the sea by way of the tidal waters of the Rappahannock for shipment of their tobacco. If they had their own county, they could order their own affairs. They got their wish. The Virginia Assembly established the new county, named for the wife of George II, in 1727. Caroline County took in the tiny Mattapony waters and also bordered the navigable Rappahannock. "The first major project the Caroline Court authorized was a rolling road which began at the Spotsylvania line and continued across the Mattapony at Michael Guiney's Bridge to Conway's warehouse on the Rappahannock."2

A Michael Guiney had been granted 210 acres of land on the upper branches of Coldenvale Creek, a tributary of the Rappa-

Hannock River, in 1704. A person of that name, perhaps his son,
kept a tavern during the 1790's and 1840's, on the south side of
the Mattaponi at Oldney's Bridge. (In that neighborhood the i o
bridge is over the Po-Mo.) Carried in the county records, this man
enjoyed the confidence of the local rulers. He raised and
practiced medicine as a physician. Michael Oatmey, Upper Drysdale Parish, died in 1762.

Michael Oatmey's bridge community thrived throughout the
colonial period. Aquilla Johnston had a tavern on the north side
of the stream; 1779-81, Mildred Palmer's tavern, 1775-81, was
somewhere in the neighborhood, and James Martin succeeded to
Michael Oatmey's stand, 1785-99. (Cases of occupancy may have
been longer.) Like other rural taverns of the time, Martin's was
not only a place of drinking, loafing and gaming, but a center of
speculation in slaves. Virginia laws against gambling had little
effect on inkeepers, including Martin, who came before the county
court for alleging wagering on cards and dice.

The river system in the Gutman's bridge neighborhood
forms a reach called Stanard's Marsh on 19th century maps.
(Stanard's Mill was westward on the Po at the Telegraph Road.)
The Marsh was drained during the 19th century, but more than one
river channel remains; causing some old maps to use a plural for
the bridge. Today this water is crossed by five separate little
bridges.
At the time of the Civil War, though it lost an n, Quiney's Bridge remained an important place name. Quiney's Station, yet young, took on new importance. Both names run through Civil War narratives and appear on maps.  

It has been assumed that Quiney's got corrupted to Guinea after the Civil War, but various newspaper and other accounts and some maps of the Civil War period also used the Guinea spelling. Actually, the change began earlier. A property plat of 1845 shows Guinea Depot and Guinea Bridge. A plat of 1863 had Guinea Depot and Guinea Bridge, but the road between is marked "Road to Guinea Depot." In Caroline County Land Tax Books, the depot is mentioned in the 1840 book and spelled Guinea, thereafter varying and coming up once as Gineys, which is really not as good as Harper's Weekly's inspired Guinea Station. In deeds after the Civil War, the forms Quiney's and Guinea or Guinea's Depot appeared. Thus, we see that the change did not come through some fanciful confusion with the Guinea foil, as has been suggested, but only because of man's perennial inability to spell.  

The name today is officially Guinea and so appears on all present day maps. In the early decades of the 20th century, the hamlet was a center of lumbering and produce handling. Lumber is still loaded there at an extensive siding, but Guinea is no longer a station, this being an era of fewer and faster trains and few stops. Nor is Guinea any longer a post office; the automobiles
and trucks on modern highways have changed the postal situation too; mail goes now to Woodford, Virginia. Still flourishing in the 1920's, the place is now (1961) virtually without business. However distorted the name and whatever the fortunes of the place, Guinea still attests memory (albeit unexplained to most) of Michael Quinney, whose kin (or at least those bearing his surname) had all died out or left the area before the railroad came.¹

Many members of the Thurston clan, his predecessors, had moved west. Chandler and his neighbors, even in war, were watching the decline of the southern plantation policy, the whole extent of which was only a short time in this world's shadowline. Virginia, the eldest state, saw the longest flourishing of the plantation system; yet the Guinea neighborhood had been the forested home of the Indian less than the burned place before Jackson's death, being acquired in the 1870's by the Thurston family.²

The Thurston grant consisted of 2,750 acres on the north side of the Neuse River above the stream's major ford. The Francis Thornton who purchased it was unquestionably Major Francis Thornton (1691-1736). As in the case of many of his contemporaries, he was getting land for his dynasty. He himself lived in Saint Paul's Parish, Stafford County, and later at his place called Crow's on the Appomattox River in King George County. The Major's son, Francis Thornton (1682-1736), of Cove Creek, was a
Chapter II

Thorntons and Chandlers: Fairfield and Environs

If "Stonewall" Jackson brought fame to Guinea's Station by dying therabouts, he also perpetuated the names of a plantation and its owner: Fairfield, the Thomas Coleman Chandler place. Lee's great lieutenant died in the office, or cottage, next to the main dwelling. Chandler, however, was not occupying ancestral property. Many members of the Thornton clan, his predecessors, had moved West. Chandler and his neighbors, war or no war, were watching the decline of the Southern plantation period, the whole extent of which was only a short time in this world's chronicles. Virginia, the eldest state, saw the longest flourishing of the plantation system; yet the Guinea neighborhood had been the forested home of the Indian less than two hundred years before Jackson's death, being acquired in the 1670's by the Thornton family.¹

The Thornton grant consisted of 2,740 acres on the north side of the Mattaponi above the stream's major fork. The Francis Thornton who patented it was undoubtedly Major Francis Thornton (1651-1726). As in the case of many of his contemporaries, he was getting land for his dynasty. He himself lived in Saint Paul's Parish, Stafford County, and later at his place called Crow's on the Rappahannock River in King George County. The Major's son and namesake, Francis Thornton (1682-1758), of Snow Creek, was a
prime founder of Caroline County, leading in petitioning the Williamsburg authorities and being one of the King's magistrates appointed to set up the new county.²

It was another of Major Francis Thornton's sons, however, who fathered the Thorntons of the area where Jackson was to die, Captain Anthony Thornton (1691-1757). Like the first Francis, this Anthony did not live in Caroline. His son, Colonel Anthony Thornton (1727-1782), born in Stafford, moved to Caroline County when he was a young man and settled in the Guinea area. He built Ormsby, the old house, with quaint additions, still stands, though deserted and dilapidated.³

Early Virginia titles denote militia and county rank, a mark of the upper class in old English and Virginia society. The Colonel was a bit more military than that. He was a member of the Revolutionary Committee of Safety for Caroline County and a commander of Caroline militia during the Revolution.⁴

Colonel Anthony Thornton died at Ormsby, December 25, 1782, leaving land both in Caroline and Orange counties. His Caroline land went to his second wife, Susanna Fitzhugh Thornton (1731-1799) for life, to be divided after her death, or in her lifetime if she chose, between her sons Henry Fitzhugh, William, John, and Thomas Griffin Thornton. Of these, William did not live to inherit, dying in 1783 at the age of 16.⁵

Colonel Anthony Thornton's eldest son, Anthony, who got by a mourning ring in the will, had received his share of family
lands, Ormsby itself and a certain acreage, before the Colonel's death. This Anthony is carried in the Caroline County land tax records during the 1780's and 1790's with several hundred acres, exclusive of the Anthony Thornton estate. For example, in the Caroline Land Book for 1798, Colonel Anthony Thornton's estate had 697 acres valued at $2,061.96, and Anthony Thornton had 650 acres valued at $738.89. In 1806, Anthony advertised Ormsby (sometimes called Ormsby Plain) as being for sale, stating his intention of moving to Kentucky. 6 The tax records show that his property was in the hands of Thomas Griffin Thornton, his youngest half-brother, by 1808. Thomas Griffin Thornton died in 1830, the property going for life to his wife Ann Harrison Fitzhugh Thornton. 7

Thomas Griffin Thornton's death is not just a deduction from tax records. He was sheriff of the county and met his end violently at the hands of one Charles Young; the story is fully recorded in a Fredericksburg newspaper. Over 3,000 people attended Young's execution at Bowling Green, the county seat. 8 Thomas Griffin Thornton is said to have been a great fox hunter, whose exploits were often mentioned by his contemporaries. 9

In 1842, the estate of Ann H. Thornton transferred Ormsby to William S. Royston. 10

Of the sons of Colonel Anthony Thornton, the next to youngest was John, born at Ormsby, March 11, 1771. It was his share of his father's estate that became "Stonewall" Jackson's
death place, the plantation called Fairfield. According to land tax records, John received 465 and a fraction acres from the Colonel Anthony Thornton estate in 1798. At the same time, his brother, Henry Fitzhugh Thornton, got 232 and a fraction acres. After 1820, the tax records carry a separate entry for values of buildings, exclusive of land. Henry had no buildings. This is simple enough. He did not live there, having married Anne Rose Fitzhugh of Bellaire, Stafford County. He held the Caroline land, however, until his death in 1829.

Before and after Henry’s death, various transfers between Thorntons and non-Thorntons occurred. The tax records for 1829 show John Thornton with three tracts: 475½ acres for Fairfield, another 92 acres (adjoining T. G. Thornton) and 446 acres (adjoining C. Backman), all in the same neighborhood. The 446-acre tract was acquired in 1829 from the Norbourne Taliaferro estate and valued at $5,737.00, the buildings being $1,000.00 of this. A few other changes brought John Thornton’s listing in the 1831 land book, which lumped his holdings, to 1,262½ acres, valued at $4.00 an acre, $2,300.00 for buildings, total $22,430.50.

In 1832 (reflected in the 1833 Caroline Land Book) John Thornton transferred the 446 acres to Edward C. Thornton, a son. The purchase and transfer of the Taliaferro land took care of Edward before his father’s decease; it seems obvious that the land was bought just for Edward. Edward C. Thornton’s place was Mill Hall, still standing.
Another of John Thornton's sons, George F. Thornton, had received 30 acres of John's land in 1829. George owned Hillford, adjoining Fairfield. His 201 and a fraction acres, plus the 30 acres from his father, was transferred to Edmund E. Motley, his brother-in-law, in 1836. Motley's adjoining inheritance, 455 acres, had come to him in 1833. In 1837, now established at Hillford, Motley held the two tracts of 455 acres and 231 acres, with $200.00 value on his old house and $800.00 value on Hillford house. Hillford proudly stands, overlooking Fairfield and Guinea, and is being restored by its present owners, Mr. and Mrs. Vernon D. Lacy, Jr. 14

John Thornton, whose children were spreading out, hung on at Fairfield. He had married Sarah Fitzhugh in 1795. She bore him eight children before dying in 1810. In 1812 he married Jane Laughlin, who died in 1821 without issue. On December 25, 1825, he married Mildred Washington Dade, by whom he had one son. His daughter Mary Ann Biggs Thornton (1806-1886) married William S. Bayston (1800-1887), who, as we have seen, acquired the old Thornton place Crasby in the 1840's. Their tombs are at Crasby. Thus the original Thornton seat in the Guinea area remained with Thornton blood. As late as 1950, a descendant, Mr. Bayston Tomkins, held the place.

John's Fairfield, however, went out of Thornton hands, either male or distaff, before the Civil War.

Dying in September of 1844, John Thornton left his property for life to his widow Mildred. After her death, Fairfield
was to be sold and the money divided among their children, except
sons William H. and Edward C. Thornton. The children who would
benefit were Mary Ann, wife of William Royston; Elvira, wife of
Edmund S. Motley; and Addison F. Thornton.

The widowed Mildred died June 10, 1845. The farm, except
the family burial ground of 3 acres, went on the auction block Sep-
tember 17, 1845. The terms were to be one-third of the purchase
money in hand paid, one-third at the end of the year without
interest, and the remaining third at the end of two years with
interest from the day of sale.

Thomas Coleman Chandler of Spotsylvania bid $10,750.00
for the property, which was in two parcels, 753.5 acres called
Fairfield, where John Thornton resided at the time of his death,
and a tract of 92 acres separated from Fairfield by Royston's
land. (This more or less agrees with the land tax books, over
which a deed would take precedence. Mildred's last land entry
called for 836 acres; Chandler's first entry was, as in the deed,
243.5 acres.) Chandler's offer would be about $13.00 an acre for
the 845.5 acres. The executor, Edward C. Thornton, declined the
offer, but then accepted $11,000.00 in hand paid. The deed was
written October 14, 1845.15

While some remained, many Thorntons were leaving the
area, both by death and emigration. John's son George F. Thornton
had left the state in 1838, after appointing William J. Royston to
do business in his name. George F. was deceased by 1845; his heirs and other Missouri descendants of John Thornton's gave a deed of release of all interest in Fairfield on November 1, 1845.

Thomas Coleman Chandler had married in 1825 Clementina E. Alsec, the daughter of a man known through the countryside as "Rich Sam Alsec." Samuel Alsec may have inherited some of his fortune. Whatever his original finances, he augmented his holdings. At a time of economic decline, when other Virginians were moving to the southern cotton lands and the western prairies, Samuel Alsec (1776-1859) prospered. His fine brick house, called Fairview by him, still stands about five miles west of Fredericksburg on the road to Spotsylvania Court House.

Alsec had vast land holdings both in Spotsylvania and Caroline counties, much of which was given to relatives before his death. He also gave his connections at different times money, slaves, cattle, and other things to set up housekeeping. At the time of his death, this Spotsylvania owned a fair number of slaves and livestock on the home place, indicating some wealth; his precious plate, jewelry, etc., to the taxable value of $750.00 and his furniture to the value of $730.00 (quite high for furniture at that time and place) outdid his neighbors; but the plum in the pie was a listing in the tax books of $100,000.00 in moneys, bonds, etc., &c., liquid assets. It was rare that rural Virginians of that day had a few hundred in stocks or bonds; in most cases, the column
for that entry is bare on the Virginia county tax books. Samuel Alsop paid the state a huge personal property tax of $483.55 in 1859. Comparably speaking, he was far richer than the millionaires who now come to Virginia and buy old places. 19

Thus, one can understand how Thomas C. Chandler could put down $11,000.00 in cash, a very substantial sum in those days. One does not know whether Chandler still benefitted by direct grants from Alsop or had built himself up by means of early largess. Evidently the two men still held each other in affection, and there was also the tie of Clementina’s children. Clementina, however, had died before Chandler’s purchase of Fairfield. Family tradition places the date of her death as 1844. This is probably correct.

When Thomas C. Chandler sold a piece of Spotsylvania property in 1844, he was the only grantor. 20

Chandler first felt Alsop’s magic touch in 1826, when Samuel and Dolly Alsop, out of their natural love for the recently married Clementina, gave Thomas and Clementina a tract of land in Spotsylvania County, 849 acres in the “Old Quarter Swamp” neighborhood at Corbin’s Bridge over the Po River, on the old Pamunkey Nalling Road. 21 Chandler added to the acreage by later purchases. 22 He and Clementina sold this property, the place of their residence, to Enos C. Gridley in 1839. 23

In September of 1841 Chandler bought at auction other Spotsylvania property, this from the estate of Philip D. Hedd, 4543
acres, less a graveyard of 1½ acres and 1 acre "reserved for a meeting house," and in October he bought two adjoining acreages, which had some Alsop connections. In 1846, Samuel Alsop and his second wife Mary gave, for $1.00, to Thomas C. Chandler a certain parcel of land ("or all of that portion of it, to which the said Samuel Alsop has any title") near Massaponax Meeting House, 523 acres less 1/4 acre for family burial ground. In November of 1847 Chandler bought more land in this area of Spotsylvania County.

By deed of September 9, 1846, recorded February 1, 1847, Thomas C. Chandler sold to John R. Samuel the land on which Chandler resided at the time, next to Massaponax Meeting House, except the graveyard of 1/4 acre.

The several transactions in the Massaponax Church area are confusing, but we can be certain of one thing: Sam Alsop's money was behind all of them. This land was not very far from a big Alsop tract in Spotsylvania and Caroline counties, between the Telegraph road (now U. S. 1) and Guinea; so, in moving from the Massaponax Church area to Fairfield in Caroline County, Thomas C. Chandler was, in effect, going from one end to another of a large piece of family land.

Massaponax Baptist Church, about nine miles south of Fredericksburg on U. S. Highway 1, still stands, a brick edifice built in 1859, replacing a frame building which stood, according
to an evangelical chronicler, or very near the same site. The first house of worship, he says, had been, early in the 1800's, some two miles to the east.\textsuperscript{28} The statements about the meeting house in Chandler's deeds might throw light on the church history, mainly traditional, I believe, but I shall not spread that particular light.

After selling his place near Massaponax Church, Chandler seems to have settled fairly soon into close management of Fairfield. In 1849 he and Edward C. Thornton had a friendly dispute about water rights. The 1845 property plat shows (as does also one of 1863) that Fairfield was practically bounded by canals and ditches. Thornton adjoined Chandler on the south. The dispute concerned a run-off. A majority opinion of the group chosen to arbitrate decided that Chandler had the right to carry the water through his land "& to empty it into the present water course which passes through Mr. Edward C. Thornton's land into the lake."\textsuperscript{29} The Mill Hill property (originally a Buckner place) had a long history of water controversy.

In the 1700's, one of the several Thomas Buckners confused the terms of agreement with other landholders to the extent that all property holders bordering on any water connected with the pond claimed right to free grinding at the mill.\textsuperscript{30} Apparently all Chandler wanted was to get rid of water.

As late as September 9, 1846, Thomas C. Chandler remained a widower, we know this because when he sold his property near
Massaponax Church to Samuel, the deed was written on that date and only Thomas signed.\textsuperscript{31} Probably in 1847, he being then about fifty years of age, Thomas C. Chandler married the second time, to a much younger person than he, Mary Elisabeth Fraser, born in 1819. According to the census of 1850, they then had with them at Fairfield six children: Joseph A., 21 years old; Thomas K., 19; Mildred A., 17; Henry W., 13; Mary J., 11; and an unnamed boy, 1, Mary’s first child. Evidently, Clementina’s oldest son William Samuel, born 1826, was already living elsewhere. Another son by Clementina, John, died early in life. Mary’s unnamed boy was later named James Goss Chandler. (He died in 1923.) Her next child, Lucy Turner Chandler, was born in 1851. She married Charles K. Pendleton of Louisa County in 1873, whom she survived. She died in 1943, linking the days of Jackson to the 20th century; her reminiscences of Fairfield are invaluable. Her daughter Mrs. Henry Rose Carter (née Mary Washington Pendleton) lives in Ashland. Other children of Thomas and Mary Chandler were Elizabeth Cleveland Chandler (1853–1861) and Nannie Washington Chandler (1855–1903).\textsuperscript{32}

Long before the shadow of the gaunt and modestly circumstance mountaineer Jackson ever fell on the lands of the rich Tidewater Chandler family, Joseph Alsop Chandler, a medical graduate of a Philadelphia school, set up practice at Fairfield in the little outbuilding, always called “the office” by the family, according to Mrs. Lucy (Chandler) Pendleton. This, as a doctor’s office, would
thus be an office in a double sense, since such cottages were called offices anyway. They were places where plantation business was done, and served as annexes to the main houses. Joseph did not use the office for a very long period. He married Miss Amelia Josephine White and moved to another house in the neighborhood.33

Joseph became a prominent physician of Caroline County, but his son, Julian Alvin Carroll, born 1872, another kind of doctor, was to become more widely known. A Ph. D. from Johns Hopkins, "Old Doctor Chandler," as I have heard William and Mary people familiarly call him, was president of the College of William and Mary from 1919 to his death in 1934. J. A. C. Chandler's son, Admiral Alvin Duke Chandler, now (1961) heads that venerable institution.34

By the time of the Civil War, the Aleep land adjoining Thomas C. Chandler's Fairfield, the big chunk in Caroline and Spotsylvania, was Chandler land. Their grandfather Aleep had already given this land to the older Chandler boys: William Samuel, Joseph Aleep and Thomas Kay. He had executed no conveyance, but his will, probated in 1859,35 confirmed the gift. The tract included Westwood in Spotsylvania and Spring Grove in Caroline, a total of 1,834 acres. The brothers divided it to the satisfaction of all concerned. William got Westwood; Joseph got part of Westwood straddling the counties; Thomas K. got Spring Grove in Caroline.36

William's and Thomas K.'s houses were, naturally, in their respective counties. Joseph's house was in Spotsylvania, just over the line, on the road between Massaponax Church and Guinea. All
three of these houses are standing today, though Joseph's dwelling is deserted. My land, obviously after the river, was its name, I am informed by Mrs. Annie Chandler, whose late husband, Campbell Chandler, was a son of Joseph Alsop Chandler's. I have found the estate name mistakenly written in court records as "My land." The house was probably there when Joseph got the place. It is locally called the old Claiborne place after a later owner. Its present owner keeps fox hounds, a fact that keeps me from reporting more fully on the state of dilapidation of this house. I ignored the no trespassing signs, but not the dogs. (They don't bark until you get well up the now wooded hill.)

"Plantations," states the southern historian Simkins, speaking of the eve of the Civil war, "varied in size, with some as large as 5,000 acres. In 1860 Alabama had nearly 700 estates of 1,000 or more acres, Virginia more than 600, and Georgia more than 900. In that year 1,733 great planters owned 100 or more slaves each, and middle class planters owning between 50 and 100 slaves each numbered almost 10,000. Some 90,000 small planters who had between 10 and 50 slaves each and a few hundred acres practiced plantation methods and considered themselves members of the governing class."

Fairfield, as plantations went, was not too small an establishment for Virginia, agricultural emphasis having shifted south and west. In that year of 1860, Thomas Coleman Chandler
held 740 acres; he had changed his original acreage by buying and selling portions. Add 'is boy's' 1,834 acres and you get 2,574 acres for the family.

All of this real estate and its houses were evaluated high in the land books. 40

As to personal property, in 1860, William owned 9 slaves of twelve years old and up (we have no way of knowing how many slave children there were younger than twelve, since they were not listed), 6 horses - $400.00, 16 cattle and sheep - $189.00, 7 hogs - $35.00, 1 vehicle (which could be any one of a large variety of horse-drawn vehicles at the top of the column) - $175.00, 1 watch - $30.00, 1 clock - $2.00, no piano or harp, $40.00 worth of plate and jewelry, $200.00 worth of furniture; total value, $1,071.00; tax, $15.66. (William had had $2,500.00 in liquid assets the year before, doubtless spent by 1860 on stocking his place.) Joseph during 1860 had in Spotsylvania, or at least was taxed for them there, 10 slaves of twelve and up, 6 horses - $700.00, 16 cattle and sheep - $180.00, 12 hogs - $40.00; total value, $920.00; tax, $15.66. Joseph's missing entries in Spotsylvania were picked up in Caroline; his 1860 taxes there being for a vehicle - $15.00, a watch - $25.00, furniture - $100.00; total value, $140.00; tax, $1.36. Joseph had no piano, no harp, no jewelry. Thomas K. Chandler owned 10 slaves of twelve and up, 6 horses - $500.00, 14 cattle - $140.00, 36 sheep and hogs - $70.00,
1 vehicle at $200.00, 2 watches - $75.00, 1 clock - $5.00, no piano or harp, no plate or jewelry, $100.00 worth of furniture: total value, $1,090.00; tax, $17.16. Father Thomas C. Chandler, that year of 1860, possessed 38 slaves of twelve years and up, 16 horses - $1,150.00, 35 cattle - $350.00, 77 sheep and hogs - $150.00, 3 vehicles - $375.00, 3 watches - $200.00, 1 clock - $5.00, no piano or harp, no plate or jewelry, $400.00 worth of furniture: total value, $2,630.00; tax, $57.72.

Slaves and stock varied from year to year, but, sticking with our key year of 1860, we note that the family's 67 slaves, plus their large acreage, placed them high enough in Professor Simkins' social and economic rating. Personal property evaluations in Virginia today do not begin to portray the wealth of the people; even in 1860 taxable values were far below actual values; consider this against the background of modern inflation and you realize just how well off the Chandlers were. Also, then, as now, there were omissions. A tax collector would not overlook a piano; jewelry, however, was a flexible item; Mrs. Thomas C. Chandler surely possessed some jewelry. If any jewelry was carried in the list, we can be assured that the taxes had a fair amount.

During the Civil War the Chandler clan owned more slaves than in 1860; values for the war period, however, do not mean much, because of Confederate inflation. Mrs. Lucy (Chandler) Pendleton's memory placed the slaves (she was probably thinking
of the gross) at about 90 and the land at about 1,200 acres, an exaggeration of her father's individual ownership, but, in general, an understatement of family property. She was modest enough in her statement that the family lived comfortably.

In 1860, the neighboring old Thornton connections, William C. Royston of Ormsby and Edmund C. Motley of Hillford, were in some amenities ahead of the Chandlers; Royston topped them all in personal property, Motley being ahead of the three Chandler boys but behind Thomas C. Chandler. Royston had 11 slaves over twelve years old and Motley exactly the same number. Thus, each owned about as many slaves as each of the boys, but far less than Thomas C. Chandler. Royston had a piano valued at $200.00 and money and investments of $4,000.00. Both pianos and liquid assets were rare in Caroline; like the Chandlers, Motley had neither. Motley was assessed, however, at $80.00 for plate and jewelry, also rare in Caroline; strangely, he was listed with no watch or clock. Royston's furniture was valued at $250.00 and his total personal property was assessed for tax purposes at $5,170.00. Motley's furniture was $390.00 and his total $1,380.00.

During the War years, Thomas C. Chandler's children Henry and Mary were listed with slaves and bonds, the latter doubtless Confederate. This wealth went with the wind.

The Chandler family disapproved the total truth of the saying that the Civil War was a rich man's war and a poor man's
fight. Henry, then a buck in his mid-twenties, did more than buy war bonds. He enlisted in Co. F of the 43rd Battalion, Virginia Cavalry. William and Thomas K., in their thirties, also enlisted to fight for the Confederacy, serving together in the Caroline Light Dragoons, Co. B, 9th Virginia Cavalry Regiment. All three seem to have remained privates.43

The Civil War, at first barely touching them, ultimately ensnared the families around Guiney’s Station. Though the War did not ruin the Chandlers, it probably began to bother them before it was half over, Guiney’s Station becoming a busy Confederate supply depot, a center of activities hardly conducive to quiet.

Thomas C. Chandler sold Fairfield in 1863 to Edgar McKenney, not transferring, however, until 1865. The deed was not acknowledged and admitted to record until March of 1865 and Chandler paid taxes on Fairfield through 1865.44

Yet McKenney, a physician, was known as the owner of Fairfield in May of 1864, when the Federal army passed through the Guiney area. An artilleryman reported that his VI Corps battery parked "near Dr. McKenney’s house at Fairfield."45 An Army of the Potomac Route Map (sheet A3 cited more fully in the appendix) shows the name Dr. McKinney there in 1864.46

In 1863, before his sale to McKenney, Thomas C. Chandler bought from H. B. White (Col. Buckner White) a place on the
Mattapony called Lake Farm, not very far from Fairfield. The whole land was 635 acres, but part of it was a small piece separate from the main tract. Family tradition has it that Mrs. Chandler was very nervous, sometimes close to a breakdown. The doctors thought a change of residence would help her. The bustle of Confederate occupation would naturally affect her, and the death of "Stonewall" Jackson on the Fairfield plantation doubtless intensified her depression, but this deed of purchase of Lake Farm was dated April 29, 1863, and recorded the same day, several days before the wounded Jackson came to Fairfield. That the Chandlers were still at Fairfield when Jackson died there is a matter of history. Chandler continued, as indicated in the 1866 book, to pay taxes on Fairfield through 1865. (There is no Caroline land book for 1864.) In the book for 1865, he paid taxes both on Fairfield and the 635 acre tract, marked in the alterations as from W. B. White, evidence that the Chandlers were holding Fairfield in 1864.

After the war, various sales were made, not only of Fairfield itself, but of the other Chandler properties also. In the course of these postwar transactions, Dr. Joseph A. Chandler bought from Motley in 1869, a piece of land close to Guinea, 154 acres on both sides of the road to McCallie's Mill. Joseph built a house on that land and called it Idlewild. J. A. G. Chandler, president of William and Mary, was born there. It still stands, not far from Hillford, the Motley house.
In April of 1869, Thomas Coleman Chandler sold Lake Farm. (His wife did not get around to acknowledging the sale until late in 1870.) He purchased, May 1, 1869, a 204-acre portion of Spring Hill farm from John and Birdie B. Washington. The old man either retained his seat for transactions or was influenced by Mrs. Chandler's nerves. He built a house on this property and called it Ingleside. It burned some years ago. (Spring Hill itself stands, somewhat modified.)

Mary Fraser Chandler died in 1881. Though much younger than her husband, she was sixty-two, a fair age then.

On December 20, 1881, Thomas C. Chandler executed a deed, recorded January 6, 1882, which stated that he, as party of the first part, had agreed in January of 1879 with James Goss Chandler to give all his stock ("consisting of a few old oxen & one horse and a few head of cattle"), farming implements, and furniture to J. G. Chandler, surrendering full possession of his farm, about 200 acres, in exchange for the son's agreement to "protect and support him and his family, including his unmarried daughter, and pay the taxes on said land." The son did so and was doing so and the deed formally turned the land over to him.

Thomas Coleman Chandler, born in 1798, died in 1890. His will of 1875, recorded March 10, 1890, left his property to his wife and children: J. G. Chandler, Lucy T. Pendleton, and Nannie W. Chandler. The deed of 1881, however, superseded the
will. The man of property died without property, yet well-off in care and comfort to the end. 56

Ingleside was within three miles of Fairfield. Thus, though he moved twice after Jackson's death, Thomas Coleman Chandler lived out his own long days not far from the only one of his many holdings that made his name known to the world at large. Had the Civil War never happened, both the poor Jackson and the rich Chandler would have been unknown outside their small circles, but Fairfield could well be thriving yet, under an order peacefully evolved from the old plantation system. As it was, when Chandler died, the decline of Fairfield had already begun.

The New South was harder on some old places than others. Perhaps Jackson's death set a blight on Fairfield; there is always a strangeness about the untoward death of folk heroes.
Chapter III

Fairfield: Hayday and Decay

Upon John Thornton's acquisition of the Fairfield tract in 1796, a tax value of $1,374.64 was placed on this, his share of paternal lands. This same value runs along for years in the early land books, indicating, despite the absence of separate values for buildings, that he had been housed there at least from the time of acquisition. In fact, a house must have stood there well before that time, on evidence of the land books; before the division between John and Henry, the Col. Anthony Thornton estate stood at 697 acres, valued at $2,061.96. (Keep in mind that this is exclusive of young Anthony's Ormsby, 650 acres, then valued at $738.09.) Upon the division between John and Henry, John's receipt of a tract of 465 and a fraction acres valued at $1,374.64 left Henry with 232 and a fraction acres at an evaluation of $687.32.

Add John's and Henry's values and you get the old value of $2,061.96. We have seen that Henry had no house. The John-Henry combined portion before division was roughly equal in acreage to Anthony's Ormsby, yet valued much higher—ergo, there was a house on John's Fairfield before 1796.

A land transfer brought John Thornton's acreage to 477½ in the 1818 Caroline Land Book, changing the total value slightly, to $1,367.39. This figure remained the same the next year. The
Land Book for 1820 not only began showing separate values for buildings, but also brought sharp re-evaluations upward. In that year John's buildings were listed at $1,000.00.

In the 1829 Land Book, the buildings value on Fairfield jumped to $1,300.00 (bringing the total Fairfield property value to $10,678.50), with the notation in the alterations column: "To house added. [sig] Com. fee 50c." This house built in 1828 was undoubtedly the cottage, or office, wherein "Stonewall" Jackson would die. Keep in mind that the building date was 1828 because, though the land books reflect current values early in each year, the alterations refer to the previous year. Prior to 1820 any dating of buildings is a matter of deduction; after 1820, however, changes are obvious both from change in value and statements in the alterations column. Re-assessments, as today, occurred at certain times, and reveal nothing about the status of buildings without statements. The Caroline Land Book for 1840 raised Fairfield's buildings to $1,500.00 without remark; that was simply a re-assessment; this book is noteworthy for widespread re-evaluations, resulting in a rise in house values but a decrease in total values.2

When Thomas Coleman Chandler purchased Fairfield, all buildings were probably in good repair. Throughout the period of John Thornton's ownership, the Fairfield buildings were valued higher than those of Orasby. The Fairfield buildings value of $2,500.00 remained the same for ten years after Chandler's purchase.
Thomas C. Chandler, however, was a well-off child of the progressive nineteenth century. The colonial architecture of the old Fairfield house did not please him. And if you have money and do not want some of the other things you have, you change things. Mrs. Charles K. Pendleton had a keen memory of her childhood as Lucy Chandler; she personally remembered much and had been well briefed on family happenings before her time of cognizance. She told Mr. Edward T. Stuart, a distinguished Philadelphian deeply interested in the Civil War, that her father "did not care for" (a Virginian expression meaning disliked) John Thornton's house, a frame structure, no doubt of the sort we consider charming today. So he temporarily moved his family into the nearby office and "tore down the old house and built a new large house of brick on its site. This was before the outbreak of the war."

It was, we can definitely tell by the land tax records, in 1854 that Mr. Chandler built the brick house. The Caroline Land Book for 1855 raises his house value from $1,500.00 to $2,500.00 with this remark: "$1000 Add. for Buildings."

The brick house, recalled Mrs. Pendleton to Mr. Stuart (and I can imagine that Main Line gentleman, who reminded one of Woodrow Wilson, looking respectfully at her through his rimless Horn glasses), "had three terraces at the back, sloping down to the Richmond, Fredericksburg and Potomac Railroad, then a single
track railway which ran about one hundred yards in the rear of the house. The first terrace nearest the house was in syringa lilacs and flowers, the second in grapes and fruit and the third in vegetables, and down the center of the terraces a walk with steps flanked on each side by lilacs and shrubs continued down to the railroad.5

The terraces may have been built by Thornton. They seem indicated, with a gate at the railroad, on the plat accompanying the 1845 deed to Chandler. A photograph of the plat is attached to this report. E. T. Stuart shows the terraces and walkway on the sketch he made (or had made) under Mrs. Pendleton's direction. A photographic copy of that sketch is also appended.

Elsewhere, in a newspaper interview, Mrs. Pendleton mentioned "the weeping syringas and the white and purple lilacs" lining the walk down the terraces.6 What is the difference between her syringa lilacs and her weeping syringas and lilacs? I think she meant both lilacs and mock orange bushes. Syringa was once a common term for the mock orange (Philadelphus Sarcifragaceae); to modern gardeners, however, syringa is the generic name for the lilac. An authority, writing in 1919, said that "Philadelphus is still popularly called Syringa." This same author, in 1930, spoke of the mock orange as "mostly erect but with curving or drooping branches . . . sometimes called Syringa but this name belongs to the lilac."7
Doubtless many of the old flowers were cultivated at Fairfield. Lily of the valley grew there at the time of Jackson's death. The ground in front of the dwelling house site, the side away from the railroad, was, as late as the 1920's, thick with old-fashioned single hyacinths and two members of the old narcissus family, the common yellow large trumpet type we call jonquils and the old double "butter-and-eggs." These old doubles, disliked by modern gardeners who have magnificent singles and doubles to choose from, always show green in the yellow petals and never open properly. Nevertheless, they have a certain charm; I like to see a few around, whether or not a place is old.

The front of the dwelling looked northeast, away from the railroad. As one faced the front of the big house, the office was to the left, its entrance giving on the end of the house. Foundations of the long gone brick house are now grassed over, but are plainly discernible. Measurements of these foundations indicate that the big house was about 44 feet long by about 26 feet deep. The relationship of the houses, early fences and other details appear on the sketch made under Mrs. Pendleton's direction, attached to her reminiscences to E. T. Stuart. The respective sides of the buildings closer to the tracks, i.e., the back of the big house and a side of the office, were exactly in line, a fact which the sketch does not correctly show. The gable end of the office (about 32 feet, 4 inches) was actually
wider than the gable end of the big house; so the office overlapped the front of the big house. The office is about 25 feet "long," if that is the word.11

An examination of various old photographs reveals location and appearance of several outbuildings. The icehouse, not shown in any of the pictorial sources, was north and rear of the dwelling site; the icehouse pit is plain enough on the ground. Nobody seems to know much concerning the location of slave quarters or large barns, but an old colored man of the neighborhood once pointed out a general location for the stables, southeast of the office, about where the caretaker's carport now stands. He said that the slave quarters were off to the north and front of the big house. There is no trace today of the graveyard, which had been mentioned in Chandler's 1845 deed of acquisition. Mr. H. E. Thomas, of Fredericksburg, who knew the place well in the 1920's, says he never saw a recognizable cemetery but understood that one was supposed to have existed north and front of the big house, about in line with the icehouse hole.12 Since the cemetery is so specifically mentioned in the 1845 deed, its absence on the 1845 plat merely indicates that the surveyor, who showed no outbuildings, did not go into that much detail. When Chandler transferred Fairfield, neither plat nor deed carried any mention of site of the old Thornton graveyard. It was there, however, as late as 1861. Many burials and exhumations were made there—mostly during the Civil War; perhaps that activity destroyed
the graveyard's identity. General Frank Paxton, commanding Jackson's old brigade, killed at Chancellorsville, was temporarily interred at Fairfield.13

The brick dwelling was a substantial mid-nineteenth century house, solid and comfortable, without frills. The Pendleton-Stuart sketch shows a porch in front and a stoop in back. D. J. Freeman, when writing Lee's lieutenants, was interested in a mention of a piazza by Jackson's widow. He sought information from Mrs. Pendleton, who confirmed the existence of the porch, calling it "a long porch at the level above a basement."14

Mrs. Pendleton's language about the porch indicates that the house was typical of a 19th century Virginia style, the first floor over a half basement.

She is certainly correct in writing "Unfortunately, there is no picture of 'Fairfield' in its hey day. The only one that I have seen was an atrocity, made many years after it had fallen to decay, and had passed through the hands of various owners."15

I can offer four atrocities, copies of all being appended, constituting a study in the decline of a gentleman's seat. They present features of the structure and grounds, however, and once we have put the scene together, it is easy enough to visualize the old order, the flowers, the well-kept trees, and the trimmed lawns.

One of the two oldest of these photographs is printed in Reclam's Stonewall Jackson's Way.16 In this, the office then
still had the tall chimneys, as in the Library of Congress photograph, perhaps the oldest of all Fairfield photographs, discussed further on. The view shown in Wayland is also to be seen in a pamphlet put out by the Railroad in 1912.17

In the Wayland picture, the Chandler office is in the foreground. The side we see is the side to the railroad, facing somewhat south of west. (The office itself will be treated separately in another chapter.) Only the end of the main house is visible and that is partly obscured by trees. The remains of one chimney appear and its location indicates two chimneys for this end. (The tall outline of the other faintly appears behind the leaves.) A window shows in the gable end of the house.

Just off the northerly end of the cottage there is a square smokehouse, with the traditional peaked roof covered with wood shingles. On the west face of the smokehouse, a brick chimney rises from the ground by means of a wooden platform.

This and the other three pictures presently discussed show tin on the office roof, indicating that all were taken well after the war.

The foreground, the area around the south and west sides of the office, which had been grass in the time of the Chandlees, here has been planted in some sort of crop, and the crude fencing seems designed to keep animals out of this area.
A later picture (shorter chimneys on the office, as
today), taken from the same angle, shows tobacco in the foreground
and no fences. The smokehouse has lost its chimney. We now see
more of the end of the big house and also its westerly face. The
bricks of the gable end (southerly wall) are gone down to the
eaves and the chimneys are gone entirely, but marks of two chim-
neys may be discerned. There seems to be a door in this end at
the corner next to the westerly side; the smokehouse hides all
of the lower part of the rest of this end. In both this and the
preceding photograph there is evidence of a chimney at the other
end; doubtless there were two chimneys at both ends. The westerly
side has a door in the middle on first floor level (stoop gone),
and a window may be seen next to this door; it seems indicated
that there was a window on either side of the door on the first
floor, with three windows on the second floor, a common arrange-
ment.

This photograph, which came to the Park with the Jackson
shrine, indicates, along with the previous picture, that the house
was a large rectangular building composed of a half basement, a
first floor above ground level, a second floor, and an attic.
The main house was torn down in 1909, and I believe this picture
was taken about that time. It came to us from the Richmond,
Fredericksburg and Potomac Railroad Company and may have been
taken for that company. I shall call it the Railroad picture.
It also appears in a book published in 1911.18
Another photograph of the dwelling house and the office, showing tall chimneys on the office, is about as old as the one in Wayland's book. This is reproduced, with a companion interior view of the office, in a little pictorial brochure called "Fredericksburg, Va., Reminiscences," undated, published by J. Willard Adams, Fredericksburg. (The Park Library's copy, donated by Hr. i. T. Stuart, is bound into a library set called Civil War (Confederate) undry Pampllets. Hr. Adams also sold the other picture as a postcard, two copies of which have come to my attention.19

Here we look from the east, seeing the southerly end of the big house from a different angle and also its front; the chimney hidden by foliage in the Wayland picture shows here all the way to the cap. The other chimney does not show because its top was already gone.

The front of the main house shows a door, with light above, on the first floor level, and apparently a window on either side and three on the second floor. No porch remains, but evidence of one may be seen on the brickwork. A flourishing field of tobacco grows in the foreground.

Another picture, printed in Wingfield's History of Caroline County, was taken more from the south.20 The eastern side is in shadow, but the southern elevation is valuable. (The date of this picture is late, because the office chimneys are short, as today, but it would be before the railroad picture, since the
gable end of the big house is still intact.) Both chimneys at
the southern end of the big house are present and also the gable
window. There are no windows on the second floor at this end. At
first floor level, the westerly corner door appears and also a
door between the chimneys. (These could have been windows or
French doors; the picture is very dim.)

A small A-roofed shed shows up south of the cottage.

In none of these pictures can one truly tell the type of
roofing on the main house, either because of the angle or the poor
quality of the old photographs. The roofing would seem to be wood
shingles, even after tin had been put on the office.

We have no pictorial evidence of the interior of the main
dwelling, but Mrs. Pendleton does give one or two details. There
was a large parlor on the main floor at the end facing the office.
This room could be made into two by closing the folding doors.
There may have been another parlor; her several mentions of
parlors are not entirely clear. A spiral staircase went to the
sleeping rooms upstairs.21

There were probably halls in the middle of the house from
side to side, upstairs and down. Cooking, dining and pantry rooms
were doubtless located in the half basement. Such was a typical
arrangement for this kind of house of the mid-nineteenth century.
A somewhat similar dwelling, built in the late 1840's, was the
house where Lee surrendered, the McLean House at Appomattox.
Chandler's, however, gave the impression of being a bit more squrishe and firmer to the ground.

If one could project the bleak pictures backward, beyond existing shots, to pre-atrocities wet-plates and daguerreotypes not found, we should have a Currier and Ives model of a solid rural seat, a picture of Victorian tranquillity in the summer sun, showing posed in happy pursuits a household unmindful of change and sad tales of dying generals.
Chapter IV

Confederates at Guiney's Station and Jackson at Fairfield

About December 1, 1862, Lt. Gen. Thomas Jonathan Jackson's Corps arrived from the mountains to join Longstreet's Corps of Lee's Confederate Army of Northern Virginia in the Fredericksburg area. Ambrose E. Burnside's Army of the Potomac lay across the Rappahannock, threatening a move southward toward Richmond, Capital of the Confederacy.

Longstreet guarded the river valley near Fredericksburg, and Jackson disposed his several divisions downstream as far as Port Royal, some twenty miles southeast of Fredericksburg. General Jackson, himself, stayed with his old division, now under Taliaferro, at Guiney's Station, which became an important staging area for the Confederates. "Old Jack," as his soldiers called him, pitched his tent on Fairfield.¹

Thomas Coleman Chandler and his wife Mary were nineteenth century Virginians at their best, hospitable, courteous, and genuinely kind. They hastened to make Jackson welcome. Mr. Chandler and his little daughter Lucy walked over to Jackson's tent and introduced themselves. Jackson asked them in and invited them to sit down. Mr. Chandler remained standing, saying he knew how busy the General must be. He had come only to offer the use of his house as headquarters. Jackson could occupy the parlor,
out of the cold and damp. Jackson declined politely, saying he
"never wished to fare better than his Soldiers."

Upon return of the defeated pair, Mrs. Chandler declared
she would not be outgeneraled. She had her colored servants
William Wallace and Charles carry meals to Jackson's tent. Several
times he sent word back that he could not accept. He would let
the family know if he needed anything. His colored body servant
and faithful friend Jim told "Mistus," as he called Mrs. Chandler,
that the General was "mighty peculiar." (This is an old Virginian
expression, meaning, depending on the user, anything from slightly
eccentric to almost certifiable.)

One day Mrs. Chandler sent a large dinner over, with the
message that it should be divided among "the others" if the General
would not eat it. Jackson later came to the house and thanked the
family for all its kindness. ²

Evidently, after he had broken down, Jackson took fuller
advantage of the kindness proffered by the Chandlers and other
families of the neighborhood, for, on December 4, 1862, he reported
in a letter to his wife:

"At present I am about fifty miles from Richmond, and one
mile from Guiney's Station, on the railroad from Richmond to Frederi-
skburg. Should I remain here, I do hope you and baby can come to
see me before spring, as you can come on the railroad. Wherever I
go, God gives me kind friends. The people here show me great kind-
ness. I receive invitation after invitation to dine out, and spend
the night, and a great many provisions are sent me, including
nice cakes, tea, loaf-sugar, etc., and the socks and gloves and
handkerchiefs still come!  

Early in December, the battle of Fredericksburg began
shaping up, and Jackson left Guiney's Station. After that battle,
his troops again bivouacked in Caroline County. He, himself,
driven to indoor hospitality by an earache, spent the winter in
the office at the Corbin place, Moss Neck, near the Rappahannock.
That cottage is now gone, but the Moss Neck house stands, well
preserved. Plantation offices, larger than the other numerous
buildings surrounding old Virginia places, were used for keeping
accounts, as extra sleeping quarters, and as hideaways for the
males of the family; the one at Moss Neck was a well-appointed
hunting lodge.

Jackson and his chieftain Robert E. Lee were sincere in
their practice of staying in tents. Lee did not move into houses
until 1864. In March of 1863, a severe illness (which probably
shortened his life) made Lee desert his tent behind the Frederi-
cksburg lines for a sojourn at Varby's house, but he did not really
give up tenting until the winter of the Petersburg operations.

Amongst the soldiers stationed about Guiney's Station
after the battle of Fredericksburg were the troopers of R. E.
Lee's nephew Fitzhugh Lee. This dashing young cavalryman, light
in the saddle and tireless in campaign, felt no need to abjure
comfort. He did not concern himself with setting an example.
He accepted Chandler hospitality—indoors, quartering himself in
the office. From Guiney's Station he rode off, December 24, on
the famous Christmas raid over the Rappahannock behind the Union
lines, after which he returned to stay until February 9, 1863;
his brigade then broke camp at Guiney's and assumed picket duty
on the upper Rappahannock.  

The departure of the cavalry did not bring quiet to
Guiney's Station. It was now the main depot for Lee's supplies
and far busier than the actual railhead at Hamilton's Crossing,
five miles below Fredericksburg. (After the Battle of Fredericks-
burg the cars did not run beyond Hamilton's.) There was an express
line from Richmond to Guiney's.  A receiving hospital was there,
and the chaplains labored there, along with the physicians of the
body.  

Jackson's wife Mary Anna came up on the express line to
Guiney's Station on the wet 20th of April, 1863, bringing the
infant daughter Jackson had not yet seen. His corps was now con-
centrated around Hamilton's Crossing, preparing for the spring
campaign. Jackson conducted his family to the Yerby house (now
gone), near Hamilton's Crossing, and they were given the room
wherein R. E. Lee had recently convalesced.  

This visit, a high point in the life of the Southern
army, came to an end with the beginning of the Chancellorsville
campaign. Back to Richmond went Mrs. Jackson and baby Julia.
About 9 p.m., May 2, 1863, having outflanked the enemy and driven in its right wing, Jackson fell by the mistaken fire of his own men on the Battlefield of Chancellorsville. In a field hospital near Wilderness Run, his left arm, twice struck by musket balls, was amputated. A ball lodged in his right hand was removed and the hand bandaged. 8

One of his aides, his brother-in-law Joseph Morrison, was dispatched to Richmond, where Mrs. Jackson was staying with friends, to bring her to whatever farmhouse the General should later occupy.

Jackson seemed strong enough as Sunday, May 3, wore on and was pleased to hear of continuing Confederate success.

He dictated a note to Lee, telling of his wounding and of temporary transfer of corps command to cavalry leader J. E. B. Stuart.

In the afternoon, delivered by a hard-riding courier, a reply arrived from Lee. Jackson's aide James Power Smith opened it, and read its contents to Jackson. His regret, Lee wrote, was beyond expression; he said the victory was due to Jackson's skill and energy. "Could I have directed events, I should have chosen for the good of the country to be disabled in your stead."

Jackson, touched, said the praise should be given to God.

The campaign, however, was not ended. Later in the day, another message came from Army Headquarters. Dr. Hunter Holmes
McGuire, Chief Medical Officer of the Corps, was ordered to conduct Jackson, depending on his condition, to a place more distant from the enemy.

Jackson chose, remembering the many Chandler courtesies, to go to Fairfield. After his wounds healed, he could be removed on the railroad to Ashland and there recuperate near the medical facilities of Richmond.

The next day, May 4, lying on a mattress in an ambulance (not to be compared to the luxurious automotive vehicles of today), he set out by way of the Brock Road (now Va. 613) to Spotsylvania Court House. His topographical engineer Jed Hotchkiss and a small body of pioneers cleared the road. Dr. McGuire was in charge of the vehicle, with Smith and the Rev. Beverley Tucker Lacy accompanying. Lacy, a Second Corps chaplain, was virtually the staff chaplain. Smith was a ministerial student. These fellow Presbyterians of Deacon Jackson's were his devout and devoted friends. All along the route, the country people came out to offer sympathy and whatever little delicacies they had.

From Spotsylvania, the ambulance proceeded to Massaponax Church and thence on to Quiney's through the vast tract owned by the Chandler boys, winding slowly on its journey of some twenty-five miles, toward the station where a more vigorous Jackson had met his wife and daughter such a short time before. A modern traveller may follow the route, as I have outlined it on the

bound county maps.
On that pleasant spring day, Mrs. Chandler and Lucy, sitting on the porch at Fairfield, were startled by a courier who dashed up to tell them the wounded General was coming.

Summoning two of her servants, Nammy Phyllis and Aunt Judy, Mrs. Chandler searched out linens and prepared a bed in the parlor, which room, we remember, could be made into two rooms by closing the folding doors.

Soon after, riding ahead, Chaplain Lacy came to see about the arrangements. He found that the family was caring for a number of refugees and wounded soldiers. The big house would be too noisy. Mrs. Chandler assured him that quiet could be maintained. But, on his arrival, Dr. McGuire concurred in Lacy's objections, especially since a case or two of erysipelas had occurred there. Lacy suggested using the office.

Mrs. Chandler ordered the bed taken down and made up in the office. Since the late afternoon had turned showery, she started a fire in the fireplace of the room chosen. Then, from the second floor of the main house, she and Lucy watched the ambulance and its small party approach.

During the winter, the Confederates had built a road from the railroad, up past the chimney-end of the office, then leftward toward the Fairfield driveway. (Though no word is found anywhere, Mr. Chandler must have felt twinges at the military changes to his grounds.) The ambulance slowly pulled the slope,
turned left around the end of the office, skirted a little paling fence which separated the office from the front yard, and stopped at the gate. Mr. Chandler, at the gate, welcomed the General, but deplored the circumstances of his arrival. The General apologized for not shaking hands, his remaining hand being bandaged.

And then they carried the General into the little house. Had Jackson noticed that house during his previous visit to Fairfield, and did he know that Fitzhugh Lee, who contributed to Jackson's recent victory, had once stayed under its roof? What sufferings of lesser patients treated there by Dr. Joseph Chandler infused the damp air of approaching night? What ghosts of rowdy Thornton boys and long dead bound dogs gazed at the stricken hero?

The office, not being used for anything at the time of Jackson's wounding, was practically empty then, but in good repair, according to Mrs. Lucy (Chandler) Pendleton. It was probably whitewashed outside and maybe in need of a little ceasing at the time; nobody elucidates this point.

At the time of Jackson's arrival, the interior walls of the office had just been whitewashed. (Photographs indicate that the simple woodwork was stained some dark color.) "My mother always kept it nice," reported Mrs. Pendleton, "... the floors were clean, the hearth was white with Fuller's earth, and through the curtained windows there was a wonderful view of our terraced garden, with its lovely flowers... I was just a little girl but
I kept at my mother's heels, and everything that happened made a vivid impression on me and I remember it as well as if it had happened yesterday. 13

Thus, though Jackson entered "a small, humble abode," 14 it was neat and clean, albeit, judging by the National Park Service's experience, damp. Mrs. Chandler's newly-lit fire and later fires in the fireplaces probably took care of the dampness. The Park uses an electric dehumidifier today.

There was a hall on the first floor, entered by two doors at the northerly end. To the left was a small room; ahead were two larger rooms, the one closer to the railroad being where the General's bed had been placed. Each of these large rooms was heated by a fireplace. A stairway in the hall led, along the southerly wall of the hall, from near the door of Jackson's room to two small half-story chambers, the northerly one considerably smaller than the other. Mrs. Lucy Pendleton stated in 1941 that the place had suffered no change in layout. 15 It is the same today, 1961.

Dr. McGuire and Lt. Smith occupied the room over Jackson's room, and "Uncle" Jim, as Lucy Chandler called Jackson's servant, slept in the smaller upstairs room. 16

Tuesday morning, May 5, 1863, Jackson had Chaplain Lacy in for morning prayers and requested that he come every morning, but for the rest of the time to stay at his post of duty with the
troops. "I have always," said Jackson, "tried to set the troops a good example." 17

On Wednesday, May 6, Chaplain Lacy went to army headquarters to request the detail of Dr. Samuel B. Morrison of Early's Division, a kinsman of Mrs. Jackson's and the General's family physician. He was needed to assist and relieve McGuire, who had been watching day and night. The minister then visited Jackson, bringing Lee's affectionate regards and an earnest message: "... tell him to make haste and get well, and come back to me as soon as he can. He has lost his left arm, but I have lost my right arm." 18

That night McGuire, utterly exhausted, went to sleep upon a lounge in Jackson's room, leaving Jim to watch. In the early hours of May 7, the General, suffering from nausea, told Jim to apply a wet towel to his stomach, a form of therapy Jackson greatly favored. Jim demurred, but the General insisted and would not let him awaken Dr. McGuire. So Jim complied. Agonizing pain forced Jackson to have McGuire waked up at dawn.

The doctor recognized the onset of pneumonia, which the wet towel, despite lay tradition, probably had not aggravated. 19

When Mrs. Jackson arrived from Richmond on May 7, the losing fight for her husband's life was beginning its critical stage. He was not always lucid after that.

She, though aware of the wounding since Sunday, May 3, had not been able to reach him sooner because of a phase of
hocker's Chancellorsville Campaign, Stoneman's Cavalry said, which, accomplishing little else, disrupted rail service north of Richmond. This Union raid also resulted in the capture of her brother Joseph Morrison, sent to fetch her. He escaped, however, and arrived in Richmond Tuesday morning. When railroad travel was resumed Thursday, May 7, Joseph accompanied his sister to Guinney's Station on an armed train of cars.

Mrs. Jackson had the nineteenth century woman's intuitive feeling for tragedy. She was told upon arrival that the general was doing "pretty well" but that she could not see him until the doctor finished dressing his wounds. She could tell from the staff member's manner that something was wrong. Mrs. Chandler mothered her and assigned quarters upstairs in the big house to her and her baby and the baby's Negro nurse. While "walking off" her nervousness on the piazza, Mrs. Jackson saw a body being dug up and learned it was General Frank Paxton, who had been killed at Chancellorsville and temporarily buried at Fairfield. Paxton was her friend and neighbor in Lexington. Altogether, Mary Anna Jackson had time for considerable foreboding before she even saw her falling husband.

When she saw him, there was nothing she could do to hold him back.

The same day Dr. Morrison arrived, he and McGuire sent Smith to Richmond to summon Dr. David Tucker, a distinguished
pneumonia man. Smith would also get Mrs. Moses D. Hoge, a friend of the Jacksons, to help with the baby, so that Mrs. Jackson could have more time at the General's bedside. Tucker did not come up until Saturday, May 9, but meantime two other doctors arrived. Growing steadily weaker and sometimes out of his head, Jackson was still strong enough late on May 9 to remark to McGuire, "I see from the number of physicians that you think my condition dangerous, but I thank God, if it is His will, that I am ready to go."

Later, after hymn-singing by Anna and Joseph, Jackson asserted that he would be better in the morning. That next morning, Sunday, May 10, when Alexander ("Sandie") Pendleton, the popular and capable young staff officer, came to see him, Jackson said, "I have always desired to die on Sunday."

At 3:15 p.m., Sunday, May 10, 1863, he crossed the river which may not be re-crossed, to "rest under the shade of the trees."

Except when preparing food for the sickroom, Mrs. Chandler, Lucy at her heels, seems to have spent all her daylight hours watching the office. Even Lucy knew that no hope was entertained for Jackson's recovery. She wished she could die in his place, "because then only my mother would be sorry but if General Jackson dies, everybody will be sorry." Lucy and her mother realized that Jackson had died when they saw his wife being escorted from the office, supported by
Smith and Joseph Morrison. The three came over and told Mr. and Mrs. Chandler that Jackson had passed away. 24

The news was telegraphed to Richmond.

Staff officers shrouded the body in a dark civilian suit, since the General's uniform was blood-stained and cut, and over the suit they wrapped a dark blue military overcoat. 25

This was done in the office, the remains being placed in "an open coffin of wood, which was procured near by." 26 Sunday night, however, a company of embalmers, sent by the Governor of Virginia, arrived with a metallic coffin from Richmond, and the remains were further prepared, states R. L. Dabney, Jackson's staff member and biographer. 27

Late Sunday evening the body, in the metallic casket, was placed in the big Fairfield parlor and Anna Jackson went in to see the remains. 28

The next day flowers were placed around the coffin, and Lucy herself picked a special bunch.

"Oh, how willingly I would have died for him," cried the little girl. 29

The child's sorrow quickly spread throughout the South, but the closest grief lay in the heart of Anna Jackson. In the morning she came again to the parlor and gazed at the mute form covered with spring flowers. The face was wreathed in lily of the valley, the flower of humility, so very appropriate, she
thought, for him. After that she never saw the sweet and modest blossoms of that small plant without recalling the scene. 30

Later in the morning, the casket was removed from the house and borne down the walkway and steps over the terraces to the track, to be conveyed to Richmond. A separate car of the Richmond train was set aside for Mrs. Jackson and attendants (Mr. and Mrs. Chandler and Mrs. Hoge), staff officers Pendleton, Smith, Lacy, and Morrison. 31

In Richmond, Mrs. Jackson got off in the suburbs, where Mrs. Letcher met and escorted her party to the Governor's Mansion by carriage, thus avoiding crowds. 32

The train continued to Fourth and Broad Streets (the line ran right down Broad in those days), and the coffin was removed to the sound of church bells and minute guns. All business had ceased for the day. Throngs lined the streets. A military escort took the remains to the Governor's Mansion in Capitol Square.

That night, Monday, May 11, the remains were embalmed, or further embalmed after the preliminary treatment at Chandler's, and a death mask was taken.

The next day a procession, with all the trappings, was made along several streets to the Capitol. (If a procession had not been desired, the shortest distance from the Mansion to the Capitol would have been just a few yards.) The body lay in state in Jefferson's historic structure, then the Capitol of both Virginia and the Confederacy. 33
In the Governor’s house, many of the valley men in the Governor’s company were present, mourning the death of the late Governor, General Jackson. His remains were borne on a bier to the home town of Jackson, where they were laid to rest with great ceremony.

The Governor, accompanied by his family and friends, went on a tour of inspection, examining all the buildings and structures in the town. The body of General Jackson was brought to the December meeting house, where the funeral was held on the 15th. The services were conducted by the Reverend Mr. Jones, and were attended by a large congregation.

After the funeral, the Governor and his family visited the neighboring communities and returned to his home at the end of the tour. The whole town was in mourning, and the streets were decorated with black bunting and flags. The Governor’s mansion was illuminated with lights, and the grave was marked with a stone monument.

The Governor’s family was received with great honors, and the town was in a state of mourning. The Governor’s loss was felt by all, and the town was in a state of grief for many days. The Governor’s memory was preserved by a monument, and the town was always in mourning for his loss.
Jackson's old brigade (under Paxton) had fallen. Though the whole South mourned in its moment of victory, the bereavement in the Valley of Virginia epitomized the cost of Chancellorsville. 37

During the weeks following Chancellorsville, sickness hit many who had escaped the bullets, one of the incapacitated being the Lexington boy "Sandie" Pendleton. On June 4, 1863, somewhat better, he wrote to his mother:

"Your letter of the lst, which I got yesterday as I lay on a sickbed at Guinea's, cheered me so that I feel bound to answer it this last evening of our stay around Fredericksburg. In the last week I have been very sick. The excitement of the news of a move, together with the kind nursing of Mrs. Chandler in the same room and on the same bed on which General Jackson died, brought me cut, so that I was able to ride in an ambulance up to camp last night." 38

The move led to Gettysburg, which "Sandie" survived.

Before the War's end, however, he, too, went home a corpse.
Chapter V

The Skirmish at Guiney's Station and Grant at Fairfield

Prior to the great battles around Fredericksburg, that town and vicinity were occupied by General Irvin McDowell in the spring of 1862. McDowell was supposed to move against Richmond southward from Fredericksburg, while his superior, George B. McClellan, went by water to Fortress Monroe and then marched westward toward the Confederate Capital. "Stonewall" Jackson, however, created such a diversion in the Valley of Virginia that McDowell, or all but a token force, was called in for the safety of Washington. Jackson then proceeded to Richmond and assisted in pushing back McClellan, eastward down the Peninsula between the York and James rivers.

In those days, the Chandlers, Roystons, Metleys and other neighbors around Guiney's Station seemed far removed from the War, but they did see a little of the enemy. Forays from McDowell's Fredericksburg base reached the area. One of the forays, in King's Division of McDowell's Corps, during May of 1862, "passed five days in and around Guiney's Station, riding back once in the mean while to Fredericksburg. No more pleasing region for campaigning purposes ever came in my line of march. The roads are good, water plenty, and there are farms enough for foraging purposes and fences enough for fuel. If the soldier
asks for anything besides these requisites he has pleasing landscapes, extensive views, and houses planned on a grand scale dotting them here and there, but will miss everything that can remind him of his home.  

Almost exactly two years later, the whole Union Army of the Potomac and Burnside's then separate IX Corps poured through the Guinea area in the movements following the Spotsylvania Court House operations. At that time, George G. Meade commanded the Army of the Potomac, accompanied by Ulysses S. Grant, newly appointed head of all Union armies in the field. (Burnside's Corps was soon thereafter put under Meade.)

The Union forces had been ordered to leave the Spotsylvania area by various routes, including the Telegraph Road southward, but the exigencies of war, in the persons of Confederate infantrymen and cavalrymen, caused all units to pass by Guiney's Station. Many of the Federal units bivouacked thereabouts.

Early on the morning of May 21, 1864, Grant, on the Spotsylvania front, notified Burnside that Army Headquarters would be moved at 10 a.m. to Massaponax Church. This simple statement was a significant follow-up of Grant’s recent dispatch to Washington that he would fight it out on that line if it took all summer. Grant had failed to destroy Lee at the Wilderness and Spotsylvania; now he was pushing on, leaving the field, but moving to the left to go forward toward Richmond. He knew he would wear Lee out sooner or later.
Riding the same route, in part, that the wounded Jackson's ambulance had followed a year before, Generals Grant and Meade reached the Quinby area and spent the night of May 21-22 there. At 8:30 a.m., May 22, Grant wrote a dispatch to Washington datelined Quinby's Station. Present Virginia roads hereabouts follow the old roads rather closely. Jackson's route from the Telegraph Road (now U. S. 1) was, to use modern road numbers, on Va. 607 to Guinney. Grant and Meade followed Va. 607 to the county line, where they branched off, keeping to what was then the main road, on Va. 660, following it, past Ormsby, to Va. 609, and on Va. 609 to Va. 606; thus coming to the Motley House, where they took up headquarters, at the junction of Va. 609 and Va. 606, before reaching Guinney's Station. They first got on Jackson's route between Spotsylvania Court House and the Telegraph Road at a point well beyond Spotsylvania Court House, which was in Confederate hands. The last Union Army headquarters in the Spotsylvania operations had been at the Anderson plantation, Coventry, on the N. River.

Meanwhile, Lee's army, retreating southward to block Grant's path, left units to hang on the Federal flanks.

Ahead of Generals Meade and Grant, on the road they were about to follow personally, Hancock's Federal II Corps, marching (as had been planned) toward Guinney's, found that the Confederates had driven back Union cavalry at Guinney's Bridge early on May 21.
Hancock, at 5:30 a.m., reported to Meade that he had ordered more cavalry forward and directed his divisional commanders to hold the road as their wagon trains passed. His corps was headed toward Bowling Green. If there had been no disturbance, his infantry columns would have been completely unmindful of Guiney's Bridge, on the Thornburg road to their right. At 9:45 a.m., Meade ordered Hancock to hold the bridge, a potential danger to the Union flank, and directed Warren's V Corps to follow Hancock's route.  

Hancock, whose vanguard had seen the first enemy pickets at Guiney's about light, reported at 9 a.m., when he had almost reached Bowling Green, that "A signal station at Guiney's or opposite has been signaling our movements since daylight." This station may have been at the Motley House, a high point.

Hancock's action at Guiney's had been very slight. As he stated in his official report: "A little opposition was experienced at Guiney's Station, where we arrived about daylight May 21."  

The Confederates did not go away, however. Brig. Gen. Marsena R. Patrick, Provost Marshal, Army of the Potomac, noted in his diary, under the entry "Saturday, 21st May — Camp at Motley's House, near Guiney Station," that, after Meade left Massaponax Church (Meade and Grant always had their headquarters side by side), "... we followed on, some miles, crossing the rail
Road, until we came to the Motley House, near Guinea's Station, where we found quite an alarm, the 9th Virginia Cavalry having taken possession of the bridge in front. I had to send down the 1st & the 3rd Penn. Cavly to drive them out, which they did after a slight skirmish, losing one man & having 2 or 3 wounded — we got 2 or 3 prisoners."8

Col. Charles H. T. Collins of the 114th Pennsylvania Infantry reported that the 66th Pennsylvania Infantry and a squadron of the 1st Massachusetts Cavalry were also involved. These Provost Guard troops failed to carry, but outflanked "a barricade," chasing off the Confederates, who retired toward Catlett's house. Collins said the Federals lost 1 man killed and 2 wounded, but killed and wounded a few of the enemy and captured 2 officers and 9 men. A brigade of the V Corps then relieved Patrick's men.9

Marzena Patrick, an old professional soldier, respected by both sides, was a safe writer. He does not reveal all implications. Actually, headquarters was almost caught out, or at least seemed about to be, and the affair gained some notoriety around the campfires as "the wagon train battle."

Meade's volunteer aide, a brilliant scholar and gallant gentleman of Boston, Theodore Lyman, treats the skirmish lightly, but gives a better idea of the very real alarm. His and Patrick's accounts are two different forms of understatement.
"That," says Lyman, "was May 21 at Guinea's Bridge (near which is the house where Stonewall Jackson died). The 2d corps had passed, and the 5th was coming along, and General Heade was riding between the two. Arrived at Holley's, we found our train, and the quartermaster looking very blank, for the enemy was on the other side of the river and might come over. Headquarters guard and some provisional militia were soon up. These were the 114th Pennsylvania (a square regiment of the old 3d corps), the Engineers, the 68th New York, and Adams's squadron of the 1st Massachusetts cavalry. General Heade gave orders to force the bridge at once. The 68th New York waded over and freed it, when Adams galloped across and chased the enemy, capturing three of them. 10

The historian of the 3rd Pennsylvania Cavalry paints a more colorful picture; doubtless from the point of view of Patrick (and Clio) he would be listed among the impressionists:

". . . About noon of the 21st, Headquarters started on the march by way of Katapox [sic] Church, supposing that the way was clear. The head of the Fifth Corps was still some distance behind us. On arriving at Guinea's Station we found it in possession of a brigade of Confederate cavalry, which had interposed itself between us and Hancock. Generals Grant and Heade and their staffs were in the lead, and word was sent for the Third to move to the front. Trotting up past the long column of
staff officers and others, the Third deployed as skirmishers
in file style, while the two Generals dismounted, lit their cigars
and seated the seines on the top of the white-washed paling fence
surrounding the Station, coolly looking on while we drove the
rebel pickets before us to the Wye River. They were soon re-in-
forced, but we held them until the One Hundred and Fourteenth
and Sixty-eighth Pennsylvania Infantry Regiments, which were fol-
lowing us marching in splendid style, guarding the light Head-
quarters train, came up. Colonel Collis now had a fine opportunity
to show himself off. Deploying the One Hundred and Fourteenth as
skirmishers in their brilliant uniform, with the Sixty-eighth and
the Third, whose skirmish line he had relieved, in support, he
drove the enemy across the river for about a mile, and then sent
back word to the Generals by his Adjutant that, ‘He had met the
enemy and he was his.’ The Generals took the affair very tranquilly,
and did not distribute any medals of honor or brevet commissions
among us, however.

Prisoners taken in the fighting, according to Colonel
George H. Sharpe of the Provost Department, were from Chambliss’
Brigade: Ninth, Tenth, and Thirteenth Virginia Cavalry.

A well known Pennsylvania regiment in the V Corps, the
"Bucktails," got in on the end of that afternoon’s skirmishing,
and achieved, from a soldier's point of view, the most tangible
results of the fight: "One of the officers had a colored servant—
a contraband—who informed him that the house, near which the regiment was lying, belonged to his old mistress. Though he feared he would be killed, he was sent to ask for milk, eggs and chickens; nor was his demand, backed up by the presence of Union troops, refused. It is also probable that some chickens, not secured in this pacific manner, found their way into Bucktail pots.  

13

All was quiet again on the Mattawomen.

The Motley place became headquarters for Grant and Meade, their staffs, the Provost troops, the Engineers, and other Headquarters people until the next day.  

Theodore Lyman described Motley's as being "on the high swell that overlooks the meadow and where the Po and Ny join, and where is Guinea Station and Bridge. It was a good house, with a store of fruit trees and rose bushes in flower. The strawberries beginning to ripen and the apples as big as bullets. Old Motley was an elderly man of a certain sour dignity; a bitter rebel plainly. He showed upוב a small house on the flat, where their strong stay, 'Stonewall' Jackson, died, from pneumonia brought on by cold water too freely applied to his amputated arm."  

Meade, a dogged fighter who never underestimated Lee and the "Johnny Rebs," could be at times as sour as Mr. Motley, whom he may have looked on as an example of Southern determination behind the lines. At any rate, General Meade remarked to Lyman...
the next day that he did not think the Rebellion would be crushed that summer. 16

General Grant, usually refraining from entering houses, loved to sit on plantation porches. When, according to a story handed down in the Motley family, he dropped cigar ashes on Motley's porch, Mr. Motley admonished him for employing a roundabout way of setting his house on fire.

Perhaps to get away from Motley's grim presence, General Grant and his aide, Horace Porter, went for a walk.

"While our people were putting up the tents," reported Porter, "and making preparations for supper, General Grant strolled over to a house nearby, owned by a Mr. Chandler, and sat down on the porch. I accompanied him, and took a seat beside him. In a few minutes a lady came to the door, and was surprised to find that the visitor was the general-in-chief. He was always particularly civil to ladies, and he rose to his feet at once, took off his hat, and made a courteous bow. She was ladylike and polite in her behavior, and she and the general soon became engaged in a pleasant talk. Her conversation was exceedingly entertaining. She said, among other things: "This house has witnessed some sad scenes. One of our greatest generals died here just a year ago—General Jackson—Stonewall Jackson of blessed memory." 'Indeed!' remarked General Grant. "He and I were at West Point together for a year, and we served in the same army in Mexico." 'Then you must have known bow
good and great he was,' said the lady. 'Oh, yes,' replied the
general; 'he was a sterling, manly cadet, and enjoyed the
respect of everyone who knew him. He was always of a religious
turn of mind, and a plodding, hard-working student. His stand-
ing was at first very low in his class, but by his indomitable
energy he managed to graduate quite high. He was a gallant
soldier and a Christian gentleman, and I can understand fully the
admiration your people have for him.'

'They brought him here the Monday after the battle of
Chancellorsville,' she continued. 'You probably know, sir, that
he had been wounded in the left arm and right hand by his own man,
who fired upon him accidentally in the night, and his arm had been
amputated on the field. The operation was very successful, and he
was getting along nicely; but the wet applications made to the
wound brought on pneumonia, and it was that which caused his death.
He lingered till the next Sunday afternoon, May 10, and then he
was taken from us.' Here the lady of the house became very much
affected, and almost broke down in recalling the sad event.

'Our tents had by this time been pitched, and the general,
after taking a polite leave of his hostess, and saying he would
place a guard over her house to see that no damage was done to her
property, walked over to camp, and soon after sat down with the
boys to a light supper.'

There is something to be said for Porter's statement that
the house was Mr. Chandler's; the deed to McKenney had not yet been
acknowledged. Even then, however, Federal engineers were gathering information that would show McKenney's name at Fairfield and T. Chandler at the Lake Farm location. Porter calls the woman he and Grant talked to "the lady of the house" and assumes she was Mrs. Chandler. I rather think she was, and that the Chandlers were still on Fairfield. (The 1864 Federal route map still shows the name white alongside T. Chandler at Lake Farm. Mr. McKenney may have been occupying the office at Fairfield. Also, the map makers may have inquired about ownership; ownership and residence are not always the same. Actually, McKenney was not the legal owner of Fairfield until the acknowledgement of the deed in 1865.) Certainly the lady's intimate knowledge of Jackson's death and her almost breaking down in the telling thereof bespeak Mrs. Chandler.

While Grant ate his supper, Warren's V Corps bedded down, Hancock having pushed on toward Milford and Bowling Green. The testy Warren himself reported that "orders changed three times during the night; kept me up all the time." Most of the V Corps crossed Guiney's Bridge and went into camp around Catlett's, throwing out patrols toward the Confederates. The Maryland Brigade (Third Brigade of Second Division) stayed on the Guinea side of the river to help protect Army Headquarters.

The First Brigade of the Second Division of Warren's Corps reported that it "crossed the Po at Guiney's Bridge, and ravaged near Chandler's house." This was Thomas Coleman.
Chandler's second Caroline establishment, Lake Farm. Though on the Station side of the river, and thus separated from Catlett's Leasburg Hill by the river, it was nevertheless close to Catlett's, both being south of the Station. Though Thomas C. Chandler still hung on to Fairfield, he was in legal possession of his new place. Both the name white and I. Chandler, noted above, appear on the 1864 Union map.23

Burnside's IX Corps, which Wright's VI Corps had been originally supposed to follow down the Telegraph Road from the Masseponax Church area, found the Confederates in full possession of the crossing over the Po at Stanard's Mill. (U. S. I today does not always follow the old Telegraph Road; the Stanard's Mill site is now east of U. S. 1.) Burnside then doubled back over the Ry and turned down the road Hancock and Warren had taken. Burnside arrived at Quinby's early enough for two of his divisions to halt near General Headquarters soon after sunrise on May 22. The IX Corps units rested a couple of hours and moved on toward Bethel Church.24

Wright's VI Corps reached Quinby's during the day of May 22, making a daytime bivouac after a tiring march in which a lot of Burnside's dust had been swallowed. A few of Wright's troops had actually followed Burnside down the Telegraph Road, but most were saved that experience, since Wright was hardly out of his trenches when he learned that Burnside had failed to force a
crossing of the Po. Some of Wright's units rested around Guiney's all day, others a few hours only. Battery C, First Rhode Island Light Artillery, parked "at noon near Dr. McKenney's gate house at Fairfield."25

Any attempt to analyse the Union orders at the end of the Spotsylvania operations shows why Warren became annoyed. To sum up: Hancock took the route he was originally ordered to take.26 He had no difficulties except his slight skirmish at Guiney's. Warren was first told to go down the Telegraph Road and cross the Po at Stanard's Mill. Then he was ordered to follow Hancock instead.27 Wright was first told to follow Hancock's route, and Burnside was ordered to take the Telegraph Road to Stanard's Mill.28 Burnside tried to cross at Stanard's and failed, and Wright in the meantime had been told to follow Burnside rather than Hancock.29 The Confederates were, of course, involved, and not innocently, in all of this, but so also was the Federal army's innate ability to confuse itself.

Meantime, the Federal supply system was functioning well. The Federals had been supplied by way of the Potomac River, through Fredericksburg, Potomac bases being within 15 miles of Fredericksburg. Now the quartermasters were preparing to establish successive water bases east and south as the army advanced. On May 20, the wagon trains were assembled near Guiney's Station and were then brought southward by way of Bowling Green and Milford Station. They arrived at Milford on May 22.30
By nightfall of May 22, the Federal fighting men had marched from Guinea's for other rivers and other stations, toward that final rendezvous at Appomattox. The next immediate engagement after the sojourn around Guinea's was in the Telegraph Road neighborhood along the North Anna, all Federal Corps having, sooner or later, swung south and west after leaving Guinea's.

In the course of their stay at Guinea, Patrick's men captured a Confederate mail. One of the letters, dated April 20, 1864, pressuring the cause of its writer William Warren, was addressed to a young woman named Mary Martin, residing in the Guinea neighborhood. She had, it seems, acted as though he were joking when he had recently proposed and she had then said she would not marry, anyway, until the war was over. Wrote the pragmatic suitor: "Well I think that will be too long I don't think that I can sit along with out a woman so long as that I have bin with out for three years and Cant doe no longer and you ar the one I have intened to make my wife. . . ." 11

Having benefitted nobody in the Guinea area, war slogged southward, leaving Miss Martin to doubt William's seriousness. No more military visits of consequence occurred, and later in the summer Guinea's was in the news again in the form of a woodcut in Harper's Weekly, entitled "Bradnock's Coach, Guinness Station, Va." The cut was, said the editor, made from a photograph taken in the field by Gardner of Washington. This "relic of the past
"century" does not endear Gardner to me. He should have been
taking views of Fairfield. The Harper's man, however, can be
credited with the finest misspelling of all of Quinny's. The
Dublin stout, made by Arthur Guinness, Son & Co. since 1759,
though not much drunk in Virginia today, is a good drink. As
its makers say, "Quinnes is good for you." I daresay Gardner,
a former Britisher, had several cases along.32

Though more or less finished with the war, the Guinea
area would still see large bodies of troops. Part of Sherman's
army, after the collapse of the Confederacy, passed through on
the way to the big victory parade in Washington.33

This at least is a beginning of monumentalization, though
decay of the property went on apace.

The Richmond, Fredericksburg and Potomac Railroad Company,
one of America's oldest lines, has always taken an interest in
Historical matters. Around the turn of the century, its president
was Allan H. White, whose training predisposed him to activation
of "Stonewall" Jackson. An alumnus of the Virginia Military
Institute, White had fought as a cadet at the Battle of Five Forks,
and instructed at V. M. I. after the war.9 The condition of Fair-
field distressed him. About the first of August 1869, Inforserat
...
Chapter VI

Establishment of the Jackson Shrine

Just as the various postwar photographs of Fairfield present a story of decay, court and tax records constitute footnotes of declining real estate values.

The historical connotation of the place was not forgotten, however. In the first week in August of 1903, Jackson's old aide, the Rev. James Power Smith, then residing in Richmond, came up to erect a marker on Fairfield. This was one of several small granite markers he put up around the local battlefields that week, with money furnished by the rich Virginian Thomas Fortune Ryan. The marker at Guinea reads: "Stonewall Jackson, Died May 10, 1863."1

This at least was a beginning of memorialization, though decay of the property went on apace.

The Richmond, Fredericksburg and Potomac Railroad Company, one of America's oldest lines, has always taken an interest in historical matters. Around the turn of the century, its president was William H. White, whose training predisposed him to admiration of "Stonewall" Jackson. An alumnus of the Virginia Military Institute, White had fought as a cadet at the Battle of New Market, and instructed at V. M. I. after the war.2 The condition of Fairfield distressed him. About the first of August 1907, information
was received that the Chandler place was to be sold at auction.
white purchased five acres of the property (including the houses)
in 1909, and added 7.13 adjoining acres in 1913. In 1911, he
transferred the 5 acre tract to the P. F. & P. and in 1921 his
heirs turned over the 7.13 acre tract. A reading of the deeds
does not make it as plain as a statement of a later R. R. presi-
dent, that Dilliam White first bought the place on his own
initiative.4

A tradition is that the big house had been gutted by a
fire. Another story, fallacious, I believe, is that it had been
severely damaged in a windstorm. (I think this is an outgrowth of
a reporter’s figurative expression that Fairfield was “practically
destroyed by storm.”)5 At any rate, evidently judging it too far
gone for restoration, and thinking more in terms of the office,
the Railroad (or White) tore down Chandler's once proud brick
dwelling in 1909.6

The office was now under protection. It seems that
repair work was begun at once. A photograph in the Cook Collection,
Valentine Museum, Richmond, taken in 1913, shows the building (and
chimneys) painted white, in good repair, and the grounds neat and
clean. There was no shrubbery around the cottage then, just lawns.
(A great deal of later shrubbery planted by the Railroad was
removed by the National Park Service because the planting was non-
historical and also aggravated the dampness in the building.) The
R. P. & P. Company, never forgetting it was a railroad, wanted the place recognizable from the trains. Thus one sees in the 1913 photograph a large southern ramp with letters spelling out: "In this house Stonewall Jackson died, May 10, 1863."

As early as 1907, in a special issue of a Fredericksburg newspaper, a full-page advertisement of the R. P. & P. showed a map of its line, including a dot beside the legend: "House in which Stonewall Jackson died (seen from train)." In a brochure of its own for that same year of 1907, two years before it acquired the property, the Railroad stated: "The Chandler house, near Guinea, where Stonewall Jackson died, can be seen from the train." Later pamphlets repeated this information.

The old R. P. & P. conductors, knowledgeable lecturers for the whole Richmond-Washington run, always pointed out this spot. The New York Times took note of the practice in 1926: "Those who have traveled southward by rail from Washington may have heard near Fredericksburg, Va., the customary announcement: 'Yonder, ladies and gentlemen, you see the spot where General Stonewall Jackson died on May 10, 1863.' And a little white farmhouse on a round green knoll would flash by."

Occasionally, whether getting off the train or arriving by other means, people would go up to the little house. A Richmond paper in 1926 states that the place, not yet restored or furnished, "was been open to visitors for some time." It was open, actually,
at least as early as 1917, when Robert L. McCarthy, an old track
walker, was put there as caretaker. Called Rob by the Railroad
people, this man enjoyed the respect and affection of all the R.
F. & P. personnel, high and low. I knew him in the 1930's. His
nephew, H. E. Thomas, tells me that Rob McCarthy, even though he
was then not young, regarded all the grass-cutting and other chores
as light work, because he had, when working on the Railroad, walked
several miles to and from work each day and then walked track all
day.

Mr. Thomas, born 1911, lived nearby, and spent much of
his time in the 1920's with his uncle. He often slept in the
office, in every room there except the little room downstairs.
No ghosts ever appeared.

The letters on the ramp, says Mr. Thomas, were composed
of closely planted English boxwood, and the surface was covered
with whitewashed gravel. He helped to weed, clip the box and
keep the gravel white. 11

The Railroad built a caretaker's dwelling house close
to the office, on the side away from the tracks. A windmill was
placed over the old well.

Even though there were no furnishings inside the office,
quite a few visitors came to the place in the 1920's, both by
train and the increasingly popular motor car. One of the early
visitors, Mrs. Keith Courtney, then Hazel Sisson, a fledgling
school teacher, visited the house in 1923, a woman (doubtless Mrs. McCarthy) welcoming Miss Sisson's party. There was a registration desk, and other visitors were around at the time. Copies of snapshots taken by Miss Sisson's group are appended; they show fairly well the house as it was then, with the windmill behind; the ramp with its boxwood letters (which much interested Mrs. Courtney) shows in good detail in one of the snapshots. The partial view of the house might well be of value to the architects for window detail.\textsuperscript{12}

A notable visitor on Sunday, October 28, 1923, was David Lloyd George, British Prime Minister during World War I. Having spent most of the day seeing the battlefields around Fredericksburg, he boarded his special train at 4:20 p.m., an hour earlier than scheduled, in order to have time for a stop at the house where "Stonewall" Jackson died. He admired Lee and Jackson, but particularly Jackson. Several local people rode along and a group of prominent Richmonders, including R. F. & F. officials and Dr. E. S. Freeman, editor of the News Leader, who had come up to Fredericksburg to accompany the entourage to Richmond.

While in Fredericksburg, Lloyd George said: "No doubt the history of America would have to be rewritten had "Stonewall" Jackson lived." Standing by the Chandler office, he remarked: "That old house witnessed the downfall of the Southern Confederacy."\textsuperscript{13}
With the passage of time, certain people desired that more be done with the Chandler office, both in the way of furnishing and rehabilitation. Surface upkeep, they felt, was not enough. Then the ladies took over, the distaff side of the F. F. & P. and others who had an interest in the history of the house. This group included Mrs. Epra Hunt, Jr., wife of the President of the Railroad; Mrs. W. T. Duke, wife of its General Manager; Mrs. Charles K. Pendleton, the former Lucy Chandler, who never lost interest in her father's old place; Mrs. Pendleton's daughter, Mr. James Cox, of Ashland; and Miss Susan Harrison, House Regent of Richmond's Confederate Museum.

Gradually creating interest and pegging away at the Railroad and the public, the ladies got their project off to a start by a publicized visit to Union on Monday, November 15, 1926. This "group of interested women," wrote a woman reporter, "transformed the bare, little room [where Jackson died] into some semblance of its original setting, and made there the beginnings of a Jackson Museum which they hope will grow into a fitting tribute to one of the South's great heroes." They put curtains at the windows, andirons in the fireplace, rugs on the floor, and spruced things up generally. Mrs. Pendleton told the story of Jackson's death, and recalled the place as it had once appeared.

The reporter noted that although the office had been open to visitors for some time, "it was not until yesterday that it really became a shrine." She then called it "The Jackson Shrine."
From that visit interest grew. Relics were gathered and the Confederate Museum in Richmond agreed to release the bed on which Jackson died, the transfer to take effect when the house was restored.15

In 1927, Railroad President Epps P. Huntin, Jr., gave the word to have the house completely repaired. He appointed a committee, consisting of Mrs. Huntin, Mrs. W. D. Duke, and Mrs. Joseph Cox, wife of the Railroad's Auditor, to take charge of the work. Actual direction was by Chief Engineer Hastings, who used Railroad men on the job, and also had some of the work done in Superintendent of motive power H. J. Martin's Railroad shops.16

The crews, wrote Mr. Hastings several years later, gave every attention to strengthening the building, "fireproofing it as far as a frame building can be fireproofed by filling the walls and partitions with Insulox Liquid asbestos, which hardens7, rendering it very slow burning. In this restoration work wherever it was necessary to put in new timbers they were made exactly like the old timbers, the floor boards were worked out to the same width as the original floor boards and old bricks were found to patch up the brickwork. This restoration work was all completed in the early spring of 1928. . ."17

Apparently, the job was done without any record being kept. The only material in the files of the R. P. & P. is the short digest prepared by Mr. Hastings.18 Mr. Hastings' statement
indicates that at least some new timbers and some new flooring were used. Carpenter's nephew, B. Thomas, then a youth who watched the work going on, has told me that he thinks much of the old woodwork remained: studs, rafters, joists upstairs, floors, interior partitions and wainscoting, stairs, and interior doors. Perhaps some floor boards were turned. He thinks that all of the upstairs flooring is old. The exterior doors are new; that is obvious.

The porch was, he says, new (we know this from other evidence anyway); so were the weatherboards of the whole exterior, and the windows and window trim. Mr. Thomas, tentative about some of the woodwork, is positive that all the floor joists of the first floor were replaced. He remembers that the old ones were rotten. All of the labor, he states, was Railroad labor. The large planing mill at Guinea, however, made the weatherboarding. This industry, since burned out, was Louis Bill & Co., operating out of Baltimore. Mr. Thomas distinctly remembers that samples of the old weatherboards were brought to the mill, and the people there experimented carefully with various bits to get just the right lead, thus faithfully copying the original boards.17

Ever since they first repaired the old place, the Railroad had coated the exterior white. So the restoration was painted white, whether on the advice of Mrs. Pendleton or other old people, I cannot say.
At the time of restoration, the ramp and its boxwood legend were eradicated.20

The approach driveway of the time came in parallel to the tracks, and very close to them, and then curved up the hill and back in a figure eight, the shrine being in the top of the 8. The visitor, however, did not circle the shrine. No longer used, remains of the raised bottom part of the 8 confound some visitors, who think it a military earthwork. This driveway dates back at least to 1913.21

The Jackson Shrine was officially dedicated on Friday, October 12, 1923, before a crowd of several hundred people. Mr. Hutton presided, and told the history of the Railroad's interest in the property. Present also were Mrs. H. W. Willis, Jr., of Fredericksburg, then president of the Fredericksburg Chapter of the United Daughters of the Confederacy; C. W. Camp, resident engineer of the new Fredericksburg and Spotsylvania National Military Park, then a war department project; Dr. Stuart McGuire, son of Jackson's physician; Homer Holmes McGuire; Col. L. D. Lane, a native of Caroline County and a prominent Confederate veteran; Mrs. Charles A. Pendleton, the late Chandler of our narrative; Mrs. Andrew Hower of Fredericksburg, widow, said the Fredericksburg newspaper, "of the late Professor A. H. Hower", who had led the band that played at the funeral of Jackson; and all the prominent Railroad people, including Hastings
and Traffic Manager J. H. Horrsecial, to whom Virginia's historians are indebted for his history of the F. F. & F. R. R. 22

The pride of Fredericksburg and vicinity is reflected in the local paper's editorial:

"FIRST CIVIL WAR SHRINE"

"This section, already rich in historic shrines, and due in the future to boast of even more, had another shrine added to its list yesterday when the house in which 'Stonewall' Jackson died was formally dedicated as a place where lovers of history and heroism might journey and worship.

"While Fredericksburg and this section is, as we have stated, liberally supplied with interesting historic places that have been preserved for future generations, it is a singular fact that though this immediate section was the 'cockpit' of the Civil War, the shrine dedicated yesterday was the first of its kind connected with Civil War history. All the others are connected with the Colonial or Revolutionary period.

"With the approach of active work on the National Battlefield Park this section can, of course, expect a very complete job in the marking and preservation of historical places but for the first work of this kind, apart from markers and monuments, it must extend its thanks to the Richmond, Fredericksburg and Potomac Railroad Company, a busy commercial concern which paused for a moment to pay tribute to patriotism." 23
The restored house exhibited, or soon thereafter acquired, the principal relics to be seen there today.

The bed on which Jackson died had been for many years kept undisplayed, at the Confederate Museum in Richmond. Confederate Museum records stated that the bed was delivered to the Museum for safekeeping by Dr. Hunter McGuire in 1900. In 1863 it had been given by Mr. Chandler to Mrs. A. J. Boulware of Spotsylvania County to be sold, the money to go to a fund being raised to gather the Confederate dead from nearby battlefields. (She lived at La Vista, near Westwood, on the road from Massaponax Church to Guinea.) The fund was realised, however, without the need of selling the relic. After Mrs. Boulware’s death, the bed passed into the hands of her son J. McCalla Boulware. In the course of time, a project was initiated for erecting a monument at the spot where Jackson fell; Mr. Boulware authorised R. E. Merchant, of Fredericksburg, the fund raiser for this effort, to sell the bed and use the money in that cause. Again it proved unnecessary to sell the bed. C. W. Motley of Guinea suggested that the bed be given to the Jackson Memorial Association, an early venture toward memorialising Jackson. Mr. Boulware donated the bed to the association, through Dr. McGuire, to be stored at the Confederate Museum.24

To go with the bed, part of the blanket that had covered Jackson was given by several Chandler descendants. These were Thomas Coleman Chandler’s great grandchildren, George, Henry and

The small clock which was on the mantel in the room when Jackson died became the property of Mrs. Lucy (Chandler) Pendleton. She donated it to the Shrine.

Later on, another Jackson item was given to the Shrine by Miss Rose Meredith of Richmond. This was a sort of couch, constructed as a useful relic, made from the "spring seat or litter," as she called it, of the captured Union ambulance that bore Jackson from the field. Then this vehicle was later being worked on in the Richmond Confederate wagon shops, of which Miss Meredith's father had charge, a workman created the relic couch for Mr. Meredith's family.

In donating the piece, Miss Meredith stated that the couch was "made from the spring seat or litter of a captured northern ambulance, on which Stonewall Jackson was brought off the battlefield when he was mortally wounded." I do not doubt that the piece came from the ambulance; nor do I doubt it was a captured Union ambulance, though nobody else mentions that fact. Jackson's story would not have become attached to a vehicle during the war without cause. However, neither Miss Meredith nor Confederates who told the story had any proof that Jackson lay on the bench while in the ambulance; she did not say that the same ambulance brought Jackson from the field hospital to Chandler's. A
writer of a newspaper article improved the story by stating both
that Jackson lay on that bench and that he did so on the ride to
Chandler's. 25 The same ambulance could have been used for both
journeys, but there is no documentation to prove such a theory,
and we do not really know whether or not Jackson lay on the bench.
When an ambulance was encountered on the battlefield by Jackson's
party, two wounded officers were already in it; one was taken out;
the other, Col. Stapleton Crutchfield, Jackson's Chief of Artillery,
remained. Crutchfield also accompanied Jackson from the field
hospital to Quiney's Station. That time Jackson lay on a mattress,
perhaps on the floor, perhaps not. Mr. Freeman, in Lee's Lieutenants,
says "on the flooring," but he is embellishing his source. 26

These relics and other features of the place where Jack-
son died added much to the general story of the property, which
continued to arouse interest during the 1930's.

As early as 1929 the Jackson Shrine had been offered to
the newly created Fredericksburg and Spotsylvania National Military
Park. 27 In the 1930's, the Railroad donated the Shrine to the
National Park Service to be a part of the Park. The deed of January
1, 1936, admitted to record May 27, 1936, transferred the Chandler
office, on 9.29 acres, from the R. P. & P. R. R. to the United
States of America. This property was accepted by the Assistant
Secretary of the Interior on June 5, 1937, on which date title
vested in the United States. 28
The National Park Service formally accepted the Jackson Shrine in exercises of Saturday, October 23, 1937. Taking part were: the Hon. R. Walton Moore, Assistant Secretary of State and a member of the local Park Commission; the Hon. Charles West, Acting Secretary of the Interior; Mr. Douglas Southall Freeman, Richmond editor and historian; Mr. Norman Call, President of the R. F. & P. R. R.; the Hon. C. O'Connor Goorick and Mr. Frank Orchester, of the Fredericksburg Battlefield Park Association; and various officials of the National Park Service.

After a public reception at the Park Museum in Fredericksburg, Mr. Freeman addressed the crowd at the Rivesac Point, last meeting place of Lee and Jackson, on the Chancellorsville Battlefield. From there, the procession went to follow Jackson's route to Guinea. The last of the ceremonies took place at the Shrine, where Mr. West spoke, saying in conclusion:

"Certainly no American hero is more worthy of commemoration by a united nation than Stonewall Jackson whom we honor on this occasion at the scene of his death. His was a career of daring heroism that will ever stand as an inspiring example of the power of courage and skill combined. In commemorating him we pay homage to those qualities which he so well exemplified—manhood, integrity, and honor, virtues that know no sectional lines, that command respect everywhere.

"Therefore, in accepting the deed for the Jackson Shrine Property from the Richmond, Fredericksburg, and Potomac Railroad
Company, the National Park Service feels that it accepts also a sacred trust to preserve and maintain this shrine as a memorial to the valor and the character of Stonewall Jackson. Furthermore, the physical existence of this lovely place and the possibility of adding it to the National Military Park witness eloquently the service of an otherwise commercial organization to the cause of historical conservation and memorialization. I am glad of this opportunity to express sincere gratitude to the Richmond, Fredericksburg, and Potomac Railroad for this service.

"The spirit of this shrine advises all of us that reconciliation of the states has come. The United States Government today honors equally, on the battlefields of the war between the States, the leaders and the men of both the Confederate and the Federal forces. Each section respects the other and pays tribute to the valor of its men." 29

A feature of the change of ownership, this feature occurring without any formal exercises, was the change in flags on the pole outside the Jackson Shrine. The Confederate Battle Flag flown by the Railroad always drew attention on the passing trains and pleased visitors. Local park officials, including Superintendent Sprague Spalding, desired to retain the Confederate flag, though naturally in a manner subordinate to the U. S. flag, but were firmly told by higher authority that no flag other than the Stars and Stripes could be flown, in any position, over
property administered by the United States Government. The
Railroad's gesture was a pleasant little thing in the 1930's;
it is just as well today, however, that the Confederate flag is
not there, so foolishly and disrespectfully as it had been used in
recent times by commercial interests and others, both North and
South.

Since the Confederate flag could not be flown, the
Stonewall Jackson Chapter of the United Daughters of the Confed-
eracy, Richmond, remedied the situation somewhat by donating a
Confederate flag to be hung on a staff indoors, this display being
admissible.

Mr. McCarthy remained as caretaker of the Jackson Shrine
until 1940. He died in the early 1940's, a very old man, and is
now buried at Bowling Green. His quarters, representing an
intrusion on the historical scene, as well as being a fire hazard,
were torn down in the early 1940's. The present caretaker's
residence, a Civilian Conservation Corps project, was completed
in the spring of 1942.

In the early 1940's Park Historian Robert S. Justice
lived in Mr. McCarthy's old house. Park Ranger John H. Eisinger
and family were the first to occupy the new quarters; his wife
showed people around the Shrine. In those World War II years
Visitors were scarce. Park Ranger Thomas Buggins and wife Clara
next occupied the quarters; Mrs. Buggins took care of the Shrine,
and acted as guide. Then came Mr. and Mrs. T. Ward Freeman. Mr. Freeman was the first actual N. P. S. caretaker, who was responsible for all phases of the work there. The present park employee in charge is Walter Smelina, Jr.; he and his wife Virginia again grace the Chandler place with children; both the family and the quarters had additions in 1961. "Junior," as he is known to the staff, has complete charge of the shrine and grounds.
Chapter VII

The Office: Remains and Description

As has been shown, the house where "Stonewall" Jackson died, the office of the Fairfield plantation, was built by John Thornton in 1828.

Significant dates in the history of the office are:

1828 - Construction.

1850's - Use as a doctor's office by Dr. Joseph A. Chandler, son of Thomas Coleman Chandler.

1854 - Use as a temporary home by Thomas Coleman Chandler family while new brick dwelling was under construction.

1862-3 - Late December into February, use as headquarters by General Fitzhugh Lee, commanding Cavalry Brigade.

1863 - Use as hospital for "Stonewall" Jackson, who died there May 10.

1867 - Acquired by E. F. & T. President William H. Mite (main house torn down).

1911 - Deeded to R. F. & P. P. R. Co.

1909 & following - Repair by Railroad.

1919 - Arrival of caretaker.

1920 (about) - Opened to public, possibly earlier.

1926 - Plan of restoration furthered.

1927-28 - Restored by Railroad.

1938 - Official dedication of Jackson Shrine.

1937 - Accepted by United States.
we have seen, through the eyes of the late Lucy
Chandler) Templeton, that, at the time of Jackson's arrival in
1803, this little house was empty, but neat and clean. Its walls
were freshly whitewashed, its hearth coated with Fuller's earth
(the people of those days used to do that every spring), and its
floors swept. There were curtains at the windows. Early interior
photographs indicate that baseboards, mantels, steps, and other
woodwork were painted or stained dark. The wooden partition
between the hall and the little room downstairs was, like the
plaster walls, whitewashed. (These photographs will be cited
presently.)

The room arrangement was as now: a hall, or entry room,
at the northerly end with two outside doors; to the left of this
hall (as you enter), a small room; and in front of you, two large
rooms, the one closer to the railroad being the room in which
General Jackson died. (Statements above about woodwork painting
refer to the hall and the Jackson room, of which old pictures
exist. The other big room downstairs has extensive woodwork—
high wainscoting—but I have no evidence of its wartime color or
treatment; it is white now.) Beginning just outside Jackson's
room, a stairway leads to a tiny landing between two half-story
bedrooms, the northerly one quite small.

The mantels are original, and presumably much of the
flooring and woodwork, as noted above. All downstairs floor
joists are new, and so are the weatherboarding, windows, and the outside doors. It should be remembered that the railroad, as previously stated, made every effort to reproduce the weatherboarding in exact detail. Some of this has since been replaced by the National Park Service in repair work; architects should be careful to see that any metals are pieces made for the railroad in 1927 or 1924.

The Railroad did not replace the tin roof with the wooden shingles of Civil War days; nor did it raise the chimneys to their old height. The new restoration should do both. The wooden shingles and the tallness of the chimneys appear in the oldest, and most important, photograph of the exterior, which is to be found at the Library of Congress, titled "The House in which Stonewall Jackson died," LC-B814-5290, not dated and no photographer named. I believe it was taken no later than 1880.1

I shall refer to this as the Library of Congress photograph. All pictures discussed are attached to this report.

This photograph, picturing the northerly end and easterly side of the office, shows dark weatherboarding with traces of white paint or whitewash remaining. The wooden shingles show well enough to offer details. One chimney is hidden by a tree; the chimney showing is tall, reaching above the apex of the roof. There are two doors at the northerly end, the easterly one of which is covered by a gabled porch supported by four pillars, one pillar

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actually being missing. The porch roof also has wooden shingles.
Over the porch roof there is an upstairs window.

The doors are made of vertical boards. (The interior sides of these doors show up nicely in the 1913 Valentine Museum picture of the Jackson Spring hall, cited below.) It is interesting to note that disintegration of the big house has already set in, because a mortised door, evidently from it, is propped against a tree, and other lumber lies about.

In the easterly side of the office there are two windows.

Attached to the other end of the office is a lean-to. we cannot, because of the picture angle, say how far across that end it extends.

Behind and beyond the office a small log structure with a wooden shingle roof is located. I should think that was a very old building.

The well house with its simple crank shows just off the side of the cottage. Though this old superstructure is long gone, the well, stone-lined, is yet there and gives good drinking water.
Neither we nor the Chandlers, however, would allow that calf to graze so close to the well.

On either side and slightly in front of the northerly end of the office there stands a pollard locust tree. A third tree, also evidently a locust, stands off to the right.

At the off corner of the office stands the smokehouse discussed earlier in our look at the brick dwelling. We note here that its door faces east.
(Beyond the smokehouse stands a trestlework structure, a baffling contribution to the scene. It could be a massive pigeon coe.)

Along with the first exterior view, there is often published an interior of the death room; usually the exterior photograph overlaps and hides part of the interior view. Even the partly blocked interior tells us a lot, but fortunately we have several sources in which the interior photograph was printed separately. One of these books, La Fée's The Confederate Soldier in the Civil War, is particularly important in that it dates this interior of the death room: "From a photo taken in 1880."

The mantel and other details here are all valuable, but the most important feature of this picture is the proof that two present openings are postwar; other old pictures demonstrate that these openings were made many years ago, but this shows they were not there in Jackson's time. Specifically, the window to the left of the fireplace, as one faces the fireplace (i.e., the window next to the other large downstairs room), was not there, and there was no doorway in that corner from Jackson's room to the other large downstairs room. (See attached copy of this picture and a present day interior taken in 1961.)

Litter and implements indicate that this room was then used as a workshop for the manufacture of split oak baskets.

Our next oldest pictures are either the Adams picture of the photograph in Wayland's book, both discussed earlier in
connection with the Fairfield layout. Both are old, because the office still has tall chimneys in each. The wooden shingles on the roof, however, have been replaced by tin.

The Adams picture is two-fold, an outside view and an interior of the death room. The room is here a habitation. The wide floor boards show up well. As in the other early interior view, no doorway exists between the Jackson room and the other large room, and no window exists to the left of the fireplace.

The exterior shows the easterly side with its two windows. The lean-to of the Library of Congress picture seems discernible here, but vegetation hides any detail. The smokehouse is there; the log structure, whether or not still there, would be just outside the picture to the left.

In the Sayland picture, showing the southerly end and westerly side, the two windows on the side are placed as now. Also, as now, there is an upstairs window in the end. The postwar window between the two chimneys, if there, is hidden by the westerly chimney, because of the angle from which the photograph was taken. (In the appended modern post card, a similar view, the chimney so hides that window because of the angle, and the same situation obtains in the 1913 exterior, discussed elsewhere.)

The lean-to is gone in the Sayland picture. (Thus, if the dimly seen outline really is the lean-to in the Adams picture, the Adams picture is older than the Sayland.) The log structure
would be off to the right, out of the picture. The smokehouse,
seen from the side opposite to that shown in the Library of Con-
gress photograph, has a little brick chimney on a wooden platform,
the top of the chimney not coming up to the roof-peak.

A picture taken from the same angle as the Sayland photo-
graph, also discussed earlier in the treatment of Fairfield, the
one I call the Railroad picture, is more recent than the Sayland
picture, judging by the absence of the chimney on the smokehouse
and the absence of both chimneys and the top portion of the gable
end of the big house. In this, two significant changes appear in
the office: the chimneys are shorter, and the window has been made
between the chimneys on the first floor. The trim of this window
seems to differ from that of the older ones.

I place the Adams views (on the basis of interior decor
and other factors) in the 1830's or 1840's. The date of the Say-
land picture would be about the same. The Railroad photograph I
would date in the early 1900's. The big house was demolished in
1909, and perhaps the missing bricks of the gable end denote the
beginning of demolition. Thus, one could say that the window
between the chimneys was added around 1900.

Somewhat later than the Adams and Sayland pictures but
earlier than the Railroad picture is one in Wingfield's History
of Caroline County, also discussed above in the general narrative,
showing the cottage and big house from the south. (The log
structure is still there.) This photograph, at first glance, adds little to our knowledge of the office. One important feature, however, is found here. There was a window (as now) in the easterly corner of the southerly end. (The rest of that end is hidden by the log structure.) In fact, the opening looks rather like a doorway, which would be logical, a lean-to having once been there. This corner does not show up in any other picture.

An exterior picture of the office, taken in 1913, from the Cook Collection, Valentine Museum, Richmond, Va., shows that the big house has been removed. The ramp with its boxwood legend has been constructed, and everything is neat and clean. The house is in good repair. This photograph, taken so many years before the 1927-23 restoration, is worth the study of architects for window trim, cornice and other detail.

A companion indoor shot (same source), presumably taken at the same time, is the only old picture available of the hall. It is most interesting for details of floor, walls, doors, and stairway.

A picture of about 1922, showing the southerly end and easterly side, appears in Coolick's *Historic Fredericksburg*. This has no great significance as a restoration source (though it might be studied for detail), but needs to be explained as part of the history of the little house. We note here that the south-only window on the easterly side has been converted to a doorway.
under a shed-roofed porch. This change in opening and addition of the porch were made by the Railroad. The Railroad project of 1927-28 restored this window to its wartime appearance and got rid of the porch.  

All of the pictures, exterior and interior, carefully studied, should enable National Park Service architects to restore the office at Fairfield to its exact appearance when Jackson (and the Confederacy, as Lloyd George believed) died there.
Chapter VIII

An Interpretive Plan

Restoration of Fairfield as a whole is neither feasible nor desirable; at the same time, the Jackson Shrine now stands stark and white in a sea of green, giving the visitor no feeling that it was a part of a plantation complex.

As to the grounds, the mound-like remains of the Railroad's drive should be removed. James Poyner Smith's marker, however, poses a question. Its inscription "Stonewall Jackson, Died May 10, 1863" and its size cause some visitors to consider it a stone marking Jackson's grave. I respect markers like this, a part of the history of the place and not large enough to intrude on the historic scene. Furthermore, this is more than just a part of the history of the place; it represents the first effort at memorialization of the site, and that effort was made by an actor in the drama which was played out there. I would not recommend removal, but would suggest that a small metal marker be put alongside, telling who Smith was and the fact that he placed the stone in 1903.

The gardens and terraces, as described by Mrs. Pendleton, ought to be restored. Suitable narcissi and old-fashioned hyacinths should also be planted in the lawn in front (i.e., side away from tracks) of the main dwelling site. The foundation outlines of the
dwelling site should be marked at the corners. These foundations are outlined at certain times by difference in hue of the grass from the surrounding lawn; this differentiation could be intensified by use of fertilizer. A painting in a waterproof case showing the house as it was should be installed nearby.

The smokehouse should be reconstructed and also the log structure, which may have been a stable or small barn, possibly a tobacco barn. These conditions would give some sense of plantation life. We could well ignore other barns, stables and similar structures and the slave quarters, because we have no exact knowledge of them and are not seeking to make a complete plantation reconstruction.

The well housing should be reconstructed to that shown in the Library of Congress photograph. This need not interfere with present use of the well.

The icehouse pit should be cleaned out and a superstructure rebuilt to conform with typical icehouses of the period. Perhaps artifacts could be found there to augment our presentation. Mr. R. E. Thomas, who often helped his uncle, Carstaker McCarthy, in the 1920's, says that bricks and similar debris were pitched into the pit.¹

It goes without saying that the office should be roofed with wooden shingles (or better still, the modern asbestos imitations of these shingles); the old porch should be reconstructed and the chimneys raised. These chimneys were not originally
painted white, as now, though the old photographs indicate they may have been whitewashed. They should be sand-blasted and impregnated with modern preservatives (this treatment was recently made with great success on the Fredericksburg City Hall), after which they could, if desired, be given a coat of whitewash, which could be allowed to flake off.

An important question arises about the house itself. Should we whitewash or paint the exterior? I believe the place was originally whitewashed rather than painted, as it was originally coated in 1863. I do not know. A certain lack of the apse-and-arsenal was noticed by travellers to Virginia before the Civil War. The war intensified random conditions. Yet, the wealthy Chandlers were evidently a tidy family. The surface of the house appears practically bare in the earliest exterior picture, but that picture seems to have been taken some years after the war. If we decided on whitewash, would it be as good as paint from the point of view of maintenance? We could use cypress, or treated weatherboarding, and then whitewash periodically.

There is another decision to be made—whether or not to reconstruct the lean-to. It was doubtless a woodhouse, and presentation as such would further the interpretation.

The Lucy Pendleton—E. T. Stuart sketch is not to scale, but we could mark the site of Jackson's tent correctly enough thereafter. In her statement to Stuart, Mrs. Pendleton said the
tent was about a hundred yards from the house. I should like to see the tent site marked. Certainly the whole Jackson story should be told in the museum, including mention of the Jackson flag and perhaps the display of one.

That museum should be where the miscellaneous relics are no longer located in the little room off the hall. The ambulance relics, now in another room, and all other relics could be put there by better use of space. I think, however, that exhibits about the history of the plantation should be in the hall. These would be pictorial, unless artifacts were to turn up later.

Jackson's room should contain the bed and the clock on the mantel, as now, and any other pieces of furniture in the way of small tables and chairs deemed desirable. Simple Victorian chairs are still common enough, and originals rather than reproductions should be acquired. We should obtain old medicine bottles and pertinent artifacts for placement on tables. Dr. McCreery said he rested on a "lounge" in Jackson's room. It could have been an old piece already in the office or a good piece brought over from the dwelling. Our museum experts might try to get a suitable one, after determining the difference between a lounge, couch, and/or sofa in Victorian times. Dictionary definitions handle the three interchangeably. I believe most of us think of a lounge as being like a couch, and we consider a couch as being without a back. A sofa has a back. Often the
would be general. In this other room we should have a few
written instructions to an added article or plan, but not in the other room

elsewhere, Jack won't sit in it at another place. Two rooms

of a typical plantation office. The other has no chimney.

should be moved to the other of the room, as part of the furnishing.

The art teacher and secretary now in the Jackson room

pencil characterization. After the advent of the coal oil lamp

I decided to stick to candles. Candles continued to be used in

and needed the regular style, the fur might prevent the primary

the latest invention. Even if a Southern rural dweller were rich

when I knew the exact model for it? Would a combination have

to decide just what lamp to use at what time in the bedroom?

were various types of early coal oil lamps. It is very difficult

white and another table lamp were satisfactory for my house. All through that period,

in the Jackson room and all through the house; no attempt should be considered

Candles in proper containers should be dried at

room and in the hall.

debt room. I think all such pictures should be in the picture

would not have been there if he'd stayed in the restored

to pictures (or Jackson's intellect, for instance) which

Journal: a guest's name has no back. It

a corruption of the French, but as a description of our story

words change, because are corrupted, or changed, because not forever.
suitable old prints on the walls. An old bowling piece, preferably flintlock, to bring it back to the time of the Throntons, should hang under the mantle. Over it we might place a deer’s head, with whips and period fishing rods (or reproductions) placed in the antlers.

On a wall shelf of some sort, or anywhere to create a natural look and at the same time be out of harm’s way, we could have a few medical artifacts and books of the 1850’s, to tie in Joseph Chandler’s onetime use of the little house as a doctor’s office.

A safe and invisible heating system should be installed, and dehumidifiers should be used the year around.

In conclusion, I should like to say, speaking for the historians in general and myself in particular, that I do not favor complete dismantling of the house in the process of restoration. From the point of view of historical and spiritual truth, we could not call the finished restoration the same house in which Jackson died if the building were completely dismantled and reassembled. From the point of view of physical fact, dismantling is a risky process and has led to trouble in the past.
Appendix A

Genealogy: Thorntons and Chandlers
CHANDLER

Thomas Coleman Chandler of Caroline County, Virginia, was married on the 20th of September 1825 to Miss Clementina S. Alsop at "Locust Inn," Spotsylvania County, Virginia, by the Rev. A. M. Lewis. She was the daughter of Samuel Alsop, Esquire of Spotsylvania County.

Issue

William S. Chandler was born October 9, 1826.

Joseph A. Chandler was born September 31, 1826. [sic]

Thomas K. Chandler was born September 11, 1830.

Mildred A. Chandler was born October 29, 1832.

Henry W. Chandler was born February 14, 1837.

Mary Jane Chandler was born April 20, 1839.

There was a son John who died about the age of 14 years; his birth is not recorded.

***

In this Bible there is also this recording:

Samuel Alsop born March 1776.

Mary C. Alsop born November 2, 1787.

Mary C. Alsop was the second wife of Samuel Alsop and niece of his first wife, Dorothea Campbell from whom we descend. There were no children by the second marriage of Samuel Alsop.

Mary was a widow Marshall when she married Samuel Alsop.

Jennie Fraser Chandler (1858-1934)

Chandler-Alsop data prepared by a member of the family for George H. S. King.
Further Notes on the Chandler Family

Various descendants are named in the preceding data and in the body of the text. It might be mentioned here that Thomas Coleman Chandler's two elder sons married sisters:


The children of Thomas Coleman Chandler and his second wife Mary were all born at Fairfield, or at least during the Chandler occupancy of that plantation. Their names and dates, in order of their birth, were:


2. Lucy Turner Chandler (Mrs. Charles K. Pendleton), b. March 15, 1851; d. December 18, 1943 at Ashland, buried at Ashland.

3. Elizabeth Cleveland Chandler, 1853-1861.


Appendix B

Maps, Routes and Old Houses, A Resume

Though some of this information is brought out in the general narrative, I believe a résumé will be of value for ready reference.

Useful maps are as follows:

Printed Sources


2. Chancellorsville Battlefield Map, for May 2, 1863. Ibid.


Manuscript Maps


7. An Army of the Potomac map of part of Virginia listed in the National Archives as R 0 77, Records of the Office of the Chief of Engineers, Hdqrs. Map File, map G 211, sheet 11.
8. U. S. Army. Army of the Potomac Engineer Department. Map of
the lines of march of the Army of the Potomac from Culpepper to Petersburg, Virginia, Engineer Dept., Hd. Qrs.
Army of the Potomac, 1864 (signed by W. Michler, Aug. 2,
1864)—Sheets A1, A2, A3, Civil War Maps no. 300—Library
of Congress. (A3 covers the Guinea area.)

9. Confederate Department of Northern Virginia, Chief Engineer's
Office. Map of Caroline County, Va., from surveys made
under the direction of A. H. Campbell, 1862. Hotchkiss
Collection no. 23—Library of Congress.

10. Map of Caroline made under the direction of A. H. Campbell,
date lost. Presented to the Virginia Historical Society
by Mrs. J. F. Minis, daughter of Maj. Gen. J. F. Gilmer,
Chief Engineer, Confederate Department of Northern Virginia.
Positive photostat available from Library of Congress.

11. Army of Northern Virginia, 2nd Corps, Engineer's Office,
Caroline County. Hotchkiss Collection no. 24, Library of
Congress.

12. Map of area between Fredericksburg and Hanover, Va., Hotch-
kiss Collection no. 26, Library of Congress.

13. Map of Spotsylvania and Caroline counties. Hotchkiss
Collection no. 62, Library of Congress.

Modern Maps

14. Caroline County, showing Primary and Secondary Highways,

15. Spotsylvania County, showing Primary and Secondary Highways,

16. Guinea, Virginia, Sheet 5560 III W4, A.M.S. Series V 834,
Army Map Service, Wash., D.C.

All of these maps contributed something to my researches.

The old maps show variation in roads and sometimes have places
wrong. As an all around Civil War map, Paine's is one of the best,
but is sketchy below the Rappahannock. The National Archives
Sheet 11, seems to be merely a redraft of Paine's.
of the old maps, the definitive ones are Campbell's Spotsylvania in Atlas to R. R. and Campbell's Caroline at the Virginia Historical Society. These two are accurate on roads and topography and include minor roads; the place names are, with few exceptions, quite correct.

The Army of the Potomac route map A3, an important adjunct to the Official Records for Federal movements to Guiney's in 1864, is also good in its details.

Routes

Dr. Freeman's assumption (mentioned in the citations, Chapter IV) that Jackson's ambulance went by way of present Snell (William Dickinson on Campbell's Spotsylvania map, which Freeman cited) is perhaps based on the fact that the road seems to be a main road. The same map, however, shows an equally good road from Spotsylvania Court House to Massaponax Church.

(Incidentally, if one looks carelessly, the Massaponax road seems to bear in an out-of-the-way direction; one has to be careful in using this map, the top being northeast rather than north; this is true also of Campbell's Caroline map.) The road from Massaponax Church to Guiney's (it actually begins on the Telegraph Road south of the church, as now) is also a main road on this Spotsylvania map.

Campbell's Caroline map at the Virginia Historical Society shows a continuation of this road, which crossed the
railroad near the county line at a point well above Guiney's, and then curved past Grady (Royston's) and Motley', to come down to Guiney's from the north. The scale is big enough to show alignment well,

If Jackson's ambulance had stayed on this main road, it would have come past Motley's and on to the front of Fairfield. Mrs. Pendleton, however, stated that the ambulance came from the Guiney's area and approached Fairfield from the railroad. This might argue for the small route (Guiney's Bridge approach), were it not for a minor road leaving the Massaponax road at the county line, i.e., a right turn, and skirting the river to Guinea.

Campbell's Caroline map at the Virginia Historical Society plainly shows this minor road, which appears also on the Army of the Potomac route map A3.

Thus, we can assume, the ambulance left the main road at the county line and turned down the minor road past Thomas K. Chandler's (mistakenly written as Chandler on Campbell's Caroline map) to Guinea. That road was, Mrs. Annie Chandler tells me (interview cited above), a private road. Today it is Va. 607, a good quality paved secondary road; whereas, the piece from the railroad around toward Motley's (Va. 660) is a very minor gravel road.

The Federal army route in 1864 was from the area just west of Spotsylvania Court House on, as near as we can travel
today, present Va. roads 628 and 608 to Massaponax Church, then
south on U. S. 1 to Va. 607, on 607 to 660, and on 660, 609, and
606 to Guinea, and then by various routes east and south and
west, all units coming back to the Telegraph Road (U. S. 1) in
the North Anna area.

The last Spotsylvania headquarters of Grant and Meade
were on the Anderson plantation Coventry (original house not now
standing) between Va. 628 and the By River. (See Duane map in
Atlas to U. S., plate 59, map 2.) Campbell's map of Spotsylvania
shows a road where 628 is now and also a private road parallel to
it and the By, leading direct from Anderson's to the Spotsylvania-
Massaponax Road.

Houses

Campbell's Spotsylvania County map and the Caroline map
at the Virginia historical Society pretty much give all the old
places mentioned by me, using family rather than estate names,
which was the usual practice on Civil War maps.

On Campbell's Spotsylvania map, Samuel Alsop's Fairview
is Mrs. Alsop, on Massaponax Creek. (I shall make no effort to
spot Thomas Coleman Chandler's various Spotsylvania properties.)
Anderson's appears on the northeastern side of the By, east of Spot-
sylvania Court House. On the road eastward from Massaponax
Church (just north of and parallel to the By), Dr. A. Souther's is
La Vista, and J. A. Chandler's is Westwood; Dr. Chandler's is Byland,
the house barely in Spotsylvania, Dr. Joseph A. Chandler lived here during the 1860's.

On Campbell's Caroline map, Dr. Chandler shows again, since Campbell puts a few of the over-the-line places on this Caroline map. The Chandler on the private road to Quiney's is correctly placed, but wrongly called "m. Chandler; this should be Thomas A. Chandler, the place was Spring Grove. (Note that m. Chandler was properly identified on the Spotsylvania map.)

T. Chandler is Fairfield. Royston should be Hoyton; that is Orsay. Motley is Millford. Mrs. Thornton is Mill Hill. J. Washington is Spring Hill. Lake Farm is B. white (Colonel Buckner white) across the railroad from Spring Hill. N. Catlett, south of Quiney's Bridge, is Locust Hill.

The house Thomas Coleman Chandler lived in on the part of the Spring Hill farm he purchased after the war would not show on this map under any name, because he, according to Mrs. Annie Chandler, was its builder. This postwar Chandler house, Ingleside, burned some years ago. The house Dr. Joseph A. Chandler built after the war would be between Mrs. Thornton and Motley. Joseph called it Idlewild. It is still standing.

This Campbell Caroline map reflects 1863 conditions.

Note that on sheet A3 of the Army of the Potomac Route Map for 1864, J. Chandler shows at the Lake Farm location, though the same white is also still carried there.
I have shown these places in approximate locations on
the appended modern county road maps. (The dots on these maps
are not definitive.) Hearings and names of owners of these places
today are as follows:

Mrs. Alsop's Fairview—about five miles southwest of
Fredericksburg on Va. 208, home of Mr. and Mrs. S. Bernard Coleman
and now called Breieland. The Anderson place, Coventry—home of
Mr. and Mrs. L. tokosley Coleman, on Va. 628, about a mile and a
half from either Va. 208 or 608. La Vista (now the Kishmier
place)—on Va. 607, about a mile and a half southeast of U. S. 1.
Westwood (now the Bryan place)—on Va. 607, almost three miles
from U. S. Highway 1. (Recently restored, this place was probably
there when William Chandler acquired it.) Myland, now deserted,
but still standing, the property of Mr. J. C. Houghton of Fredericks-
burg, is on a high hill to one's left coming from Massaponax, on
Va. 607, overlooking the junction of 607 and 660. (This is often
called, after a more recent owner than Joseph Chandler, the old
Olaiborne place. It was probably there before Joseph got it.)
Spring Grove on Va. 607—less than a mile from the junction with
660, home of Mr. R. S. Reasley. This has been a Bankhead place.
(Samuel Alsop got the property from the Bankhead family—see
Alsop's will cited above.) The Bankhead house was in sad condi-
tion; Thomas J. Chandler built the present house, according to
Mrs. Annie Chandler. (Interview, August 23, 1961.) Fairfield—
house site and office no.-property of U. S. Government. Crosby—
entrance not now from Va. 660, but from 609, deserted, property
of brothers Andrew, Joseph and Michael Dickowski. Hillford—
overlooking junction of Va. 609 and 606, junction called Flippo's
Corner on map; Hillford now being restored, to be home of Mr. and
Mrs. Vernon F. Lacy, Jr., who presently live in the village of
Guinea. Idlewild—on 609, a half-mile southeast of Flippo's Corner,
property of Mrs. Campbell Chandler (Mrs. Annie Chandler), who now
lives in the village of Guinea. Hill Mill—on Va. 609, less than
a mile and a half below Flippo's Corner, owned by Mr. Walter Parks.
Spring Mill—on 609, less than two and a half miles below Flippo's
Corner, home of Mr. and Mrs. E. E. Gouldin. Chandler's Ingleside
was in that neighborhood. Lake Farm—about opposite Spring Mill
across the railroad tracks, property of Mr. and Mrs. John Paul
Barnes. Least Mill—on left hand side of Va. 606, going from
Guinea, just before junction of 606 and 632 (Cooby's Corner on
map), home of G. W. Cooby. This was one of several Catlett houses.
Least Mill had been a Thornton place. It was purchased in 1853
by Thomas S. Catlett from Charles W. Thornton and wife Ann.
(Corolina deed Book 43, p. 210.)
Appendix C

Abstract of Title, Fairfield

Caroline County Court Records, Clerk's Office, Bowling Green, Virginia

Caroline is one of what the genealogists call the "burnt counties," meaning the records are incomplete because of fire or vandalism. Land tax books in the Virginia State Library, Richmond, are helpful in checking back when deeds are missing; our first entry is from that source.

Caroline Land Tax Book for 1799 (Alterations section under name of person involved):

In 1796, by inheritance, John Thornton, son of Col. Anthony Thornton, received part of his father's lands. This was Fairfield. (Discussion of Thornton grant in main text.)

Caroline Deed Book 45, p. 1:

By deed of October 14, 1845, Edward C. Thornton, executor, sold Fairfield to Thomas C. Chandler of Spotsylvania.

These were parties of the first and third part. Parties of the second part were William Royston and wife Mary Ann, Edmund S. Notley and wife Alvira, and Addison F. Thornton. Mary Ann, Alvira, and Addison were children and devisees of the late John Thornton, for whose estate Edward C. Thornton was executor.

John Thornton died in September of 1844, seized of 753½ acres called Fairfield, where he resided at the time of his death, and 92 acres (not far distant), separated from the main tract by the land of William Royston. By will of December 30, 1840, John had left the property to his wife Mildred W. Thornton for life, to be sold at her death and the proceeds divided among their children, except son William W. and Edward C. Thornton. Mildred died June 10, 1845. The estate went up to auction, except the family burying ground of ¾ acre, September 17, 1845. One third of purchase money was to be in hand paid, one third at end of one year without interest, and the remaining third at the end of two years, with interest from day of sale. Chandler bid $10,985.00
(about $13,000 an acre). This was the highest bid. The executor refused, and then agreed to accept $11,000.00 in hand paid.

An appended plat (p. 4 of D. R. 45) shows the main house, a surveyor's conventional drawing of the dwelling rather than an actual representation, but no outbuildings or graveyard. Terraces to the railroad seem indicated from the house, with a gate at the railroad. If the drawing of the house were to be considered a realistic picture, one might record that it had a chimney at each end and a door with one window on each side (facing railroad) and that it was a story-and-a-half structure without dormers.

Note that John Thornton's son-in-law Motley has adjoining establishment.

Deed book 45, p. 521

November 1, 1845 - various Thornton descendants in Missouri release any rents in Fairfield.

This deed says the 92 acres had been purchased by John Thornton from Thomas G. Thornton.

Deed Book 51, p. 409:

December 10, 1863, Thomas G. Chandler and wife Mary E. sold to Edgar McKeeney, for the sum of $17,190.00 in hand paid (presumably Confederate), Fairfield, the residence of Thomas G. Chandler, on 66 ³/₄ acres (adjoining the lands of Thomas X. Chandler, William J. Keyston and others) and a separate tract of 96 acres. Note that the total acreage (764) is smaller than that which Chandler had acquired from Thornton.

No mention is made of a burial ground, though there is a general statement of conveyance of all rights, privileges, etc.

A significant feature of this deed is that the sale was not acknowledged by the signature of Thomas G. and Mary Chandler until March 4, 1865. The deed was admitted to record on March 13, 1865.

The land was surveyed in October of 1863 by H. T. Campbell, and the plat (blue paper) is pasted to page 110. A surveyor's symbolic house is shown, but no outbuildings and no graveyard.
The fact that outbuildings and the graveyard are not shown on the plat proves nothing; the surveyor of the 1845 plat had not bothered to show them. It is significant, however, that the graveyard is not mentioned in the 1863 deed; perhaps the Confederate occupation of the area and temporary burials of troops wrecked the graveyard.

Deed Book 56, p. 174:

By deed of May 15, 1874, certain commissioners (chancery) to Bettie P. Mckenney, the land her late husband, Edgar, died possessed of, being a portion of the Fairfield tract near Chincay's Depot, 172 3/4 acres and a separate tract of 50 acres. A plat accompanies this deed. House symbol is shown. No graveyard on plat or mentioned in deed.

Deed Book 60, p. 121:

April 7, 1834, Mrs. Mckenney to Benjamin Vaughan, same tract as in G. E. 56 ("a piece of the Fairfield tract"), and also the 50 acres of woodland about a mile away.

Deed Book 60, p. 123:

Vaughan to A. B. Chandler, mortgage on above.

Deed Book 62, p. 296:

September 10, 1889, A. B. Chandler, trustee, to George R. Collins, for $2,230.00, 245 5/8 acres, Fairfield and the separate tract. This was to satisfy Mrs. Mckenney; Vaughan owed $4,000.00, with interest from April, 1884.

Deed Book 71, p. 334:

January 2, 1907, George R. Collins and wife, P. J., to J. G. and E. S. King, portion of old Fairfield for $5,000.00, 152 acres more or less.

Reference is made herein to a plat recorded in the Clerk's Office, Caroline County in 1865, with deed from Chandler and wife to Mckenney, but not citing the deed book in which recorded. This is, as noted above, Deed Book 51, p. 409.
February 2, 1909, J. C. King and wife, Abbie V., and
S. J. King and wife, Harriet N., to C. S. Coles, 40-1/2 acres,
part of land they got from Collins. This was not the Fairfield
house part.

Deed Book 76, p. 45:

February 26, 1909, B. O. and Harriet King release their
interest in Fairfield Farm (112 acres) to J. A. King, he to assume
obligations of deed of trust.

Deed Book 76, p. 44:

August 2, 1909, J. A. King and wife, Abbie V., and
S. J. King and wife, Harriet N., to William A. White of Richmond,
5 acres for $2,000.00. " . . . that certain piece or parcel of
land located in Fort Royal Magisterial District, Caroline County,
Va., lying north east of Guinea's Depot and east of the Richmond,
Fredericksburg and Potomac Railroad, and containing five acres,
with all buildings thereon and appendages and appurtenances
thereunto belonging, and upon which is located the house in which
General Thomas J. Jackson, a Lieutenant General in the armies of
the Confederate States of America, died, and accurately described
as follows as per plat of same made by W. A. Turner on the 20th of
August 1909, which plat accompanies this deed. . . ."

The plat, showing no houses, is attached to p. 44. This
plat was not right and was corrected by a subsequent deed — see
just below.

Deed Book 76, p. 443:

December 9, 1909, Kings to White, a new deed for the
3-acre house trust, correcting the descriptions of the August
Deed Book 78, p. 10:

April 23, 1911, James W. King and Abbie his wife of Guiney's to Peter J. Nielsen of Guiney's, 85 acres of Fairfield tract.

Deed Book 79, p. 50:

September 13, 1911, William H. White and wife Emma Gray White to R. F. & P. R. R., the 5-acre portion of Fairfield containing the house where Jackson died.

Deed Book 80, p. 32:

January 22, 1913, Peter J. Nielsen and Pauline his wife to Alling Bowie, 36 acres of Fairfield, adjoining the 5-acre house tract. Plat on p. 33.

Deed Book 80, p. 145:

February 27, 1913, Alling Bowie to White, 7.18 acres adjoining the 5-acre tract previously purchased by White. Plat on p. 146.

Deed Book 90, p. 100:

May 26, 1921, White's heirs, he having died August 5, 1920, to R. F. & P. R. R., the 7.18 acres White had bought from Bowie.

Thus the Richmond, Fredericksburg and Potomac Railroad in the 1920's owned, of the old Fairfield plantation, 12.18 acres, including the cottage where Jackson died.

Deed Book 106, p. 335:

By deed of January 1, 1936, a portion of land containing the Jackson Shrine, or house where Stonewall Jackson died, 9.29 acres, passed from the R. F. & P. R. R. to the United States of America. Deed and plat admitted to record, Caroline County, May 27, 1936. Plat attached to p. 339. (On pages 338-339, we note that the sum of $5,223.32 represented cost of property conveyed—charged out of Capital Account to be invested in "Additions
and betterments of the property of this company so that the improvements or betterments represented in said investment will be subject to the mortgages or deeds of trust from this company to the Central Hanover Bank and Trust Company. . .")

This deed was accepted by the Assistant Secretary of the Interior, the land to be a part of the Fredericksburg and Spotsylvania National Military Park, on June 5, 1937, on which date title vested in the United States of America. (Letter of Donald E. Lee, Acting Assistant Director of the National Park Service, dated July 28, 1937, to Acting Superintendent William K. Howard, Fredericksburg and Spotsylvania National Military Park.)
Chapter I

Guinea’s and Guinea, before and after the Civil War


3. Ibid., pp. 305, 352, 360, 411, 451, 471.

4. Ibid., pp. 102, 411-413, 332, 415.

5. For example, the Confederate map of Orange County, etc., Va., *Atlas to Accompany the Official Records of the Union and Confederate Armies*. Government Printing Office, Washington, 1891-95, plate 45, map 1.

6. As a reference point to John Thornton’s property.

7. Reference point to Mildred Thornton’s property, Caroline County Land Book for 1845. The spelling in Harpers is mentioned again and cited below.

8. Caroline County Court Records, Bowling Green, Va., Deed Book 45, p. 43; D. B. 51, p. 410; D. B. 56, p. 194; D. B. 60, p. 121; D. B. 78, p. 10; D. B. 73, p. 334; D. B. 76, p. 43. Caroline Land Tax Books, State Library, Richmond, Va., 1840-45, as reference point to John Thornton’s property; in late 40’s and on, as point to Thomas Coleman Chandler’s property.

9. Early Caroline deed and will books have been lost. No record of any Guinea can be found in existing deeds. The tavern and other 18th century notices mentioned are from court order books, which were not lost. Early land patents are filed at Richmond. For a word picture of Guinea in the 1920’s, see wingfield, Marshall, *A History of Caroline County, Virginia*. Trevor Christian & Co. Press, Richmond, Va., 1924, p. 290.
Chapter II

Thorntons and Chandlers: Fairfield and Environs

1. Campbell, op. cit., pp. 18, 22. Campbell gives the date 1672 on one page and 1673 on the other, doubtless a typographical error, and refers to the grant as taken by two brothers, Francis and Anthony Thornton, see appendix for genealogical table compiled by George H. S. King, Esq., Fredericksburg, Va. Mr. King, an authority in a difficult field, is to be accepted rather than the partly erroneous information in the following sources: William and Mary Quarterly, 1st Series, vol. VI, no. 2, Oct., 1897, p. 112 of "The Thornton Family" by W. G. Stanard (pp. 109-113), which also appears in Tyler's Quarterly Historical and Genealogical Magazine, vol. 3, no. 3, January, 1922, pp. 181-85, and used by Kingfield, op. cit., pp. 475-77.

2. See appendix for genealogy. For county founding, see Campbell, op. cit., p. 53 ff. Mr. King's table indicates to me that the younger Francis was the county founder.

3. Ormsby, illustrated at end of report, and spotted on the appended county map, is now part of the lands of the brothers Andrew, Joseph and Michael Wickensi. Present day secondary sources spell the place with an e — Ormsby. I follow primary sources in my spelling without the e, cf., Caroline County records at the county seat Bowling Green, Deed Book 39, p. 144, Deed Book 55, p. 286 and tax records at Richmond, cited below.


5. See genealogical table. The will, not extant in Caroline, was found by Mr. King filed in Orange County suit papers. There is a copy, Orange County Clerk's Office, Orange, Va., in Land Causes, 1802, p. 12 and also in Judgment File Part 1802 (re litigation about Anthony Thornton holdings). Though the will is lost in Caroline, the Caroline Court Order Book, 1781-85, p. 238, states, August Court of 1783, that the will was admitted to record.

6. The Virginia Herald, Fredericksburg, Va., August 1, 1806.
7. The Caroline County Land Tax Books are in the State Library, Richmond, Va. The death of Thomas would be deduced from a notation in the 1831 book; each book shows current values, but reflects the instances of the previous year. These Caroline land books run back to 1782; from 1787 back to 1742 they are fragmentary. The book for 1827 calls the place Ormsby Plain; this is interesting because these books rarely give estate names.

8. The Virginia Herald, Fredericksburg, Va., Dec. 20, 1830, and Dec. 1, 1830.


10. This is seen through tax records, Caroline Land Book for 1843. Also, though many deeds are lost, two existing deeds are of interest here: Caroline Deed Book 39, p. 164, Samuel Gordon Thornton, July 7, 1837, released any interest in Ormsby, occupied by Mrs. Ann H. Thornton; Deed Book 55, p. 282, deed of Oct. 30, 1841, Susan E. Hall of Missouri and others sold all interest in Ormsby, 645 acres, to William S. Royston; this deed was admitted to record, Oct. 14, 1842, but since the old book was lost, it was recorded again in its present book, by William S. Royston, Aug. 18, 1873.

11. Caroline Land Book for 1799, State Library. This is shown in the alterations section. In later books, all information is with one entry, the alterations being the last column of the entry. A researcher should note that there are two books for each year, representing different districts.

12. Caroline Land Book for 1830, which would indicate death in 1829. Also see genealogical table. (His death is recorded in a family Bible.)

13. See attached county maps and appendix on houses. This place is listed as Will Hill in the column for description of land in the land books. In the mid-1830's the house was valued at $1,000.00.


15. Caroline County Records, Clerk's Office, Bowling Green, Va., Deed Book 45, p. 1. Copy of plat appended to this report. The will, mentioned in the deed, is not extant.

17. Caroline Deed Book 46, p. 52.

18. An 1869 Confederate map, Atlas to Official Records, plate 91, map 1, shows the place as Mrs. Allop. Samuel and other members of his family are buried at Fosha Christian Church, Spotsylvania Court House.

19. Spotsylvania County Personal Property Tax Book for 1859 in Virginia State Library. See numerous entries for Allop in Spotsylvania County Records, Clerk's Office, Spotsylvania Court House, Va., for instance, Deed Book M, p. 110, gift of slaves to grandchildren in 1849. He was involved in the slate hall gold mining venture and benefitted his son-in-law Chandler, who sold interests in 1844 and 1845, as shown in Deed Book LL, pp. 194 & 391. Samuel Allop's will is in will book #, p. 195, various codicils, one of which, 1853, leaves land purchased of Dr. Bankhead to grandchildren William, Joseph, and Thomas A. Chandler, Probated December term, 1859.


23. Spotsylvania Deed Book C1, p. 491.


26. Ibid., p. 301.

27. Ibid., p. 77.


30. Caroline County Historical Guide Book, compiled by the Caroline County Jamestown Festival Observance Committee, 1957, p. 61.

31. Spotsylvania Deed Book N, p. 77. (The deed was recorded Feb. 1, 1847.) In a deed selling more of his Spotsylvania property in 1853, Mary E. Chandler was a co-signer, but we know anyway that he was married again by that time. She also was a co-signer in 1857; see Spotsylvania Deed Books GO, p. 301 and PP, p. 421. Chandler family records do not contain the date of his second marriage.

32. Family data from family Bible and other sources, courtesy of Genealogist C. H. S. King. See also Chandler's tombstone at Berea Church, Spotsylvania Court House. Thomas Kay Chandler, 1830-1919, is buried in the Fredericksburg Cemetery.

33. Information in Mrs. Lucy (Chandler) Pendleton's Reminiscences, as related to Edward T. Stuart, 1925 and 1930, typescript in files of the Fredericksburg and Spotsylvania National Military Park. The title is "Stonewall" Jackson, Reminiscences of the great Confederate Soldier as related by Mrs. Lucy Chandler Pendleton to Edward T. Stuart at the Jackson Shrine at Guiny Station, Virginia, 'Memorial Day,' May 30, 1930." 6 pages single spaced typed copy and a diagram of the office, big house, Jackson's tent, route of ambulance, etc. The essay ends with the statement: "The above article was written by me soon after my return from Ashland, Virginia, in November 1925" and signed E. T. Stuart, Philadelphia, November, 1931. Thus it is obviously a composite of two interviews.

See also statement of Mrs. Pendleton to Douglas Southall Freeman, Oct. 28, 1941, three handwritten pages in Freeman Papers, Library of Congress, Washington, D. C. See Freeman, D. S., Lee's Lieutenants, A Study in Command. In 3 volumes. Charles Scribner's Sons, New York, 1943, vol. 2, p. 636, footnote 116. Dr. Freeman's note indicates that he had access to the Stuart essay, because some of his information is found there rather than in Mrs. Pendleton's letter to him, which answers 10 questions put by him.

These invaluable reminiscences accord well with more formal sources and give details not found elsewhere; any slight "mistakes" only confirm the general validity; for instance, as we shall see, the house Joseph moved to was not built for him by his father, as Mrs. Pendleton states, but was an property given to him by his grandfather Alsop. It may or may not have been a new house; the implication that his father financed the move is not exactly correct.
34. For a short biography of J. A. C. Chandler, see the *Dictionary of American Biography*, Charles Scribner's Sons, New York, 1944, vol. XVI (Supplement), p. 104. The author, Virginia Haney, is wrong in saying that J. A. C. Chandler was born in the farmhouse in which Jackson had died, an error on several counts.

35. Cited above.

36. They did not make formal partition until 1869; see deed of partition with plat in Caroline Deed Book 53, p. 235.

37. See appendix on houses.

38. Interview, August 23, 1961, with Mrs. Campbell Chandler (nee Annie Beasley) at her home in the hamlet of Juine, where she lives with her sister, Mrs. Chastine Colbert. Not only was Thomas C. Chandler her husband's grandfather, he was here also, she being the daughter of Thomas C.'s daughter Mary Jane. Mrs. Chandler, now 83, was most gracious to me and cleared up several points. Her relative, Mrs. Florence Lucy, interviewed the day before, was present during part of this visit.


40. Joseph somehow seemed to escape taxes on his house byland in either county during the 1860's; he paid for most other things in one county or the other. William did not get picked up on the Spotsylvania land books until 1865. Bookkeeping was sketchy during the war.

41. State Library, Personal Property Books for Spotsylvania and Caroline counties. Remember that land books worked up early in the year, gave values of time of writing, but notes under alterations reflect the previous year. Personal property books, however, reflect year of writing (usually early in year) in all figures.


44. A Caroline County deed of 1907 in Deed Book 73, p. 334, refers to a plat recorded in 1865 with deed from Chandler to Mckenney; no specific book is referenced; the book is
Deed Book 51, p. 407 and the deed is dated December 10, 1863 with attached survey of October 1863, the land being 666 acres and 96 separate acres; the deed was acknowledged March 4, 1865 and admitted to record March 13, 1865. Chandler is carried as owner in the land books (Va. State Library) until 1865, i.e., marked off to Mckee in the 1865 book.


46. This matter is discussed again further on.

47. Caroline Deed Book 51, p. 328.


51. Interview with Mrs. Annie Chandler, cited above.


54. Interview with Mrs. Annie Chandler, cited above.

55. Caroline Deed Book 59, p. 161. The deed, signed by "Thos. C. Chandler" and "J. C. Chandler," refers to the son throughout by initials, except once, when he is called "John C. Chandler," that exception is a mistake on the part of the county clerk; his first name was James. The unmarried daughter was Nannie, who died in 1903.

56. Caroline County will Book 37, p. 11. Family information puts Thomas Coleman Chandler's dates as 1797-1889. His tombstone, however, gives the dates 1798-1890; the will would certainly
verify the later death date (though without the will I would not consider the tombstone perfect evidence, since it was erected long after Chandler's death); census records seem to back up the earlier birth date. He is buried in the Allop lot at Berea Christian Church, Spotsylvania Court House, with him are his beloved wives Clementina S. Allop and Mary E. Fraser and children John, Elizabeth, Nannie, and James. The tombstone wrongly spells his second wife's name Fraser, a later corruption of the original spelling of that particular family name. The cemetery recently suffered a "clean-up" by a bulldozer, one casualty being the brick mausoleum (a little house with slate roof) over the grave of Samuel Allop's first wife.

Chapter III
Fairfields: Hayday and Decay

1. Caroline Land Tax Book for 1799.

2. Caroline Land Books, State Library.

3. Mrs. Pendleton, Reminiscences to Stuart, op. cit., p. 1. Mr. Edward T. Stuart was the grandson of George H. Stuart, one of the founders of the U. S. Christian Commission, a branch of the Young Men's Christian Association, an important Civil War relief agency. Mr. E. T. Stuart, an officer of the Girard Trust, had a lifelong interest in the Civil War and purchased battlefield lands at Spotsylvania long before the establishment of the Fredericksburg and Spotsylvania National Military Park. He donated those lands and also books and relics to the Park.


5. Mrs. Pendleton, Reminiscences to Stuart, p. 1

6. Richmond, Va., Times-Dispatch, Tuesday, Nov. 16, 1926, p. 2.

8. See Mrs. Jackson's statements further on.

9. Information about old flowers in front yard from Mr. W. E. Thomas, Fredericksburg, Va., interview August 7, 1961, mentioned more fully later.

10. Mrs. Pendleton, statements to Stuart and to Freeman, cited above.

11. These measurements were taken by me for purposes of general description, and should be considered approximations.

12. The statements concerning slave quarters and stables were made by the old man, some years ago, to Park Ranger Thomas Higgins. He also told Mr. Higgins that the driveway to the front of Fairfield formed a circle just in front of the big house. See citation for Mr. Thomas below.

13. Freeman in Lee's lieutenants, vol. 2, p. 672, using Mrs. Jackson's account, says that Paxton was temporarily buried in the family graveyard at Fairfield. All Mrs. Jackson says is that she was horrified to see a party of soldiers exhuming a coffin "within a stone's-throw of the house;" she did not say they were in a graveyard. (Jackson, Mary Anna, Life and Letters of General Thomas J. Jackson. Harper & Brothers, New York, 1892, p. 464.) Freeman, however, is not embellishing; he is basing this—and you cannot cite and over-cite every statement you make—on Mrs. Pendleton's statement to him "The body of Gen. E. F. Paxton was interred in the old graveyard near my father's home, and after a few days was exhumed for removal to Lexington." Mrs. Pendleton to Freeman, p. 3. Since Mrs. Jackson was on the front porch, the graveyard was off to the front.

14. Jackson, Mary Anna, pp. cit., p. 464; Mrs. Pendleton, statement to Freeman, p. 3.

15. Mrs. Pendleton to Freeman, p. 3.


19. One was shown to me by Mr. William I. Jones, T. F. D. L., Box 57, Fredericksburg, Va., the other by Mr. Houston Cooper, Hanover St., Fredericksburg, Va.


Chapter IV

Confederates at Quincy's Station and Jackson at Fairfield

1. See Pendleton-Stuart layout end of report for location of tent.


8. This hospital was just east of Wilderness Tavern on the north side of the road. The site is marked today by a Virginia State Historical sign. The site is shown on the May 2, 1863, map in Hotchkiss, Jed and William Allen, *The Battle-Fields of Virginia, Chancellorsville, etc.*, D. Van Nostrand, New York, 1863.

9. There are many accounts of Jackson's wounding and last days. The late Dr. Douglas Southall Freeman beautifully reconciled all accounts in *Lee's Lieutenant*. However, his footnote 120, on p. 637 of *op. cit.*, contains, I believe, a wrong guess. He points out that Hotchkiss' diary and papers are usually too explicit, gives the route to Spotsylvania, but not beyond. Certain maps, states Freeman, indicate that "in all likelihood" the route continued by way of William Dickinson's (the present small area) and so on through Thornburg to Guinea. I must
say, however, that other maps, in equal likelihood, indicate the Massaponax Church route; and the tradition of the
countryside says Jackson came by the Massaponax Church route.
I have measured, as nearly as present day roads allow, both
routes. Considering the variations of speedometers and one's
inability to catch a tent flatly, let us say that the route
from the field hospital by way of Massaponax Church was
about twenty-five and a half miles, and the Thornburg route
about a mile more. (For more on this route question, see my
appendix on maps, routes and houses.) In addition to the
Hutchins Papers (Library of Congress), especially signifi-
cant accounts of Jackson's last days are Morrison's (cited
below), McGuire's and Smith's. McGuire's appeared in several
forms, the handiest being in McGuire, Hunter and George L.
Christian, The Confederate Cause and Conduct in the war
between the States and Other Confederate Papers. L. H. Jen-
kins, Richmond, Va., 1907. James Power Smith has articles
in two places: 1. "Stonewall Jackson's Last Battle" in John-
son, Robert Underwood and Clarence Clough Buel, eds., Batta-
les and Leaders of the Civil War. A vol., The Century Co., New
York, 1889, vol. 3, p. 203 ff; and 2. "With Stonewall Jack-
son in the Army of Northern Virginia," Southern Historical
Society Papers. Richmond, Va., 1920, New Series, No. 5,
whole no. XLIII, pp. 1-99.

10. See Mrs. Pendleton's sketch, appended.

11. Mrs. Pendleton to Stuart, pp. 2-4. Freeman, Lee's Life, op.
sit., pp. 636-642.

12. Dr. Joseph Chandler's former use of the office led to erroneous
accounts: that Thomas C. Chandler was a doctor and that the
place was, in 1863, still a doctor's office, the word office
being a confusing agent here. Mrs. Lucy Pendleton straightens
this out in her two accounts, so often cited in this study.
Even at the time, the confusion existed in people's minds, as
shown by letters of Brig. Gen. William Nelson Pendleton, Lee's
Chief of Artillery, father of "Sandie" Pendleton of Jackson's
staff. Pendleton writing to his wife on June 2, 1863, speaks
of "Dr. Chandler's, where General Jackson died." (Lee, Susan
F., Reminiscences of William Nelson Pendleton, B. D. J. B. Lippin-
estt Co., Philadelphia, 1893, p. 274.)

See also Mrs. Pendleton's Reminiscences to E. T. Stuart, p. 3.

Jackson, Mary Anna, op. cit., p. 403.
19. I respect tradition about roads and places, but nineteenth century tradition about pneumonia was erroneous. Lady (Chandler) Pendleton remembered that Jim spoke of the incident to Mrs. Chandler and was upset; he had not wanted to apply the towel, but felt he must obey Jackson. Some people later said this wet towel brought on the pneumonia, but Mrs. Pendleton rather thought not, a belief shared by doctors today. The Fairfield neighbors, and Mrs. Chandler herself, as reported by Col. Theodore Lyman and Horace Porter—see further on-sponsored the wet towel theory. As early as May 9, 1863, making a really good story of it, old General William Nelson Pendleton wrote to his wife: "General Jackson is extremely ill from pneumonia, taken by wrapping himself, all wounded and sore as he was, in a wet sheet..." (Lee, Susan E., Memoir of William Nelson Pendleton, op. cit., p. 269.) The letter bearing Jackson from the field had been dropped; McHughs and the other doctors and the General himself thought the fall brought on pneumonia. (McHughs, Cause and Conduct, op. cit., p. 256.)

It might be brought out here, incidentally, that all agree that early Thursday was the time of the wet towel incident, but McHughs is off on other dates, upon which all other primary sources agree. (See Freeman's Lee's Life, vol. 2, p. 636, footnote 112.)

20. Morrison, Capt. J. C., "Stonewall Jackson at Chancellorsville," Confederate Veteran, May 5, 1905, vol. XIII, no. 5, pp. 229-232. This consists of Morrison's "wounding of Gen. T. J. Jackson," as published in the July 1866 issue of L. H. Mill's The Land of Love, plus further comment on the subject. In prefacing the further statements, Morrison says (p. 230): "Nearly thirty-nine years ago, at the request of Gen. D. H. Hill, I wrote the above article." Freeman, in Lee's Life, vol. 2, p. 564, footnote 3, states that The Land of Love never gave names of authors, but all evidence points to Morrison as being the author of the Jackson article. Morrison's statement in the Confederate Veteran settles that completely. Morrison, op. cit., p. 232, says he had ridden from the field hospital to Quincy's Station and there caught a train to Richmond; the train was captured at Ashland.
Mrs. Pendleton's memory was confused about the two Morrisons. She mistakenly thought Dr. Morrison was Jackson's brother-in-law and implied that he was at the cottage from the start. Both Morrisons arrived May 7.


24. Mrs. Pendleton, Reminiscences to Stuart, p. 5.


27. Ibid., p. 728. Dabney actually said that the remains were "finally prepared for the tomb," but that is doubtful—see below, there is, however, a contemporary statement that a metallic coffin came up from Richmond on Sunday evening. In the Richmond, Va., Enquirer for May 12, 1863, semi-weekly edition, a story on page 1, datelined May 11, states that word of the death had been received the day before and "a deputation of citizens went up to Fredericksburg last night, taking with them a metallic coffin, in which to place the body of the laurel-crowned hero." Mrs. Lucy Pendleton stated that late on Sunday the undertakers arrived from Richmond and "prepared the body." (Mrs. Pendleton's Reminiscences to E. T. Stuart, p. 5.) Mrs. Jackson, page 472 of her book, indicated embalming at Chancellor's. There certainly must have been some sort of preliminary embalming there. An account in Bean, W. C., Stonewall Jackson's Men, Sandie Pendleton, University of North Carolina Press, Chapel Hill, 1969, pp. 119-120 must be disregarded, in part, as contradictory to such valid sources as Dabney, Mrs. Jackson, Mrs. Pendleton, and the contemporary press.

28. Jackson, Mary Anna, op. cit., p. 472. Mrs. Pendleton said the body was brought over Monday; her memory was probably at fault here.


31. *Ibid.*, p. 473; Labney, pp. 728-729; Mrs. Pendleton, *Reminiscences to Gen. Stuart*, p. 5. Mrs. Pendleton was wrong in saying the train to Richmond left later in the afternoon and that it consisted of a locomotive and one car, but her memory about the train may have been correct, in relation to what she actually saw; the one car may very well have picked the party up in front of Fairfield and then been attached to the train at the Station a little way south. Mrs. Pendleton seems definitely wrong in saying the Governor and Mrs. Letcher came up. Mrs. Pendleton is valuable here as a source for route of coffin to train.


The contemporary newspapers mentioned an elegant metallic casket; it is difficult to say whether this was the one sent up to Quincy's or another one.

35. Jackson, Mary Anna, *op. cit.*, pp. 477-78. Richmond, Va. *Dispatch*, Thursday, May 14, 1863, p. 1; Saturday, May 16, 1863, p. 1. The remains of the canal boat which bore the body to Lexington is—or at least was some years ago when I last saw it—in the Lynchburg city park.


Chapter V

The Skirmish at Guiney's Station and Grant at Fairfield


3. Ibid., pt. 3, p. 77.

4. See attached Spotsylvania and Caroline County highway maps and appendix on routes.


6. Ibid., pt. 3, p. 47.

7. Ibid., pt. 1, p. 141.

8. Extract from Patrick's manuscript diary, furnished by letter to Ralph Hapool, dated College Park, Md., Nov. 28, 1960, from David S. Sparks, Department of History, University of Maryland. Dr. Sparks has done extensive work on Patrick's diary.

9. G. R., series 1, vol. 51, pt. 1, pp. 243-44. See also vol. 36, pt. 1, p. 106, for organization of the Provost Guard: 1st Mass. Cavalry, Companies C and D; 80th New York Infantry (20th Militia); 3rd Penna. Cavalry; 68th Penna. Infantry; 114th Penna. Infantry. Theodore Gates, commander and historian of the 80th N. Y. ("Ulster Guard," which was the 20th N. Y. Militia), would have had a good story if he had been there, but that regiment was then on the duty of delivering prisoners (in the Fredericksburg area). Gates, op. cit., p. 543.
The barricades and works mentioned in other reports (cf. C. R., series 1, vol. 36, pt. 1, p. 500) may possibly have been part of the drainage system of Stanard's Marsh. See W. H. Faine's 1863 map of eastern Virginia. Old plats show several canals. Just before this action at Guiney's, according to a Caroline historical pamphlet, earthworks had been dug by civilians on the high ground south of the river, "These breastworks still [1957] stand and a walker may follow them for miles." (Caroline County Historical Guide Book, op. cit., p. 28). I have not examined these works.


15. Extract from Lyman's unpublished journal in the Massachusetts Historical Society, supplied to Ralph Hapil by letter, dated December 29, 1900, from Assistant Librarian John D. Cushing, 1154 Boylston St., Boston 15, Mass. Mr. Cushing states that the extract is from a typescript of the journal; no one seemingly can determine the whereabouts of the original at this time. The published source of Lyman material is Agassiz, George A., ed., Meade's Headquarters, 1863-1865, Letters of Colonel Theodore Lyman From The Wilderness to Appomattox. Massachusetts Historical Society, Boston, 1922. George Agassiz had access to all letters and the journal; he abridged and edited the letters, occasionally giving statements from the journal. Lyman's map, facing p. 120 (pretty
good for an amateur) shows Motley's and the road from Massaponax, but Agassiz does not include any material on Guiney's and Motley's. There is a good bit about the Tyler place, Glenfield, below Guinea, the next camp after Motley's—see pp. 118-121.


17. Porter, Morace, Campaigning with Grant. The Century Co., New York, 1897, pp. 133-34. See p. 137 for Porter's statement on Grant's hesitancy about invading the privacy of householders.

18. This subject has been brought up previously and will be touched on again in a moment.


20. Ibid., pt. 1, pp. 612, 626, 645; and pt. 3, pp. 57, 89, 94.


22. Ibid., pt. 1, p. 595.

23. Army of the Potomac Route Map, A3.


25. Ibid., pt. 1, p. 769 for quotation. See also pp. 670, 678, 693, 697, 698, 708, 713, 757; and pt. 3, pp. 94-95.


27. Ibid., pt. 3, pp. 53 and 55.

28. Ibid., pt. 3, pp. 62 and 64.

29. Ibid., pt. 3, p. 65.

30. Ibid., pt. 1, pp. 276-79.

31. Monroe, J. Albert, Reminiscences of the War of the Rebellion of 1861-5, being V. 11, Second Series of Personal Narratives of Events in the War of the Rebellion. Series: Papers Read Before the Rhode Island Soldiers and Sailors Historical Society. N. Bangs Williams & Co., Providence, 1881, p. 71. It was Patrick's practice to turn all captured mail after sorting it for military clues. Monroe happened to be at headquarters when this letter was being read and begged it as a curiosity.
32. *Harper's Weekly*, Sat., July 9, 1864, vol. 8, no. 393, pp. 431 and 442. Lossing redrew this as "An Ancient Coach in ruins," without giving the source; Lossing, Benson J., *Historical History of the Civil War*. Winter & Co., Hartford, Conn., vol. 3, p. 316. A search at the Library of Congress and in the National Archives failed to turn up any wartime pictures of Fairfield. The Library of Congress photograph of the office, our very best source, to be discussed later, may just possibly have been taken by Gardner, but I think it is later than 1864. It is catalogued without date or photographer. Monroe, who preserved the Confederate letter, also called the station Guinness. Indeed, the Irish name Guinness may very well be a variant of the family name of the famous Irish brewers. The Guinness slogan is well known in Britain; slogan, exact name of company and date of founding, given above, are from an advertisement, p. 5 of *Everybody's Weekly*, London, June 5, 1953, First Special Coronation Issue.


Chapter VI

Establishment of the Jackson Shrine


3. See appended abstract of title for various deeds.


6. Date of demolition from a letter to Ralph Appel, March 6, 1961, from C. E. Marvin, Jr., Assistant to President, B. F. & F. R. R. Co., Richmond, Va. Mr. H. E. Thomas, whom I shall cite more particularly below, says he understands that the place had been gutted by fire.


State library. Also a pamphlet for 1912 and another without a date. This last states that the place is owned and maintained by the Railroad and has a picture showing the ramp and legend thereon.


12. Letter to Ralph Hapal, dated July 24, 1911, and one of several days later, undated, from Mrs. Hazel S. Courtney, R. I., F. V., Box 255, Falmouth, Va. Mrs. Courtney retired as a school teacher in 1930. She married Keith Courtney in 1927 and their home is near Hartwood, Stafford County. Her husband happens to be an uncle of Walter Ewellings, Jr., N. C. S., Caretaker at the Jackson Shrine, but Mrs. Courtney has not been there since the 1927 visit. Her interest has been renewed by our project and she plans a trip soon. The blonde girl in the pictures, Mary Large, of Massaponax, is dead.

13. Fredericksburg, Va. Daily Star, Monday, Oct. 29, 1923, p. 1. The Fredericksburg statement is in the paper. The remark at Guinea was reported by the Rev. Mr. Wingfield in his History of Caroline, published the next year, op. cit., p. 290. Wingfield said the remark was made in the presence of Dr. Freeman and others. Then a minister at Bowling Green, Wingfield may well have been at Guinea himself that day.


to President, R. F. & P. R., Richmond, Va., See also
letter of August 31, 1901, to Ralph Haplel from Harry J.
Warthen, M. D., JI2 Medical Arts Building, Richmond, Va.,
and inclosures.

17. Digest prepared in 1930 by the late E. M. Hastings, Chief
Engineer, transmitted to Ralph Haplel in a letter of March 6,
1901, from C. L. Herring, Jr., Assistant to President,
R. F. & P. D. R., also a letter from E. M. Hastings to
George A. Palmer, Historical Technician, P. & S. W. Y. P.,
dated nov. 2, 1933. This last and a letter from Hastings
to Raleigh C. Taylor, Junior Historian, P. & S. W. M. P.,
dated April 14, 1936, seem to be now missing from park
files.

18. Mr. Warthen’s son, Dr. Harry J. Warthen of Richmond, letter
cited above, knows of no private papers of his father’s.

When I wrote to Dr. Warthen, he, not understanding that I
had already asked the Railroad for any information in its
files, went to some trouble to get in touch with old friends
at the Richmond office—and came up with the old standby,
the Hastings report. A statement from a secretary, transmit-
ting this report to Dr. Warthen, indicated that Mr.
Hastings’ position would have automatically put him in
charge of the project, but Mr. Warthen would undoubtedly
have performed some of the work in the shops.

19. Interview with Mr. Thomas, cited above.

20. The planing mill moved it for fill around their lumber yard.

Mr. Thomas remembers this vividly because he was working on
the project and was struck by a piece of flying gravel and
lost an eye. The Railroad’s windmill over the well must
have been moved about that time; it is absent in 1926 photo-
graphs of the Shrine dedication, one of which is appended.

21. The circle plainly appears on a photograph taken in 1913,
in the Cook Collection, Valentine Museum, Richmond. This
photograph is similar to the Cook picture attached, but
taken from a greater distance.

pp. 1 & 2. The paper states that Pickett was a bandmaster
in Jackson’s Corps all during the war; this is an error; his
band was in the 30th Virginia, a part of Pickett’s Division,
Longstreet’s Corps. Some of Pickett’s troops were in Rich-
mond at the time and thus got in the funeral procession.
The “Professor,” as musicians used to be called in Virginia,
and his band played at all Fredericksburg functions for years. He was also, and simultaneously, Commissioner of the Revenue, a better paying occupation. See his obituary in the Fredericksburg Daily Star, "at., Oct. 20, 1923, p. 1, which states that Bowser also composed a funeral march for Jackson.


26. Freeman, Lee's Lost vol. 2, pp. 576-77, 637. Joseph Morrison, in the Confederate Veteran, May 5, 1905, pp. 689, p. 230, says he helped support Jackson in the first ambulance ride, but does not explain where or how the wounded man was positioned. Dabney, pp. 689, merely says Jackson "was placed" in the first ambulance; on p. 711, he makes the statement that Jackson lay on a mattress during the second ride. Freeman says the mattress was on the floor, but Dabney says simply "A mattress was placed in an ambulance, and he was laid upon it, with every appliance for his comfort which could be devised." Freeman had Dabney in mind, I am sure, though his footnote (page 637) nearest the mattress statement actually refers us to Hotchkiss' Manuscript Diary, which does not say anything about the mattress. Smith's two accounts, cited earlier, mention both ambulances, but give no particulars of either. McCauley, also cited above, mentions both ambulances and refers to the first several times, but without description of layout of either.


29. Happel, Ralph, History of Park, op. cit., p. 64. Fredericksburg, Va. Free Lance-Star, Monday, Oct. 25, 1937, pp. 1, 2, & 3; full text of Mr. West's speech on p. 3.

30. He was buried in one of the little country church yards taken by the Army for Camp A. P. Hill. The Army moved all bodies to a new cemetery at Bowling Green.


32. In the time of Mr. McCarthy's National Park Service tenure and for some years thereafter, Park maintenance men cut the grass and attended to other chores. The present caretaker acts as guide and does all maintenance work, house and grounds.

Chapter VII
The Office: Resume and Description


Neither the Confederate Museum nor Duke University knows the date or photographer of its copy. One clue could place this picture at least before a certain date. In Quaker with Stonewall, a handwritten (or facsimile script) title on the
photograph reads "House in which Stonewall Jackson died." In another picture in this book, also from the Duke University Library, the Karye House (Fropton), at Fredericksburg, is shown with a title in the same hand; on this Karye House picture there is a printed statement indicating that the picture was used at the Philadelphia Centennial of 1876; if the two pictures were of the same series, the one of Chandler's office would also date back to 1876 or before. Only the Karye House, however, has the printed matter about the 1876 Centennial. All of the Duke pictures are titled in the same hand; that hand may have titled a miscellaneous batch of pictures well after 1876. Another clue is that an interior photograph of the Jackson death room, to be discussed in a moment, is dated 1880; that picture was often published with the old exterior; they may have been taken at the same time.

I would thus place the photograph in the 1870's, or 1880 at latest. It is barely possible that Gardner (see above) took it in 1864, but the run-down condition of the place seems too far advanced for that date.


3. The picture faces p. 60 of Georgerick, John T., History Fredericksburg, the Story of an Old Town, Hittell and Shepperson, Richmond, 1922. Pictures for this book were made by a local photographic studio, presumably about the time of publication. H. E. Thomas remembers the porch. (Interview with Mr. Thomas, previously cited.)

Chapter VIII

An Interpretive Plan

1. Interview with H. E. Thomas, previously cited.

2. See citations 9 and 19, Chapter IV.

3. The great English craftsman Sheraton, speaking of a special shape lounge, which he designed with a low back, said it would serve for a sofa." Fastned, Ralph, English Furniture Styles from 1500 to 1830, Penguin Books, Chiltern Press, London, 1953, p. 228.
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Two Views of Ormsby, Summer, 1961

Photographs by R. Happel
Hillford, Summer, 1961

Photographs by R. Happel
Fairfield Buildings
The Railroad Picture
Fairfield buildings

Adams, "Fredericksburg, Va. memories"
(also published as post card)
Fairfield Buildings

Fairfield, History of Caroline County, p. 266
Chandler Office and Room in Which Jackson Died

Room in Which Jackson Died
(Taken 1880)

(See Chapter VII and Notes for various sources)
Death Place of Jackson - House and Grounds

Courtney (Sisson) Snapshots, 1923
The Chandler Office, about 1922
Goolrick, Historic Fredericksburg, facing p. 60

Dedication of Jackson Shrine, Oct. 12, 1928
(Note Railroad Caretaker's Residence in background)

From a photograph in Mrs. E. F. Hunton's Jackson Shrine Scrapbook
N.F.S. Caretaker's residence

(Built 1942, Room with horizontal boarding added 1961)

Photograph by T. Higgins, Summer, 1961
Jackson Shrine, Summer, 1961

Approach Views, showing present driveway and mound-like remains of old Railroad Driveway
(Note also the Stone Marker erected by J. P. Smith)

Photographs by R. Happel
Marker erected 1905 by the Rev. James Power Smith

Photograph by R. Happel, Summer, 1961
Jackson Shrine, Northerly End and Easterly Side

(Same angle as in Old Photograph from Library of Congress; note covering of Old well)
Jackson Shrine, Easterly Side

(Note covering of old well next to tree; the other top covers N.P.S. pump pit)

Jackson Shrine, portion of Easterly Side, showing Chimney Relationship

Photographs by R. Happel, Summer, 1961
Jackson Shrine, portion of Easterly Side and Southerly End, showing Chimney Relationship

Jackson Shrine, Southerly End

Photographs by R. Happel, Summer, 1961
Jackson Shrine, Southerly End and westerly Side

Jackson Shrine, portion of westerly Side showing Chimney Relationship

Photographs by R. Happel, Summer, 1961
Jackson Shrine, Westerly Side

Photograph by R. Happel, Summer, 1961
Jackson Shrine, Room Where Jackson Died, showing window between chimneys and doorway to next room (Both of these openings were made after the Civil War; compare with old interior photographs of same angle)

Jackson Death Room, Original Mantel and Clock
Jackson Shrine, Interior of Room
next to Jackson Death Room

Photograph by Judson Smith Studio, 1955
THE JACKSON SHRINE, 1961
Guinea Area

Department of Agriculture Aerial Photograph, 1953
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