For general sale

A History

of

The Fredericksburg and Spotsylvania County Battlefields Memorial National Military Park

By

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Fredericksburg, 1955

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I. Introduction

A. Geographical Setting

The Rappahannock River, following the pattern of Virginia's eastern streams, flows into Chesapeake Bay, an arm of the Atlantic Ocean. A hundred miles northwest of the river mouth, at the head of navigation, Fredericksburg straddles the area of the farthest tides, with falls at one end of the town and deep water at the other. Here at the fall line, where the river is about a hundred yards wide, the tides rise two and three feet, though the salt, kept back by the inland current, penetrates upward only some fifty miles from the Bay. The lower, wider reaches of the Rappahannock reflect sea colors: gray, blue-gray, and blue-green. The narrow Fredericksburg stream runs dark green when clear, stained with the red clay of the Piedmont after upland rains.

Ten miles above Fredericksburg, the downward rushing Rappahannock is joined by the Rapidan. Both of these swift streams rise in the Blue Ridge Mountains. Trout leap in the mountain riffles; smallmouth bass swim the area to the dam at Fredericksburg, large-mouth along the shores and creeks of the lower river.

Just east of Fredericksburg, the broad Potomac River winds to within twelve miles of the town; Potomac Creek, a thrusting finger pointing westward from the river, is navagable for small craft to within eight miles of Fredericksburg. A creek in Tidewater Virginia, be it noted, is often a mile wide. At the mouth of Potomac Creek, the Potomac River turns north toward Washington, where it again bends westward. Had the Potomac River not turned to follow the fall line escarpment, its falls would have been near Fredericksburg instead of above Washington.

The next Chesapeake estuary southward from the Rappahannock, the York, does not reach the fall line at all, but branches into the Mattaponi and the Pamunkey, which fan out into a network of lesser streams.

Below that, Richmond sits her hills by the falls of the James, and next comes Petersburg at the head of navigation on the Appomattox, a tributary of the James.

All of the fall line settlement points, the Washington area (which was Georgetown, Maryland and Alexandria, Virginia, before the creation of the District of Columbia), Fredericksburg, Richmond, and Petersburg, were the meeting grounds of native tribes for hunting and fishing. In the westward move of the White Man, these localities became outposts of his civilization and then trading centers between his East and West.

Long before any man came, and before the birds and the beasts, the ancient seas pounded the fall line escarpment in one age and rolled over it during another. The escarpment itself is but part of a land which has time and again been uplifted through internal thrusts and worn down by outward weathering.

The ice age glaciers stopped short of the Fredericksburg country; we see therefore no fields of countless boulders. Piedmont Virginia possesses outcroppings of various sorts; sandy Tidewater has few rocks of any size. At the fall line, the rivers have cut into the skeleton of the escarpment, and the rocky falls present building stone. Sand and gravel of good building and road construction quality are abundant in the Fredericksburg vicinity. From Fredericksburg west, the Indian artifacts are quartz, quartzite, and chert; from our area eastward quartz predominates. All over this area, whether east or west, suitable brick clay may be found. Thus, early man had ample material for artifacts and the White Man for his buildings.

The varied watercourses gave food fish and afforded an easy means of transportation. The annual rainfall of 40 to 45 inches has, despite the periodic droughts of historic times, for thousands of years clothed the hills and valleys with a luxuriant forest and supported the crops of man.

B. Prehistoric and Aboriginal History of the Area

No scholar yet knows how or when man came first to the New World. The anthropologist W. H. Holmes pointed out the dangers of false assumption in connection with levels where artifacts may be found and their association with certain fossils or rocks. After going into detail, citing examples, his conclusion was that: " . . . the continent was probably not reached and occupied until after the final retreat of the glacial ice from middle North America. At the same time it must be granted that there is no apparent reason why, if already occupying northern Asia, man should not have reached American shores by way of Bering Strait during any of the periods of mild climate which preceded and interrupted the Ice Age; yet we may wisely await the results of further research and provide for the application to these of the severest tests that science can devise." (Holmes, W. H., Handbook of Aboriginal American Antiquities, Part 1, Introductory, The Lithic Industries. Smithsonian Institution, Bureau of American Ethnology, Bulletin 60. Gov.

Printing Office, Washington, 1919, p. 94).

Science has since devised severer tests than Holmes would have believed possible. Materials can now be dated by procedures developed in atomic research. More definite statements about the time of American man may thus be forthcoming. As long ago as the 1930's, however, Frank H. H. Roberts demonstrated the great antiquity of the Folsom culture in Colorado. Folsom Points, named after the place in New Mexico where first discovered, seem to have been 10,000 years old in Colorado, perhaps much more. One of these well made channelled type of points has been found near Ely's Ford on the Rapidan and another on the Rappahannock fifteen miles below Fredericksburg, indicating a race hereabouts far older than and perhaps different from the Indians found by the first Europeans. The makers of the highly specialized Folsom Points may have been transients rather than settlers. Sites of villages above Fredericksburg have been flooded so often during the centuries that any really definitive study is precluded. (Bushnell, David I., Jr., Indian Sites Below the Falls of the Rappahannock, Virginia. Smithsonian Miscellaneous Collections, Vol. 96, no. 4, Washington, 1937, pp 55 and 64. Also Bushnell, The Manahoac Tribes in Virginia, 1608. Smithsonian Misc. Collections, Vol. 94, No. 8, Washington, 1935, pp. 35 and 56 and Plate 13). Bushnell, the Smithsonian specialist who knew this area well, points out that, regardless of the Folsom Points, materials along the Rappahannock represent the work of different groups, antedating the historic tribes. Amateur arrowhead hunters may easily notice that many artifacts are cruder than the predominate material on the same sites.

The English found in Eastern Virginia a branch of the Algonquian Nation banded together under the leadership of Powhatan, whose capital was in the lower James-York area. Early Europeans made little scientific effort to study the aborigines (if we except some very good reporting), both because they were too busy cozening and exterminating them and because anthropology had not yet been developed as a classified science. Thus when we say Algonquian, we mean merely a certain related language group.

It is believed that the Powhatan Confederacy was a new organization. The tribal set-up fifty years earlier may have been entirely different. Loosely bound by the Confederacy were practically all of the Tidewater tribes. West of the fall line the Siouan tribes held sway, the villages of the Monacans standing on the banks of the James and Rivanna and the Manahoacs ruling the upper Rappahannock and the Rapidan. (Bushnell, Manahoac Tribes, op. cit., p. 1).

Southeast of Fredericksburg Powhatan's Rappahannock villages followed the shores seaward. Captain John Smith's Map of Virginia dotted these in with an accuracy since proved by archeological investigation. Some villages were minor; others more important Smith called "Kings howses". Forty miles downriver from the falls came the first of the

three larger towns, Pissasack, later the site of Colonial Leedstown, on the left, or north, bank. Then, farther up, on the right bank, was Nandtanghtacund (Port Tobago, or Tobacco Bay, just below Port Royal). Next, on the left bank, stood Cuttatawomen, in the Lamb's Creek area, twelve miles southeast of Fredericksburg. "Other settlements, evidently of less importance, are indicated on both banks of the river, but none is shown within about 10 miles of the falls. It appears that in 1608 there were no Algonquian camps on the Rappahannock for some distance below the great island [at the falls], westward from which the country was dominated by Siouan tribes, whose steady movement down the valley may have caused the abandonment of the Algonquian villages." (Bushnell, Indian Sites Below the Falls, op. cit., p. 16. See also p. 3 for a section of John Smith's Map of Virginia).

The closest village to the falls shown on Captain John Smith's map was Accoqueck. Just below that came Secobeck, both being on the right bank. On the left bank downward a little lay Massawoteck. They show on Smith's map as plain as the beard on his face, and they are obviously well below the falls. Yet the local historian Quinn blandly says: "They seem to be located as follows: Secobeck was just west of the city's almshouse; Massauteck (sic) was located just back of Chatham; . . ." (Quinn, S. J., The History of the City of Fredericksburg, Virginia. The Hermitage Press, Richmond, 1908, p. 19). Chatham, the old estate known in the Civil War as the Lacy House, on the left bank, Stafford County, overlooks Fredericksburg. The almshouse of Quinn's day occupied part of the site now covered by Mary Washington College. Quinn's wrong assumption undoubtedly forms the basis for the College's contention: "On the heights where Mary Washington College now stands, once stood 'Seacobeck', an Indian village, visited by Captain John Smith and party." (Bulletin, Mary Washington College, Fredericksburg April, 1954, p. 25). Public relations staffs are not to be pushed downriver by such simple foes as the Manahoacs.

Smith's map does show a village in the falls area; only it was on the site not of Fredericksburg, but of Falmouth, her neighbor across the river. This was Mahaskahod, a Manahoac "hunting town" or temporary camp. The map shows nothing, however, on the right bank. But whether or not ever a village, that region, now upper Fredericksburg north of U. S. Highway 1, Alternate, was certainly occupied if only seasonally; it was rich in artifacts before the growth of the town made them inaccessible. This area embraced the Fredericksburg Fairgrounds of the early Twentieth Century. It was bordered by the river at the island so often mentioned in local history, called variously through the years: Winchester, Beck's, Hunter's, Wine's, and Lauck's Island; usually given as Beck's on Civil War maps.

"The waters flowing past the large island, and the rapids both above and below, appear to have been favorite fishing places for all who had occupied or frequented the region since it was first known to man.

It was near the island that several hundred Manahoac Indians, the last of the native tribes to claim the country, had gathered early in August 1608, when some were met by the English who had ascended the Rappahannock, and it is easily conceived that it had served as a gathering place for others through the centuries. As related by Amoroleck, the Manahoac man who had been wounded and taken captive, the English were not discovered by the Indians until he and 'those with him came thither fishing'.

"Fish traps may have extended across the rocky bed of the river, below the island, in the year 1608 as some do at the present time. Those still existing have been used in recent years, but by whom they were originally constructed will never be ascertained. Traps similar to these, however, had undoubtedly been made by the Manahoac, as well as by others who had preceded them in the region. They resemble the traps in the James River at Richmond, described by Beverley more than two centuries ago." (Bushnell, Manahoac Tribes, op. cit., pp. 16-17).

Evidence of Indian occupancy has also been found many places upriver, including Forest Hall, in the U. S. Ford area, Kelly's Ford on the Rappahannock, Ely's Ford on the Rapidan, and the Fox Neck (Germanna Ford area) also on the Rapidan. (Ibid,pp.22, 31, 40).

These sites, where tens and hundreds of savage hunters crept softly in 1608 and before, felt the soldierly tread of thousands in the Civil War battles and maneuvers of the 1860's, when the river at Fredericksburg was crossed many times, and Kelly's Ford, U. S. Ford, Germanna Ford, and others were crossings and re-crossings in the Chancellorsville, Mine Run, and Wilderness Campaigns, and various other skirmishes in cavalry actions.

East of Fredericksburg, on the Potomac, the Indian clans owed allegiance to Emperor Powhatan. The "Kings howse" Patowamock on Potomac Creek stood on the point between Potomac Creek and its tributary Accakeek, still called Indian Point. That area housed Union supply bases in the Civil War.

By 1700, all Virginia natives east of the fall line had ceased to exist as elements of danger to the new lords of the rivers.

C. Comming of the White Man

It has long been a cherished local legend that the ill-fated sixteenth century Spanish Jesuit mission to Virginia ended in the Fredericksburg area. The priests were, according to this story, massacred at the "Log Chapel of the Rappahannock", upriver from the falls. This theory

supposes that the expedition came by way of the Potomac River, landed in the Aquia Creek area, fifteen miles east of Fredericksburg, the missionaries then going across country to the Rappahannock.

The Fredericksburg hypothesis, however, has been superseded by the conclusions of the Jesuit Fathers Lewis and Loomie. Their painstaking documentary research and careful reconnaissance of the terrain have placed the locale of the Mission to Ajacan on the Peninsula between the York and James Rivers. Three of the missionary group were murdered near the site of later Jamestown and the others on the York opposite, at their habitation, which seems to have been built of rough lumber brought with the expedition. There was a small room to one side used for saying Mass until a chapel could be built. (Lewis, Clifford M., S.J., and Loomie, Albert J., S.J., The Spanish Jesuit Mission in Virginia, 1570-1572. Published for the Virginia Historical Society by the University of North Carolina Press, Chapel Hill, 1953, pp. 39-49, 62-64).

In default of the Spaniards, Captain John Smith and eleven other Englishmen may be considered the first white men to see the Fredericksburg area. The date was August, 1608. As narrated by three of the expedition, Bagnall, Powell, and Todkill, the English, on a voyage of exploration from Jamestown, had a skirmish with the Rappahannocks, a downriver tribe occupying the general area of the present town of Tappahannock, about fifty miles from Fredericksburg. Near the village of Secobock, one of the Englishmen, Richard Fetherstone, died. They buried him in the river, firing a volley and calling the place Fetherstone's Bay. The place is shown on the Smith map. Proceeding up stream they went on until the boat would not float, the area of the rocky falls at the island, or about up as far as present U. S. Highway 1 bridge.

There they disembarked to explore the country, setting up crosses and grawing their names on the trees. (The Smith map shows a cross for this stop). According to Bushnell they ". . . appear to have ascended the high ground on the right bank of the river opposite the upper end of the island, beyond which lay the country of the Manahoacs". The cliff would give a fine view of the valley. (Bushnell, Manahoac Tribes, op.cit., p. 3&p. 8). (This hill was the Confederate left wing in the Battle of Fredericksburg).

Almost before they knew it, they were attacked by lurking savages, one of whom, named Amoroleck, they captured. Through their interpreter, Mosco, he informed the Englishmen that he belonged to the Manahoac village of Hassininga, up the river. His party had come down to fish; they were staying at the temporary encampment or "hunting town" Mahaskahod. The English departed in the night, carrying on a running fight with the Indians until daylight found their boat about twelve miles down the river, in a

broad place, out of bowshot. The voyagers then anchored and ate breakfast. Amoroleck now counseled with his brethern, telling them his freedom was promised if they would behave well. The Manahoacs lay down their arrows. Amoroleck being brought ashore, the parties traded trinkets and souvenirs.

When the English sailed away, they left the Manahoacs singing and dancing. (Smith, John, The True Travels, Adventures, and Observations of Captain John Smith, etc. From the London Edition of 1629. Republished at the Franklin Press, William W. Gray, Printer, Richmond, Va., 1819. Two Volumes; vol.1, pp. 185 - 188. Smith's map of Virginia occurs opposite p. 149 of vol. 1. This seems to be the one of 1624, regarded as the most complete of the several maps. Pertinent sections of this map are reprinted by Bushnell in the two brochures cited previously).

As the Jamestown colony grew, the English gradually settled the rivers upward. The Potomac was peopled in the Potomac and Aquia Creek areas faster than were the Rappahannock shores in the falls vicinity.

Giles Brent went to the Aquia Creek area as early as the 1640's. The Augustine Herrman Map shows settlements, in the third quarter of the century, along the Rappahannock almost to the falls, but not many. Quite a few appear in the nearby Potomac area. (The Herrman Map of Virginia and Maryland, London, 1673, Facsimile, Brown University, Providence, R.I., 1948).

Though the natives were more or less subjugated throughout Eastern Virginia, trouble on the frontier continued. In March 1675/6, an Act of the Virginia Assembly provided for various forts, one of which was to be placed at or near the falls of the Rappahannock, garrisoned by one hundred and eleven men and commanded by Major Lawrence Smith. (Hening, William Waller, The Statutes at Large; Being a Collection of all the Laws of Virginia, etc. Printed by R. & W. & G. Bartow, New York, 1823, vol. 2, p. 327).

The Assembly of June 1676 abolished this garrison and ordered the troops to more dangerous areas. The abolishing act uses this expression regarding Smith's fort: - "which was settled or intended to be settled by vertue of a late act of assembly . . ." (Ibid., p. 347). This fort, on paper for such a short time, may never have been erected on the ground at all, but a fort of sorts was probably built, judging from the wording of the grant to Smith, below. An Act of April 25, 1679 provided for the re-establishment of this fort, one of four at the heads of the rivers, with Lawrence Smith again in charge. The four forts were to be of the same construction, two houses at each site: a store house sixty feet long by twenty feet wide and a small house for ammunition ten feet square. Each fort was to have a boat and oars. (Ibid.,pp 433-34, 436). An Act of

November 1682 ordered the disbandment of these garrisons. The danger was lessened and their upkeep proved too great a burden. Rangers were to be used instead, impressed from the frontier population. (Ibid., 498-499). The forts were to be dismantled and the soldiers disbanded by December 13.

The Rappahannock fort of 1679-1682 apparently was a sort of combined private and public venture. Another Act of April 1679 granted land to Smith in return for his establishing a garrison. Smith, it was agreed, ". . . within the tyme of ffifteene months next, after the last day of December next ensueing the date hereof, will settle on seate at or neare the place in Rappahanock river, where the ffort was built in the yeare 1676, and have in readinesse upon all occasions on beate of drumm ffifty able men well armed . . .". He was granted lands five and a half miles along the river, that is, to extend two and a half miles below the site of the 1676 fort and three miles above that site ("being reduced into a straight line"). The grant extended back into the woods four miles. The settled part was to be a mile along the river and a half mile wide "to be laid out as he shall thinke fitt", with places for two hundred and fifty men. (Ibid.,pp. 448-453).

Before all this, Smith and Robert Taliafro/had (sic) been given a patent of 6300 acres in 1666 for bringing over 126 persons from England: ". . . about 4 mi. above Waire Cr., beg. on the E. side of Snowe Cr., running up sd. river on the N. side of sd. Cr. etc. to a vale nere the mouth of Nusaponucks Cr. etc." (Nugent, Nell Marion, Cavaliers and Pioneers, Abstracts of Virginia Land Patents and Grants, 1623-1800. Dietz Press, Richmond, 1934, vol. 1, p. 548). He is an example of the Seventeenth Century pioneers who inched up the rivers, grant by grant.

His original patent's upriver ending near the mouth of Nusaponucks (now spelled Massaponax) Creek would be about five miles below the lower part of Fredericksburg, as of 1955. The Assembly's five and a half mile grant along the river would bring his land up to the present middle-lower part of Fredericksburg.

Thus the fort area would be somewhere on the old Smithfield estate, now the Fredericksburg Country Club and the first "settlement", an armed camp of short duration, was thus well south of the limits of the later town.

The Robert Taliaferro who patented the earlier land with Smith in 1666 was host in 1670 to the German traveller John Lederer, who required a day from Taliaferro's to reach the falls. When in 1733 the Crown Commissioners received evidence in the course of the dispute between the authorities and Lord Fairfax over the Northern Neck Proprietary,

Francis Thornton stated that he took up his residence at Snow Creek (about 8 miles below present Fredericksburg) in 1703 and that there were then but two settlements above his house, the upper of which was about four miles below the falls. John Taliaferro, son of Robert Taliaferro, lived nine miles below the falls; when he settled there in 1701, he said, there were but three settlements above his house. (Cited in Embrey, Alvin T., History of Fredericksburg, Virginia. Old Dominion Press, Richmond, Va., 1937, pp. 39-40).

The land on which Fredericksburg is located is part of a 2,000 acre patent from the Crown made by Governor Sir William Berkeley, May 2, 1671, to John Buckner and Thomas Royston. This was for bringing 40 people to the Colony. It began at a marked four branch pine, corner to land "surveyed for Mr. Lawrence Smith" and ran along Smith's line SW by S 2 degrees and 1/2 W 1000 poles, thence NW 230 poles, and thence NE by N 2 degrees 1/2 E 1000 poles to the river, then along the river to the beginning. (Land office, Richmond, Va., quoted in Embrey, op. cit., p. 12). Smith's line here mentioned would not, it seems, be that of his first tract, which ended at Massaponax, but rather the upper line of his upper tract, granted him by Act of Assembly in 1679, which land he apparently was in the process of acquiring as early as 1671.

John Buckner, "of St. Sepulchre's, citizen and salter of London, was born in 1630, married Deborah Ferrers, of West Wickham, Bucks in 1661, came to Virginia with his brother Philip, and settled in Gloucester county. He was the first man to use a printing press in Virginia and employed one John Nuthead to print the laws of the general assembly of 1680. He was forbidden to print further without license." (Tyler, Lyon Gardiner, Encyclopedia of Virginia Biography. Lewis Historical Publishing Co., New York, 1915, Vol. I, p. 198).

Neither Buckner nor Royston lived on their upriver tract. By the time of the 1720's, more and more people had settled the falls area, but the Buckner-Royston tract, or parts of it, was still held by members of the families, namely, Robert Buckner and John Royston of Gloucester County.

An Act of Assembly of February 1727 provided for a town on part of their land, stating that whereas a great number of people had "of late" seated themselves in the area and petitioned for a town, it was directed that fifty acres of the Robert Buckner-John Royston land should be set aside for this purpose. Trustees, empowered to lay out and sell lots, were John Robinson, Henry Willis, Augustine Smith, John Taliaferro, Henry Beverley, John Waller, and Jeremiah Clowder. Buckner and Royston would be paid out of the sale money and furthermore would receive two lots each. Such other parts of their estates of which they were respectively seized would not be disturbed by the act.

Lot holders were to build within two years; houses were to be at least twenty feet square with a nine foot pitch.

Since William Levingston (Livingston) possessed a lease under John Royston of part of the fifty acres and had erected buildings and improvements thereon, it was decreed that the two lots given Royston would include Livingston's dwelling house and kitchen, which would revert to Royston on the expiration of the lease. Twenty pounds were ordered paid to Livingston for the value of the lease (i.e. other than his house).

The town was to be called Fredericksburg, obviously after Frederick, Prince of Wales, son of George II and father of George III. (Hening, op. cit., vol. 4, pp. 234-237).

As Judge Embrey points out, Livingston was the only person actually on the fifty acres, the only person disturbed by the laying out of the town; thus local historians err in stating that a village of some sort already existed and the town act merely made it official. (Embrey, op.cit., p. 47). This is sheer romance. Also, local historians have, I believe, made confusing statements about the "Lease-Lands". The act speaks of the area community called the Lease-Land, but the language is not clear as to whether the fifty acres was called the Lease Land or whether the whole tract was so called. Either way, the nick-name would be a perfectly normal one since large areas of frontier patents were leased out even when the owner himself lived there. Livingston's lease was part of the fifty-acre tract, a fact in itself enough to give the name.

Lawrence Smith's fort tract ran, as we have noted above, from the Massaponax some five miles upward, putting his upper river corner in the lower part of present Fredericksburg, accounting for approximations. The town occupied, as set out in the act, the whole breadth of the Buckner-Royston tract along the river. In 1808 Charles Yates and others who had encroached upon the streets were sued by the Commonwealth; Surveyor C. Smith of King George County was ordered to rerun the street lines. He followed William Waller's map of March 1739, who had duplicated the original map of George Homes, Aug. 13, 1728. James Tutt, an old man, showed C. Smith the place ". . . at or very near which the said Tutt recollects to have formerly seen a marked pine, which was then and always since, within his recollection, has been (sic) considered the lower corner on the river of the old Town of Fredericksburg as first established . . ." (Fredericksburg Court Records, Land Causes and Appeals, Book for 1808-21, p. 52). This was near Lewis', formerly Hunter's, Ferry Landing, Point A on Smith's plat, the river end of Wolfe Street. The old town shown by Smith, ran from that corner, the breadth of the Royston-Buckner patent, northward along the river to Lewis Street, six present day blocks, and westward from the river to a line halfway between Princess Anne and Charles Streets, two and a half blocks.

This is interesting evidence, but the aged witness Tutt did not testify, as Embrey says he did, that he had seen the pine tree mentioned in the patent of 1671. (Embrey, p. 50). All he said was he remembered a pine always considered the lower river corner of the town as first established. The town was established in 1727. Undoubtedly, the point was the same and is thus fixed as the lower river corner of the Buckner-Royston tract in 1671, adjoining Lawrence Smith's tract. It is indeed possible for the tree to have been the ancient one. If Tutt were seventy-five, say, in 1808, and had seen the pine in 1750, to pick a date, the tree then could have been a hundred years old, making it twenty or so at the time of its first use as a marker. (The Land Causes and Appeals Book for 1808-21, pp. 51-53, includes the map and all pertinent information in the Yates case. The loose papers are File 576, Bundle F, 436-462).

The town grew slowly. When Colonel William Byrd visited it in 1732, he found that besides Colonel Willis, the top man of the place, there were only one merchant, a tailor, a smith, an ordinary keeper, and a Mrs. Levistone who served in the double capacity of doctress and coffee woman, "and were this a populous City, she is qualify'd to exercise 2 other callings." What these were we know not. Sloops could come close to the wharf, near which stood a public warehouse in the shape of a cross. The only stone building was a prison, strong enough to hold Jack Sheppard, the notorious London jailbreaker. A court house and church were scheduled for eruction, but had not yet been built. (Byrd's "A Progress to the Mines", Bassett, John Spencer, ed., The Writings of "Colonel William Byrd of Westover in Virginia, Esq." Doubleday, Page & Co., New York, 1901, p. 373).

Colonel Willis' seat was a hill west of town, purchased from the tract heirs, later called Willis' Hill, now the National Cemetery, and a part of the Confederate Marye's Heights position in the Battle of Fredericksburg, December, 1862. Mrs. Levistone was Susannah (Sukey) Livingston, William Livingston's widow.

Meanwhile, another town had sprung up in the Wilderness nearby and died away while Fredericksburg was a-borning, Governor Spotswood's Germanna on the Rapidan.

The far-seeing Spotswood meant Germanna to be a buffer against French and Indian encroachment from the North and West, as well as the beginning of manufacturing in the Colony. There on the remotest frontier, miles and miles from the comforts of Williamsburg, he built his own "castle" and established an iron manufactory. He settled a colony of Germans there in 1714 and began his mining operations. At first, it was pretended the metal was silver, since Spotswood felt the authorities in England would be more interested in that metal. The first group moved, and in 1717 he imported about seventy more Germans. In 1725 these indentured Germans left, after which Spotswood used slave labor. (Cappon, Lester J., Iron Works at Tuball: Terms and Conditions for their Lease as stated by Alexander

Spotswood on the twentieth day of July 1739. With Historical Introduction by Lester J. Cappon. McGregor Library, University of Virginia, Charlottesville, 1945, pp. 6-12).

The famous journey of the Knights of the Golden Horseshoe, in 1716, one of the early ventures to the mountains, though not the first, seems to have been a publicity stunt on Spotswood's part to interest Virginians in the westward movement.

Germanna overlooked the Rapidan about twenty miles west of Fredericksburg, by way of present Virginia Route 3. Germanna Ford played a large part in the Battles of Chancellorsville and the Wilderness. The Furnace for smelting the iron stood near the Rappahannock below the junction of the two rivers; it operated for some years after Spotswood's death.

Hugh Jones, the early Virginia historian, speaking of the first part of the 1720-30 decade, in his The Present State of Virginia, mentions Germanna and the Furnace, stating that a court house was underway.

Decay, however, quietly intervened. Colonel Byrd, seeing Germanna in 1732, found that "This famous Town consists of Colo. Spotswood's enchanted Castle on one Side of the Street, and a Baker's Dozen of ruinous Tenements on the other, where so many German Familys had dwelt some Years ago; but are now remov'd ten Miles higher, in the Fork of Rappahannock, to Land of their Own." There had been a chapel, but some "pious people had lately burnt it down with intent to get another built nearer to their own homes." (Byrd in Bassett's edition, op. cit., p. 356).

The county of Spotsylvania (bastard Latin for Spotswood) had been established in 1720, with Germanna as the County Seat. The actual organization came in 1722. (Hening, vol. 4, pp. 77 & 364 and Spotsylvania Court Records). In 1732, the county seat was moved to Fredericksburg (Hening, vol. 4, pp. 364-65). Here it remained until the time of the Revolution. The present site, ten miles southwest of Fredericksburg, scene of the Civil War battle of Spotsylvania Court House, is the second county site since removal from Fredericksburg. Fredericksburg has been the judicial seat of both the county and the District Court; it holds Circuit Court and Civil and Police Justice Court; under the unique Virginia system, it is one of the cities independent of any county affiliation; thus it is surrounded by, but not in, Spotsylvania County. The site of vanished Germanna is now in Orange County.

D. Principal Events of the Colonial Period

Fredericksburg grew to importance as a seaport, since in early days of few and poor roads the farther inland a ship could unload the better off were all concerned.

During the infancy of the town, a small boy and his family moved to a plantation just over the river, still called the Ferry Farm. In that year of 1738, the boy, whose name was George Washington, was six years old. His father Augustine died at Ferry Farm in 1743. (Freeman, Douglas Southall, George Washington, A Biography. Charles Scribner's Sons, New York 1948, vol. 1, pp. 58 and 72). Here Washington hacked the cherry tree and threw the dollar across the river, if ever he did. These legends are not as silly as some writers have made out. In fact, the perpetuator, Parson Weems, did not say George threw a dollar, but a rock, a sensible enough account to indicate the strength of the youth.

"Col. Lewis Willis", wrote Weems, "his play-mate and kinsman, has been heard to say, that he has often seen him throw a stone across Rappahannock, at the lower ferry of Fredericksburg. It would be no easy matter matter(sic) to find a man, now a-days, who could do it." (Weems, M. L., The Life of George Washington; With Curious Anecdotes, Equally Honourable to Himself, and Exemplary to his Young Countrymen. Joseph Allen, Philadelphia, 1847, p. 25).

The river was doubtless a little wider than its present scant hundred yards, because it is now diked and back filled in that vicinity. Any good ball player can perform the feat today, easily throwing beyond the water line. A coin sails more easily than a rock. Some years ago the former Washington baseball pitcher Walter Johnson threw a silver dollar across at a local celebration, and for a number of years school boys competed annually on February 22.

In the matter of the tree, Weems says the child barked and injured it so that it doubtless died, not that he cut it down. (Ibid, pp. 15-16). A child usually does not follow through in such wanton pranks, but rather commits aimless mischief in passing.

There is no need to disbelieve the basic truth of these legends, accounting for the style and purpose of the book.

After Washington had grown up and come into possession of Mount Vernon, he purchased a house for his mother in Fredericksburg, near Kenmore, the home of his sister Betty, wife of Colonel Fielding Lewis.

Washington became a Mason in Fredericksburg in 1752. On his many trips to the town during his manhood he often visited the tavern kept by his friend George Weedon, a gathering place for the patriots and

inveighers against England. He maintained a desk at Mercer's Apothecary Shop on Caroline, the main street, not far above Weedon's Tavern. Hugh Mercer, a medical man from Aberdeen University, had been "out in '45" with Bonnie Prince Charlie. When Charles Stuart failed to regain the British throne and pulled Scotland down to defeat with him, Mercer escaped to America. Meeting Washington in Pennsylvania, he was persuaded to set up shop at Fredericksburg. Dr. Mercer married Weedon's wife's sister and became affluent.

Mercer and Weedon were among the five generals, not counting Washington, furnished by Fredericksburg and vicinity in the American Revolution. The others were William Woodford, Thomas Posey, and GustavusB. Wallace.

Though Weedon lived for years to hold Yuletide carouse at his home the Sentry Box in memory of the Crossing of the Delaware, Mercer was mortally wounded at Princeton. There are many honors to Mercer's name; one, a monument in Fredericksburg, was authorized by the Continental Congress almost immediately following his death. A later U. S. Congress finally erected the statue in 1906.

Generals were not the only local contribution to the Revolution. Washington's brother-in-law Field/Lewis and his friend Charles Dick established a valuable gunnery in Fredericksburg. Besides the Gunnery, Hunter's Iron Works at Falmouth and a naval storehouse on Potomac Creek contributed to the cause. There were also at or near Fredericksburg a hospital, a garrison, and a prison camp.

An admiral came from here too, John Paul Jones. At any rate, his brother William Paul lived and died here. John Paul, who added the name Jones to his family name, last visited Fredericksburg to settle his brother's estate. If any American town can claim this international wanderer, Fredericksburg can.

Spared the horrors of actual warfare, the town rejoiced with the rest of the new nation at the successful outcome. A brilliant "Peace Ball" was held here, attended by many notables, including Washington, his mother, and Lafayette.

Of the several Eighteenth Century buildings left in the town, the Mary Washington House and the Rising Sun Tavern are maintained as museums by the Society for the Preservation of Virginia Antiquities. Kept open by other associations are Kenmore, the home of Washington's sister Betty Lewis, Mercer's Apothecary Shop, and the Monroe Law Office, James Monroe's first placeof business. The Masonic Lodge building, also open to the public, is old, but is not the building in which Washington was initiated.

E. American Period

Under the Republic the town continued to flourish. Incorporated in 1781, the new corporation now comprised a Mayor, Recorder, Board of Aldermen, and Common Council. Despite serious fires of 1799, 1807, and 1822, prosperity grew more solid and the physical properties rose from the ashes as more substantial buildings than before. (Quinn, op. cit., pp.57, 59, and 64). Not only was the city a place of resort for trade, but a social, educational, and professional center for the countryside. One is amazed in consulting the Dictionary of American Biography at the number of distinguished people who were either born or spent part of their youth in Fredericksburg. An outstanding example was James Monroe from nearby Westmoreland County. He set up a law office in Fredericksburg after the Revolution, became a city councilman, and finally president of the United States, holding more public offices than any other American before or since.

Next to Washington, Monroe is Fredericksburg's best known contribution to America.

One of Fredericksburg's lesser notables, the adventurer Lewis Littlepage burned his bright candle at both ends all over Europe. A trusted officer of King Stanislaus and Kosciusko in Poland's doomed fight against the Russians and a veteran of other affairs, he came home to die, at the age of 39 in 1802. His interesting tombstone may be seen in the Masonic Cemetery, next door to Monroe's old law office.

Another Fredericksburger, also associated with a lost cause, the Confederacy of 1861-65, Matthew Fontaine Maury, followed the devious courses of the seas rather than the twisting streams of politics. His discoveries made possible the Atlantic cable and his studies of ocean currents aided scientists and shipowners alike. No pioneer has contributed more to a young science. Much of his writing was done at his home in Fredericksburg on Charlotte Street, before the Civil War. Maury had been born in Spotsylvania County near Fredericksburg and had spent his early life in Tennessee, going to the U. S. Naval Academy from that State.

The trade with the expanding frontier called for better roads in the early Nineteenth Century. Thus the Swift Run Gap Turnpike Company was incorporated by Virginia in 1810. The old road from Fredericksburg to the mountains, stated the preamble to the incorporating act, had been "rendered impassable by reason of the great number of waggons . . .". (Acts Passed at a General Assembly of the Commonwealth of Virginia: etc. Printed by Samuel Pleasants, Junior, Printer to the Commonwealth, Richmond, 1810, p. 43). This road came to be called the Orange Turnpike.

From Fredericksburg eastward the stages and freight wagons ran to Potomac Creek; thence ships plied east and north. This would be in addition to the outlet of Fredericksburg's own wharves on the Rappahannock.

Waggoners and drovers, gentlemen in fine linen, merchants and lawyers, politicans going to and from Washington and points South and West, all mingled on the streets of the thriving little City and put up at taverns named The Rising Sun, the Rappahannock House, the Farmer's Hotel, the Exchange, the Planter's Hotel, the Indian Queen, and the Liberty Hotel. John Randolph of Roanoke stopped at the Indian Queen and Sam Houston at the Liberty. (Quinn, op. cit., pp. 165-168).

In the middle of the century a craze developed for plank roads. The Orange Turnpike was supplanted by the Fredericksburg and Valley Plank Road, more often termed the Orange Plank Road. The City itself invested in the project. (Acts. of the General Assembly of Virginia, Passed at the Extra and Regular Sessions of 1849 and 1850. William F. Ritchie, Public Printer, Richmond, 1850, pp. 77-78. Also Bound Manuscript Council Minutes of the City of Fredericksburg, Vol. 1829-51, pp. 395 and 397).

This effort to keep her large western trade failed. Fredericksburg should have concentrated her energies on a railroad. Such a railroad, the Fredericksburg and Gordonsville Railroad Company, was incorporated in 1853, but not finished until after the Civil War and then only as a minor line to Orange Court House. Meantime, the Orange and Alexandria (now the Southern), incorporated 1848, diverted more and more trade from Fredericksburg.

The mountain wagons still rolled in from the west, however, for years to come, and the ships still tied up at the wharves, but it was a local rather than an international or national trade. If no other factor were involved, the growth in the size of ships would itself limit the use of the Rappahannock at Fredericksburg.

On the north-south axis, she succeeded better. One of the earliest railroads, in America, the Richmond, Fredericksburg, and Potomac, received its charter in 1834. The line reached Fredericksburg in 1837, from whence passengers travelled by stage to the Potomac. By 1842 the line had been extended to Aquia Creek, fifteen miles from Fredericksburg, at the junction of the creek and the Potomac River. Here passengers and goods were transferred to steamers for the trip north. The all rail line to Washington was not completed until after the Civil War. During the war, the line served both sides as a military railroad. Today it is a prosperous and vital link in the north-south traffic of the entire East Coast. (See Mordecai, John B., A Brief History of the Richmond, Fredericksburg and Potomac Railroad. The Old Dominion Press, Richmond, 1941).

Civil War

The Civil War came quickly to Fredericksburg, headquarters of the defense of the Potomac line, known as the Department of Fredericksburg, with General Daniel Ruggles in command. The Confederates realized that the nearby landings on Potomac and Aquia Creeks and other Potomac River points were potential supply bases for campaigns toward Richmond, their capital. In one of the first engagements of the war, May 31 - June 1, 1861, Ruggles' artillery broke up a Union naval foray against Aquia Creek Landing, the Richmond, Fredericksburg and Potomac Railroad terminus. (The War of the Rebellion: A Compilation of the Official Records of the Union and Confederate Armies. Government Printing Office, Washington, 1880, series 1, vol. 2, pp. 55-59, 775, 803).

The Confederates lost the Potomac defense line in the spring of 1862. McClellan forced its abandonment by his side door attack on Richmond in the Peninsula Campaign. Failing to take Richmond, he did at least cause the Confederacy's boundary to be pulled in and thereby freed the shipping on the Potomac from constant harassment. For a year Washington had been virtually blockaded.

General Joseph E. Johnston's Confederate army, retreating from the Manassas area, passed through the Fredericksburg vicinity, and Confederate President Davis visited the town to confer with Johnston. He stayed at the Doswell home on the southwest corner of Princess Anne and Lewis streets. While there he spoke briefly from the porch to a gathering of citizens, stating that all would be well. A few weeks later President Lincoln visited the captured town.

McDowell, commander of the Department of the Rappahannock under McClellan, occupied the town in April 1862 as a part of McClellan's plan. While McClellan struck the Confederate capital from the east, McDowell was supposed to march southward from Fredericksburg. Stonewall Jackson's Valley Campaign, however, so frightened Washington that the authorities withdrew McDowell. (O. R., series 1, vol. 12, part 1, p.326). McClellan always claimed this robbed him of his chance for victory.

The first clash in the immediate vicinity of Fredericksburg occurred on the Warrenton Road near Falmouth early in the morning of April 18. Confederate cavalry and infantry slowed the Union vanguard, retreated into Fredericksburg, and burned all bridges. Brigadier General Charles W. Field's force then fell back toward Richmond. (O.R., series 1, vol. 12, part 1, pp. 427-438).

Though McDowell's army did not stay, a token force occupied the Fredericksburg-Falmouth area all summer, abandoning the territory only upon Pope's defeat in the Battle of Second Manassas, late August, 1862. During the Manassas operations, Ambrose E. Burnside acted as liaison officer between McClellan's forces on the James and Pope's Army of

Virginia. McClellan's transferred troops came by water to Aquia Creek, thence moving overland to northern Virginia. Thus, the railroad from Aquia to the Rappahannock proved a vital link in Federal communications. General Haupt, the Union railroad chief, had done a magnificent job of rebuilding this road after its destruction by the retreating Confederates. Now in September 1862, upon Pope's defeat, Burnside repeated the destruction before hurrying northward. He did not foresee that he would be needing the railroad himself within a couple of months. Haupt was bitter about the wanton destruction of the line and of government property by Burnside's men. (Haupt, Herman, Reminiscences. Wright & Joys Co., Printers, Milwaukee, Wis., 1901, pp. 146-147).

Lee followed up Second Manassas by invading the North. Despite his failure, Antietam, September 17, was not really a Union victory, and McClellan followed Lee back into Virginia so slowly that Lincoln removed him from command.

Burnside relieved McClellan at Warrenton, November 9, 1862. He proposed a quick march to Fredericksburg and a crossing of the Rappahannock there before Lee could come up. Celerity and surprise were lost when the necessary pontoons did not arrive in time.

Finally, on December 11, 1862, after having considered crossing farther down, Burnside began laying his pontoon bridges opposite the town. Barksdale's Mississippi riflemen opposed the effort. Bombardment of the City from a hundred Union guns on Stafford Heights failed to drive off Barksdale. Then the Seventh Michigan and the Eighty-ninth New York performed the gallant feat of ferrying over in the pontoon boats. They established a foothold on the riverbank, perhaps the first example of a modern beachhead operation, and dislodged Barksdale. The Union army crossed in force the next day.

Meantime, Lee, now knowing the point of attack, pulled in his scattered units to a seven mile front on the hills behind and south of the City.

Burnside hit this strong line, December 13, beginning at the lower end, the Confederate right. His subordinates had wanted to make a full attack there, but Burnside ordered only a partial one. When this force, led by George G. Meade, broke through a weak point in the Confederate line, the impact was too light, and the troops gave way to Stonewall Jackson's counterattack.

At the other end, Burnside sent wave after wave of courageous infantry against the impregnable Marye's Heights just west of the City. Each attack was cut down by the combined fire of the artillery on Marye's Heights and the infantry behind the Stonewall along the Sunken Road at the base of the hill. The lines of battle collapsed at a hundred or so yards from the road. Not a single Union soldier reached the position.

During the night of December 15-16, Burnside recrossed the Rappahannock. Joseph E. Hooker superseded him in January, 1863.

Aside from Confederate cavalry raids and Burnside's bogged down campaign called the Mud March, a lull intervened until spring. Indeed, amity flourished. No pickets fired, and the men traded souvenirs, food, and tobacco back and forth across the separating river, using toy sized sail boats made from logs or scrap lumber.

Hooker boasted that his was the finest army on the planet. (Bigelow, John Jr., The Campaign of Chancellorsville, A Strategic and Tactical Study. Yale University Press, New Haven, 1910, pp. 108 & 130). He felt confident enough to divide his forces, leaving General Sedgwick to hold Lee's attention while he took a column upriver twenty-five miles to Kelly's Ford to turn and come in on Lee's rear. By the night of April 30, 1863, he had reached Chancellorsville, a large cross-roads house, ten miles west of Fredericksburg. The turning column had crossed Kelly's on the Rappahannock and Ely's and Germanna Fords on the Rapidan River. The movement, however, uncovered U. S. Ford on the Rappahannock, ten miles above Fredericksburg, shortening the distance between the two wings. Hooker himself crossed U. S. Ford.

On May 1, Hooker advanced eastward from Chancellorsville, according to plan, and was much amazed to be struck by the enemy. He had expected Lee to ". . . ingloriously fly or come out from behind his intrenchments and give us battle on our own ground, where certain destruction awaits him." (Bigelow, p. 223). Perhaps Lee came out too soon for Hooker's plan. At any rate, Lee, leaving Early's Division of Jackson's Corps to watch Sedgwick, moved west to meet Hooker's turning column. Hooker fell back and dug in.

Lee grasped the initiative. His cavalry reported that the Union left and center were strong, but the right wing was "in the air," resting on no natural obstacle. He and Jackson decided to exploit that situation. Jackson's flank march and attack on May 2 routed the Union right, though at terrible cost, since Jackson was mistakenly and mortally shot in the dark forest by his own men, about 9 p.m. The next day the two Confederate segments at Chancellorsville converged on Hooker, coming together at the Fairview plateau, his defense keypoint, and ousting the Federals from Chancellorsville itself.

Hooker had adjusted his lines because of Jackson's attack. Now he adopted still another line, a U or V shaped formation behind Chancellorsville with both flanks on a river, the left, unchanged, on the Rappahannock, and the right on the Rapidan. U. S. Ford lay within the V.

Just as Lee prepared to strike the new alignment, he received word that Sedgwick had broken the Fredericksburg front that same morning, Sunday, May 3, the Second Battle of Fredericksburg, and now marched westward. Lee, leaving part of his men to hold Hooker, pushed east to engage Sedgwick, and defeated him at Salem Church, causing that Federal force to retreat over the Rappahannock at Banks' Ford. Upon Lee's re-arrival on the Chancellorsville front, the morning of May 6, he found that Hooker had withdrawn during the

night over U. S. Ford.

Lee out-bluffed Hooker in one of the world's strategical masterpieces. Richmond remained, unlike Maryland, free of "the despot's heel".

The victories of Fredericksburg and Chancellorsville emboldened Lee to invade the North again. On the eve of battle, George Gordon Meade replaced Hooker and defeated Lee at Gettysburg, July 1, 2, 3, 1863. This was not another Antietam, but was a real defeat, both tactically and strategically.

Back in Virginia, a late summer and fall of maneuvering in Northern Virginia followed. After the abortive Mine Run Campaign, the two armies settled into winter quarters facing each other along the Rapidan west of Fredericksburg.

Early in 1864 Congress made Ulysses S. Grant lieutenant general and overall field commander of the United States armies. Meade retained command of the Army of the Potomac. Grant chose to accompany this army personally.

With the coming of spring, Grant and Meade initiated a movement southeastward toward Fredericksburg. They planned to cross the Rapidan, turn south toward Richmond, and outflank Lee, obviating the dangerous, if not impossible, task of breaking his Mine Run defenses.

Lee, still capable of offensive tactics, advanced eastward against the moving Federals. He intercepted their line of march in the area fifteen miles west of Fredericksburg called the Wilderness. This tract bounds the Rappahannock on the north and is some ten miles deep north and south. On an east-west line, it runs from the Chancellorsville vicinity westward for about fifteen miles. Still wild in part, it was then an area of dense second growth timber and few clearings. Lee intended to make up for his weaker force in the difficult terrain.

The Battle of the Wilderness, May 5 and 6, 1864, a desperate and confused melee, raged on two roads, three or four miles apart, the Orange Turnpike (now Va. Highway 20) on the north, and the Orange Plank Road on the south.

Neither side gained much advantage on the 5th. Of Lee's three corps, Longstreet's had not yet come up. Early in the morning of May 6, just as the Confederates on the Plank Road gave way before the onslaught of Hancock's Federal troops, Longstreet arrived to stop and chase back the Federals. Later in the morning Longstreet flanked Hancock and seemed about to win a great victory. Longstreet's own flankers, however, mistakenly shot him and the attack faltered. Further attacks failed to make any penetration

Next, the North Anna and Cold Harbor fighting and the crossing of the James developed into the siege operations around Richmond and Petersburg. Lee's Richmond-Petersburg defenses fell April 2, 1865. He managed to retreat westward a hundred miles, as far as Appomattox Court House, where he surrendered to Grant April 9, 1865.

The Fredericksburg-Chancellorsville-Wilderness-Spotsylvania area is unusual in several ways. For one thing, the world had never seen so high a casualty list, over 100,000, in such a small vicinity. The Battle of Fredericksburg involved bombardment, river crossing, street fighting, and attacks on entrenched lines. It was the first time in American History that wholesale evacuations and total bombardment of a town occurred. Modern field fortification, as distinguished from siege operations, began here and reached its apogee at Spotsylvania. Chancellorsville marked the peak of Confederate brilliance and is still studied by military tacticians today. Fredericksburg and Chancellorsville marked the last of the Confederate upsurge, the end of the beginning; Wilderness and Spotsylvania were the beginning of the end, the start of the relentless march to Appomattox.

The war left Fredericksburg badly damaged, physically and financially. The census of 1870 indicated a loss of about a thousand of her population. Some of that loss can be attributed to death by war, most, perhaps, to refugees or displaced persons who did not return. It would seem, however, that carpetbaggers would counterbalance some of the loss. Quinn said the postwar census was very imperfectly taken. That total was 4,046: White - 2,715, Negro - 1,331. (A Compendium of the Ninth Census. Gov. Printing Office, Wash., 1872, p. 357). The 1860 census had shown 5,023. (Kennedy, Joseph C.G., Population of the United States in 1860; Compiled from the original returns of the Eighth Census. Gov. Printing Office, Wash., 1864, p. 518).

To go back thirty years before that, the total population of Fredericksburg in 1830 had been 3,308. (Fifth Census; or Enumeration of the Inhabitants of the United States, as Corrected at the Department of State 1830. Printed by Duff Green, Wash., 1832, pp. 84-85). There were 3,309 Whites in 1860, one more than the total of Whites and Blacks in 1830.

The first U. S. Census, 1790, had shown a total of 1,485, of whom 318 were free White males of sixteen and up, 187 free White males under sixteen, 354 free White females, 59 all other free persons, and 567 slaves. (Return of the Whole Number of Persons Within the Several Districts of the United States. Printed by Childs and Swaine, Philadelphia, 1791, p. 50 — Facsimile by Luther M. Cornwall Company of New York City).

II. The National Park or Memorial Movement

Though the Federal Government had no thought of establishing a park in the years immediately after the war, a National Cemetery at Fredericksburg was soon established. This constituted a memorial. Since the spot itself was historic, the Cemetery represented also the holding of battlefield land. It did not represent preservation, however, at least not in the National Park Service sense, because cemetery activities on Willis' Hill, part of the famous Marye's Heights, terraced the slope and cleared the position of Confederate earthworks. Thus the battlefield remains were destroyed for the containment of the human remains.

As early as April 3, 1862, the U. S. Adjt. Gen.'s Office had issued General Orders No. 33: " . . . to secure, as far as possible, the decent interment . . ." of the fallen, ordering commanding generals to lay off lots of ground near every battlefield for burials, with headboards. (O.R., series 3, vol. 2, p.2). Such lots were not practicable for Fredericksburg and Chancellorsville, but two such cemeteries were established in the Wilderness in 1865.

Captain J. M. Moore, Assistant Quartermaster, U. S. Army, in his report for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1865, states that he went to the Wilderness to bury the remains still unburied and to mark their graves for future reference. The work lasted from June 12 to June 24. He searched both Wilderness and Spotsylvania. Two temporary cemeteries were laid out at the Wilderness field, one on the Orange Turnpike and one on the Plank Road. The party was unable to identify many of the unburied dead. Both Union and Confederate soldiers were interred.

Moore reported that a Mr. Sanford of Spotsylvania had buried many of the dead there by agreement with Sherman, who had passed through the area on his way to Washington in the spring of 1865. No reburials were made here by Moore because of the warm weather and decay of the bodies. ". . . Hundreds of graves on these battle-fields are without any mark whatever to designate them, and so covered with foliage that the visitor will be unable to find the last resting-places of those who have fallen until the rains and snows of winter wash from the surface the light covering of earth and expose their remains." (O.R., series 3, vol. 5, p. 318).

(This same information from the Official Records occurs in a letter dated Washington, July 3, 1865 from Moore to Bvt. Major General M. C. Meigs, Quartermaster General, published in a pamphlet called "Quartermaster General's Office, General Orders, No. 58, Names of Officers and Soldiers found on the Battle-fields of the Wilderness and Spotsylvania Court House, Va.", Gov. Printing Office, Washington, 1865).

Established July 15, 1865, under authority of the National Cemetery Act of July 17, 1862, the Fredericksburg National Cemetery included Union dead from all the local fields. Legal land transfer was made November 5, 1868, Douglas H. and Eliza Gordon of Baltimore to the United States, 12 5/1000 acres. (Fredericksburg Court Records, Deed Book V, pp. 39-40, admitted to record April 21, 1869). Actual work began in the summer of 1866. The operations were completed in the fall of 1869, with a total expense of about $180,000. At first, the Cemetery was enclosed by a picket fence instead of the later brick wall, and the first markers were not stone. According to an early account, the interments numbered 12,601 unknown and 2,467 known, making a total of 15,068. ("Roll of Honor, No. XXV. Names of the Soldiers Who Died in Defense of the Union, Interred in the National Cemeteries at Fredericksburg, Virginia; etc., etc." Government Printing Office, Washington, 1870, p. 11). Slightly different figures, however, are engraved on a cannon in the Cemetery near the General Humphreys Monument: 12,770 unknown, 2,473 known, total 15,243. Since that time, local dead of subsequent wars and unknown remains found on the battlefields have augumented the total to 15,330. The figures carried in the Cemetery office are: 12,745 unknown and 2,585 known.

Fredericksburg formed part of Virginia Military District No. 1, under the Federal Occupation, or, Reconstruction. While work on the Cemetery progressed, the occupying soldiers, camped in the Marye's Heights area, amused themselves as best they could. Some of them formed a baseball club; their names are preserved on a roster printed at Fredericksburg, Oct. 1, 1867, titled "Roll of the National Base Ball Club and Reading Room Association, of Co. 'G' 21st U. S. I., Organized at Camp 'Auger', on Marye's Heights, Near Fredericksburg, Va." Among those listed are two deceased: David Trussel, drowned in the Rappahannock, April 1, 1867, and Frank H. Laughlin, died of typhoid, Sept. 5, 1867. Both are buried in the National Cemetery they camped beside.

A surfaced road to the Cemetery, then still out in the country, did not come until later. In the spring of 1896, the firm of McDonnell and Musselman was awarded the contract, $2,000, for macadamizing the National Boulevard, as it was called because of its Cemetery connection, from Princess Anne Street (westward)to the Cemetery. (Fredericksburg, Va., Free Lance, Saturday, May 2, 1896, p. 3). This thoroughfare followed approximately the line of the old "Telegraph Road Cut-off". From Princess Anne eastward to Sophia Street, two blocks, there existed a street called Prussia, of which the Boulevard was really a continuation. In World War I, the city authorities changed the name of Prussia to Lafayette Street. Later, they decided to treat Lafayette and the National Boulevard as the same street and to call it Lafayette Boulevard. Though General Lafayette had local association and ought to be locally honored, I think the name National Boulevard should have been retained; the historical association was more exact.

The Confederates did not forget their dead either. By 1864 the townspeople had already established, just north of the City Cemetery, neat graves for the Southern fallen of 1862 and 1863, reported a delegate of the U. S. Christian Commission. They also cared for Federal graves in the City Cemetery, where some Northern boys were put after the Wilderness and Spotsylvania operations. ("Scenes at Fredericksburg," Harper's Weekly, Vol. VIII, No. 389, New York, Saturday, June 11, 1864, p. 379). These Union interments were later moved to the National Cemetery. The Ladies' Memorial Association of Fredericksburg was, according to Quinn, actually the first organization formed to bury the war dead and to strew the graves with flowers each spring. The ladies first met, May 10, 1865, in the basement of the Presbyterian Church. Money was solicited all over the South. (Quinn, op. cit., p. 320 and p. 186; also, for names and other details, pp. 188-190). The Confederate Cemetery land, part of the old Kenmore farm, was conveyed by Conway and others to Lacy and Braxton, acting for the Association, December 31, 1867. (Fredericksburg Court Records, Deed Book U, pp. 379-80). In April 1874, the Association incorporated under state Charter, with the right to purchase and beautify grounds and to erect suitable monuments and tombstones for soldiers buried in those grounds or removed to them. This act was amended January 11, 1892, a reorganization; lots could be conveyed for burials other than those of Confederate soldiers. (Acts of the General Assembly of Virginia, The Session of 1874, Richmond, 1874, pp. 480-481 and Ibid., Session of 1891-92, Richmond, 1892, pp. 76-78). The monument honoring the various Southern States, the branches of the army, and the Confederate soldier, completed, 1884, had its cornerstone laid 1874. (Quinn, pp. 189-90).

The Confederate Cemetery, occupying the northern end of the City Cemetery enclosure, but legally distinct from the other cemetery, is still administered by the Ladies' Memorial Association.

Thus, at first all thoughts were for the proper disposal and memorialization of the dead. The idea of preserving the battlefields as such came later.

However, with the approaching end of the Nineteenth Century, local sentiment would have backed any Federal move for a battlefield park. Fredericksburg veterans, or at least a large group of them, seemed prepared to cooperate in a memorial to both sides. Major J. C. Kerbey, Union veteran, author, and diplomat, a frequent visitor to the old town, happened to be in Fredericksburg on Memorial Day, 1888. Three other Union veterans also happened to be in town. Captain Dan Lee, a kinsman of General R. E. Lee, and the M. F. Maury Camp of Confederate Veterans offered to celebrate the day with those Union men. (Kerbey, Major J. C., On the War Path, A Journey Over the Historic Grounds of the Late Civil War, Donohue, Henneberry & Co., Chicago, 1890, pp. 160-161).

"On the morning of that Memorial day — one never to be forgotten", wrote Kerbey, "and I would that my poor pen could record it, so that every G.A.R. comrade in the land might become interested — the Fredericksburg Grays, a crack military organization composed of the young men of the town, fitly representing the New South, headed by the brass band of the town, escorted the four solitary Federals to the rendezvous of the Confederates. Here we found eighty-one old Rebels in line to receive us; instead of the

guns they used to carry, each had a boquet (sic) of beautiful flowers in hand. We were placed at the head of the little column; Captain Dan Lee, on behalf of some ladies, then presented each Federal with a beautiful boquet(sic) of flowers, stating that the ladies of the town had, on this occasion, divided their offerings between the Confederate and Federal cemeteries.

"Under command of Captain Lee, we marched out the same old Hanover street, or telegraph road, the band playing patriotic airs, followed by the eighty-one Confederates in gray clothes, armed with bouquets. - - -" (Ibid., pp. 161-2).

They marched to the Sunken road and then turned left toward the National Cemetery, the Yankees following Captain Lee's example and lifting their hats as they passed the marker where Cobb, the distinguished Georgian, fell in the battle of December 13, 1862.

The Rebels, in turn, removed their hats upon entering the Cemetery. Inside the Cemetery a group of ladies was already assembled. Both Confederates and Federals made addresses; afterward the women and children helped decorate the graves.

The next year, through Kerbey's efforts, the Fredericksburg National Cemetery was decorated by G.A.R. people from Richmond and Washington. (Ibid., pp. 162-163 and 165).

Kerbey was particularly drawn to Fredericksburg. "Fredericksburg — what a cloud of war memories hangs over this old town! The mere mention of the name awakens the veteran's slumbering interests; - - - I have estimated that every soldier of the Army of the Potomac, as well as that of Lee's Confederate Army of Northern Virginia, has at one time or other, been at Fredericksburg.

"We were not here for three days only, as at Gettysburg, which has become the Mecca of American valor to which tourists throng daily, and neglect this more interesting field. We all lived here for a couple of years, every day of which was as a year of an ordinary lifetime." (Ibid., p. 117).

He voiced a hope that has been fulfilled in part only:

"Perhaps the time may come when this old town, so close to the Capital, may become a Mecca; such as has been made of Gettysburg, and maybe the blood-stained soil may yet produce a crop of monuments that will equal Gettysburg. If each separate deed of heroism done here were marked by a stone, the ground would be a forest of monuments. Who knows — perhaps the

Government will, in time, reserve more of this battle-ground as a National park; hotels may spring up around its numerous springs. Here might appropriately be commemorated alike in a commingling of monuments the heroism of both sides." (Ibid., p. 168).

By the 1890's a company, with headquarters in Washington, had been organized by Union and Confederate veterans for buying land and forming a battlefield park. The letterheads of this organization read:

Capital, $100,000. Shares $10.00.

Office of

Chancellorsville Battlefield Association,

Of Spotsylvania County, Va.

Incorporated April 30, 1891, under the laws of the State of Virginia

Washington, D. C.

Officers listed were:

President -- Gen. Joseph Dickinson, U. S. Pension Bureau, Washington, D.C.;
Vice-President - Col. Rufus B. Merchant, Fredericksburg, Va.;
Secretary - Capt. James S. Wyckoff, 911 G St., Washington, D. C.;
Treasurer - Thomas E. Woods, 1222 F St., Washington, D. C.; and
Counsel - Wm. Edgar Rogers, 920 F St., Washington, D. C.

Directors were: Gen. C. H. T. Collins, New York City; Gen. Joseph Dickinson, Wash.; Thos. E. Woods, Wash.; Col. Wm. Edgar Rogers, Wash.; W. L. Slaughter, Fredericksburg, Va.; J. Brainerd Hall, Worcester, Mass.; Capt. Jas. S. Wyckoff, Washington; Major Mark C. Bunnell, Wash.; Col. Rufus B. Merchant, Fredericksburg; Ves. Chancellor, Fredericksburg; James R. Ash, Wash.; Captain Nathan Bickford, Wash.; Captain A. H. Van Dusen, Wash.; and General Francis Price, Oakland, N. J. (Letterhead of letter dated April 1, 1893 from A. H. Van Dusen to Ves. Chancellor).

These were all distinguished men. Rufus Merchant was a local newspaperman. Ves. Chancellor, who apparently did not like his full first name, was Vespasian Chancellor, a prominent member of that family who had served as a scout for Jeb Stuart during the war. He was a keen faced man with a Napoleon III beard and mustache. (See Photo in Miller, F. T., Ed., The Photographic History of the Civil War. 10 vols., Review of Reviews Co., 1911, vol. 8, p. 295). Dickinson had been on Hooker's staff at the Battle of Chancellorsville and had taken care of the women and

children refugees in the house when the place was shelled and the Union forces retreated. He became a lifelong friend of the Chancellors.

The Association began to buy land on the battlefields of Chancellorsville and Spotsylvania Court House. A letter of March 30, 1893 to Ves Chancellor from Director Nathan Bickford (on his stationery as Solicitor of Claims, 914 F St., U. S. Court of Claims, Congressional and Departmental Practice) regards payments on the McCoull tract in the Bloody Angle, Spotsylvania.

Other people got interested in various business ways, typical of the 1890's. Mr. Ira Brashears, writing April 1, 1893 on stationery of the Bureau of Pensions, Department of the Interior, suggested to Ves. Chancellor that a furniture factory be operated in connection with the project. He said he had one half of Col. Rogers' interest in the Association and wanted to locate a furniture factory in Fredericksburg. Timber from the Association lands could be used to everybody's mutual benefit.

However, stock company ventures for historical purposes meet many obstacles. On March 31, 1893, President Dickinson wrote to Director Chancellor that his brother had just died, causing him some expense; he could not pay his assessment on the purchase of the McCoull property. He furthermore offered to sell his $60 interest already paid for $50. He expressed great regret but said he could not remain in something demanding continued assessments when he knew he would not be able "to, financially, keep up my end of the log."

Dickinson said he knew he was giving up a good thing, stating:

"There is no question whatever, in my mind, that at the next session of Congress a bill can be passed to purchase that property certain and, if desired, also Chancellorsville as well as such other as might be secured. The South will insist upon having, and properly so, some of the battlefields south of this city [Washington] on the line of travel north and there are none so peculiarly appropriate as those controlled by us on the line where for four years the most desperate fighting of the war occurred and where the Contention was settled."

Thus though he was not to continue taking financial part, he seemed highly optimistic as to the outcome of the efforts to establish a park. His last statement gives full endorsement of the idea that Wilderness and Spotsylvania were the beginning of the end.

Vespasian Chancellor, acting as agent for the Chancellorsville Battlefield Association, acquired the McCoull tract, 590 acres, from John W. Harper by deed of March 5, 1892. (Spotsylvania County Court Records, Deed Book A.D., p. 395). He likewise acquired the adjoining Harrison

tract, 139 acres, from A. B. Rawlings, Sept. 7, 1892. (Spotsylvania Deed Book, A D, p. 496). These deeds were transferred in 1904 to the Battlefield Lands Co., Inc., formed to be the holding company for the Association. (Spotsylvania Deed Book A S, p. 49). Failing to achieve its goals and lacking money, the group finally let the property go in 1918. Guy M. Harbert, Sarah F. Harbert, and Lorna Robinson, clients of the Richmond-Washington Farm Agency, bought both tracts, a total of 747 acres. (Deed of March 25, 1918, Spot. Deed Book 89, p. 378). Harbert secured sole ownership in 1920. (D.B. 92, p. 472). The U. S. Government purchased 396 acres of this property for the military park in 1932.

The Chancellorsville Battlefield Association managed to buy the Chancellorsville farm too, but did not hold it as long. In this transaction, James S. Wyckoff acted as agent. He purchased the 845 acre tract from Geo. R. Fitzhugh, Special Commissioner, in the partition suit of Wyeth et als vs Wyeth et als, by deed dated August 25, 1891. (Spotsylvania Deed Book A D, p. 259). This was made possible by a deed of trust of the same date, James S. Wyckoff to John L. Marye, trustee. (Ibid., p. 220). In the Chancery Suit of Wyeth v. Wyeth, the Circuit Court of Spotsylvania ordered May 2, 1910 that the land revert to the Wyeth heirs; a decree of May 11, 1895 had ordered Marye to convey the tract in default of payment by Wyckoff, but Marye had died without doing so. (Spotsylvania Records, E.F. #145, Circuit Court of Spotsylvania).

The heirs of the next owner, A. J. Rowley, conveyed (by condemnation proceedings, 1931 & 1932)part of the Chancellorsville tract to the U. S. Government for the military park. The site of Chancellorsville itself, i.e., the Chancellor House, was not included and still remains outside the park.

A separate movement to establish a park began in 1896 when the Fredericksburg City Council, on Friday, Feb. 21, passed resolutions urging the formation of such a park, giving reasons for its establishment and quoting Senator John W. Daniel as saying more men fell in Spotsylvania County than in England's army for a hundred years. He should have included Orange County, where it so happened he received his wound in the Wilderness. A committee was formed to foster a park and to interest the U.S. Congress; this committee consisted of J. T. Knight, Geo. W. Wroten, and J. S. Wallace from the Council, and H. F. Crismond, Maj. J. Horace Lacy, and Col. R. B. Merchant as citizens. Later, two other citizens, J. S. Potter and T. E. Morris, were added. (Fredericksburg, Va., Free Lance, Tuesday, Feb. 25, 1896, p. 3 -- long story and small separate item. Note: the original City Council Minutes, vol. 1891-96, p. 273 do not give any more detail; in fact, Clerk Bradley simply posted a newspaper clipping in lieu of notes).

Thursday, April 16, 1896, a mass meeting was held at the Opera House (now, 1955, the Wakefield Stores and Apartment Building, northeast corner, Caroline and William Streets) to organize a group for the park establishment. Congressman Jenkins, of Wisconsin, and Congressman Walker and Jones of Virginia gave speeches. Jenkins had served in the Battle of Fredericksburg and Walker had commanded the famous Confederate Stonewall Brigade. Mayor A. P. Rowe, Chairman of the Park Association, presided. State Senator Little offered resolutions for a new association or committee of eleven members, five from town, three from Spotsylvania County, two from Orange County, and one from Stafford County.

The rhetoric flowed. "Bowering's Band," said a local paper, "discoursed sweet music during the evening, and the meeting adjourned with a feeling that with a strong pull, a long pull, and a pull altogether, we will soon have established a great Battlefield Park on the historic battlefields of this section." (Free Lance, April 18, 1896, p. 3). Professor A. B. Bowering, Superintendent of Schools, had played in the 30th Virginia Regiment of Pickett's Division, during the war; his band graced all the local functions at the turn of the Century. (Walker's speech is printed in full in the Free Lance for April 21, 1896, p. 1).

The Mayor later appointed the following Battlefield Park Commission suggested in the resolutions of the meeting:

Fredericksburg -- Hon. J. S. Potter, Major T. E. Morris, Hon. H. F. Crismond, Councilman John T. Knight, Councilman J. Stansbury Wallace.

Spotsylvania -- Hon. Chancellor Bailey, J. P. H. Crismond, Capt. M. B. Rowe.

Orange -- John G. Williams, Col. John C. Porter.

Stafford -- Capt. D. M. Lee.

(Free Lance, Tuesday, April 21, 1896, p. 3).

We find various items in the paper about the work, such as a note of a proposed meeting of the park committee (Free Lance, Sat., May 9, 1896, p. 3) and an article on the fact that J. S. Potter received a letter from Major Charles Pickett, staff officer and brother of George Pickett, of Norfolk, thanking him for the brochure on the park. (Free Lance, Saturday, Oct. 17, 1896, p. 3). The park files contain a copy of that brochure.

Potter, active in the work, was a Massachusetts man who had moved to Fredericksburg and bought the old Minor place "Hazel Hill". The objects of art in his house, said the Baltimore Sun, constituted a "cabinet of wonders". (Fredericksburg, Va., Free Lance, April 13, 1894, p. 3). He would be representative of the many fine people who came south after the war; not all the Yankee immigrants were carpetbaggers by any means.

Continued hard work made more and more people aware of the movement and resulted in an Act of the Virginia Assembly, approved February 12, 1898, which incorporated the Fredericksburg and adjacent national battlefields memorial park association of Virginia.

Some of the distinguished incorporators, most of whom were veterans, were: Maine - Joshua Chamberlain, A. C. Hamlin; New York - Daniel Butterfield, L. P. di Cesnola, F. D. Grant, Horatio C. King, M.T. McMahon, George D. Ruggles, Daniel Sickles, Alex. S. Webb; Pennsylvania - James A. Beaver, D. M. M. Gregg; Maryland - Charles Marshall; Virginia - Chancellor Bailey, Wm. H. Bradley, Henry C. Chesley, E. Dorsey Cole, James P. Corbin, J. P. H. Crismond, H. F. Crismond, John W. Daniel, A. T. Embrey, St. George R. Fitzhugh, Fitzhugh Lee, Daniel M. Lee, Jas. S. Knox, Dabney H. Maury, Terence McCracken, T. E. Morris, S. J. Quinn, A. P. Rowe, M. B. Rowe, G. W. Shepherd, James P. Smith, Walter H. Taylor, A. W. Wallace, Morton Marye, Jed Hotchkiss; South Carolina - M. C. Butler; Georgia - Clement A. Evans, James Longstreet; Texas - Rudolph Kleberg.

Middle Western states, as well as Wyoming, Colorado, and California were also represented.

Many of these listed are familiar names to students of the Civil War. Chamberlain, delegated by Grant, received the actual surrender of Lee's army at Appomattox; he was elected Governor of Maine after the war. Augustus Choate Hamlin wrote The Battle of Chancellorsville, Bangor, Maine, 1896, an important source.

Daniel Batterfield commanded the Fifth Corps at Fredericksburg and donated the Fifth Corps Monument in the Fredericksburg National Cemetery. Luigi Palma di Cesnola, soldier, archeologist, museum director, was a Union cavalry officer while still a subject of Italy. Frederick Dent Grant, eldest son of U. S. Grant, saw service as a boy with his father and later attended West Point; he was, incidentally, the father of General U. S. Grant III, the distinguished soldier and conservationist of Washington, D. C., a staunch supporter of the National Park Service. Gen. Horatio C. King, a Brooklyn lawyer, secretary and later president of the Society of the Army of the Potomac and otherwise prominent in veterans' interests, worked hard for a Fredericksburg park. Martin T. McMahon, wartime Chief of Staff of the Sixth Corps, wrote an article on the death of Sedgwick at Spotsylvania for Battles and Leaders of the Civil War.

George D. Ruggles served in the U. S. Adjutant General's office and Provost-Marshall-Generals Bureau during the war, in the field and at Washington. Dan Sickles, one of the most colorful characters of the Civil War, remained interested in veterans' affairs and memorialization ideas until the end of his long life. General Sickles had taken an important part in Fredericksburg and Chancellorsville and lost a leg at Gettysburg. Alexander S. Webb, soldier and author, penned valuable accounts of the war.

James A. Beaver, postwar Governor of Pennsylvania, had a certain distinction of his own; he accepted the sword of Confederate Brig. Gen. George H. Steuart when that officer and Edward Johnson were captured along with practically all of Johnson's division at Spotsylvania, May 12, 1864. This capture sparked one of the better anecdotes of the war. After his capture, Steuart, who knew Hancock, refused to accept Hancock's hand, saying he could not do so under the circumstances; Hancock replied that under any other circumstances he would not have offered it. (See O. R., series 1, vol. 36, part 1, pp. 359 & 410, 428). Col. Beaver was leading his regiment, the 148 Pennsylvania Volunteers. He later lost a leg from a wound at Cold Harbor.

David McM. Gregg commanded/Union Cavalry division at the time of Wilderness and Spotsylvania. Col. Charles Marshall, Lee's military secretary, had been present at Lee's surrender in the McLean House, and it was he who actually wrote Lee's famous Farewell Order. Walter H. Taylor, listed further along with the Virginians, also of Lee's staff, had the honor of appearing in one of the last wartime photographs of Lee, taken by Brady in Richmond after Appomattox. (Freeman, D. S., R. E. Lee, A Biography, in 4 volumes. Charles Scribner's Sons, New York, 1936, vol. 4, pp. 133-143, 149-50, and facing 182).

Many of the Virginia men came from the Fredericksburg area, being well known locally if not nationally famous. Two of these, however, Fitzhugh Lee and Dabney Herndon Maury, were prominent Confederate generals. Another local man of more than local fame was the Rev. James Power Smith, a Presbyterian divine; he had been on Jackson's staff and helped care for the dying Stonewall at Guiney's Station. Among the other Virginians, John Warwick Daniel, called the "Lame Lion" (one of Early's staff officers, he had been wounded in the Wilderness while taking part in Gordon's flank attack), was U. S. Senator from Virginia for many years and a power in the South; his autographed picture still hangs in a place of honor in the office of the Fredericksburg Clerk of the Court. Jed Hotchkiss, Jackson's Topographical Engineer, wrote with William Allan an excellent book on Chancellorsville and also contributed to other works. His battlefield maps are of great value to students.

The South Carolinian Matthew Calbraith Butler, a cavalryman who lost a foot at Brandy Station, was another Confederate general who became a powerful postwar political leader. Gen. Clement A. Evans had commanded the 31st Georgia at Fredericksburg, aiding in the repulse of Meade's break-through; he edited The Confederate Military History and helped establish the Confederate Memorial Institute (Battle Abbey) in Richmond. Longstreet, one of the most famous of Civil War generals, led the First Corps of Lee's army. He was desperately wounded at the Wilderness.

Rudolph Kleberg is an interesting addition to the roster. His family has since become well known in Texas as owners of the King Ranch, one of the biggest private holdings in the world. Rudolph Kleberg, a lawyer, had served the last year of the war in the Confederate Cavalry. At the time of the formation of this association he was a U. S. Congressman from Texas. (Biographical Directory of the American Congress, 1774-1949. Gov. Print. Office, Wash., 1950, p. 1420).

The Act stated "That the object of this association is to mark and preserve the battlefields of Fredericksburg, Chancellorsville, The Wilderness, and Spotsylvania Courthouse, and adjacent battlegrounds, on which were fought those great battles of eighteen hundred and sixty-two, eighteen hundred and sixty-three and eighteen hundred and sixty-four, together with the natural and artificial features, as far as possible, as they were at the time of said battles, by such memorial stones, tablets, or monuments as the generous people of the United States or the Government of the United States may see fit to erect to commemorate the valor displayed by the American soldiery on those bloody fields, and it may take such steps as it deems proper to induce the congress of the United States to do all the necessary work appertaining thereto." The right to buy or acquire land, personal property or effects for preservation, construction of roads, etc. was granted. (Acts and Joint Resolutions Passed by the General Assembly of Virginia, Session of 1897-98. J. H. O'Bannon, Public Printer, Richmond, 1898, pp. 364-66).

An amending act of March 2, 1898 gave the new association the right to acquire land by condemnation, but no more than 100 acres in Stafford, 25 acres in the corporation of Fredericksburg, and 7,000 acres in Spotsylvania and Orange Counties. The lands could be transferred to the Federal Government if and when Congress established a park. (Ibid., p. 712). (Our park has no Stafford land and only 2,478.71 acres in all, including the National Cemetery.)

Another amendment, January 11, 1900, added more incorporators, Hunter McGuire and C. A. Swanson among the new Virginia group and E. P. Alexandria (sic) from Georgia. (Acts, etc., Session of 1899-1900. J. H. O'Bannon, Richmond, 1900, pp. 38-39).

Hunter Holmes McGuire, famous Virginia doctor and Stonewall Jackson's Medical Director during the war, died in September of 1900.

We assume this is he and not the Dr. Hunter H. McGuire, his nephew, born in 1875. The late Claude Swanson, then a rising young politician, lived to see the park; he sponsored the successful park bill in the Senate in the 1920's. E. P. Alexander, a prominent Confederate artillerist, was, like Longstreet, now an old man. His book Military Memoirs of a Confederate ranks with Longstreet's From Manassas to Appomattox as a valuable source.

The new association became locally organized Tuesday, February 22, 1898, soon after the passing of the initial act of incorporation, at a mammoth meeting held in the Opera House. Judge James B. Sener, of Washington, late of Fredericksburg and formerly war correspondent, Southern Associated Press, Army of Northern Virginia, opened the meeting. He had been Chairman of the Fredericksburg National Battlefields Park Commission. (This should not be confused with the later Commissions stemming from acts of the U. S. Congress). He traced the history of the movement, reviewing how the local commission had been organized by City Council Resolutions. Feb. 21, 1896 and a mass meeting at the Opera House, April 16, 1896, emphasizing that the local park idea was endorsed by both the Confederate Veterans and the Grand Army of the Republic.

After Judge Sener's speech, St. George R. Fitzhugh nominated Gen. Horatio C. King Chairman of the new association. In his speech he cited various reasons why a park should be established here. J. S. Potter seconded the nomination and Generals James A. Beaver and Longstreet and Mr. Fitzhugh accompanied King to the stand.

Col. James D. Brady of Petersburg, Collector of Internal Revenue for the Eastern District of Virginia, nominated Col. Walter H. Taylor, Vice Chairman. Taylor was absent. Brady had led a company in the Irish Brigade during the charges against Marye's Heights, Battle of Fredericksburg. James P. Corbin of Fredericksburg, Clerk of the Court and secretary of the first commission, became Secretary, and Hon. H. F. Crismond, ex-member of the Va. House of Delegates, Treasurer.

The group passed resolutions, including their promise to do everything possible to get Congress to establish the park.

A banquet followed at the Exchange Hotel, where King announced the following Executive Committee:

Judge James B. Sener, Gen. Horatio King, Col. Walter H. Taylor, Gen. James A. Beaver, Col. Jas. D. Brady, Major T. E. Morris, Capt. M. B. Rowe, Capt. S. J. Quinn, Col. E. D. Cole, Capt. T. McCracken, St. Geo. R. Fitzhugh, J. S. Potter, H. F. Crismond, J. P. Corbin, Hon. W. A. Little,Jr.

This committee designated Hon. A. J. Cummings of New York to introduce the park bill in the House the next day and Senator W. J. Sewell of New Jersey to introduce it in the Senate.

The committee appointed the following sub-committees:

Legislation — Gen. H. C. King, Col. W. H. Taylor, Gen. J. A. Beaver, Col. J. D. Brady, Col. J. S. Potter, Hon. W. A. Little, Jr., Hon. H. F. Crismond.

Finance — E. D. Cole, Capt. M. B. Rowe, St. Geo. R. Fitzhugh, T. McCracken.

Sites and Locations — St. Geo. R. Fitzhugh, T. E. Morris, S. J. Quinn, J. P. Corbin.

Correspondence — J. B. Sener, Gen. H. C. King, S. J. Quinn, M. B. Rowe, J. P. Corbin.

Historian — Capt. S. J. Quinn.

The news story in the local paper listed not only the prominent people present at the meeting and banquet, but also the long list of those who sent regrets. Though feeble, Longstreet managed to be present. He was accompanied by his young wife, the only woman present at the banquet. (She is still living, 1955). (Fredericksburg Free Lance, Thursday, Feb. 24, 1898, p. 3).

The local men and their distinguished out of town colleagues worked indefatigably; their labors, though not fruiting until the 1920's, undoubtedly helped to found the park. A small undated pamphlet with the large title "A Few Among Many Reasons Why there should be established at and near Fredericksburg, in the State of Virginia, a National Battlefield Park, embracing the battlefields of Fredericksburg, Chancellorsville, Salem Church, Todd's Tavern, The Wilderness and Spotsylvania Court-House" makes a strong case. Some of the arguments sound almost exactly like part of the speech given by St. George Fitzhugh in the 1898 organization meeting at the Opera House. This pamphlet is undoubtedly the brochure written in 1896, mentioned above.

The pamphlet calls Fredericksburg "the gateway of the Confederacy", saying ". . . through its portals rolled the bloodiest tide of battle known in history. Five of the most important encounters between the great armies occurred at and near that place, and, within a radius of twelve miles from the city, more of war's terrible conflicts are recorded than have been known on any area of the same size in the world. On these fields more men were

killed in battle than England, one of the greatest fighting nations on the earth, has lost in all her wars for the past hundred years." (p.5). In this bit about England's army the author is quoting Senator Daniel, whom the City Council quoted in its resolutions of Fri., Feb. 21, 1896. Today, we think of the four battles of Fredericksburg, Chancellorsville, Wilderness and Spotsylvania; the others are parts of these. Eighteen miles would be a better radius than twelve, and the losses in this concentrated area have been superseded by losses in concentrated areas in World War I.

The park, continues the brochure, would prove especially interesting to military students. Since so many founders of the government were born or lived in and near Fredericksburg, it would be no exaggeration to say the nation had its birth here; here "the destruction of its united existence was prevented." (p.6). "There is no other spot, of the same size, on this continent, which is connected, historically, with so many great men and memorable deeds." (p. 10).

The pamphlet concludes:

"It is now suggested that the Government secure the fields upon which these battles occurred, and connect them by substantially built macadamised drive-ways, so that all can be easily and pleasantly visited and examined in a single day. The locality is picturesque and interesting beyond that of any other on the continent.

"Fredericksburg, which is but one and a half hours from Washington, is reached from all directions by railroads and by fine steamers, which connect with the land and water-ways of the entire country.

"Such are a few only of the many reasons why the United States Government should secure the territory upon which these famous battles were fought, so near to each other, and convert them into a National Battlefield Park." (p.11).

Whether or not this pleasant countryside is the most picturesque on the continent may be argued out by opposing chambers of commerce, but the flow of history has since created one definite error of fact; the area is no longer served by steamers. The evolution of internal combustion motor transportation and good roads have, however, made the area accessible to a point beyond the highest hopes of the early Battlefield Park Commissioners, who were, states the pamphlet: A. P. Rowe, W. S. White, J. T. Morris, J.S. Potter, H. F. Grismond, John T. Knight, Chancellor Bailey, J. P. H. Grismond, N. B. Rowe, John G. Williams, D. M. Lee, J. S. Wallace. (Listed on p. 2). This list seems to prove beyond question that this is the 1896 brochure. The committee is the same appointed by A. P. Rowe, except W. S. White seems to have taken the place of John C. Porter. A. P. Rowe would head the list as mayor; thus the committee really included twelve men.

An editorial in the Fredericksburg Free Lance, for Thursday, February 15, 1900 (p.2) is equally favorable to the proposed park, listing many reasons why it should be established. The editorialist states that military scientists have said that students could learn more of the art of war in three months' study on the local fields than they could in a whole session at West Point. He deplores the fact that no military park has yet been established in Virginia, where so much happened. He mentions that none of the distinguished gentlemen involved stands to make anything from the venture, which is not a land speculation. This seems to be a mild but unjustified slap at the Chancellorsville Battlefield Association; that first group certainly did not form for mere personal gain.

He stresses the fact that the area can be used for field manouvers, or a mobilization point, or camp of instruction for troops. In times of emergency such a place would be of utmost importance, as the recent Spanish American War showed. This area would be healthful and would afford plenty of fire wood. Furthermore, troops could move from here rapidly in any direction. So spoke the farseeing journalist. Such a "camp of instruction" was indeed established near here, though not in the small park, in the 1940's, the A. P. Hill Military Reservation, an important maneuver and staging area during World War II.

There was unceasing park activity about then, the late nineties and the turn of the century. A year before that editorial appeared, for example, Virginia's Governor J. Hoge Tyler joined others in Washington, Judge Sener, J. D. Brady, H. F. Crismond, T. H. Morris, J. S. Potter and General Sickles to see Secretary of War Alger. Bills pending called for 7,000 acres. (Free Lance, Sat., January 28, 1899, p.3). In a meeting held in the court house, Fredericksburg, Feb. 1, the park group expressed hope of early success. (Free Lance, Thursday, Feb. 2, 1899, p.3).

The executive committee then announced that Capt. Quinn, Historian of the organization, was to prepare for general distribution a complete history in pamphlet form of the whole park movement. (Free Lance, Saturday, Feb. 4, 1899, p.3).

In January 1900, King, Morris, and H. F. Crismond, of the executive committee of the Fredericksburg National Park Commission, visited Washington. "The matter has been brought to the attention of the Committee on Military Affairs in the House", it was reported, "and it is anticipated that early action will be taken." Bills had been introduced in both houses; Secretary of War Root had recommended the park in a recent report. This news story also mentioned the idea of park use as a camp of troop mobilization. (Free Lance, Thursday, January 11, 1900, p.3).

Major Morris, one of the harder workers for the park from the very first, was a Union Veteran who, like his fellow northerner Potter, moved to Fredericksburg after the war. He made a detailed study of the fields, incorporating his notes and maps in three notebooks, which his widow presented to Mr. J. Bowie Gray, whose daughter, Miss Aylmer Gray, donated them to the park in 1942. Morris had been Butterfield's chief of staff, according to a local news item. (Free Lance, April 18, 1896, p. 3).

At a meeting of the Fredericksburg City Council, Tuesday, January 16, 1900, Col. Cole asked for and got an appropriation of $250 for the Battlefield Park Committee. (Free Lance, Saturday, January 20, 1900, p.3).

About this time also, Monday, January 22, 1900, Generals Shaw, Ruggles, Sickles, and King appeared before the House Military Committee and urged passage of the bill to create a Fredericksburg Park. A total of $100,000 was requested. All seemed sanguine that the bill would be reported favorably. (Free Lance, Thursday, January 25, 1900, p.2).

The park campaigners, erstwhile enemies, now brothers-in-arms, were next foiled by an old common enemy. Just as he had often defeated them when they opposed each other during the war, King Winter now bogged the efforts of King, Horatio and his fellow soldiers. The House Military Committee accepted an invitation to visit Fredericksburg. Following a reception at the Exchange Hotel, Friday evening, February 3, they were to visit the fields on Saturday. But, the roads being so bad that season, the Congressmen decided to postpone the trip. (Free Lance, Saturday, January 27, 1900, p. 3, and Thursday, February 1, 1900, p.3).

In May 1900, the Society of the Army of the Potomac visited Fredericksburg, a truly important event for the town, fully reported in the local press. This society officially endorsed the park, thanked the Senate for having passed a bill looking forward to it, expressed thanks for the favorable report by the House Committee on Military Affairs, and hoped Congress would soon act. The resolution was offered by King and enthusiastically adopted at a business meeting during the reunion. (Free Lance, Tuesday, May 29, 1900, p. 2. Also, The Society of the Army of the Potomac. Report of the Thirty-first Annual Re-Union at Fredericksburg, Va., May 25th and 26th, 1900. MacGowan and Slipper, Printers, 30 Beekman St., New York 1900, p. 89).

This reunion was the first of the Society's on Southern soil. Prominent citizens, doubtless park enthusiasts, had said it would be gracious to invite the Union men and the City Council had passed a resolution, July 27, 1899, Judge James B. Sener personally issuing the invitations in September. (Quinn, History of Fredericksburg, op.cit., PP.259-60. Quinn, himself, was secretary of the entertainment committee).

The local battlefield park promotors had a large hand in entertaining the Union Veterans. On May 25, at the exercises in the Court House, St. George Fitzhugh was one of the speakers. He again stressed the importance of the Fredericksburg area in the Civil War and repeated the now familiar statement that more men maneuvered and were casualties in this area than on any similar sized plot in the world. This time he used fifteen miles as a radius. (Society of the Army of the Potomac Report, p. 11).

Sickles gave a long oration, stating near the end, that "Fredericksburg is consecrated by precious historical memories. It was the home of the mother of Washington, to whom a graceful monument has been erected here by the Daughters of the Revolution. Here Washington spent his boyhood. . . . Within a small area near the spot where we are seated, are the great battlefields of Fredericksburg, Chancellorsville, Spottsylvania and the Wilderness, where more men fought and fell than upon any space of equal dimensions on the face of the earth. These famous battlegrounds should be made a National Military Park. Our battle-field parks are an American institution. They belong to the same group with the Loyal Legion, the Grand Army of the Republic, the Confederate Camps, our National Cemeteries and our Memorial Days. They hand down our military traditions to succeeding generations. They keep alive the martial character of our people. They teach the American boy that he belongs to his country and that his country belongs to him. . . ." (Ibid., p. 43).

Hearing all this that morning, in addition to the distinguished Fredericksburgers and Yankee veterans, were the President of the United States William McKinley, Virginia's Governor Tyler, and the President's Cabinet.

The veterans lunched at the Opera House and the Presidential party, whom Sickles joined, at St. George Fitzhugh's home. Mr. Fitzhugh, a leading attorney, lived at the northwest corner of Charles and Hanover Streets, now, in 1955, the home of Dr. and Mrs. J. Minor Holloway. This had been the home of Montgomery Slaughter, Fredericksburg's Civil War mayor. After lunch the President held a reception, more than a thousand being introduced; King introduced the Union veterans and Col. R. D. Cole, prominent citizen and Confederate veteran, the local people.

In the afternoon they all went to the National Cemetery to lay the cornerstone of the Fifth Corps Monument donated by General Butterfield. The Masonic services were in charge of the local lodge, No. 4 A.F. & A.M., who invited King, a fellow Mason, to preside. There were speeches here too. Secretary of War Elihu Root accepted the monument. After visiting points of interest, the Presidential party returned to Washington at 6 o'clock.

Further exercises were held in the Opera House that night. Among the speakers then were Generals Joseph Wheeler (U. S. A., formerly C.S.A.), Nelson A. Miles, and Sickles again. The visitors were welcomed to the city by Judge John T. Goolrick who claimed to be the most distinguished man present, being one of the few surviving Confederate privates. This joke, needing no explanation at the time, refers not only to the fact that many veterans claimed ranks they never held, but also to the holding of rank in veterans' organizations.

A business meeting followed this public meeting.

The next day, Saturday, May 26, part of the group journeyed to Richmond, accompanied by a committee of Fredericksburg ex-Confederates.

This was splendid publicity for the proposed park. Speaker of the House Henderson, however, did not choose to further the matter. Representatives Hay, Jones, Rixey, and Lamb, accompanied by Generals Sickles, King, and Ruggles called on him and he told them categorically that nothing would be done that session. (Free Lance, Thursday, May 31, 1900, p. 3). The bill was still in abeyance, months later; an editorial in the Baltimore American noted that it had passed the Senate, but Henderson said if he let it through the house, similar bills would have to be considered. He had spoken the same way to King and the delegation, saying he could not afford to be embarrassed. (Note on Baltimore article in Free Lance, Saturday, Feb. 21, 1901, p.3).

David Bremner Henderson, chosen Speaker of the House in 1899 and 1901, had been born in Scotland, and was presumably dour. A member of the 12th Iowa, he was wounded in the neck at Donelson and in the leg at Corinth; his leg had to be amputated then and also in later life, never healing properly. A "stand-pat" Republican, he fought for Veterans pensions, but his Congressional career of ten terms was not "marked by any constructive statesmanship." (Dictionary of American Biography, Charles Scribner's Sons, New York, 1932, vol. 8, pp. 525-26). The absolute power then invested in the Speaker of the House had been seized by Henderson's predecessor Thomas Brackett Reed and continued through the reign of Henderson's successor Joseph Gurney Cannon. That power was broken in 1910. (Ibid., vol. 3, pp. 476-7 and vol. XV, pp. 456-9).

Though King's Society of the Army of the Potomac resolutions apparently did not force Congress' hand, the interest of the Society continued. In May 1901, it met at Utica, N. Y., where King offered the following resolution:

"The Society of the Army of the Potomac has learned with deep regret of the omission of the House to take up for consideration the bill for the establishment of a National Park in and around Fredericksburg, which had passed the Senate and been favorably reported by the Military

Committee of the House of Representatives. While there are other localities claiming recognition, not one can present so cogent an appeal as this, where men fought four of the severest battles of the war — Fredericksburg, Chancellorsville, the Wilderness and Spottsylvania Court House; where troops from every State to the number of half a million were arrayed against each other, and where the losses in killed and wounded aggregated 129,838 by the official figures. Centrally located on the great trunk line of the Pennsylvania Railroad, one hour and a half from the National Capital, and in a climate never severe, it will attract more visitors than any other area in the world. No claim is made for this park on sectional grounds, though it may with propriety be stated that the West has Chickamauga (on which the greatest outlay has been made), Shiloh and Vicksburg, while the East has only Gettysburg and Antietam. This society, the Grand Army of the Republic, and the Society of the Confederate Veterans, all have petitioned for this park, and earnestly desire it. Therefore, Resolved, That the Society of the Army of the Potomac reiterates its appeal to Congress for the prompt passage of the bill to be introduced at the next session, and instructs the Secretary to send this minute to the President of the Senate and the Speaker of the House of Representatives and to the military committees of both houses respectively.
Adopted.

"General French suggested that we ought to do something more than pass this resolution, and that a committee should be appointed to press the matter before Congress. He was heartily supported by Generals Smith, Sickles, Ruggles and others, and, on motion, the motion having been seconded, the President, after consideration, appointed as such committee Generals D. E. Sickles, George D. Ruggles and Horatio C. King." (The Society of the Army of the Potomac. Report of the Thirty-Second Annual Re-union at Utica, N. Y., May 23d and 24th, 1901. MacGowan and Slipper, Printers, New York, 1901, p. 15).

The year 1902 ushered in no Fredericksburg park. Still the Society refused to concede defeat.

"At the Re-union of the Society of the Army of the Potomac held at Gettysburg on September 19, much feeling was manifested at the delay of Congress in acting upon the bill for a National Park at and around Fredericksburg, and a Committee was appointed to press the matter before Congress. The Committee consisted of Generals D. E. Sickles, George D. Ruggles and Horatio C. King.

"The Committee so appointed at the last Re-union to press the matter of the National Park embracing the great battlefields around Fredericksburg respectfully report that the bill which had passed the Senate at the previous Congress, had been reported favorably by the House Military Committee, and been debarred consideration in the House by the Speaker, was again introduced and passed by the Senate at the present Congress. A hearing was granted by

the House Military Committee at which the claims of the section in question were most ably and exhaustively presented. The Committee by a majority vote agreed to report the bill favorably. A small minority rendered an adverse report, the only apparent ground of objection being the multiplication of battlefields commissions for which consideration was desired in accordance with a bill introduced by a member of the Committee — which bill has not yet become a law. Every proper effort was made to bring the Park bill before the House, but without success. The power bestowed upon the Speaker by the Rules of the House was used against the consideration of the bill in Committee of the Whole, and no action was had.

"The Committee in this connection beg to call the attention of the Society to a few interesting and striking facts.

"The East has two National Parks, one at Antietam, which is practically completed at a cost of one hundred and thirty thousand dollars, and the other at Gettysburg, for which the national appropriation has reached four hundred and thirty thousand dollars, with comparatively little more required. The West has six National Parks — Shiloh, Vicksburg, Chickamauga, Orchard Knob, Mission (sic.) Ridge and Lookout Mountain — for which the appropriations have already reached two million dollars and will probably require two millions more. For the Fredericksburg reservation we ask the sum of one hundred thousand dollars only with which to purchase the land and clear up the ground. More will be needed in time, but it cannot exceed two hundred thousand dollars. The extraordinary discrimination in favor of western battlefields is comparatively unknown. Not one of the battles which these parks perpetually commemorate surpassed in magnitude or equalled in losses the terrible engagements in and near Fredericksburg. In the great conflict, the Eastern Army suffered two-thirds of the casualities during the war, and it is therefore reasonable to infer that it did its fair share of the fighting. The Committee rejoices that the West has been so fortunate, but it naturally inquires, why this extraordinary discrimination against the East — two millions to the West and a half a million only to the East.

"The Committee in conclusion beg to offer the following resolution:

"Resolved, That a copy of this minute be sent to the Speaker and to every member of the House of Representatives, with a renewed and most urgent appeal that the bill may be considered at the next session and passed.

"D. E. Sickles, Major-General, U. S. V.
George D. Ruggles, Brigadier-General, U.S.A.
Horatio C. King, Brevet Colonel, U. S. V."

(The Society of the Army of the Potomac. Report of the Thirty-third Annual Re-Union at Gettysburg, Pa., September 19th and 20th, 1902. MacCowan & Slipper, Printers, New York, 1902, pp. 12-14).

This resolution produced no effect either. The bill died. Certainly many people had worked sincerely for the success of S. 1452. The Committee on Military Affairs in reporting it favorably quoted the Secretary of War's approval from his annual report for 1899 and quoted also a memorial of the Grand Army of the Republic and a resolution of the Society of the Army of the Potomac passed at the Society's Pittsburgh reunion, October 11 and 12, 1899. (That Society abounded in good resolutions). The Grand Army's memorial, presented to the Fifty-fifth Congress by Senator Burrows, came from a committee authorized at the Thirty-first National Encampment, Buffalo, August 25 and 26, 1897. Actually, an initial committee appointed by the G.A.R. commander made a preliminary report dated August 5, 1897, which stated that the smaller committee had met at Fredericksburg, May 27-28, 1897 and toured the fields, escorted by the hospitable citizens. This preliminary group endorsed the park and suggested fifty to fifty-five miles of roads and land not to exceed 2,500 acres. The later committee, sending in the memorial, agreed that the larger acreage in the bill was a better figure, based on surveys and maturer judgement. This was signed by Edgar Allen, Chairman, Danl. R. Ballou, Leo Rassieur, Henry E. Taintor, Dan. A. Grosvenor, Albert D. Sholes, Peter B. Ayars.

The congressional committee's report and inserted material were submitted by James Hay, a Democrat from Virginia, born 1856. Senator Julius Caesar Burrows, Republican, a veteran, had led a company of the 17th Michigan at Fredericksburg. (Biographical Dictionary of the American Congress, 1774-1949. U. S. Gov. Printing Office, 1950, pp. 1287 and 923).

A minority of the congressional committee, Richard Kayne Parker, J. H. Ketcham, and F. C. Stevens, felt, however, that the government should go slowly. (An unnecessary admonition). They were not against the proposed park but raised several objections to immediate action. The bill requested 6,570 acres in "six patches". "Such separate parcels do not constitute a park", they said, "and beyond all question much larger purchases would hereafter be demanded and large sums would be asked for embellishment and improvement." They pointed out that five national military parks had been established: Antietam, 1870; Chickamauga and Chattanooga, 1890; Shiloh, 1894; Gettysburg, 1895; and Vicksburg, 1899. Now bills were pending for Petersburg, Valley Forge, Atlanta, Perryville, Brandywine, Stones River, Wilsons Creek, Franklin, Fort Frederick, Crown Point and Ticonderoga, Yorktown, Fredericksburg, Fort Stevens, and Jamestown. The existing parks operated independently and any new ones would only add to the confusion. Also, all the proposed parks could not be reported favorably and it would be unfair to pass any one bill too hastily. "There is no danger in delay", they said.

Before establishing any new parks, they advocated that "Some single system of control should be adopted that will avoid the haphazard plan of separate commissions, each of which booms its own park, and all of which work at cross purposes. . . . the whole system of parks should be examined and a definite and comprehensive plan of extension and improvement adopted, . . . it is absolutely necessary to proper and harmonious development that there should be a single park commission . . ." (Fredericksburg and Adjacent National Battlefields Memorial Park. House of Representatives, 1st Session, 57th Congress, Report No. 771, March 6, 1902. 13 pages. Direct quotations from pp. 8,9,&10).

Thus, the Fredericksburg park, was, for the time being, sacrificed on a noble altar, that is, as far as this committee minority's avowal is concerned; Speaker Henderson's motives may be considered not entirely beyond reproach. It is true that a unified National Park system became increasingly needful, fruiting finally in the National Park Service Act of 1916 and the Presidential unification order of June 1933. The Committee minority was really thinking only of military parks; so the present National Park System is far more unified and comprehensive than they would have ever thought possible. The Fredericksburg "patches" have not been solved. This park, as later established, is in several parcels and approximates the 2,500 rather than the 6,500 acre total. The small acreage is tragic, but the parcels were inevitable; nobody could expect a park embracing all of Spotsylvania County and a considerable part of Orange.

Though the turn of the century bill died and Valhalla took increasing toll among the park proponents, interest in a Fredericksburg park did not die. As veterans, tourists, students, and writers continued to visit the battlefields, the hope for the establishment of a park lingered. The great events of World War I failed to drive the American heritage and the Civil War from Fredericksburgers' minds.

In 1921 a vast mansuver at the Wilderness gave new impetus to the park movement. Whatever the degree of cause and effect here, it can certainly be said that the publicity centered attention, official and general, on the Civil War History of the Fredericksburg vicinity.

This exercise involved 4,200 Marines, practically the whole Quantico, Virginia, Post, commanded by Smedley D. Butler, one of the more colorful "Devil Dogs". No such sisable group of armed invaders had entered Fredericksburg since Civil War days.

The troops left Quantico, Monday, September 26, 1921, marching eight miles to bivouac overnight at Aquia Creek. On Tuesday, they marched sixteen miles to Fredericksburg and bivouacked at the Fair Grounds, the area now occupied by that part of Fredericksburg between Fall Hill Avenue and the River, north of U. S. Highway 1 Alternate. On Wednesday, they marched west fifteen miles to Wilderness Run. Thursday, September 29, was the first day of the manouvers. From then on, they seemed to concentrate unduly on a battleship. Wilderness Run would not float a rowboat; so this was an imaginary battleship lined out in the valley. From Thursday evening through Monday morning, excepting Sabbath, this craft was bombed and defended. At night, searchlights and anti-aircraft batteries fought off the bombers. In the day, anti-aircraft batteries and fighterplanes protected the ship. Other sham battles took place also, but none of the action was a careful reproduction of Civil War events. The warfare emphasized modern arms and the skill of the Marines.

On Sunday, October 2, religious services displaced the show of armed might, and on Monday, after one last defense of the ship, the boys marched to Fredericksburg, where they camped for the night, resuming the march to Quantico, Tuesday, October 4. (Fredericksburg, Virginia, Free Lance, Saturday, Sept. 24, 1921, p. 1 - program of coming event).

When the oncoming troops entered town on their way to the Wilderness, across William Street Bridge, Smedley Butler led the column, the band playing Dixie. (Ibid., Saturday, October 1, 1921, p. 2). It is presumed that he had not walked all the way from Quantico. He did, however, march the last fifteen miles of the trip, the Fredericksburg to Wilderness leg, and even assisted exhausted Marines by spelling them in pack carrying.

The first day of real activity at the Wilderness, Thursday, September 29, said the local paper, began the biggest mimic war ever enacted by the Marine Corps. (Ibid., p. 2). Watching that day was Major General John A. Lejeune, the Marine Corps Commandant.

President of the United States Warren G. Harding attended the exercises Saturday and Sunday. On Saturday he motored down from Washington, accompanied by his wife, Secretary of the Navy Edwin Denby, Secretary of Agriculture Henry C. Wallace, and other dignitaries.

A large local delegation met the presidential party at the William Street Bridge to present flowers and formal welcome. People lined the walks of William Street, which is Highway 3, the route to the Wilderness, or sat in second story windows and watched Mr. Harding go slowly past in his open car. He waved genially to all, including two boys, D. William Scott and me, sitting in an upper window of the William (Commerce) Street entrance of the old Scott-Doggett store. Dr. Scott, a nephew of the late Dr. S. L. Scott, who did so much to help the early park, now practices in Fredericksburg.

That night, President Harding sang with the Marines at an open-air movie. He ate with the officers' mess and slept in a canvas "White House", the whole encampment being named Camp Harding.

On Sunday, October 2, the open-air church services were followed by talks. The President spoke highly of the Marine Corps. A large delegation of Fredericksburgers, including officials, and Civil War and Spanish-American War veterans, attended these services. Harding's affability charmed everyone. He shook hands all around, as far as possible in such a crowd, ignoring neither generals, privates, nor citizens. A review in the valley of Wilderness Run near the Lacy House followed church services. (Ibid., Tuesday, Oct. 4, 1921, pp. 1 & 2).

The next spring an article in a special issue of the Free Lance says that this sham battle was "the most gigantic mimic war ever known in the military annals of this country." (Ibid., Tuesday, May 9, 1922, p. 5). I leave the proof or disproof of that statement to better grounded students of the art of mimic war.

Butler contributed a lasting memento of the operation in the form of a small bronze plaque:

Tribute To The Memory
Of
Stonewall Jackson
By The
East Coast Expeditionary Force
United States Marines
Sept. 26 - Oct. 4, 1921.

This is fastened to the top of a stone bearing the legend:

Arm Of
Stonewall Jackson
May 3, 1863.

One might think that the Marines erected this stone in the Lacy House (Ellwood) burying ground. The stone, however, had been placed there in 1903 by the Rev. James Power Smith, Jackson's aide during the war and later son-in-law of Major J. Horace Lacy, owner of the estate. The arm, amputated nearby, was buried in the plantation cemetery by Jackson's officers and friends.

The reality of the park began to take form in 1924. Under Act of Congress (Public No. 261, 68th Congress, S. 3263), approved June 7, 1924, the Secretary of War was authorized to appoint a Commission to inspect the battlefields around Fredericksburg and to report on the feasibility of marking and preserving them. The commission would consist of a Union veteran, a Confederate veteran, and a commissioned officer of the Corps of Engineers, United States Army.

Major General John L. Clem, United States Army, retired, was chosen the Union member and chairman of the Commission, Judge John T. Coolrick, of Fredericksburg, the Confederate member, and Major J. A. O'Connor the regular army member. Judge Coolrick died, September 16, 1925, and his place was taken by Mr. Vivian Minor Fleming, also of Fredericksburg.

Clem, then a resident of Washington, younger than most Civil War veterans, was "Little Johnnie Clem", the famous "Drummer Boy of Shiloh", also called the "Drummer Boy of Chickamauga". At the age of twelve he was Sergeant John L. Clem, Company C, 22nd Michigan Volunteer Infantry, having been promoted to that rank because of his heroism during the Battle of Chickamauga. Armed with a specially shortened musket, he acted as a "marker" in that battle. "He had been in the thickest of the fight, and three

bullets had passed through his hat, when, separated from his companions, he was seen running, with a musket in his hand, by a mounted Confederate colonel, who called out, 'Stop! you little Yankee devil!' The boy halted, and brought his musket to an order, when the colonel rode up to make him a prisoner. With swift motion young Clem brought his gun up and fired, killing the colonel instantly. He escaped; and for this achievement on the battle-field he was made a sergeant, put on duty at the head-quarters of the Army of the Cumberland, and placed on the Roll of Honor by General Rosecrans." (Lossing, Benson J., Pictorial History of the Civil War in the United States of America. Winter & Co., Hartford, Conn., no date, in 3 vols., vol. 3, p. 141).

Appointed Second lieutenant, 24th U. S. Infantry, by Grant in 1871, he rose to general rank in the Quartermaster Department, retiring 1916. (W. W. Carter, Little Johnny Clem, the Drummer Boy of Chickamauga. Undated brochure, p. 2).

A photograph taken in Cincinnati shows the little boy in uniform with his musket at the order. The orphan boy of Newark, Ohio, born August 13, 1851, had tried to join up in 1861 and finally managed to tag along with the 22nd Mich., not actually being mustered in until May 1, 1862 at Covington, Kentucky. (Ibid., pp. 3-4. See front of brochure and p.141 of Lossing for picture).

His biographer Carter states that the language of the rebel Colonel, riding upon the boy with drawn sword, was: "Halt! Surrender! you d——d little Yankee son of a b——h!"

Judge Goolrick, the first Confederate member of the Commission, who had been one of the chief actors in the 1900 entertainment of the Society of the Army of the Potomac, was a distinguished Virginia jurist. His photograph may be seen in the front of his book on Fredericksburg, showing him chatting with President Harding and General Smedley Butler at the Marine Corps' Wilderness fight of 1921.

Judge Goolrick, a native Fredericksburger, served for a while as a messenger in the Medical Department of Lee's Army, and then joined Braxton's (later called Marye's) Battery of Fredericksburg Artillery. Wounded at Fort Harrison, he returned to duty and was present at Lee's surrender. As he mentioned in his speech to the Society of the Army of the Potomac, he was proud to have been a Confederate private. (Rev. R.C. Gillmore in Goolrick, John T., Historic Fredericksburg, The Story of An Old Town. Whittet and Shepperson, Richmond, 1922, p. 9).

Mr. Fleming had also been an artilleryman. A Virginia boy from Hanover County, his introduction to Fredericksburg area, later to be his home, was in the baptism of fire. Eighteen years old at the time,

he served with the Richmond Howitzers in a detachment of the Second Company (Brown's First Virginia Artillery), acting on December 13, 1862 under Pelham's orders. This was at the extreme right of the Confederate line. During the day Fleming's horse was shot from under him. After the battle he was transferred to the First Regiment of Engineers and promoted to Sergeant Major. (See file on 76th Meeting of Fredericksburg Battlefield Park Commission, commemorating 67th Anniversary of Battle of Fredericksburg, Dec. 13, 1929, in honor of Mr. Fleming. War Dept. Files.).

The Preliminary Commission made its report, December 1, 1925, entitled "Report on Inspection of Battle Fields in and around Fredericksburg and Spottsylvania Court House, Virginia." The suggestion was "That the battle fields be marked in accordance with the Antietam system by the placing of markers and tablets at the sites of the important points, events and actions, by the construction of roads where necessary to make the important points reasonably accessible, and by acquiring the sites where trenches on the main battle line are sufficiently well preserved to warrant retaining in their present condition." (Report, typescript, p. 33).

Actual practice under the later enabling act brought in more land than anticipated by this Report. Even so, the minimum holdings have distressed historians. The problems of encroachment are daily becoming more acute. An "Antietam system", involving ownership of little or no land other than roads, would be adequate if an area continued to exist in a static Nineteenth Century rural culture. If, for example, a farmer owned a field next to the park and farmed it as it had been cultivated at the time of the war, that situation would be perfect. But if he sold out to a real estate developer and a village grew up right against a park road, where then would you be? Such is happening in our park, parts of which represent the absolute minimum of ownership.

At a meeting of the later Park Commission, Mr. Fleming, February 4, 1929, said that the Report of the Preliminary Commission, of which he had been a member, did not allow for enough area; everybody realized, he stated, that the importance of the fields called for greater holdings. He believed that the work should be finished as outlined and then augumented by requests for more land. (War Dept. files).

The Fiscal Year 1929 report of the Commission took issue with the Preliminary Report specifically on Chancellorsville. The Preliminary Report had suggested that the Chancellorsville area was similar to the Wilderness and that the battle was confined largely to the vicinity of roads; very few recognizable trench remains existed, it said, and those were not at the more important points; markers should be placed at significant points on existing public roads; and, in accordance with the Antietam idea, no land was required. The Commission disagreed and proceeded to develop Chancellorsville. (War Dept. files).

This was not a case of one body disagreeing with another group; the two Commissions were in part the same. It was rather a growing realization that a small acreage would be inadequate. The tragedy of the situation was that not enough money came in to insure adequate holdings. The enabling act set no arbitrary limits.

The bill which finally passed and established the park was introduced by Representative S. Otis Bland, First District Virginia, of which Fredericksburg was then a part, and sponsored in the upper house by Senator Claude A. Swanson of Virginia and Senator James W. Wadsworth of New York. Judge Edgar J. Rich, a prominent Boston lawyer, Calvin Coolidge's friend, deserves to be remembered as an influential proponent. In a letter to Rich, Commissioner Fleming, inviting him to speak at the dedication of the work, refers to ". . . the battlefield parks of Spotsylvania County, which you were so largely instrumental in getting through Congress and making a reality for the locality." (Fleming, April 23, 1928, to Judge Edgar J. Rich, 6 Beacon St., Boston, Mass., War Department Files, this office. Reports that accompany minutes of 1928-29 Meetings. War Department files are so listed to distinguish them from NPS files.)

The Act (Public - No. 609 - 69th Congress, H. R. 9045), approved February 14, 1927, bore the title: "An Act To establish a national military park at and near Fredericksburg, Virginia, and to mark and preserve historical points connected with the battles of Fredericksburg, Spotsylvania Court House, Wilderness, and Chancellorsville, including Salem Church, Virginia."

It provided for preserving and marking ". . . breastworks, earthworks, gun emplacements, walls, or other defenses or shelters used by the armies in said battles, so far as the marking and preservation of the same are practicable, the land herein authorized to be acquired, or so much thereof as may be taken, and the highways and approaches herein authorized to be constructed, are hereby declared to be a national military park to be known as the Fredericksburg and Spotsylvania County Battle Fields Memorial . . ." The land acquired was to be in accordance with the Report of the Battlefield Commission and the "Combined Plan - Antietam system." The exact amount of land would be such as deemed necessary by the Secretary of War, using this plan. The index map accompanying the report would be a guide but not a limit to the Secretary's acquisitions. He was authorized both to condemn land where necessary and to accept donations. In addition to regular purchase, he could also lease lands, permitting owners to cultivate the soil but not damage remains; such owners would operate under War Department regulations and would be required to help preserve remains and any tablets or monuments erected. These leases could contain options to buy.

The affairs of the park would be in charge of three Commissioners, army officers, civilians, or both, to be appointed by the Secretary of War, one of whom would be chairman and another secretary. It would be the

duty of these Commissioners to survey, locate, and preserve the battle-lines and to construct and repair roads "to make the historical points accessible to the public and to students . . .," and to ascertain and mark the various remains and battlelines, also "to establish and construct such observation towers as the Secretary of War may deem necessary for said park . . . . ."

Upon approval of the Secretary of War, states could mark battle-lines of their troops engaged by monuments, tablets, or otherwise.

The act included provisions for the punishment of any person guilty of depredation against any historical remains, or any feature, including flora, within the area. Hunting was proscribed.

Upon completion of the work of the Commission, a superintendent would be placed in charge. Meanwhile, $50,000 was appropriated for the beginning of the work.

The Commission, like the preliminary one, comprised a Confederate veteran, a Union veteran, and a regular army officer. General Clem and Mr. Fleming were retained. Captain George T. Hobson, C.A.C., was appointed Member and Secretary of the Commission on January 9, 1928. He took the oath of office on January 16. While the War Department conducted the work, General Clem, the Chairman, remained on the Commission. Mr. Fleming died November 11, 1930, and was succeeded by Representative B. Walton Moore of Fairfax, Virginia. (Mr. Moore had declined to run again in 1930 and thus retired from Congress in the spring of 1931). The position of secretary, or actual executive of the Commission, changed hands several times. Captain Hobson was relieved by Col. Tenney Ross, Infantry, who came to Fredericksburg July, 1929, taking the oath of office, July 9. On June 11, 1930 (date of swearing in) Major, later Lieut. Col., Arthur L. Wilbourn, Cavalry, replaced Ross. Colonel Wilbourn remained until the Memorial was transferred by executive order to the Department of the Interior in 1933. Ross and Wilbourn also served as Member and Secretary to the Petersburg National Military Park Commission.

It may be noted that the regular Monday meetings of the Commission, begun in the spring of 1928, gave way to called meetings, which in time became less frequent, the work more and falling under the direction of the regular army officer and his staff. Clem, who lived at the Army and Navy Club, Washington, D. C., spent his summers in Texas.

The Commission office was located first at 804 Princess Anne Street. For the period of June 1929 - June 1930, it was upstairs in the Feuerherd Building, 829 Caroline St. (the southeast corner of Caroline and George Streets), next at 1011 Princess Anne Street and then at 1009 Princess Anne/

Street.(War Dept. Files, Commission Minutes, early NPS Superintendents' Reports).

War Department personnel included Oswald Camp, Engineer; Guy M. Harbert, Engineer; Captain Jeffry Montague, Historian; and Alice C. Witte, Clerk. Mrs. Witte continued with the Park until her retirement at the end of December, 1949.

The money for commencement of work came from the First Deficiency Act, Fiscal Year 1928, approved December 22, 1927.

The first meeting of the Commission, which might be termed the first transaction of business of the established park, took place January 23, 1928, at the home of Commissioner V. M. Fleming. Mr. Fleming gave a brief outline of the preliminary group's activities. It was voted to start work at the lower end of the Fredericksburg Battlefield. Mr. F. T. Chichester was constituted attorney for the Commission; Mr. Herman Swanson was to be requested to act as a committee of one in assisting the Commission to determine land values; Dr. S. L. Scott was appointed local representative; this prominent physician and civic leader had long been a park advocate. He was president of the National Battlefield Park Association, the citizens' group established by the Chamber of Commerce and other organizations. (Commission Minutes, War Dept. files).

Mr. Fleming lived at 503 Hanover Street. His wife and daughter, Mrs. E. W. Smith ("Miss Annie"), were instrumental in preserving Kenmore, the home of Betty, George Washington's sister, whose husband Col. Fielding Lewis manufactured arms for the American Revolution. The two ladies of the Fleming household shared the old gentleman's enthusiasm for the park. Miss Annie resides at the family residence and still takes an interest in historical work, but has retired from active participation.

The fourth meeting, February 27, 1928, like the others with all three members present, dedicated, as it were, the first park office, 804 Princess Anne Street. The meeting of March 26 brought out discussion of some sort of celebration to mark the beginning of the park, to be handled by local people without cost to the government.

On Monday, May 14, Congressman Bland and a delegation representing the citizens' Battlefield Park Association (Dr. S. L. Scott, Geo. Olem, Mr. Fleming, and Mayor J. Garnett King) visited President Coolidge and invited him to attend a celebration, tentatively dated for July 4, but changed to a time after September 15, contingent upon the health of Mrs. Coolidge's mother, Mrs. Goodhue. Meanwhile, survey work in the Fredericksburg battlefield area progressed. (Commission Minutes, War Dept. Files).

The celebration, officially dedicating the park, occurred Friday, Oct. 19, 1928. All details and expenses were handled by the Fredericksburg and Spotsylvania County Battlefield Memorial Association; Mr. Sidney L. Scott, its President, was in charge of arrangements. Civic organizations, the Chamber of Commerce, and the City Council cooperated.

President Calvin Coolidge, Judge Edgar J. Fich, and Virginia's Governor Harry Byrd and Senator Swanson all made addresses. The exercises, presided over by Congressman S. Otis Bland, took place at the Fannefield Hall Country Club (old Smithfield estate, now called Fredericksburg Country Club), on the Fredericksburg Battlefield, south of town. Accompanying the President and Mrs. Coolidge from Washington this beautiful autumn day were Senator and Mrs. Claude A. Swanson and a retinue of officers, newspapermen, and newsreel photographers. Officials of the Battlefield Park Association, members of the Commission, Mayor J. Garnett King and City officials met the train. The local National Guard outfit, Battery F,111th Field Artillery, fired the traditional twenty-one gun salute with its 75's when the train arrived at 2:35 p.m., and the Elk's Band played "To the Colors". The party then repaired to automobiles, paraded up Caroline north to Amelia, then left to Princess Anne, and then left and down that street to the Country Club. The depot is near the south end of town. This procession through the flag bedecked and decorated streets was made to honor the President and give the populace a look at him.

President Coolidge spoke at some length of the contributions made by Virginia to the birth and development of the United States and of the great tragedy of the Civil War, which resulted in the historically important battlefields around Fredericksburg. He pointed out the unanimous passing of Mr. Bland's bill by Congress as an example of the fact that reconciliation between the sections was becoming complete. The early Union was incomplete, through no one's particular fault, all of mankind's gains being hard won. "The question of universal freedom and of whether the Constitution provided a temporary confederation or a permanent union were sure to arise. Their decision involved a most terrible and appalling sacrifice on the part of the two great contending forces. The main reason why we can all join in the movement to commemorate the deeds of immortal valor which marked these battle fields is because we all realize that out of a common expiation our common country has been greatly blessed."

Citing the recovery of the South, he followed up by saying, "This day, however, is not to mark a local or sectional occasion. It is to mark a national occasion. The great deeds which we have recalled as among the glories of this Commonwealth were national deeds. The great questions which were at issue on these battle fields were national questions. Out of the decision to which they were finally brought there has been a common advantage and a common progress which has accrued to the whole Nation."

The theme of the testing of the Union is familiar, but Mr. Coolidge's "expiation" is a thoughtful Puritan concept.

These exercises dedicated an idea, the beginning of a project. The tangible evidence was a bronze tablet, to be placed later at a suitable point in the park. It now stands, on rock, at the entrance to Lee Drive, the first park road, Fredericksburg Battlefield and reads:

DEDICATED OCTOBER 19, 1928
BY

CALVIN COOLIDGE

PRESIDENT OF
THE UNITED STATES

TO COMMEMORATE
THE BEGINNING OF WORK ON THE
FREDERICKSBURG AND SPOTSYLVANIA
NATIONAL BATTLEFIELDS MEMORIAL,
AUTHORIZED BY ACT OF CONGRESS
APPROVED FEBRUARY 14, 1927,
AND EMBRACING THE BATTLEFIELDS
OF
FREDERICKSBURG SPOTSYLVANIA
THE WILDERNESS CHANCELLORSVILLE
SALEM CHURCH.

ON THESE FIELDS MORE THAN ONE HUNDRED THOUSAND
MEN FELL IN BATTLE

ERECTED BY THE NATIONAL BATTLEFIELD
PARK ASSOCIATION
OF
FREDERICKSBURG AND SPOTSYLVANIA

Judge Rich made the address of presentation. He spoke of the wonder of war's bitterness having turned to affection. "The era of good feeling has been brought about, not by ignoring the causes of the strife, but rather by studying them. Thus, each has been able to get the point of view, and to appreciate the sincerity of the other. The South has come to know the firm belief of the North in the solidarity of the Nation, and the North has come to understand the ardent belief of the South in the right of self-government which it inherited in full vigor from our common

Revolutionary ancestors. It would be futile and would continue the breach if either tried to convince the other of the entire righteousness of its cause, but we should try to view the causes and the conflict each with the eyes of the other."

He praised Lee and the Southern people and sketched the brilliant actions of Lee's lieutenants Jackson and Stuart, saying that anybody who studied the war would easily realize why the Southerners enshrined their heroes. These noble men were not merely Southerners, they were Americans; their memories should be shared in pride and reverence by Northerners.

"But the mission of these battlefields will not be completely fulfilled if they merely give to Northerners an understanding of the Southern point of view. In some way, there must come to the South a fuller knowledge of the point of view of the North."

He went on to extol Lincoln as the embodiment of the true spirit of the North, and concluded by saying:

"And in presenting this tablet, may I add that today we dedicate these fields in memory of the gallant men, who, whether fighting for State or Nation, were equally animated by exalted patriotism. We dedicate them, not in glorification of war, but in recognition of these sublime qualities which grow out of sacrifice.

"But we do more than to dedicate these fields in memory of things which have passed. We consecrate them, in the spirit of Robert E. Lee and of Abraham Lincoln, to a more perfect understanding between the South and the North, and to an abundant increase in brotherly love."

Senator Swanson, also developing the theme of unity, mentioned prominent generals of both sides and quoted Shakespeare's lines from Act 1, Scene 1, King Henry IV, Part First:

"No more the thirsty entrance of this soil
Shall daub her lips with her own children's blood;
No more shall trenching war channel her fields,
Nor bruise her flowers with the armed hoofs
Of hostile paces: those opposed eyes,
Which, like the meteors of a troubled heaven,
All of one nature, of one substance bred,
Did lately meet in the intestine shock
And furious close of civil butchery
Shall now, in mutual well-be-seeming ranks,
March all one way and be no more opposed
Against acquaintance, kindred and allies:
The edge of war, like an ill-sheathed knife,
No more shall cut his master."

The ceremonies were followed by a banquet that night at the Elk's Home.

In introducing the President at the Country Club, Mr. Bland called the occasion momentous. "Our dream of decades is coming true, and out of the mists of vanished years, there begins to gather the outline of a fitting memorial . . ."

(Fredericksburg Free Lance-Star, Friday, Oct. 19, 1928 for story of celebration and texts of speeches. Also privately printed abridgment of Rich's speech in brochure form).

Under Hobson's and his successor Ross's direction, survey work and land negotiations helped fill in the outline.

All the work of the past led to a surer status with the passage of time, showing cumulative results under the leadership of Colonel Wilbourn. The research achievements of Captain A. D. Bruce, Major John W. McDonald, and other officers of the Army War College supplemented the work of Captain Jeffry Montague, the first resident historian. Surveying of all fields accelerated, along with land purchases; and the road construction program, including placement of temporary historical markers, began.

Another banner day came November 11, 1931, when the first park road, later named Lee Drive, was officially opened. Many doubting Thomas Fredericksburgers had complained that a road would never be built. The day of the opening, the local paper's editorial happily stated that the new road and contracts for other park roads refuted those doubters. (Free Lance-Star, Thursday, Nov. 12, 1931).

At the dedication, held on Lee's Hill, Fredericksburg Battlefield, near the park entrance, Lt. Col. Earl McFarland, office of the Assistant Secretary of War, represented the War Department and made the main address. Mr. Moore spoke both for the Commission and for the Governor of Virginia. Mr. Bland, who never lost interest in the park, also spoke. A barbecue followed on the grounds of Brompton, the historic Marye House.

Amongst the special guests were C. D. Curtwright, 80, a Union veteran residing in Spotsylvania; Captain Henry N. Comey, 91, of Danvers, Massachusetts, a Union veteran and a member of the Petersburg National Military Park Commission; Thomas F. Proctor, 93, of the 30th Virginia; John Musselman, 87, of the 2nd Virginia; R. C. Hart, 88, of the 34th Virginia. The three Confederate veterans all lived in Fredericksburg.

The ceremonies had been organized by the Bowen-Franklin-Knox Post No. 55, American Legion, Chas. A. Carmichael, Post Commander, Rev. R. V. Lancaster, Chairman, Reception Committee.(War Dept. Files and Fredericksburg Free Lance-Star, Thursday, Nov. 12, 1931).

This event lacked a president of the United States. Indeed, President Hoover had been invited but had declined, writing that in ordinary times he would have been delighted to attend; his responsibilities, however, so weighed upon him that he accepted no appointments not directly connected with the work in hand. (Hoover letter to Clem, August 28, 1931, War Dept. files). The work in hand, it will be remembered, was the Great Depression.

Those citizens who had doubted the park's success did not understand the inevitable slow-going, even in the best of times, of such a venture. A grave problem from the very beginning had been the high price asked for land. The local paper, however, continued a friendly backer of the movement. Many prominent citizens followed suit. The Battlefield Park Association always worked hard, and at the period of the road opening there was a special committee called The Battlefields Park Citizens Committee, composed of Hon. J. M. H. Willis, Mayor of the town, Chairman, Dr. Sidney L. Scott, L. J. Houston, Jr., John Kinman, H. O. Swanson, and Mrs. Gari Melchers. Mr. Houston was and still (1955) is City Manager.* Mrs. Melchers, wife of the famous artist who had settled at Falmouth, across the river, would be the adviser on aesthetics; while the others, business and professional men, stood for the world of practical affairs.

In the early part of 1932, road work went on at Wilderness and Chancellorsville and land purchases in the Spotsylvania area. Some of the Spotsylvania people were quite cooperative, either giving the land or accepting the Government's price. Mr. Houston assisted the land acquisition program by acting as an intermediary, adjusting differences and reconciling points of view. (Free Lance-Star, March 21, 1932).

Gloom, however, settled over the Commission with the continuing onslaught of the Depression. Fear of no future money intensified the despair of not getting the money's worth of that already set aside. The high value placed on certain lands in Chancellorsville and the Wilderness by a Federal Court of Condemnation caused Wilbourn to say:

"The Commission's efforts have been balked at the Sunken Road, frustrated completely at Salem Church, heavily impeded at Chancellorsville, and the prospect of reasonable acquisitions around Spotsylvania are (sic) black indeed." (Ibid., April 30, 1932). It sounds like a paraphrase of a more than usually frank Union official report during the Civil War.

The future of the park seemed truly doubtful that summer. The appropriation for the Fiscal Year ending June 30, 1933 amounted to only $14,700, after reductions by the House Appropriations Committee of the already small Budget Bureau figure. (Ibid., May 5, 1932).

* Retired late 1955.

One bright ray in the fog of despondency cheered everybody somewhat. Mr. Edward T. Stuart and his wife Mary R. Stuart donated a fraction under four acres of land, the Bloody Angle, at Spotsylvania. The historical importance of the small tract outweighed its size. Mr. Stuart had purchased this and adjoining acreage for the purpose of preservation. (Ibid.,May 19, 1932.The deed was written later.)

Meanwhile, more road work began at Chancellorsville and a start was made on the Spotsylvania road system. Husbanding of money plus the fact that some of the land purchases turned out well made this possible.

At the end of July, 1932, the Park had since its inception acquired 2,164 acres, grubbed, cleared and trimmed 307 acres, graded and surfaced 5.30 miles of roads, graded but not surfaced 8.36 miles of roads, grading underway 8.23 miles, and roads contracted for 21.89 miles. The total expenditure to date was $330,970.00. Surveys for the entire project were complete and plans prepared for all roadways. Plans called for a total of 39.27 miles of roads. Thirty temporary narrative signs had been erected on the Fredericksburg Battlefield and texts had been prepared for markers at Chancellorsville. During the past year, besides the Commissioners and Capt. Montague, about a dozen skilled people and some 167 common laborers paid from $1.25 to $4.80 a day were employed. This force was now reduced to seven people, not counting the Commissioners and Montague. (Ibid., Thursday, July 28, 1932).

Washington's proposed appropriation for the Fiscal Year ending July, 1934, a mere $14,000, called forth a most despondent editorial in the local paper at 1932's end. (Ibid., December 6, 1932). An equally sorrowful news item announced that President Hoover planned, under his reorganization program, to transfer the Park from the War Department to the Department of the Interior. Public opinion felt that this battle memorial was "not intended as a recreational park". (Ibid., December 12, 1932). This news hit the town on the seventieth anniversary of the looting of Fredericksburg, a coincidence which the local paper ignored.

The transfer came the next spring, by President Franklin D. Roosevelt's Executive Order No. 6166, dated June 10, 1933. Thereafter the inflow of Federal money from the "New Deal's" relief measures slowly refreshed the starving park; after a time, more men than ever before were at work, nourished by what Al Smith called "alphabet soup", including ECW (Emergency Conservation Work), CCC (Civilian Conservation Corps), and CWA (Civil Works Administration) programs, with the added ingredients of F.E.R.A. (Federal Emergency Relief Administration), W.P.A. (Works Progress Administration), and P.W.A. (Public Works Administration). In 1933, there was one CCC Camp, William Key Howard, Superintendent, at Spotsylvania. Later there were camps at Chancellorsville and Wilderness also.

Actual park transfer, however, did not immediately occur, resulting in a summer of vague cross-purposes. The young Historical Technician George A. Palmer, working under the National Park Service's Chief Historian Verne E. Chatelain, came to Fredericksburg June 20, 1933, but Col. Wilbourn retained authority until August. Superintendent Philip Hough of George Washington Birthplace National Monument then supervised the Fredericksburg work with Palmer in immediate charge. Palmer remained the local representative until sent, July, 1934, to the Statue of Liberty National Monument.

The Army naturally resented the park transfer, and a citizenry nearly always takes the side of an incumbent. All representatives of various factions and the two departments behaved well, however, and time made it evident that the National Park Service would not alter the sacred spirit of the original plans. Time has also proved that civilian scholars have interpreted the area well, in no wise impairing its use by military students, while furthering both knowledge and patriotism by giving a wider use to the general public. Colonel Wilbourn and Captain Montague, whose scholarship and integrity are well remembered, have since revisited the area and expressed satisfaction with the National Park Service's development.

Historical Technician Branch Spalding, transferred from the Petersburg area, succeeded Palmer. After his designation as Acting Superintendent, October 15, 1934, the Park became independent of Washington's Birthplace. He was appointed Superintendent, August 6, 1935. March 16, 1936 he took up the duties of Coordinating Superintendent of the Civil War areas in Virginia, with headquarters at Fredericksburg. These National Park Service areas ultimately included Fredericksburg, Manassas, Richmond, Petersburg, and Appomattox (N.P.S. files).

Before the construction of the Museum and Headquarters Building, the Park still rented office space on Princess Anne Street. A small City owned frame building, called the Contact Station, placed on the banks of the power canal on upper Princess Anne Street (U. S. Highway 1) served for a tourist information center. The E. C. W. staff, CCC enrollees, and local F.E.R.A. guides manned this station. They gave out information and accompanied visitors over the fields. Later, park visitors' information stations were built on each of the four battlefields; CCC guides kept these places open. The stations were completed by the end of 1935. The City Station continued in use for sometime after the building of the Museum.

In the way of physical development, roads already begun were completed and surfaced, and stone bridges and culverts built. Such developments, along with the accomplishments of T. Sutton Jett's historical program, made visits to the park increasingly worthwhile.

A major landscaping program began. To judge from repetition of the phrase, "seeding and sodding" seemed to be the battlecry, but trees too received their share of attention, being cut here for historical purposes and planted there for aesthetic effect.

On the morning of Armistice Day, November 11, 1934, at the Bloody Angle Camp, Spotsylvania, Robert C. Fechner, Director of the CCC, addressed the first park gathering under the aegis of the National Park Service. Afternoon exercises featured the burial in the National Cemetery, Fredericksburg, of six Federal soldiers dug up during park work. A detachment of Marines and the Marine Band from Quantico assisted the American Legion in these ceremonies. Among the speakers here was Mr. Harry Belgrano, National Commander of the American Legion. (Narrative Report, Superintendent Spalding).

The year 1935 brought January and February snowstorms and a low temperature of twelve below zero (January 28). Twenty-four inches of snow and rain fell during the month of January. Many trees, some newly planted, died or were severely damaged. Wildlife suffered too. An office joke of the period was Camp Superintendent William K. Howard's remark that "I seen a rabbit" would serve as a typical wildlife report by Landscape Foreman Fred W. Robinson, Jr. There was a great deal to report on the sad plight of wildlife that winter. (Howard's canard was not based on any actual bad grammar of the well-spoken Robinson, but rather on the alleged naivete of his wildlife observations. Robinson is now a natural gas executive.)

A project previously considered by the Commission received attention during this year, the route used by Stonewall Jackson in his famous Chancellorsville flank attack. National Park Service research lined out the route and the Battlefield Park Association approached property owners about donations. Within the next several years the lands were acquired and road rebuilt. It is a feature of the park for serious visitors. An important piece of land past which Jackson's troops marched, the Maury Birthsite, was accepted by donation from Judge Alvin T. Embrey, an oldtime friend of the Park's, in 1938. Matthew Fontaine Maury, the Pathfinder of the Seas, was one of America's greatest scientists. His brick birthplace, a landmark in the battle, no longer stands.

Entering on the fat years, after the bad times of the Depression, the Park saw many activities that were cut out in the retrenchment of the 1940's. A wildflower preserve honoring Jackson at the site of his mortal wounding, though outside the province of historical areas in any strict definition, served a good purpose at the time. The labor and qualified technicians were available, and it all sounded good in the newspapers. A more lasting contribution, also outside the more study of the Civil War, was the work of Architect Stuart M. Barnette and Historian C. F. Worthington, Jr. on the Historic American Buildings Survey. Data are filed at the Library of Congress.

One trouble with wildflower preserves is the constant need of upkeep. Signs deteriorate, but that is not half as bad as the habit plants have of coming up in improper juxtaposition to the markers. Many flowers either die or jump to new places. The CCC boys did not help much by getting creosote on the plants instead of the guard rails and rustic bridges. Historical Technician Raleigh Taylor and an assistant were once greatly mortified by the dearth of flora when Mr. Percy L. Ricker brought a group of wildflower enthusiasts down from Washington. All turned out well, however; one of the party found a very rare (unmarked)blade of grass. They genuflected, peering at the rarity. A nearsighted member seemed about to follow the example of Nebuchadnezzar. Later they were taken to a spot off park property on the River Road near Banks' Ford, where flora abounded. They returned to Washington happy, full of praise for the National Park Service. Mr. Ricker, a Department of Agriculture expert on grain deseases, interested in this park since 1928, seemed to enjoy visiting the area.

"Of special interest during May," reported the Superintendent in 1935, "was the Chancellorsville Battle Celebration on the second day of the month. On this occasion Dr. Douglas S. Freeman, author of the monumental work, R. E. Lee, addressed a crowd of 30,000 spectators on the battle of Chancellorsville, immediately preceding the reenactment of the battle by the 5th U. S. Marines, representing the Federal forces, and the cadet corps of the Virginia Military Institute, representing the Confederate forces, while the 3rd U. S. Cavalry performed functions assumed by the Cavalry units of both sides when this battle took place on May 2, 1863. According to comments on all sides, the celebration was thoroughly a success, from the standpoint of education, memorialization, and park publicity. . . .

"On the occasion of the celebration, the park was honored by the presence of Director Arno B. Cammerer; Hon. George C. Peery, Governor of Virginia; Hon.R. Walton Moore, Chairman of the Park Commission; Hon. James A. Sommerville, Park Commissioner; Hon. Frederic A. Delano, representing President Roosevelt; and other distinguished men." (Supt. Spalding's Narrative report for May, 1935, N.P.S. Files).

Several Civil War veterans attended and also Mrs. Sue Chancellor, who had been in the Chancellor House during the battle. She was the widow of her cousin Ves Chancellor, Confederate scout and early park promoter.

For nationwide publicity and education of the crowd present this Chancellorsville Battle Reenactment outranks all park celebrations ever held here. Dr. Freeman's masterly presentation, using draughtsman Neil C. ("Tex") Goodman's specially made large scale maps, infused with vivid scholarship the gigantic sham battle, which itself followed the dictates of historical research. Long and hard work by all the staff went into this event, which was sponsored by the Fredericksburg National Battlefield Park Association.

Since this is a history of the Fredericksburg area only, even though Fredericksburg coordinated the other Virginia battlefield parks, other park annals are not herein recorded. One example of the work of the coordinating office might be mentioned, however, in the case of the reenactments of the Battle of First Manassas, July 21, 1936 and the Crater at Petersburg, April 30, 1937. This office contributed to the success of those events, and they were fully as successful as Chancellorsville. Dr. Freeman gave the narrative address at all these sham battles.

Routine work seemed almost anti-climactic after the Chancellorsville affair. All phases of development, however, were efficiently pushed, including the new features of foot trails and picnic areas. Of the foot trails, Superintendent Spalding wrote, "These features constitute valuable additions to the park, providing as they do not only significent historical strolls, but beautiful woodland walks." (Monthly report, June, 1935, p. 6). Subsequent experience proved that the foot trail program was overly ambitious. Upkeep became onerous even with abundant CCC personnel, and the general public showed an unwillingness to walk. The trails were gradually allowed to deteriorate. A need for making certain points accessible to serious students has indicated the reopening of important trench lines. Future planning involves a smaller, more closely-knit foot trail system.

The Park had a bridle trail too. Named in honor of Federal General Meade, it followed trenches and positions not made accessible by the Lee Drive, Fredericksburg Battlefield. A riding stable just off park property furnished the horses. National Park Service Director Cammerer and other dignitaries and the local staff officially opened this trail by a short ride along it, October 24, 1936. The stable did fairly well as long as the local college subsidized it for riding classes, but later failed. The trail is not now maintained.

The justification for picnic areas, established on all the four battlefields, was convenience for park visitors touring the fields. The fact that these spots might be largely used by local people for purely recreational reasons certainly occurred to park authorities. Recreation, however, was then a rallying cry. Park thinking and park publicity were geared to the CCC program, whence came the money, or a lot of it. In the war years the park abandoned all picnic areas permanently except the ones on Lee Drive, Fredericksburg Battlefield. These have become so much a part of the local picture that abolishment would be difficult. Visitors and students of the fields do lunch at these, but the greatest utilization is by local picnickners. Such recreation in an historical park, though not necessarily undesirable, can create more work and problems.

The Park Museum and Headquarters begun August 1935 was finished in 1936.

Along with the virtual completion of the road system, final topping and ditching, the starting of the museum building, and the completion of the field stations, came the first use of park informational brochures. Single sheet informational maps were superseded in 1935 by a sixteen page, counting covers, booklet, text by the local staff, maps by "Tex" Goodman. Having separate maps for each battle, this booklet was in some ways superior to anything of the sort to date. This was but one evidence of the good work accomplished by the historical staff, including articles in magazines, numerous press releases, erection of more narrative markers and outdoor maps, and routine research and field trips for educational and development purposes.

From the very beginning, the National Park people did their utmost to cooperate with all other local historical associations. Fredericksburg is an unusual park area, like Colonial National Historical Park, in that it is by no means the only neighborhood attraction. Here we have numerous historic houses, six of which operate as museums. The National Park Service staff has always thought of the battlefield area as part of an historical whole, not a competing pitch, and consistently mentions other attractions to park visitors. Not only this, but the park has attempted to do its bit in interesting the locality's general citizen, who should be able to answer a tourist's simple questions. Therefore the staff has always helped the Chamber of Commerce in educational attempts. One such school for citizens was held in October, 1935. The difficulties of reaching the ideal are summed up in an "operation a success, but the patient died" sort of sentence in the Superintendent's Monthly Narrative report: —— "The school was a success, except that it was not attended by the people for whom it was designed; the employees of restaurants, filling stations, hotels, drug stores, etc." (Report for October, 1935, NPS files).

The backing of prominent citizens, however, continued strong. Mr. F. M. Chichester was now Executive Secretary of the Fredericksburg Battlefield Park Association. In March 1936, he and Spalding assisted a group of Orange County Citizens form a similar association for the purpose of acquiring land embracing earthworks in the Mine Run area for donation to the Fredericksburg park. Mr. D. N. Davidson, then Superintendent of Orange Schools, was particularly interested in this work. The land was never acquired, but at least new friends for historical preservation were recruited. (Coordinating Superintendent's Report, N.P.S. Files).

Fredericksburg Park Association members are listed elsewhere. A group also worthy of mention, including most of the Association people, was the National Park Service Committee of the Chamber of Commerce. As constituted January 29, 1936, these men were: Dr. S. L. Scott, A. T. Lindstrom, Branch Spalding, F. M. Chichester, Leland Rowe, J. P. Rowe, Jr.,

Capt. G. M.Harrison, C. B. Coolrick, C. O'Conor Coolrick, B. T. Pitts, L. J. Houston, Jr. (Letter of Ray Hall, Chamber of Commerce Secretary, in Battlefield Park Association and Commission folder, N.P.S. files). Another active friend of the park of that period was the late Mr.James G. Harrison, of the Richmond, Fredericksburg and Potomac Railroad.

The Park Commission, then composed of Hon. R. Walton Moore and Hon. James A. Sommerville, still existed, though not taking the active part of older days. The Commission, NPS Director Cammerer, and other park officials inspected the area June 19, 1936. (Acting Superintendent Howard's Report for June, 1936, N.P.S. files).

An incident of April 1936, involving no fanfare, the move into the new Museum and Administration Building, was really one of the most important events in the history of the park. This handsome Public Works structure (P.W.A.), built to look like a house which could have been standing in Fredericksburg at the time of the Civil War, invariably makes a good impression on visitors. Thereafter, for the next three years Assistant Landscape Architect Robert P. Stevens' CCC crews planted the grounds with native trees, boxwood and other oldtime shrubs. The planting has flourished. The boxwood and holly delight many visitors totally unfamiliar with either. A park, or any similar institution, should certainly further branches of science other than its own wherever possible without disproportionate emphasis. Here is an example where botony supplements history at no cost to the Civil War story.

During the periods of Spalding's absence on coordinating business, CCC Camp Superintendent Howard acted as park superintendent. From September of 1936 to February 9, 1938, Superintendent Spalding commuted to Washington, performing the duties of Acting Assistant Director, Branch of Historic Sites and Buildings.

The landscaping of the Park Headquarters gradually improved outside appearances. Indoors, the historians and draughtsmen worked on the placement of museum exhibits, assisted and advised by the Museum Division. Relic displays and Draughtsman John Hoggan's and CCC Enrollee Albert Campbell's art work gradually filled the bare walls during 1936 and 1937.

On March 17, 1937, the Diorama of Wartorn Fredericksburg arrived from the Washington Museum Laboratory. Acting Chief of the Museum Division Ned J. Burns and several associates installed it the next day. Frank G. Urban had done the modelling and the late Lee Warthen the painting in the making of this device. Many excellent dioramas were executed under the supervision of Ned Burns, whose early death, like that of Warthen, marked a great loss to the museum field. Burns' successor and former subordinate Ralph Lewis has kept the National Park Service Museum Division one of the best such organizations in the country. From the day of its installation, the Fredericksburg Diorama has excited the wonder and admiration of park visitors, be they children or adults, literate or illiterate, amateur connoisseurs or professional artists.

The interior walls were covered not only with exhibits for the visitor, but also with those tools of the trade books. An excellent Civil War library, so indispensable to any research or educational program, grew rapidly under the supervision of Branch Spalding. Only a tiny sum has ever been available for purchase of books. To beg, borrow or steal is about the only way to supplement this. The park did not borrow or steal, but begged and traded to good effect.

Various institutional libraries cooperated in the trading of duplicates, and individuals donated books. To mention donors would be invidious, for they are many. Taking that risk, however, one might cite "Miss Annie" Smith (Mrs. H. H. Smith) and Miss Virginia Carmichael among local people and E. T. Stuart of Philadelphia and Fred W. Cross of South Royalston, Massachusetts. Mr. Cross, Military Archivist of Massachusetts, studied the Civil War throughout his long life, knowing many of its prominent figures in his youth, and was a friend of this park since its beginning. A small cheerful stout man of old New England stock, he revered his forebears who had saved the Union, yet loved Virginia and the Virginians and appreciated the Southern point of view. Not only did the interest of this happy scholar inspire the park people, it also introduced the area to others. His enthusiasm reached many New Englanders by word of mouth and in the public press. He died, aged 81, at his old homestead in South Royalston, March 8, 1950.

An important real estate acquisition of the 1930's was the house where Jackson died. Away back in April of 1929, the Jackson Shrine had been offered by its owners the Richmond, Fredericksburg and Potomac Railroad to the Park. (Commission Meeting of April 1, 1929, Minutes, War Department files). It was accepted by the National Park Service, 1937. In this frame cottage, an outbuilding or "office", on the Chandler plantation, "Fairfield", Guinea, Virginia, Thomas Jonathan ("Stonewall") Jackson died of pneumonia, May 10, 1863, after his wounding by the mistaken fire of his own men at Chancellorsville, May 2, 1863. Many Southerners felt that the loss of Jackson, so brilliant and able, doomed the Confederate cause.

The railroad's first acquisition of the property and a small acreage began in 1909. (For deeds, etc., see Jackson Shrine file, NPS files. Among other deeds cited there are Caroline County Deed Book 76, pp. 43 and 443; D.B. 79, p. 50; D.B. 80, p.145; D.B. 90, p. 100.) The confusing legal history of this land caused some delay in acceptance by the United States. A very important early deed will be found in Caroline County Deed Book 45, page 1, Oct. 14, 1845, Edward C. Thornton, executor of John Thornton, to Thomas C. Chandler. John Thornton had died in September 1844, possessed of Fairfield, 753½ acres, plus 92 purchased by him. His will of Dec. 30, 1840 left the land to his wife Mildred W. Thornton for life, to be sold at her death and the money to be divided

between the children. She died June 10, 1845. The sale to Chandler excepted the half acre family burying ground. Pages 4 - 5 of this book show a detailed plot of Fairfield, mansion house, etc. See p. 52, same deed book for Thornton genealogy).

Eppa Hunton, Jr., president of the road, restored the house in 1927. It was dedicated, October 12, 1928. A Richmond delegation came to Fredericksburg, and the Jackson Monument, Chancellorsville, where the general fell, was visited before the Shrine exercises. Among the speakers at the Shrine on that occasion were Mr. Hunton; Dr. Stuart McGuire, son of Jackson's Medical Director Dr. Hunter McGuire; Mrs. H. G. Willis, Jr., president of the Fredericksburg Chapter of the United Daughters of the Confederacy; and Oswald Camp of the Battlefield Park Commission staff. Hunton declared that the late William H. White, president of the road in 1909, had bought the place to preserve it, on his own initiative, and was prepared to keep it if the company had not been interested. The company, however, ever mindful of its own part in the War, was happy to take over. Mr. White had been a V.M.I. cadet at the Battle of New Market. (Fredericksburg, Va., Free Lance-Star, Sat. Oct. 13, 1928, pp. 1 & 2).

The National Park Service officially accepted the Jackson Shrine October 23, 1937. Taking part in the ceremonies were: the Honorable R. Walton Moore, Assistant Secretary of State; the Honorable Charles West, Acting Secretary of the Interior; Dr. Douglas Southall Freeman, Richmond historian and editor; Mr. Norman Call, President of the R. F. & P. RR; the Honorable C. O'Conor Goolrick and Mr. Frank Chichester, of the Fredericksburg Battlefield Park Association; and various officials of the National Park Service. Mr. Moore represented the local Park Commission.

A public reception at the Museum began the day. Dr. Freeman then addressed the crowd at the Bivouac Point, last meeting place of Lee and Jackson, on the Chancellorsville field. Two cedar trees memorializing Lee and Jackson were here planted, marked by a bronze plaque donated by the Park Staff. (Footnote: A minor truth of history is the fact that Ralph Happel, designated collector of the fund by the Superintendent, paid most of the plaque bill; they also serve who cannot collect). From Chancellorsville the procession followed the route, more or less, along which the wounded Jackson was taken to Guinea Station. The last of the ceremonies occurred at the Shrine.

The caretaker's house near the Shrine was the residence of a retired railroad employee. He received a pension regardless of work at the Shrine. This man remained until 1940.

Another distinguished visitor came to the park that fall of 1937. The Director of the Civilian Conservation Corps, Mr. Robert Fechner, who had always seemed to take a particular interest in this area, dined, Thanksgiving Day, November 25, 1937, at the Wilderness CCC Camp.

Mrs. Fechner and a party from D. C. accompanied him. Mayor W. Marshall King and Mr. Frank Chichester, Chairman of the Battlefield Park Association, represented the City of Fredericksburg. Having no idea that he would accept twice in a row, the camp men tendered no invitation the next year until Mr. Fechner hinted through channels that he would be pleased to come back. The staff lost no time asking him. The pleasure he showed in being at the Wilderness again, November 24, 1938, was a joy to all. Bureaucracy never spoiled this simple man.

In May of 1938 the CCC boys began excavations for cellar and foundations of a superintendent's residence on the Fredericksburg Battlefield.

New techniques of interpretation constantly added to the value of the park. The early outdoor semi-horizontal map at Hamilton's Crossing was the parent of maps on all the fields, both at the stations and along the roads. In June and July, 1938 combination map-markers, or trailside exhibits, were inaugurated at, respectively, Hooker's right flank, Chancellorsville, and the Lansdowne Valley, Fredericksburg. These were vertical maps in the regular narrative marker standards. At Chancellorsville, the map stood alongside one narrative marker. At Fredericksburg, the map was placed between two narrative markers. Maps are widely used all over the fields today. The excellent work of the late "Tex" Goodman and others is now carried out by the artist Sidney S. King of Tignor, Virginia, who paints maps and signs for the park by contract.

The elegant and commodious Superintendent's Residence, completed in the spring of 1939, though not contributing directly to the educational program, augmented the value of the park plant.

A record of the year 1939 notes many accomplishments. The historic Stonewall, Confederate defense in the Battles of Fredericksburg, was reconstructed along the Sunken Road boundary of the Museum grounds. An original section still exists up the road, off park property. Important clearing to restore the historical picture, Bloody Angle and Salient area, Spotsylvania Court House took place. Negotiations with citizens of Pennsylvania and New Jersey for land donations were underway. A 32-page double column booklet "Manassas to Appomattox" giving the whole Virginia Civil War story came off the press. This had been written by various technicians in the Virginia national military parks and edited at Fredericksburg; the Fredericksburg staff wrote most of the articles, Ralph Happel serving as contributor and editor. Many people have stated that this brochure, including short articles on the War in the East and the War as a whole, furnishes a concise account not elsewhere found. It is now out of print. The historian Robert Selph Henry praised it highly in conversation here several years ago. An article he particularly liked, The War as a Whole, was written by Historian Edward Steere.

During March 1939, the City of Fredericksburg purchased a small arms collection from Dr. Ralph Johnson for this Park. Councilman George L. Hunter's motion for purchase to the City Council passed without a dessenting vote. Council members at that time were: C. M. Cowan, E. A. Gibson, J. F. Gouldman, Jr., George L. Hunter, Jr., Benjamin T. Pitts, C. L. Reid, E. G. Heflin, W. F. Liebenow, Simon Hirsh, W. A. McGhee, C. T. Parcell, and A. R. Smith. Parcell was president of the Council. (Annual Report of the City of Fredericksburg, 1939).

The Museum Division representatives came down several times to advise in the display of these weapons and designed cases for them. CCC boys did the work of cleaning the pieces under the supervision of Junior Research Technician Happel, who developed the exhibits with the aid of "Tex" Goodman, former park draughtsman. By the spring of 1940 the gun room, west wing of Museum, and the study collection in the basement Relic Room were complete.

The cold winters of the '30's came to a climax in January, 1940. As Superintendent Spalding wrote in his report for the month, "Twenty inches of snow and prolonged sub-zero weather (lowest official temperature 12° below zero) made this one of the most severe Januarys in the history of this part of the country." Protracted cold continued in February. (NPS Files).

May 1940 marked the dedication of one hundred and sixty-some acres of land in front of the Confederate salient, Spotsylvania, including Hancock's Headquarters the Landram House site, donated by the Loyal Legion, of Philadelphia. This land, the attack field of the Union drive against the Salient, would have ruined the effect of the park if adversely developed by private holders. Spotsylvania is now the only one of the four fields not liable to adverse development. The Lee Drive is getting to be a mere access road to real estate subdivisions. Work on this Spotsylvania project had begun in 1938. On November 20, 1938, seven Loyal Legion members visited the Park and were accompanied on a tour by Hon. C. O'Conor Goolrick of Fredericksburg, Superintendent Spalding, and Technician Happel. These men were: *Mr. E. T. Stuart, grandson of the founder of the U. S. Christian Commission, a Civil War relief agency; Mr. George G. Meade, grandson of General Meade; Col. Samuel P. Wetherill; Mr. Maurice W. Sloan; Mr. Edwin J. Sellers; and Mr. Harrison Latta. They examined carefully the Landram tract which they later purchased for the purpose of donation to the park.

The Loyal Legion posts, not as numerous as formerly, have always been strong in Philadelphia. The Loyal Legion, founded by Union officers, now comprises their descendents. Since Mr. Stuart's grandfather was a civilian, however important a Civil War figure, Mr. Stuart was an honorary rather than an actual member.

* Col. William I. Forbes, Commander;

For the formal tendering of the deed, May 11, 1940, two hundred and fifty Philadelphians came down in a special train. The Battlefield Park Association, sponsoring the exercises, arranged for transportation in Fredericksburgers' cars. The Museum and parts of the park were toured, but the main event took place on the Spotsylvania field, approximately eight hundred people being present, including Regional Director M. R. Tillotson, National Park Service, Region One; Hon. James H. Price, Governor of Virginia; Brig. Gen. S. Gardner Waller, Adjutant General, Va. National Guard; Col. William Innes Forbes, Commander, Pennsylvania Commandery, Military Order of the Loyal Legion; other members of the Loyal Legion as listed previously; Mayor W. Marshall King, Messrs. Chichester, Coolrick, and other prominent local people. The Governor of Virginia, the Regional Director, Col. Forbes, and Rev. Joseph Foote Newton of Philadelphia delivered addresses. (N.P.S. Superintendent's reports and file on Loyal Legion).

Mr. Stuart's quiet Philadelphian hand had been in this deal all along. A banker who lived on the famous "Main Line", he well represented the dignified and cordial citizen of Franklin's cultivated town. He enjoyed tramping the battlefields and, indeed, was a Virginia Countryman too, because he had owned land and hunted in Spotsylvania for years. He died December 11, 1940, in his early sixties, deeply mourned by his Fredericksburg and Spotsylvania County friends.

The Landram tract gift included a substantial portion of Mr. Stuart's own land. He had, we have noted, previously donated the Bloody Angle. He deeded by gift, November 3, 1939, 21.06 acres to the Loyal Legion on condition that the society donate this land to the park. The Legion bought the adjoining Hawkins tract (old Landram House site and land; it was all formerly Landram) of 144.79 acres and gave the two pieces, totaling 165.85 acres, to the park, deed of November 22, 1939. At the time, the actual acreage was only 161.85, since Mr. Stuart had excepted four acres within his 21.06 gift. He and his wife donated two acres of that exception to the park by deed of August 7, 1940. His heirs donated the other two by deed of September 25, 1941. (N.P.S. Drawings of Plat 23, Property of E. T. Stuart, NMP-FS-6005 and Land Purchased by Loyal Legion NMP-FS-2075. See also Stuart and Loyal Legion donation files, NPS files).

In recording the success of the Loyal Legion Celebration, due credit should go to the City of Fredericksburg for its official cooperation, the late Claude T. Parcell, being then President of the City Council. The National Park Service was also obliged to the Fredericksburg Battlefield Park Association, of which the late Frank M. Chichester, the park attorney, was Executive Chairman; other members were C. O'Conor Coolrick, prominent attorney and Virginia political figure; L. J. Houston, Jr., City Manager; C. Archer Smith, businessman; Ray Hall, Chamber of Commerce Secretary; Bernard Coleman, attorney; B. T. Pitts, businessman; Ray Hopkins, Virginia Electric and Power Co. executive; Josiah P. Rowe, Jr., newspaper editor; Chester P. Coolrick, newspaperman and later City official; A. H. Crismond, Spotsylvania County official; W. Marshall King, attorney and mayor at the time; Dr. W. A. Harris, physician. Two members of the past had died within the two years previous to the celebration:

Capt. G. M. Harrison and Leland Rowe.

The Landram tract cooperation represents the last official group activity of the Association.

Mr. O'Conor Goolrick, son of Judge John T. Goolrick of the Preliminary Park Commission, helped in bringing about this land donation. His brother the late Chester Goolrick lent aid to any historical venture, and so did the late Josiah Rowe, Jr.; Mr. Rowe's sons Josiah P. Rowe, III and Charles now run the Free Lance-Star and continue the good relations here between press and park. Their family, including the late Leland Rowe, has always been friendly to this Park.

The very early years, before the establishment of the Park, were years of hope and little else. Then came the years of promise, with the preliminary act of Congress. The first actual park years soon grew lean because of the Depression. The period from 1933 to 1940, and this hits the Biblical number seven exactly, constitutes the fat years. But more lean years, for Civilian agencies, anyway, in the World War II period, began about then. The Landram Celebration would be comparable to a happy family party just before the firing on Fort Sumter.

Two minor roads, virtually completed in 1940-1942, epitomize the good work, often not so evident, of the Civilian Conservation Corps: the Jackson Trail, Chancellorsville, and the Hancock Road, formerly called the Robinson Truck Trail, Spotsylvania. The Jackson Trail had been in use for some time. It was now being properly aligned and surfaced. Subsequent resurfacing and continual maintenance since then have kept it a very good all-weather gravel road. Though immeasurably better than the woodland trail of the 1860's, its lack of hardsurfacing still gives it an old look. The opportunity to recreate the mood of the battle period adds much to the student's education and enjoyment. Military groups always take this tour when time allows.

Another CCC project, completed in the spring of 1942, was the Caretaker's Residence at the Jackson Shrine. The old residence, a firetrap right next to the Shrine, was subsequently removed.

Now came the winter of our discontent. The chill mists of the new war settled over all, gradually numbing civilian establishments. Even before Pearl Harbor, the CCC activities slowed. In July, 1940, Earl Carner, Project Superintendent, Wilderness Camp, and certain supervisory personnel moved to Appomattox, to which point a CCC Company had been transferred from Yorktown. Two camps remained at Fredericksburg, however, operated by Project Superintendent Howard and a reduced foreman force, until December. The Chancellorsville Camp was then abandoned. (Superintendent Spalding's Report for December 1940). In April, 1941,

the remaining camp moved from Wilderness to Chancellorsville, a more central location; it left the park, March, 1942, to go to nearby A.P. Hill Military Reservation. Within a few months the whole CCC program ended. The Civilian Corps gave way to Army Corps.

In the summer of 1941 a National Park Service administrative move reduced the coordinating work of Fredericksburg. Petersburg and Appomattox were completely independent after July. Manassas and Richmond remained under the jurisdiction of Coordinating Superintendent Spalding.

On February 12, 1942, Spalding submitted his resignation from the National Park Service. He left March 15, to take up alumni work at the University of Virginia.

Edward A. Hummel succeeded him in April.

Another gift of land became effective that spring, but the war prevented a celebration, though a program booklet was printed. The Under Secretary of the Interior accepted title, March 5, 1942, to 20,789 acres of land, Wilderness Battlefield, near the southwest corner of the Brock-Plank roads intersection, commemorating the gallant action there of the 12th New Jersey Regiment. The deed, dated July 21, 1941, conveyed the land to the United States by virtue of New Jersey State legislation of January 1941, donating the funds for the purchase. The initiator of the memorial was Mr. Alvin S. Crispin, a Freeholder of Gloucester County, New Jersey. He and Mr. William H. Davis and Mr. Charles H. Kirby, of the same county, all of whom had relatives in the regiment, had visited the park to see about a memorial, July 5, 1939. The Hon. Robert C. Hendrickson, President of the New Jersey Senate, and Assemblyman J. G. Sholl gave full support to the plans, obtaining the passage of the measure for funds. The bronze plaque erected on the Plank Road near the intersection, commemorating the 12th N. J. Reg. and the land, was paid for by the Gloucester County Historical Society, through its president Mr. Hugh Mehorter, and Mr. Henry A. Salisbury. (File on New Jersey land donation, N.P.S. files, and Souvenir Pamphlet of Dedication).

At this time, the Fredericksburg Park Commission consisted of Senator Joseph C. O'Mahoney, Wyoming, and the Hon. James A. Sommerville, National Archives, both of whom were consulted about the donation. This seems to have been the last official act of the Commission. (See Letter of January 15, 1942, Acting Supervisor of Historic Sites Kahler to Superintendent — 12th N. J. land file, N.P.S. files). The last actual meeting of the commission appears to have been that with Director Cammerer at Fredericksburg, June 19, 1936, previously mentioned. (For legal aspects of the Commission situation, see Battlefield Park Association and Commission file, N.P.S. files: Memorandum of Supervisor of Historic Sites R. F. Lee to Fred'b'g. Superintendent, March 13, 1940 with cc of A. J. Knox's memorandum to the Director, Oct. 9, 1939.

Also cc of A. J. Knox to Mr. Tripp, Sept. 28, 1939. Lee to Spalding, Oct. 25, 1938 and inclosed cc of Acting Chief Counsel C. C. Mullady to Assistant Director Tolson, Oct. 7, 1938).

Members of the old War Department Commission, called Commissioners, should not be confused with a United States Park Commissioner, a representative of the Department of Justice.

Balancing a decrease of civilian visitors resulting from tire and gasoline rationing and other exigencies of war, military units used the Fredericksburg and Spotsylvania National Military Park extensively during the next several years. They studied the battles, learned more of their nation's history and of military art, and, at least once, combined study with aid to the Park. A neat bit of cooperation finished the gravelling of the Jackson Trail. Wrote Hummel in his report for August, 1942, "With the assistance of labor supplied by the 101st Engineers Battalion, stationed at the A. P. Hill Military Reservation, the gravelling of the Jackson Trail was completed. A loading shovel, needed for this work, was borrowed from the Naval Mine Depot at Yorktown, Virginia, through Field Supervisor A. C. Stratton. This work was undertaken as part of the training program for the men of the 101st Engineers Battalion." (N.P.S. files).

There had been a flood in Fredericksburg in April, 1937 which seemed bad at the time. During October 1942, 14.41 inches of rainfall were measured in the Fredericksburg area, "of which approximately 6 inches fell in less than three hours on October 15. This cloudburst, following three days of steady rain, caused many flash floods in the smaller streams, and contributed to the record-breaking flood level of forty-five feet reached by the Rappahannock River on October 16 . . . . The damage caused by the flash flood to areas in the Park was unprecedented. The National Cemetery was the most severely damaged. The great flow of water broke the brick wall in three places and almost completely washed out the lower terrace. Portions of the Hill-Ewell Drive in the Wilderness Battlefield were damaged in two places. Minor washouts occurred throughout the other battlefield areas." (Hummel's Monthly Narrative Report for October, 1942, N.P.S. files).

For three days the City had to use its fire trucks to pump water into the mains at the filtration plant. During that time the Park fire truck stood by at the City Fire House.

The next summer a drought created fire hazards and killed shrubs in the area. Floods or freshets and severe dry spells can occur

all in the same year here. Yet the average rainfall of the area, between 40 and 45 inches, is definitely adequate. Figures, however, especially averages, are too black and white to reflect the gray tones of actuality. Sometimes too much rain comes in certain months and too little in others, too much when not needed and not enough when needed.

Superintendent Hummel received a commission of Lieutenant (jg) in the U. S. Naval Reserve and reported for duty October 15, 1943. On November 3, Tyler B. Kiener, an engineer of the Region One Staff, entered on duty as Superintendent.

The war years damaged the physical condition of the park by deterioration, though much research and historical housekeeping resulted from the quiet times. Military groups found inspiritional values here and became N. P. S. adherents in large numbers. So the historians might feel well rewarded. The whole staff, however, had enough to do without research or any visitors. Not only money, but labor for maintenance remained scarce. Everybody helped in the difficult maintenance problems: cutting grass, painting sign standards and buildings, touching up signs, thinning the undergrowth, suppressing fires, and patrolling the park.

With the return of peace came also that of Superintendent Hummel, released from the Navy. He came back to duty, March 1, 1946, Kiener going to Region One again as engineer. Hummel, however, did not stay long. He was promoted to the superintendency of the Colonial National Historical Park, Yorktown, Virginia. Superintendent O. F. Northington, Jr. transferred from Petersburg National Military Park to Fredericksburg in June, 1946.

The Park lost an old and valued friend with the death of Mr. Frank Chichester in September, 1946.

Hostilities over, the Park did not precisely enter on fat years again. There was no expansion program or influx of extra money. Business, however, which in a park is visitors, certainly picked up.

The scattered area of the Fredericksburg and Spotsylvania National Military Park, comprising four separate battlefields and various entrances, rules out an accurate count of visitors, many never being met by park people. Thus a summer visitors' total will be augmented or decreased in relation to the number of interpretive men in the field. Traffic counters, however, give a constant ratio for the use of the Park, and the Park Museum, open all year, furnishes exact figures of visitors receiving interpretive services there. It is important to bear in mind this Museum measuring stick and to remember that the yearly park total of visitors receiving interpretive services depends on how many field stations were open and how long they were open. The park total also includes a certain amount of duplication, correct standard procedure in

the National Park Service counting methods, but the Museum visitor, counted only once for the place, rarely comes in more than once in a visit to an area, and the Museum total of visitors represents fairly well an exact count of separate visitors. Though this total is less than the number receiving personal services and far less than the grand total of park visitors, it is a reliable constant.

A few figures will show the increasing numbers of the people visiting the Museum:

1940	—	7,190	
1947	—	6,803	
1948	—	8,400	
1951	—	17,134	(Museum closed month of November)
1952	—	17,539	
1953	—	20,190	
1954	—	17,017	

All of these represent calendar years except 1940, which represents the travel year ending September 30, 1940. The period of 1941 - 1946 included many groups of armed forces personnel, but civilian visitors were few and far between. Disregarding those years, we note that 1947 was about the same as 1940; then came an upward trend to the climax year of 1953, followed by a decrease last year, which may be the beginning of a downward trend or a levelling off.

Throughout the years the total group of visitors, before and after the establishment of the park, has included illustrious names, both foreign and domestic. Henderson, author of Stonewall Jackson, Lloyd George, and Churchill, writers and statesmen, represent but a few of the foreigners. A domestic group of July 11, 1949 might be singled out because the distinguished men, particular friends of the park, often visited the area: Major General U. S. Grant, III, of Washington, grandson of the famous Civil War general; Congressman George A. Dondero, 17th District, Michigan; and Congressman James W. Wadsworth, 41st District, New York, grandson of Civil War General James S. Wadsworth. On this trip they were accompanied by their younger colleague Congressman Tom Pickett, 7th District, Texas.

The late Congressman Wadsworth, scion of the well known York State family, had helped establish the park. (He was then a Senator - 1927). His grandfather, the middle-aged civilian millioniare who left a comfortable fireside to fight and die for the Union, fell at the Wilderness. Mr. Wadsworth and his sister Mrs. Fletcher Harper bought a small piece of land at the site where General Wadsworth fell, on the Orange Plank Road, erected a memorial, and donated it to the park. It was legally accepted by the United States in the autumn of 1941.

There have been no major celebrations since the pre-World War II times, but the Park was host at a pleasant little party, March 3, 1949, commemorating the One Hundredth Birthday of the U. S. Department of the Interior. A large number of school children came to the Museum's Open House during the day and quite a few citizens and officials in the evening, including Mayor Josiah P. Rowe, Jr., City Council President D. Letcher Stoner, City Manager L. J. Houston, Jr., Commissioner of Revenue George L. Hunter, and State Senator Benjamin T. Pitts.

Among the citizens without portfolio, though he bore the title of Honorary Mayor of his unincorporated village, neighboring Falmouth, Mr. St. Clair Brooks enjoyed the occasion perhaps more than anybody and was the last to leave that evening. The death several years ago of this man removed from the area a valued friend and supporter. He was an authority on Falmouth history and traditions and an enthusiastic backer of any historical program.

The postwar years saw chiefly a rehabilitation and steady progress of routine work at Fredericksburg. At Manassas, however, this period was noteworthy for new achievement, the establishment of the Museum delayed because of the war. The Fredericksburg office, coordinating that park, assisted throughout, Historian Francis F. Wilshin devoting much of his time to Manassas museum development.

Fredericksburg, the mother park, having helped start the Manassas and Richmond areas, saw them through the project stage to become full fledged parks.The National Park Service memorandum of August 3, 1951 (FO-1010) relieved her of Manassas and Richmond. Petersburg and Appomattox, previously noted, had become independent earlier. Even after 1951, however, Fredericksburg continued to handle fiscal work for Manassas and Richmond and also for George Washington Birthplace National Monument. Under the latest reorganization, the fiscal office was moved from Fredericksburg to the Region One office, Richmond, Virginia, at the end of 1954. All accounts will henceforth be kept there except for preliminary data.

Research accomplishments of the past several years include completion of historical base maps and related data and assistance to writers such as Dr. D. S. Freeman and Bruce Catton. There has been the closest cooperation, of mutual benefit, between the historical staff and Dr. C. H. Quenzel, the able librarian and history professor of Mary Washington College. Cooperation continues also with the Chamber of Commerce; its Executive Secretary Warren Farmer, formerly with the local paper, is appreciative of historical matters.

A part of a proposed revised and augmented museum program, an Electric Map of the Fredericksburg Battlefield was installed by the National Park Service Museum Division, March 24, 1954. This

excellent device has increased the worth of the park many fold. The courses of the battle shown minutely yet simply are here plain to all, whether elementary school groups or advanced students. Historian Wilshin prepared the basic data for this exhibit, made under the supervision of Museum Chief Ralph Lewis by Laurence D. Cone in the Washington Museum Laboratory.

Among the advanced students who have seen this map may be mentioned the Civil War Round Table members of Washington, D. C. and Chicago, Illinois. The Washington group has visited the park on several occasions. The Chicago Round Table, the first of these important clubs, pays an extended visit to some battlefield area each year. On May 12, 13, 14, 1955, this group toured the local battlefields. The membership comprises authors, and business, professional, and newspaper men, not only from Chicago itself, but from various midwestern cities. Their interest is a stimulating endorsement of the study of American History and of the work of the National Park Service. Similar clubs are being formed all over the country.

New exhibits, park celebrations, and the visits of distinguished people stand out in the chronicles of an historical park, just as do great events in the history of a nation. In a nation, great events are like the visible tops of icebergs, but the day to day work and achievement of all types of citizens provide the vast unseen bulk supporting those shining mountains. So, in an established park, the routine work of maintenance, research, and interpretation goes quietly on, regardless of newsworthy occurances. And the daily lives of our Parks and Nation fuse in the preservation, teaching, and appreciation of American History.

Other accomplishments will be made at Fredericksburg Military Park and new difficulties will arise. The greatest potentialities, predicated on an early and full development that did not happen, can not be grasped. Within the limitations of the reach imposed upon this park, the area has evolved into a healthy part of the organic whole known as the National Park System, dedicated to preserve the Nation's historical and natural heritage for the benefit of the present and the hope of the future.

Epilogue

The Town Since the Civil War

Fortunately, so far, no battles have devastated the Fredericksburg neighborhood since the Civil War. No Washingtons, Monroes, or Maurys have arisen either, but able men have furthered community life, and not a few people of distinction have lived here or started life here in recent times. Two disparate examples would be the "Tramp Comedian" Nat. C. Wills (Matthew McGrath Wills) and Thomas Armat, inventer of the motion picture projector. A world famous painter, Carl Melchers, spent his last years across the river in Falmouth, painting there some of his most vigorous work.

Struggling up, like the rest of the South, slowly and tenaciously, Fredericksburg, by the 1900's, was again a prosperous tight little community, financially sound and physically rehabilitated. Many turn of the century industries gave work to a contented citizenry, whose delight it was of a Sunday to walk out to the National Cemetery or up the canal to the dam, listening to the Cardinals and Redwings. The mechanized amusements made possible by the work of Citizen Armat, Signor Marconi, and others had not yet supplanted the art of sauntering.

One of the industries of that time was Hunter's Foundry, corner of Princess Anne and Hawke Streets, manufacturers of The Farmers' Friend, a plow that found its way around the world. Various other shops and mills made products for a wide area. Among occupations since declined were blacksmiths and wheelwrights, of which there were nine in 1910-11. One blacksmith shop only is left in 1955. Vanished entirely now are the excelsior mills; new types of packing materials have largely replaced this shredded wood, once so important in the shipment of fragile products like china; in 1910-11, Fredericksburg had four excelsior works. There were also two manufacturers of carriages and wagons then. The automobile, however, had begun its infiltration, the Ford being sold by the Fredericksburg Buggy Company. Electricity was here too, but the City Gas Company still sold and maintained Welsbach gas lights. Other industries were a shirt, a woolen, and a silk factory. Very important in the business of the place were miscellaneous retail stores and professional offices. (Miller, Ernest H., compiler, Fredericksburg, Va. City Directory 1910-11, Piedmont Directory Co., Asheville, N. C.).

In those days, the public school system had not been much developed, but there were several good private schools. Higher education was represented too. The Fredericksburg College, a Presbyterian institution, well thought of in its day, lasted only a few years, however.

The Fredericksburg Normal School, established by Virginia Act of March 14, 1908, first session September 1911, is now Mary Washington College, the women's branch of the University of Virginia. Its enrollment in the spring of 1955 was 1,578. (Acts of Assembly, 1908, p. 427; College Catalogue, vol. 1, no. 1; and information from Mary Washington College Registrar's Office).

In 1900, the population of Fredericksburg was 5,068; in 1910, 5,874; 1940, 10,066; and in 1950, 12,158. (U. S. Bureau of Census, 1950 Census of Population, vol. II, Characteristics of the Population, part 46, Virginia, p. 9).

Of the 1950 total, 10,199 represented whites, with females predominating, and 1,952 non-white, also with females predominating. Various enlargements of the town have been made, the last being an annexation of part of Spotsylvania County, along U. S. Highway 1, effective January 1, 1955, bringing the total population of the town to approximately 13,313. (Industrial Site Survey, Fredericksburg, Virginia. Prepared by Area Development Department, Virginia Electric and Power Company, Richmond 9, Virginia. Multigraphed Brochure, pp. 6 and 23). If the nearby village of Falmouth and such subdivisions as Westmont, Ferry Farms, Brookfield, Chatham Heights, Tyler Town, and Sylvania Heights were counted, several thousands more would be added to the population figure.

Today, "Manufacturing has the largest employment, with the wholesale and retail trade a close second. The largest single employer in the area is a large cellophane plant located just outside of Fredericksburg. Other products manufactured in and around Fredericksburg include men's clothing, children's shoes, lumber, millwork, wooden boxes, wood preserving material, metal heating fixtures, sheet metal products, dairy products, cinder blocks and commercial printing . . . .". The large plant is the Sylvania Division of the American Viscose Corporation, which employs 2,760 in the manufacture of cellophane and plastics. (Ibid., p. 8 and Appendix 1).

The various historical museums and establishments, aside from cultural considerations, are also part of the business picture. Tourists, directly and indirectly, leave money that benefits the whole community. The National Military Park is but one of the historical attractions.

The list of places open to the public is as follows:

Park Museum and Headquarters, Lafayette Boulevard (U. S. Highway 1) and Sunken Rd. (The battlefields lie in and around the city). (National Park Service).

Kenmore, home of Col. Fielding Lewis, Revolutionary gunmaker, and his wife Betty Washington Lewis, George Washington's sister. (Administered by the Kenmore Association).

Home of Mary, the Mother of George Washington. (Administered by the Association for the Preservation of Virginia Antiquities, one of the nation's pioneer preservation societies. Purchased by the A.P.V.A. in the 1890's, The Mary Washington House is Fredericksburg's first house museum).

Rising Sun Tavern, a Colonial inn, meeting place of the patriots. (Property of the A.P.V.A. since 1907).

James Monroe's Law Office, a small building where the young veteran of the Revolution started the career that led to the presidency of the United States (Administered by the James Monroe Memorial Foundation).

Mercer's Apothecary Shop, kept by Dr. Hugh Mercer, physician and apothecary, mortally wounded in the cause of freedom at Princeton, 1777. (Administered by The Friends of Historical Pharmacy, American Pharmaceutical Association).

The Masonic Lodge, which initiated George Washington, 1752. The building goes back to the early 19th Century and is the lodge's second home. It contains the Bible used in the initiation of Washington and other relics. (Administered by Fredericksburg Lodge, No. 4, Ancient, Free and Accepted Masons).

Other historic houses or sites may be viewed from the outside and several markers and monuments may be seen, including the Mary Washington Monument, marking her grave, and the Hugh Mercer statue, erected by the United States Congress. Washington's boyhood home, the Ferry Farm, just across the river from town is a site worthy of visit, though it has not yet been developed.

Several historic places in Virginia, open to the public, are quite close to Fredericksburg, among them: The Manassas Battlefield Park and Washington's Birthplace (both National Park Service areas); Mt. Vernon, Washington's home; Gunstan Hall, the exquisite home of George Mason, author of the Virginia Declaration of Rights; Woodlawn Plantation, a fine architectural example of the early 19th Century; and Stratford, the Lee family home and birthplace of R. E. Lee.

It would seem that Fredericksburg has fulfilled the toast offered by Lafayette in 1824, that she would attain the success deserved by the industriousness of her citizens. She passed through the Great Depression of the 1930's without too much trouble and enjoys prosperity today. Her well balanced economy will doubtless absorb any future jolts.

A cultural danger exists, however. Despite lip service paid to her historical heritage, the citizens are contributing to, or allowing, a tragic loss of atmosphere. Many Eighteenth and Early Nineteenth Century buildings have been torn down or modified in recent years. An arbitrary restoration, such as that of Williamsburg, would not be practicable in a commercial town like Fredericksburg, nor perhaps desirable. A number of interested people, however, not necessarily visionaries or antiquarians, feel that an old setting and modern business operations could coexist. After all, if tourism is a business, such a preservation would be good business. Pessimists feel that it is already too late, that an unparalleled opportunity has gone. Certainly, all reasonable people would admit the difficulties involved in any zoning restrictions for historical effect. Private property rights must be respected; unwise control would be an affront to property owners. Since so much is already lost, if historical zoning were begun now, the effect would not be the same as it would have been if measures had been taken twenty, thirty, or forty years ago. Furthermore, Fredericksburg has grown in a haphazard fashion that is not good, regardless of historical atmosphere. Zoning ordinances have been passed to obviate future blighted areas and juxtaposition of business, industry, and residential sections; but, as in the case of the historical atmosphere, this is a little late. The pity is that more citizens were not in the past ready to plan for both historical preservation and proper and orderly growth, to achieve and protect what the British call the amenities. Perhaps the real trouble is simply the Twentieth Century, which may yet cure aesthetic ills and all other indispositions by drastic atomic zoning.

Meantime, whatever the changes, the park and the private shrines will continue their attempt to preserve and interpret historical ground and structures.

Mankind's need for historical preservation and appreciation was eloquently put several years ago by the then British Ambassador to the United States, Sir Oliver Franks, at the dedication of Woodlawn:

> "The preservation of a house, a monument, an historic view or an ancient road ensures that each succeeding generation will have the privilege of keeping in contact with the experiences and achievements of past generations: not the ashes of the past but the flame that passes from generation to generation, the flame of a living tradition."

Ralph Happel

Ralph Happel
Historian

Appendix

LISTING OF NATIONAL PARK SERVICE AND CIVILIAN CONSERVATION CORPS PERSONNEL, 1933-1956.

(War Department officials, Commission members, etc., including citizens' groups, may be found in the index. The following lists, more or less complete, include employees not necessarily mentioned in the text. The order, except where alphabetical, is of approximate period of appointment.)

Superintendents

Philip R. Hough (Superintendent of George Washington Birthplace National Monument - had temporary jurisdiction over Fredericksburg)

George A. Palmer (Representative in Charge at Fredericksburg)

Branch Spalding (also first Coordinating Superintendent of Virginia Civil War areas - coordinating system not now in effect)

Edward A. Hummel

Tyler R. Kiener (acting during wartime absence of Hummel)

O. F. Northington, Jr.

Historians

George A. Palmer
Clarke Venable
John T. Goolrick, Jr.
T. Sutton Jett
George W. Cuy
O. F. Northington, Jr.
Raleigh C. Taylor
Ralph Happel
Edward Steere
Ruth Graham (assigned from R. C. on studies of this area, but not stationed here)
Hubert A. Gurney
Robert S. Justice
Floyd B. Taylor
Harvey J. Winter
Francis F. Wilshin
Albert A. Dillahunty

Seasonal Historians and Rangers employed more than one summer

E. T. Crowson H. L. Hilldrup

Clerical and Stenographic Staff

Alice C. Witte, Chief Clerk
Mamie Phillips
Hattie C. Murphy
Katherine A. Long
Lucille C. Hinton
Louise Williams Happel
Hazel Criswood
Frances L. Waller
William F. Owen, Chief Clerk
Mildred K. Lawson, Chief Clerk
Helen Y. Armstrong
Marlene B. Grant
Helen C. Ritchie
Alfred P. Schwars, Administrative Assistant
(Position replaces Chief Clerk)

Park Rangers

Elliot Davis John H. Risinger

Thomas Biggins

Architects and Draftsmen

Neil C. ("Tex") Goodman (draftsman, artist, and sign painter)
Albert Campbell (CCC helper in art work and sign painting)
Robert P. Stevens (Landscape Architect)
Stuart M. Barnette (Architect)
John C. Haggan (Draftsman and Architect)

Civilian Conservation Corps Superintendents and Foremen. (The Program was called Emergency Conservation Work In the early 1930's).

C.C.C. Superintendents

William K. Howard, Project Superintendent
Earl I. Garner, Camp Superintendent

Foremen

Almond, Russell M.
Apperson, Alphonso
Apperson, John H.
Banks, Ray B.
Beasley, Roscoe C. (Mechanic)
Biscoe, Alfred W.

Foremen - continued

Broaddus, Clifton D.
Buckingham, Charles B.
Buckley, William M.
Carner, William E.
Corbin, James F.
Hall, Henry
Jones, Alonzo
Kendall, Samuel M.
McNeil, Willard W.
Mason, Basil L. (Tool Sharpener)
May, George F. (Mechanic)
Meadlin, John H.
Parker, Fred L.
Randolph, Jack H.
Robinson, Fredericks H. (Assistant Field Coordinator)
Sacrey, Emmett H.
Scott, Robert I.
Stephens, George D.
Stephens, William F.
Tinder, Tazewell T.
Williams, Roy A.
Willoughby, Jesse

N.B. Of these foremen, Samuel Kendall later served as a park maintenanceman for several years, and Emmett ("Dick") Sacrey took the place of George Nelson, Superintendent of the National Cemetery. Upon abolishment of that position, Sacrey became foreman of the labor staff.

C.C.C. Helpers (Historical)

Carter, George T.
DeWarf, Romeo
Hagemann, Edwin E.
Herrick, Joseph D.
Kolinski, James
McElhaney, James S.
Mance, William W.
Purvis, Joseph W.

N.B. These men, with the exception of the youth Kolinski, were veterans of World War One. Many Junior Enrollees also served as attendants in the field stations.

Historical Progression
(Supplementary notes to the text)

Among the early men, Clarke Venable and John T. Goolrick, Jr. were historians who charted the researches during the transition period between War Department and Department of the Interior administration. They, along with the early supervisor George Palmer, can be called the first National Park Service men.

T. Sutton Jett, under Branch Spalding's superintendency, played a major role in the next phase of development. The interpretive program really began with his enthusiastic leadership.

Raleigh Taylor's quiet friendliness and learning and George W. Guy's old-fashioned courtesy augmented park values in the period of the 1930's. During this period O. F. Northington, Jr. did research both for Fredericksburg and Washington's Birthplace; he headed the Historic American Buildings Survey. As a part of the survey, the Catharine Furnace ruins, on park property, Chancellorsville area and the Mannsfield house site, private property, Fredericksburg battlefield were excavated by Northington and Architect Stuart Barnette.

In the late 'thirties Edward Steere headed the historical program and undertook extensive research concerning the Battle of the Wilderness. Hubert Gurney organized the growing library and displayed a talent for research as well as for dealing with people. He played an important part in handling the CCC guide program.

In the early 'forties Robert Justice, Francis F. Wilshin, Harvey Winter, and Floyd B. Taylor carried on the work, keeping things going during the difficult war years.

In the late 'forties Wilshin and Ralph Happel constituted the historical staff. Wilshin, now superintendent of Manassas, has been replaced by Albert Dillahunty as chief historian.