Recorded
✓Tr 7/59
hc

CULTURAL HISTORY
AS OF 1865
of
THE VILLAGE GREEN IN APPOMATTOX COURT HOUSE

by

Frank P. Gauble
Research Historian

Appomattox Court House
National Historical Park

1959

BRANCH OF HISTORY
NATIONAL PARK SERVICE
LIBRARY
DO NOT REMOVE

001471
ID4

CULTURAL HISTORY AS OF 1865

OF THE VILLAGE GREEN IN APPOMATTOX COURT HOUSE

by

Frank P. Cauble
Research Historian

Appomattox Court House National Historical Park

(1959)

BRANCH OF HISTORY
NATIONAL PARK SERVICE
FILE COPY
DO NOT REMOVE

TABLE OF CONTENTS

	Page
DEFINITION AND SCOPE OF STUDY.	1
OWNERSHIP	1
THE VILLAGE GREEN IN 1865	3
THE VILLAGE GREEN AS A SOCIAL CENTER	33
POLITICAL ACTIVITY AT APPOMATTOX COURT HOUSE. . .	34
CITATIONS	37
ACKNOWLEDGMENTS AND NOTES ON SOURCES CONSULTED . .	47
SHORT INDEX. . . . . Follows Page	48

DEFINITION AND SCOPE OF STUDY

The scope of this study embraces the cultural history, as of 1865, of the Village Green in Appomattox Court House, covering all available information on fences, roads, walks, trees, shrubs and other landscape features.

The Village Green is numbered One on the Park Master Plan.

This historical study is necessary because the original features of the Village Green are no longer in existence. The Old Court House building burned on February 1, 1892 and the fence was removed in 1894. The road which encircled the Court House square has been relocated and the old walks have disappeared. The trees and the grass no longer appear as they did in April 1865, when General Robert E. Lee surrendered the Army of Northern Virginia to General U. S. Grant.

The Court House building will be rebuilt and will be used for a museum and park headquarters. The present road will be changed and relocated and made to follow its original route. The fence and the walks will be replaced. The present trees and grass will be removed, replaced or transplanted as found necessary when the work of restoring the Village Green and the Court House is started.

OWNERSHIP

It is possible, despite the loss of the old Court House records, to trace the ownership of the Village Green through

the records of Prince Edward County, the county which included the site of the town of Clover Hill or Appomattox Court House prior to 1845, when Appomattox County was formed out of portions of Buckingham, Campbell, Charlotte, and Prince Edward.

Beginning with the ownership of Thomas Logwood in 1805, the ownership of the Clover Hill tract was thoroughly and accurately traced down to present ownership by Ralph Happel, who made the documentary survey of the Clover Hill Tavern and Outbuildings.[1]

Since all the essential facts in regard to the Clover Hill tract's ownership are recorded in that survey, it is not considered necessary to retrace the ownership or repeat Happel's findings to fulfill the purpose of the present study.

The Clover Hill tract had passed through a number of hands by the time the County of Appomattox was established by an act of the Virginia Legislature on February 8, 1845.[2]

In that year, the Village Green was owned by Samuel D. McDearmon.[3] McDearmon was a member of the Virginia House of Delegates from Prince Edward County in 1844 and was elected a member of the same body from Appomattox County two years later. It is believed that his presence in the House of Delegates in 1845 helped to expedite the formation of the new county.[4]

Colonel McDearmon "was very much interested in the development and success of the new County. Living a few hun-

dred hards from what was called Clover Hill, he donated the land upon which the Court House was built for the new county of Appomattox."[5] In this connection, however, it should not be forgotten that the establishment of the town of Clover Hill brought a handsome financial profit to Colonel McDearmon, because the worth of his holdings virtually doubled within a very few years.[6]

THE VILLAGE GREEN IN 1865

Location

The Village Green was the center of the newly-established County of Appomattox.

The Statistical Gazeteer of the States of Virginia and North Carolina, published in 1856, gave the following facts about Appomattox County:

> APPOMATTOX, a county in the S. E. central part of Virginia, has an area of 260 square miles. It is bounded on the N. W. by the James river and canal, from which the name is derived. The surface is diversified by several small ranges of mountains, and covered with extensive forests. The soil is generally fertile. Indian corn, wheat, oats, tobacco, hay and butter are the staples. In 1850 the county produced 185,865 bushels of corn; 76,345 of wheat; 92,116 of oats; 964,100 pounds of tobacco and 83,299 of butter. It contained in that year 1 iron furnace, 5 flour mills and 2 tanneries. There were 22 churches, 361 pupils attending academies and other schools. It is intersected by the South Side railroad extending from Petersburg to Lynchburg, which is a source of much improvement. A plank road has lately been laid in the county. Capital, Clover Hill. Population, 9193, of whom 4394 were free and 4799 slaves.[7]

Most of the citizens of Appomattox County apparently

enjoyed considerable financial prosperity in the first decade of the new county's existence. On March 15, 1856, the General Assembly of Virginia authorized the following individuals to establish the Appomattox Savings Bank: William Paris, James McDearmon, Nicholas Pamplin, John W. Lawson, S. F. Matthews, William Hannah, Cary C. Brown, and Charles S. Biglow.[8]

Extent

The Village Green was a square of land containing about two acres and located due south of the Clover Hill Tavern. J. F. Dickerson, W. J. Trent, and S. D. Sears, Processioners for the Clover Hill District, inspected the old Court House lot on March 16, 1893, and described it as follows:

> A square of land containing about two acres upon which old C. H. & Jail stood & bounded as follows viz. On North by lot of Bryan and Burdette known as Hotel Property on East by lot of Wm. Rosser & Dr. Kearney on south by Kearney's lot on West by Bogue & Dunlap & Presbyterian lot & C. H. Sackett Office.[9]

Laying out the Town of Clover Hill

It took considerable discussion, and apparently some disagreement, among the residents of the new County of Appomattox before the exact location of the Village Green could be determined. A letter from Captain T. W. Johns to Colonel Benjamin P. Walker on March 7, 1845, stated that the original plan was to locate the Public Square east of

the Tavern so as to make the Court House range with the Tavern and be equidistant between the Tavern and the Stable.[10]

Captain John wrote:

> I expected to have seen you at Clover Hill on Yesterday. Sixteen Justices and the commissioners appointed to lay off the Town were in attendance on the grand occasion; They convened in the Sitting room of the Tavern and after some deliberation proceeded to lay off the Public Square and Lots--, Being acquainted with the Locality of the Tavern I can give you some idea of the situation of the Public Square; It is bounded on the west by the Tavern; on the south by the Richmond Road; and the eastern boundary extends about sixty feet below the stable; giving a front on main street of an acre and running back and acre ½-- , The C. House will be erected between the stable and Tavern so as to range with the Latter and about equidistant from each; The Jail will be fifty or sixty yds in rear of the C. House on the brink of the hill. The Proprietors speak of laying off thirty acres for the village and deviding [sic] and sub deviding [sic] to suit purchasers. So much for the Town of Clover Hill.

The meeting of the justices and commissioners on March 6, 1845, to lay out the Town of Clover Hill seems to have been rather premature in view of the fact that Appomattox County did not officially come into being until May 1, 1845. Records of any later meetings have not yet been discovered, but it is clear that the March 6th plan was eventually discarded in favor of a much better plan which located the Village Green due south of the Tavern.[11]

Clover Hill becomes Appomattox Court House

The Village Green was the center of the county seat of the newly-established County of Appomattox. The county seat was known as "Clover Hill" and was officially so designated

by the act of the Virginia Legislature which established the county.[12] This name had been used in the Appomattox Court House area as early as 1829 to designate the neighborhood of a farm which was offered for sale by Samuel P. Christian.[13]

In the adjoining County of Prince Edward, from which the county seat of Appomattox was taken, the name Clover Hill was used before the American Revolution to designate the home of General Andrew Baker, a Revolutionary officer, who lived about two and a half miles south of the site of Hampden-Sydney College.[14]

Numerous old homes in Prince Edward County were called some sort of hill. Typical names were "Idle Hill", "Poplar Hill", "Spring Hill", "Oak Hill", "Fort Hill", "Marble Hill", "Walnut Hill", "Cedar Hill", and "Slate Hill".[15]

In keeping with this custom, it was the general practice for farm owners in Appomattox territory to name their plantation homes after some sort of hill. John Meriwether Walker, a relative of Patrick Henry and a veteran of the War of 1812, married Susan Christian in 1803 and established his home near Clover Hill on a plantation named "Oak Hill".[16] His three sons, Benjamin, Samuel, and Isaac Walker, called their respective residences "Laurel Hill", "Chestnut Hill", and "Edge Hill".[17]

Since the name Clover Hill seemed to be more appropriate

for a farm than a county seat, it was never very popular with the citizens of Appomattox Court House and soon began to fall into disuse. It evidently did not express the pride which the residents of Appomattox Court House took in their new county-seat town.

As early as March 10, 1848, a letter written by P. Guerrant of Goochland, Va., to Colonel Benjamin P. Walker carried "Appomattox Court House" as an address.[18] This letter, written only three years after the County of Appomattox and the Town of Clover Hill were established, is the earliest use yet discovered of Appomattox Court House as an address.

A letter from Mrs. Henry Flood Bocock to Colonel Benjamin P. Walker on January 11, 1852, is headed "Appomattox CH Va".[19] This is the earliest letter yet discovered from a resident of the village which uses Appomattox Court House as a designation for Clover Hill. The residents of the village must have started the practice as least as early as 1848 and doubtless even earlier.

The earliest letter yet discovered which carries Clover Hill as an address was written to Thomas Salem Bocock from Lynchburg, Virginia, by Mary B. Christian on June 12, 1846.[20]

Some individuals who were not residents of the village insisted on using the original and official name of Clover Hill instead of the new, and more urban sounding name of

Appomattox Court House. A letter from Edward Sears of the small hamlet of Walker's Church (now Hixburg), Virginia to Henry F. Bocock on February 7, 1852, is addressed to Mr. Bocock at "Clover Hill Appomattox Co Va".[21] This persistent use of the name Clover Hill was evidently a gentle gibe at the residents of the rural village of Appomattox Court House by a resident of another rural village in the same county. Edward Sears did not want the citizens of Appomattox Court House to forget that they were still rural people and that their little village, even though it was the county seat, was officially named after a farm.

Little by little the name Clover Hill faded away. By the year 1865, nearly everyone had stopped using the name. All the letters, diaries, military dispatches, and newspapers of the Civil War period refer to the village as Appomattox or Appomattox Court House.

A post-Civil War use of the name Clover Hill was employed in M. F. Maury's Physical Survey of Virginia, published in 1868. A fine map of Virginia in the front of the volume displayed the name "Cloverhill" in bold-faced type in the center of Appomattox County. Underneath were the letters "C H". Spout Spring, Appomattox and Evergreen were shown as stations on the Southside railroad.[22]

Descriptions

The Statistical Gazeteer of the States of Virginia and

North Carolina, published in 1856, gave the following description of the Village of Clover Hill:

> CLOVER HILL, a pleasant post-village, capital of Appomattox county, Virginia, about 100 miles W. from Richmond, and 20 miles E. from Lynchburg. It is connected by a plank-road with James River, which is nearly 15 miles distant. The village has a handsome court house.[23]

Contemporary descriptions of Appomattox Court House in 1865 give very few details about the Village Green. The soldiers in the Army of Northern Virginia who kept diaries were chiefly impressed by their hunger, fatigue, and lack of supplies. K. K. Chapman wrote: "The suffering from hunger and fatigue on this retreat must have surpassed any on record during this war."[24]

James R. Sheldon later gave this description of his experiences: "On the night of the 8th we went into camp within a short distance of Appomattox Court House, and doubtless each worn and wearied soul thought, if he did not in his devotions repeat 'Bless the man that invented sleep'."[25]

Men in such an exhausted condition were simply not interested in recording a detailed description of the surrender grounds. They thought that Appomattox Court House was a place to forget rather than a spot to remember. Major Giles B. Cooke wrote in his diary on April 10, 1865: "The General [R. E. Lee] and Staff were all paroled Sunday and will leave this detestable place in the morning."[26]

A dejected soldier named J. E. Whitethorne wrote in his

diary on April 9, 1865: "I'd rather have been killed than go back to Pleasant Shade and tell them we were subjugated." On April 13 he wrote: "I know tonight that Appomatox and Gethsemane will always mean the same thing to me."[27]

The newspaper dispatches at the time of the surrender, even though apparently written by trained journalists, gave only general descriptions of the surrender site. Minute details were recorded about the various military conferences and activities but the actual appearance of the surrender grounds was largely left to the imagination of the readers. One New York newspaper, which printed a very detailed description of the surrender, merely said that the Union troops could see the Confederate forces from the Federal positions surrounding the village.[28]

It is fortunate that some of the official wartime pictures of Appomattox Court House show quite a few of the landscape features in good detail.[29]

After the war, a number of artists made sketches of scenes in and around Appomattox Court House. Quite a few of these sketches have been published in books and magazines as photographs, which has led many people to believe that they are actual photographs.[30] Artist's sketches of Appomattox Court House are of some worth in connection with the restoration work being done at the Appomattox Court House National Historical Park, but they must always be used with

a great deal of caution.

It is fortunate that several individuals are still living who remember the Village Green. For a number of years, various National Park Service historians have conducted interviews with people who remembered the Village Green. Some of these interviews were conducted as far back as 1940.[31]

By using the wartime photographs, interviews, letters, diaries, and other sources it is possible to obtain a fairly accurate picture of the Village Green and its landscape features as they appeared in 1865.

The Court House Building

Although the Court House building itself is not included in the scope of the present study, it must be remembered that this building did play a most important part in the general appearance of the Village Green.

The old Court House building was a court house in a rural village, and all the wartime photographs and later eye-witness accounts picture it as a rather simple structure. No one has attempted to portray it as an elaborate or pretentious edifice, although a writer in 1856 did describe it as "a handsome court house".[32]

The very simplicity of this building caused it to blend into its rural surroundings. The building emphasized the rural character of the Village Green and the village of

Appomattox Court House.

The color of the bricks in the Court House walls likewise emphasized the rural nature of the village of Appomattox Court House. The bricks were made in the vicinity of the town and their color came from the local red-clay soil and the method of burning.[33] Although the bricks appear to be old-fashioned when contrasted with the bricks of the present day, they had a very definite character which added much to the appearance of the village of Appomattox Court House.

The Fence

Previous research on the historic fences at Appomattox Court House shows that the entire Court House lot, or Square, was not enclosed by a fence.[34]

The area immediately around the old Court House building was enclosed by a post and rail fence. "It seems to have been the practice to enclose outlying fields with worm fences, to construct post and rail fences around orchards and garden plots in the village area, and picket fences around the house 'yards'."[35]

The fence around the old Court House building was very sturdily built. It was made out of heavy, long-lasting materials and was designed to serve a utilitarian rather than a decorative purpose. It protected the Village Green from stray horses, cattle, hogs, sheep, and goats.[36] It

kept people from using the grounds as a roadway and from hitching their horses to the trees in close proximity to the Court House.

The fence served as a hitching rail during the sessions of the court. The fence on the west and north sides was not used for hitching purposes. People tied their horses to the fence mainly on the east side of the Court House building.

Horse dealers hitched their animals to the fence on the south side. It required a sturdy fence to withstand the constant pulling and tugging of unruly horses which were hitched to it over the years.

Some of the wartime pictures show that it was the custom for men and boys to sit on the cap of the fence. It was necessary for the fence to be very strong to hold the combined weight of the men shown sitting on the fence.

Several of those who remembered the fence have stated that the rails were made of heart-pine wood.[37] Under normal conditions, heart-pine wood is not subject to decay or rot. It develops a dark and weathered look with the passing of the years but continues to be very strong and sound. It is quite possible that the rails might have been made of locust, oak, poplar, or chestnut.

The fence posts were most likely made of locust wood. This wood is well-known for its long-lasting qualities and is still frequently used in rural districts for fence posts. Cedar is also highly regarded for this purpose. Richard W.

Smith thought that the fence posts might have been made of white oak and treated with home-made tar. After considering the various possibilities, it seems most likely that the fence posts were made of locust wood.

The official wartime photographs show that the Court House fence had five rails. The rails were approximately 8' long by 6" wide by 1½"-2" thick.[38]

The fence rails were nailed to the posts on the side away from the Court House building. A facing board was nailed over the joints of the rails. This facing board was 6" wide and extended from the top of the post to within about 2" of the ground. A continuous flat cap was placed on the top of the fence. The cap was an 8' by 6" board, similar to the rails and the facing boards. It is said that men liked to whittle on the cap of the fence with their pocket knives and eventually whittled away a great deal of the cap.

There were four spaces between the rails, each space being about 4" wide and making a total of approximately 16". An additional 2"-3" space between the bottom rail and the ground accounted for the total height of the fence, which averaged about 4'.[39]

There were no gates in the Court House fence. There was a stile at the west entrance and one at the east entrance. The west entrance was the one generally used by the public and is the entrance portrayed in the wartime pictures. Some

of those who remembered the fence have said that there was also a stile on the north side.[40] The existence of a stile on the north side is very doubtful, since there is no evidence that there was a walk on that side.

The stile steps were evidently 8' in length, the same length as a section of the fence. It is obvious that it would take steps at least 8' long to hold the men pictured standing side by side on the steps. The steps were probably made out of the same materials used for the rails, which were boards 8' long, 6" wide, and 1½"-2" thick.

The bottom step on each side of the stile was apparently faced with two boards 8' long, 6" wide, and 1½"-2" thick. The landing of the stile was evidently the same size as the face of the bottom step and was covered with two boards 8' long, 6" wide, and 1½"-2" thick.

The wartime pictures show that the bottom parts of the west stile steps were quite decayed in 1865. A considerable part of the facing on the bottom riser had rotted away.

J. R. Horsley, who succeeded Peers as Clerk of the Court, supervised the removal of the fence around the old Court House site in 1894. He thought that the fence had six or seven rails, that there were three steps in the stiles in addition to the landing, and that the rails were dressed and painted. His memory was faulty or many parts of the 1865 fence had been replaced by 1894, because the wartime pictures do not show these details. There is also some doubt about

his statement that the old fence was re-erected around the new Court House in the new town of Appomattox. It is possible, of course, that the materials from the old fence might have been salvaged and used in that manner.[41]

It is assumed that the boards for the fence rails were not sawed out by hand. It is known that power saw mills existed when the fence was constructed and that the lumber for some of the buildings in the Appomattox Court House National Historical Park, which were erected prior to the Court House, were sawed out by power saw mills. It does not seem likely that the fence rails were hand-sawed.

The fence was obviously left unpainted. The photographs show a marked contrast between the color of the fence and the portions of the Court House which were painted. The fence had a dark and weathered look in 1865. There is no indication in the photographs that the fence was ever painted prior to 1865.

Richard W. Smith definitely remembered that the fence posts were hand-hewed. His recollection was that the posts were rough and had "chips" clinging to them which could be pulled off by hand. He pulled chips from the fence posts when he was a small boy. The posts were practically square, 6" by 6". The posts on each side of the stile steps were larger than the other posts and were approximately 8" by 8" in size. It was Mr. Smith's opinion that the rails might have been mortised into the posts at the stile steps.

Some well-defined projections are visible on a post beside the stile steps. These projections appear to be rather large for mortise pegs and might have been rail rests. If they were rail rests, they would have been used when the opening in the fence above the stile steps was closed with removable rails when the court was not in session. Closing up the opening with removable rails would have made the main street of the village look as if it were "boarded up at one end" and could have been what F. C. Newhall meant when he said that the village consisted of about "five houses, a tavern, and a courthouse, all on one street and that was boarded up at one end to keep out the cows".[42]

Richard W. Smith remembered that there was a section of the fence which could be taken down when the horses were turned into the enclosure to graze on the grass. The section of fence with removable rails, and without a stile, must have been on the north side. It is still the custom in many rural areas to build fences with sections of removable rails. These sections are made to serve as temporary gates when it is necessary for large animals and wagons to enter an enclosure. It would probably have been necessary to drive wagons through the Court House fence in order to make deliveries of fire wood during the winter months.

The fence around the Court House was elliptical in shape, being closer to the building on the east and west and farther away on the north and south. Richard W. Smith believed that

the fence was closer to the building on the east side than on the west. He thought that the fence was only about 16' or 17' away from the building on the east side of the Court House.

The pictures show a considerable amount of space between the fence and the Court House on the west side. There were some large trees between the fence and the building. There was room enough for a fairly large group of people to gather. There was also room enough between the fence and the building on the north side for one good-sized tent and a smaller tent. A fair amount of space is visible around the tents.

An attempt was made to find an existing fence somewhat similar to the one around the old Court House. Although no exact duplicate was discovered, a five-rail fence was located on the estate of Mrs. Corinna Worley, Madison Heights, Va.[43] This post and rail fence was constructed in 1928 to enclose a horse and pony lot, and, after thirty years of constant use, it is still solid and sturdy.

In contrast with most modern post and rail fences, which have only three or four rails, this fence has a full set of five rails. There are some differences between this fence and the fence around the old Court House: the rails in this fence are 9½' long; the posts are cedar posts; and the posts are round; individual post caps are used instead of a continuous cap. Despite these differences, the general appearance

of the two fences is much the same.

The height of the Worley fence is approximately 4'. There are five rails, 1"-1½" thick. The spaces between the rails are 3"-4". The facing boards are generally 6" wide and are within 2" of the ground, or 2" lower than the bottom rail. The fence is made of undressed lumber and has never been painted.

A very important point is gained from a study of the Worley fence. This is the lack of uniformity in the dimensions. The rails are not of uniform width or thickness but vary as much as ½". The spaces between the rails vary as much as 1".

The undressed lumber for the Worley fence was cut by a saw mill which was set up on the Worley estate. Variations in width and thickness are naturally expected in undressed lumber from a modern saw mill. Variations in the spaces between the rails were the result of differences in the width of the rails and of the lack of careful workmanship.

Similar variations undoubtedly existed in the fence around the old Court House. Undressed lumber sawed out more than a hundred years ago could not have been of uniform width and thickness. The spaces between the rails could not have been the same in every case. There was considerable variation in the rough, hand-hewed fence posts.

These variations did not spoil the general appearance of the fence, because it was quite symmetrical and regular

when viewed from a short distance.

Roads

The available pictures and other evidence show that there was a road which approached the Village Green on the east and west. This was the old stage road which ran between Richmond and Lynchburg. The Clover Hill Tavern was a regular stop on this stage road.

Although it is not a wartime picture, there is an excellent photograph of the road leading to Appomattox Court House from the west in The Real America in Romance: Brothers For Ever.[44] The road is bordered on both sides by a post and rail fence.

The laws of Virginia in 1865 required that every road should be at least thirty feet wide, unless the county court should order it to be less, and provided that a road through a town or village could be as much as sixty feet wide.[45] A surveyor's map of the old village of Appomattox Court House, drawn by W. S. Peel, shows that the width of the "Main Street" in the old village was sixty feet.[46]

The road through the village was an ordinary dirt road with drainage ditches on both sides. It was not surfaced with stones or macadamized. It was usually muddy during the winter and dusty in the summer.

The roads in and around Appomattox Court House were maintained to some extent through the labor of the able-bodied

citizens of the county. As late as 1887, however, only two days of labor on the roads per year were required of able-bodied citizens between the ages of eighteen and sixty.[47] It is quite clear that the Appomattox County roads could not have been kept in first-class condition with such a small amount of labor. Even a smaller amount of labor was expended on the roads during the 1860's.

The roads in the vicinity of Appomattox Court House were in a very bad condition in the spring of 1865. A member of General Meade's staff wrote: "We now trotted along what had been, years since, a fine stage road; but the present condition was not exactly favorable to waggons with delicate springs--the road at present being playfully variegated with boulders, three feet high, which had inconvenienced the Rebel trains, as many a burnt waggon testified."[48]

A Virginia soldier in the Army of Northern Virginia recorded in his diary on April 8, 1865, that his company "left our breastworks at midnight and now in Cumberland County. The roads are in an undescribable condition and it is still raining".[49]

A North Carolina private wrote in his diary on April 8, 1865, that "at 9 A. M. we haulted [sic] to feed the mules and at the same time feed ourselves-- we hurried on in the direction of Lynchburg, Va. Noon-- we have herd [sic] no firing today so far it is the first quiet days [sic] travell

[sic] the roads are mutch [sic] better but quite rough yet --".[50]

Thomas C. Jones stated that shortly before the surrender the Army of Northern Virginia had been "moving over bad country roads . . . ."[51]

Little work was done on the roads during the war years, and there is every reason to believe that the road in and around the village of Appomattox Court House was in very poor condition in 1865.

The road approached the Village Green from the east and west and circled the Court House fence on the north and south. The road running between the Clover Hill Tavern and the Court House carried most of the traffic through the village. The result was that the road on the north side was usually kept in much better condition. The road on the south usually had a growth of weeds and grass in the summer because of the absence of regular travel. The side ditches often filled up, and this caused drainage water to run down the middle of the road. There were times when a considerable gully was washed in the middle of the road.

Horse traders used the road on the south side as a place to stand their horses. The road was generally standing full of horses on court days.

Walks

The walks on the Village Green were a more or less obscure feature of the landscape. Some of the photographs show

a place where a walk would undoubtedly have been but it is unfortunate that the pictures are not clear enough to reveal any details about the walks.

Those who remembered the Village Green have usually been rather uncertain about the nature of the walks. H. E. Gilliam, who was born about twelve miles east of Appomattox Court House at "Rose Dale", often visited the old Court House when he was a boy. He was able to recall that there were short walks between the Court House steps and the fence but he could not remember whether or not the walks were paved with bricks.

Richard W. Smith, a much older man than H. E. Gilliam, definitely remembered that the walk ways between the Court House and the fence were paved with bricks and that by 1875 the walk on the west side was showing considerable signs of wear. It is usually true that freezing and thawing weather will cause a brick walk to develop an uneven surface; this must have been the case with the walks at the old Court House.

The Clover Hill Tavern had a walk paved with bricks which led from the Tavern to the road around the Court House. The evidence indicates that there was a walk of similar width and construction from the Court House steps to the stile steps on the east and west.

The photographs do not portray any walk on the south side of the Court House and there was apparently no walk on the north side. Any entrance on the north side might have

been used by horses and wagons and was probably not generally used by the people who came to the Court House on business or as visitors.

Trees

The trees on the Village Green at Appomattox Court House were practically all locusts. Most of those who remembered the old Court House have been in agreement on this point.

The opinion of a tree and lumber expert in the Appomattox area was sought on this point. He examined the photographs showing the trees with a strong magnifying glass and then said, "In my judgment, the trees on the Village Green were about all locusts."[52]

The wartime photographs show one large tree on the west side of the Court House which does not appear to be a locust. The leaves on the other trees were well developed at the time the pictures were made but the leaves on this tree are not very large. The evidence indicates that this tree was a black walnut.

The famous apple tree under which General Lee awaited a conference with General Grant was some little distance from the Village Green. On April 10, 1865, General Lee had a conference with General Grant in an open field about two hundred yards below Appomattox Court House. J. William Jones wrote: "The only tree anywhere near the place of meeting was a small locust-thorn, which is still standing, about twenty

yards from the spot."[53] The date when this locust-thorn tree was "still standing" was evidently 1875, the year in which J. W. Jones published his Personal Reminiscences.

Research in regard to the trees at Appomattox Court House reveals that the trees were not very numerous in 1865. Both the photographs and the artist's sketches show a fairly small number of trees. A sketch entitled "Lee's Shattered Army" portrays only a few scattered trees.[54]

The contemporary photographs show six or seven trees around the Court House. Two or three trees were fairly close to the building, two of them being near the south-east corner. The trees on the north side were not very close to the building. Three trees on the west side were quite a little distance from the north-west and south-west corners of the building. Two tree stumps are visible in some of the pictures, one being near the surveyor's stone and the other near the south-east corner.

Thomas Henry Martin, who was born July 25, 1854, has lived in and around Appomattox Court House all of his life. He stated that the trees on the Village Green were not very numerous in 1865. It seemed to him that the trees were "scattered" here and there.

Richard W. Smith, who was born December 10, 1867, has lived in and around Appomattox Court House all of his life. He said that the trees on the Village Green were not numerous when he was a boy. He estimated their number at seven or

eight and did not believe that there could have been as many as twelve large trees on the Village Green.

The photographs show that all of the trees were as tall or taller than the Court House building. They were very graceful, well-shaped trees and presented an excellent appearance.

The trees on the Village Green must have been lovely on April 9, 1865, but it seems that few of the war-weary soldiers noticed their loveliness. There was at least one man who did see and remember the beauties of nature on that historic day. He took part in General John B. Gordon's final attack at 5:30 A. M. Thomas G. Jones later wrote: "Spring was just budding forth, and the morning sun glistening from budding leaf and tree, shed a halo about the red battle flags with the starry cross, as if nature would smile on the nation that was dying there. We pressed on and beyond the Courthouse."[55]

Shrubbery

There seems to have been no shrubbery around the old Court House or on the Village Green. All those who remembered the Village Green have been in agreement on this point. They have not been able to recall any shrubbery whatever.

There is a widely-circulated photograph which shows a small shrub or bush near the first step on the west side of the Court House. This picture was published in The Real

America in Romance: Brothers For Ever and is often regarded as a wartime photograph.[56] The evidence indicates that this picture is not earlier than the 1880's and was probably made as late as 1890.

Even a casual examination of the picture reveals that it could not have been made in the spring of 1865 because the leaves are falling from the trees. Most of the men in the picture are wearing or carrying topcoats. There is a bulletin board on the wall of the west Court House porch which does not appear in the authentic 1865 pictures. It is clear that this picture must be disregarded as far as shrubbery on the Village Green is concerned.

It is considered that we have definite proof that there was no shrubbery around the old Appomattox Court House building or on the Village Green in 1865.

Grass

Grass was just beginning to grow on the Village Green in April 1865 following a very severe winter. Some of the people who were at Appomattox on the day of the surrender mentioned the grass in their diaries or other writings.

George Forrester Williams reported the following conversation with a Virginia soldier:

> "Where's the Third Virginia?" said I to a man lying moodily on the tender grass by the roadside.
>
> "Right here," he replied without moving: "that is, what's left of 'em."[57]

Thomas P. Devereux of the Army of Northern Virginia wrote that on April 8, 1865, his Brigade halted "about two miles from Appomattox Court House. We . . . halted in the edge of a field where there was a scant growth of poor grass, we turned our horses loose to graze . . . ."[58]

Edward Porter Alexander, a member of General Lee's staff, saw General Lee and Colonel O. E. Babcock ride away from the apple orchard to meet General Grant at the McLean house. "I sat a little ways off on a grassy knoll, with my staff, & watched them ride to the village, and a great feeling of strangeness came over me."[59]

General Horace Porter saw the horses of General Lee and Colonel Marshall in the yard of the McLean house. "An orderly in gray was in charge of them, and had taken off their bridles to let them nibble the grass."[60]

It is evident that from these references the grass around Appomattox Court House was high enough for horses to graze in April 1865. Although it appears rather sparse, some grass is plainly visible in the wartime pictures.

Thomas H. Martin was at Appomattox on April 9, 1865, and visited the ACHNHP in September 1958. He said that the Village Green was fairly well covered with grass in 1865 but that it looked somewhat thin and sparse, especially when contrasted with the lush growth of modern lawn grass. It seemed to him that there was much less grass on the Village Green in 1865 than in 1958.

The grass on the Village Green in 1865 was ordinary field grass or native Virginia blue grass. Although the soil around the Court House must have been hard-packed by the people who walked over it, native Virginia blue grass generally grows very well under such conditions.

Richard W. Smith remembered that the grass on the Village Green was kept under control during the growing season by turning horses into the enclosure from time to time. The horses would nibble off the grass and keep it from growing too high and becoming unsightly.

Surveyor's Stone

Another feature of the Village Green was the surveyor's stone. The photograph published in The Real America in Romance: Brothers For Ever shows this stone in the Court House yard, between the building and the fence.[61] It was on the west (front) side of the building and was probably about 30' from the building wall, in line with the first step leading to the second-floor porch. It was apparently about 12' from the steps on the south side.

Richard W. Smith thought that the stone was almost within an arm's length from the Court House steps. When he was shown a photograph of the Court House and the surveyor's stone, he said that it was not as close to the steps as he had thought.

Thomas H. Martin remembered the surveyor's stone and estimated that it was about 30' from the Court House building.

Reubin Bryant, who served as a deputy clerk at the old Court House, remembered the surveyor's stone. He recalled that it was a good-sized stone but gave no other details.[62]

The surveyor's stone is still standing on its original site. Its overall height is now 31", although the height might have been reduced several inches by an accumulation of soil around the stone. The original overall height might easily have been as much as 36".

The stone is practically square, about 12" by 12". There is a 2¾" bevel around the top, leaving a square surface on the top of the stone which is approximately 9⅛" square. There is a round hole in the center of the top.

Superintendent H. A. Curney assured the writer there is a similar stone one mile due south of the one at the site of the old Court House. It is located on the Conner Property.

The Well

A doubtful feature of the Village Green was an old well. Mrs. Bessie Ferguson, a life-long resident of Appomattox Court House, recalled that a well was located at the southeast corner of the Court House building. Mrs. Ferguson's memory should have been trustworthy, but it must be stated that the other life-long residents of Appomattox Court House who have been questioned about the existence of a well have not had any recollection of it. If a well existed on the Court House grounds, it must have been filled in and forgotten

by most people.

Although the contemporary photographs do not show anything which appears to be a well or the site of a well, the inset in the Webber drawing portrays a well house just inside the fence at the south-east corner of the Court House.[63] It appears to be similar to the one at the McLean house, though perhaps a little smaller.

A well located at the south-east corner of the Court House lot, near the fence, would have been convenient for the people who wanted to draw water for their horses, because horses were usually hitched on the east and south sides of the Court House.

Village Green undamaged

The Village Green and its landscape features were apparently not damaged by musket or artillery fire at the time of the surrender. The official photographs made soon after the surrender do not indicate that the trees and the fence were molested in any way. Since it is known that the fences in the surrounding area were taken down and used as fire-wood by the soldiers of the two armies, it was indeed fortunate that the Village Green did not undergo similar depredations.

The Court House grounds were not harmed by souvenir hunters. Both officers and men of the two armies were so anxious to obtain souvenirs from the surrender site that they carried away all sorts of objects from the vicinity of Appo-

mattox Court House. The apple tree under which General Lee awaited his conference with General Grant was dug up by the roots and carried away piece by piece. A Confederate soldier on his way back to Texas showed a piece of this tree to the sister of Edward Porter Alexander, a member of General Lee's staff, but Alexander himself regretfully admitted that he did not think about getting a piece of the tree for a souvenir before it had all been carried away.[64] Norman Bell, the clerk who prepared the copies of General Lee's Order No. 9, succeeded in getting one of the stars from the flag which flew over General Lee's headquarters.[65] Since the Court House and the Village Green were not as closely associated with the surrender as the McLean house, they were not raided by the soldiers of either army.

No Public Hangings on the Green

The available evidence indicates that no public hangings took place in the old village of Appomattox Court House between 1845 and 1865. Thomas H. Martin could remember only one public hanging at the old Court House. He believed that this hanging took place about 1869, when a Negro man was executed for the murder of another Negro near Concord, Virginia. He said that the hanging did not take place on the Village Green. His recollection was that a scaffold was erected in a "bottom" some distance from the old Court House. The condemned man rode to the place of his execution in a wagon. He

sat on his coffin while he made his short and final journey.

THE VILLAGE GREEN AS A SOCIAL CENTER

The Village Green in Appomattox Court House was a center of social life and activities. There was no church or church building in Appomattox Court House in 1865. A church was not organized in the community until 1867.[66] Sometime later, the members of the Methodist denomination held services for a year or more in the old Court House.[67]

A school called Union Academy, located across the road from the McLean house, was operated during the war years at Appomattox Court House, and after the Appomattox Courthouse Presbyterian Church was organized in 1867, a school was conducted by the pastor of this church and his family, but the first real public school in Appomattox County did not come into being until 1870.[68]

The Village Green was virtually the only center of social life and activities in the village. Samuel J. Walker wrote to his brother, Colonel Benjamin P. Walker, on August 29, 1847, to inform him that a public gathering at Clover Hill had been postponed but "They have appointed the 3 d Saturday in October to meet again at which time they have agreed to have a barbecue [sic] and great parade."[69]

The area in front of the old Court House was used for various exhibitions of musical talent by some of the musicians of the area. No wartime records of such exhibitions

have been discovered. Two or three years after the war, Thomas H. Martin witnessed a musical contest on the Village Green between a man named Ashburn and the famour Joe Sweeney, a man from Appomattox County who achieved an international musical reputation and gave a performance for Queen Victoria.[70]

POLITICAL ACTIVITY AT APPOMATTOX COURT HOUSE

Political activity began to flourish at Appomattox Court House as soon as the Virginia Legislature passed the act establishing the new county. The act was passed on February 8, 1845, and on February 25, 1845, a letter was written to Colonel Benjamin P. Walker by John Thomas Bocock stating that "there are several candidates for office in the new County of Appomattox" and that he was offering himself as "a candidate for the clerkship to the court of said county."[71]

This letter from John Thomas Bocock to Colonel Benjamin P. Walker is a very interesting historical document. Since it was written only a little more than two weeks after the act was passed which established the county, it was evidently the first letter to contain a reference to the "new County of Appomattox."

The paper on which the letter was written was even more remarkable than the contents of the letter. The stationery used by John Thomas Bocock was a piece of blue paper. Paper of this color was very popular, and was widely used through-

out the United States at that period, so that the color was not anything unusual. The remarkable thing about Mr. Bocock's paper was the watermark. The watermark was the figure of a dove carrying an olive branch, the universal symbol of peace. The existence of this symbol in the first letter to mention the new County of Appomattox was a most amazing prophecy of the role which Appomattox Court House was to play in the realm of American history on April 9, 1865.[72]

John Thomas Bocock undoubtedly did not know that his stationery was watermarked with the figure of a dove and an olive branch. His unwitting use of this piece of paper makes its hidden prophecy all the more remarkable.

A review of the historical data and archeological investigation will doubtless solve most of the problems connected with the restoration of the Village Green.

Since it would not be desirable to restore the roads to their 1865 condition, the restoration of the fence will be the chief architectural problem. In order to make it authentic, the posts should be strong and solid and the lumber for the rails should be undressed, dark, and unpainted. The restored fence should be one of the outstanding features of the Village Green. As indicated in the historical study, the measurements for the fence should not be too exact. It should look like a fence in a rural village.

It will be possible to restore the walks to their 1865 appearance by following the design and construction of the walk in front of the Clover Hill Tavern. Archeological investigation may uncover the original walks.

Any trees now growing on the site of the old Court House will have to be removed. Since the present trees are locusts, it may be possible to transplant some of the trees.

The grass should be left in its present condition. There should be no shrubbery. The surveyor's stone is the original. Although it was a very obscure feature of the landscape, an attempt should be made to restore the well. Archeological investigation will reveal its exact location.

CITATIONS

1. Happel, Ralph, National Park Service Historian, "Documentary Survey of Clover Hill Tavern and Outbuildings," 1956. Typescript.

2. Acts of the General Assembly of Virginia, Passed at the Session Commencing December 2, 1844, and ending February 22, 1845. Samuel Shepherd, Printer to the Commonwealth, Richmond, 1845, pp. 38-42.
Although the act establishing the County of Appomattox was passed on February 8, 1845, it did not go into effect until May 1, 1845. Ibid., p. 42.
The boundaries of Appomattox County were not finally determined by the act passed on February 8, 1845. An additional part of Campbell County was annexed to Appomattox County on March 28, 1848. See Acts of the General Assembly of Virginia Passed at the Session Commencing December 6, 1847, and ending April 5, 1848. Samuel Shepherd, Printer to the Commonwealth, Richmond, 1848, pp. 41-42.
A small section of Appomattox County was returned to Buckingham County on March 21, 1860. See Acts of the General Assembly of the State of Virginia, Passed in 1859-60. William F. Ritchie, Public Printer, Richmond, 1860, p. 171.
The act establishing Appomattox County closely associated it in an official way with Buckingham County. Op. cit., p. 40.

3. The act establishing Appomattox County listed him as one of the trustees of Clover Hill and spelled his name M'Dearman. Ibid., p. 41. The customary spelling was McDearmon.

4. Bradshaw, Herbert Clarence, History of Prince Edward County, Virginia. Dietz Press, Richmond, 1955, p. 226 and note 371 on p. 757.
Colonel McDearmon was the first agent of the old South Side Railroad (now Norfolk and Western) at Appomattox Depot. Interview with Mrs. C. S. McDearmon, February 16, 1943, by Supt. H. A. Curney.

5. Featherston, Nathaniel Ragland, The History of Appomattox, Virginia. Walsworth Brothers, Printers, Marceline, Missouri, 1948, p. 14.

6. Happel, op. cit., p. 14.
Colonel McDearmon contacted the banks in Richmond on behalf of Samuel J. Walker when the latter wanted to raise funds "to purchase negros for the Southern market".
Letter from Samuel J. Walker to Colonel Benjamin P. Walker, August 29, 1847. Original in possession of Mrs. Madge Bocock Shumate, Lynchburg, Va. Typewritten copy in ACHNHP files.
Colonel McDearmon was apparently involved in serious financial difficulties by February 17, 1853.
See Prince Edward County Deed Book, #26, p. 298.

7. Edwards, Richard, editor, Statistical Gazeteer of the States of Virginia and North Carolina. Published for the Proprietor, Richmond, 1856, pp. 165-167.
Although there were no tobacco factories in Appomattox County, great leaf markets and tobacco manufacturing centers were located in Richmond, Petersburg, and Lynchburg.
See Robert, Joseph Clarke, The Tobacco Kingdom, Duke University Press, Durham, N. C., 1938, p. 183.
An iron furnace operated in Appomattox County in 1850 was not in operation in 1852.
See Eckenrode, H. J., A Calendar of Legislative Petitions Arranged by Counties: Accomac-Bedford. Davis Bottom, Superintendent of Public Printing, Richmond, 1908, p. 134.
The Lagrange Iron Furnace (William Rose's), which furnished iron for The Tredegar Iron Works in Richmond, was abandoned in 1843.
See Bruce, Kathleen, Virginia Iron Manufacture in the Slave Era. The Century Company, New York and London, 1931, p. 455.
The Southside Railroad was chartered on March 5, 1846. It was 123 miles long and cost $3,673,635. to build. It ran through Prince George, Dinwiddie, Lunenburg, Nottoway, Prince Edward, Appomattox, Campbell, and Amherst counties.
See Maury, M. F., Physical Survey of Virginia. W. A. R. Nye, Book and Job Printers, Whig Building, Richmond, 1868, p. 9.

8. Acts of the General Assembly of Virginia, passed in 1855-6. William F. Ritchie, Public Printer, Richmond, 1856, p. 270.
In October 1850 the whole State of Virginia had only six banks and thirty-one branch banks in operation.
See Edwards, op. cit., p. 97.
A copy of an Appomattox Savings Bank note (January 9, 1858) and the protest for the same was donated to the ACHNHP by Miss Emeline Thornhill, Lynchburg, Va., January 26, 1959.

9. Report of Processioners, Clover Hill . . . District, Appomattox County, Virginia. Record Book filed in Appomattox County Clerk's office.

10. Original letter in possession of Mrs. Madge Bocock Shumate, Lynchburg, Va. Typewritten copy in ACHNHP files.
Colonel Benjamin P. Walker was a prominent leader in the movement to establish Appomattox County. He was licensed to practice law in 1827 and was commissioned a Lieutenant Colonel in the Virginia Militia in 1841. His law license and Lieutenant Colonel's commission in possession of Mrs. Madge Bocock Shumate, Lynchburg, Va.
Captain T. W. Johns helped to organize the Appomattox Court House Presbyterian Church, the first church in the old village of Appomattox Court House. He was related to the first pastor of this church.
See McDearmon, C. Lewis, "History Appomattox Courthouse Presbyterian." Typescript. ACHNHP files.

11. The absence of Colonel Benjamin P. Walker at the meeting on March 6, 1845 might possibly explain the later change in plans. He might have shown his disapproval of a meeting at such an early date by his absence. Since the two men later became political rivals, it is probable that Colonel Walker and Colonel McDearmon did not agree on the preliminary plan for laying out the town of Clover Hill.
See letter from John O. Thornhill to Dr. George Thornhill, November 12, 1851. Original letter in possession of Hubert Thornhill, Lynchburg, Va. Typewritten copy in ACHNHP files.
Also see letters from Edward Sears to Henry F. Bocock, February 7, 1852. Original letter in possession of Mrs. Madge Bocock Shumate, Lynchburg, Va. Typewritten copy in ACHNHP files.

12. Op. cit., pp. 38-42.

13. Advertisement in the Lynchburg Virginian, August 17, 1829.

14. Today and Yesterday in the Heart of Virginia. A Reprint of the Edition of the Farmville Herald, March 29, 1935. Published by the Farmville Herald, Farmville, Va., 1935, p. 255.

15. Ibid., pp. 251-261.

16. From family records in the possession of Miss Isa LeGrand, Lynchburg, Va.

17. Interview with Mrs. Madge Bocock Shumate, Lynchburg, Va., October 28, 1958, by Frank P. Cauble. Mrs. Shumate is the great grand-daughter of John Thomas Bocock, the first Clerk of the Court of Appomattox County.

18. Original letter in possession of Mrs. Madge Bocock Shumate, Lynchburg, Va.

19. Original letter in possession of Mrs. Madge Bocock Shumate, Lynchburg, Va. Typewritten copy in ACHNHP files.

20. Original letter donated to the ACHNHP by Miss Emeline Thornhill, Lynchburg, Va., January 26, 1959.

21. Original letter in possession of Mrs. Madge Bocock Shumate, Lynchburg, Va. Typewritten copy in ACHNHP files.

22. Maury, op. cit., frontispiece.

23. Edwards, op. cit., p. 213.

24. Notes and Diary of K. K. Chapman, 2nd Lt., Co. A, 19th Va. Batt. Original in Southern Historical Collection, University of North Carolina Library, Chapel Hill, N. C.

25. Sheldon, Major James R., C. S.A., "The Last March of the Army of Lee-- Events During the Early Days of April 1865," 1901. Typescript, 10 pp. An address delivered at Savannah, Ga., November 5, 1901. Microfilm copy in Southern Historical Collection, University of North Carolina Library, Chapel Hill, N. C.

26. _____, "Exerpts from Diary of Major Giles B. Cooke," Tyler's Quarterly Historical and Genealogical Magazine, Vol. XIX, July 1937-April 1938, pp. 1-10, 87-94.

27. Diary of J. E. Whitethorne, Greensville County, Va. Typescript, 25 pp. Southern Historical Collection, University of North Carolina Library, Chapel Hill, N. C.

28. New York Freeman's Journal and Catholic Register, Vol. XXVI, No. 2, New York, Saturday, April 22, 1865.

29. Library of Congress (Brady Collection): No. 219, Court House; No. 222, Court House.
U. S. Signal Corps: BA 77, Appomattox; BA 1895, Court House. These are wartime (1865) pictures. Copies in ACHNHP Photo files.

30. The Iron Worker, Vol. XI, No. 2, Lynchburg, Va., Spring, 1948, p. 8. The Webber drawing was printed with the credit line: "Photograph used by courtesy of the New York Public Library."

31. Interviews with Mrs. Bessie Ferguson, August 21, 1940, by Supt. H. A. Gurney; J. R. Horsley, October 4, 1940, by Ralph Happel; William A. Moses, October 17, 1941, by Ralph Happel; Reubin Bryant, June 23, 1958, by Mendel Heilig; Thomas H. Martin (b. July 25, 1854) October 20, 1958, by Frank P. Cauble; H. E. Gilliam (b. 1881), November 17, 1958, by Frank P. Cauble; Richard W. Smith (b. December 10, 1867), December 10, 1958, by Frank P. Cauble.

32. Edwards, op. cit., p. 213.
Appomattox County was not financially able to erect an elaborate Court House. Colonel Benjamin P. Walker, one of the largest landowners in the county, paid only $44.35 in tax in 1849.
Original tax receipt in possession of Mrs. Madge Bocock Shumate, Lynchburg, Va.

33. Superintendent H. A. Gurney and Architect Albert Alexander found the site of an old brick kiln about 300 yards northwest of the Court House.
See Happel, op. cit., p. 11.
Also see Walker, S. B. "Recollections of Men, Women, and Events of Former Years," The Lynchburg News, March 6, 1901. The writer said: "I remember when the bricks were made for 'Raine's Tavern', which became noted as the McLean house."

34. Happel, Ralph, National Park Service Historian, "Research on Historic Fences," 1942. Typescript, p. 4.

35. Ibid., p. 4.

36. These were the animals mentioned in the statute defining a legal fence.
See Code of Virginia. Printed by William F. Ritchie, Public Printer, Richmond, 1849, p. 447.
Geese also wandered around the village of Appomattox Court House. Miss Mary Margaret Hix (b. 1866) spent a month at the Clover Hill Tavern in 1871 and remembered that a large goose chased the children when they crossed the Tavern yard.
Interview with Miss Mary Margaret Hix, December 10, 1958, by Frank P. Cauble.

37. Interview with J. R. Horsley, October 4, 1940, by Ralph Happel.

38. The fence around the new Appomattox Court House in 1894 was erected "upon the plan and order of the fence around the old C. H., the bids to be rec'd. for so much a panel of 8 feet."
See Appomattox County Records, Supervisors Record, No. 1, p. 51, Nov. 1894, meeting.

39. Interview with William A. Moses, October 17, 1941, by Ralph Happel.

40. Happel, "Research on Historic Fences", p. 4.

41. Appomattox County Records, Supervisors Record, No. 1, p. 51, Nov. 1894, meeting.

42. Newhall, F. C., With General Sheridan in Lee's Last Campaign. Lippincott, Philadelphia, 1866, p. 219.

43. Interview with Mrs. Corinna Worley (age 71 years), December 18, 1958, by Frank P. Cauble.

44. Markham, Edwin, editor, The Real America in Romance: Brothers For Ever. The Age of Union, 1854-1868. Vol. XII. William H. Wise & Company, New York and Chicago, 1911, p. 452.

45. The Code of Virginia. Second Edition, Including Legislation to the Year 1860. Printed by Ritchie, Dunnavant & Co., Richmond, 1860, p. 298.

46. Copy of Surveyor's Map, drawn by W. S. Peel, in ACHNHP files.

47. See "An Act to provide for the working and keeping in order the roads of Appomattox county. Approved April 6, 1887." Acts and Joint Resolutions Passed by the General Assembly of the State of Virginia during the Extra Session of 1887. A. R. Micou, Superintendent of Public Printing, Richmond, 1887, p. 72.

48. Lyman, Theodore, Meade's Headquarters, 1863-1865. The Massachusetts Historical Society, Boston, 1922, p. 354.

49. Whitethorne, op. cit.

50. War Diary of Private William D. Alexander. 2 MS Vols. April 30, 1863-April 26, 1865. Original in Southern Historical Collection, University of North Carolina Library, Chapel Hill, N. C.

51. Jones, Thomas G., "Last Days of the Army of Northern Virginia", Southern Historical Society Papers, Vol. XXI, 1893, p. 87.

52. Interview with H. H. Hutter (age 70 years), October 20, 1958, by Frank P. Cauble. Mr. Hutter was in the saw mill and lumber business from 1910 to 1950.

53. Jones, J. William, Personal Reminiscences, Anecdotes, and Letters of Gen. Robert E. Lee. D. Appleton and Company, New York, 1875, p. 303.

54. Williams, George Forrester, Bullet and Shell. Fords, Howard, and Hulbert, New York, 1882, p. 452.

55. Jones, op. cit., p. 85.

56. Markham, op. cit., p. 453.

57. Williams, op. cit., p. 452.

58. Paper by Thomas P. Devereux, Grimes's Division, 2nd Corps, Army of Northern Virginia. Typescript, 18 pp. Southern Historical Collection, University of North Carolina Library, Chapel Hill, N. C.

59. Edward Porter Alexander Papers, Vol. XXVI. Southern Historical Collection, University of North Carolina Library, Chapel Hill, N. C. Not paginated.

60. _____, "Compilation of Letters, Extracts, etc., Concerning Lee's Surrender at Appomattox", Southern Historical Society Papers, Vol. XV, 1887, p. XIII.

61. Markham, op. cit., p. 453.

62. Interview with Reubin Bryant, June 23, 1938 by Mendel Heilig.

63. Webber drawing, with insets, of the village of Appomattox Court House. Original in New York Public Library. Copy in ACHNHP files.

64. Alexander, op. cit.

65. _____, "Norfolkian Penned Lee's Order for Surrender at Appomattox", Norfolk Virginian-Pilot, May 21, 1951.

66. McDearmon, C. Lewis, "History Appomattox Courthouse Presbyterian." Typescript. Copy in ACHNHP files.
The religious affiliation of the people in the village was Presbyterian, Baptist, Methodist, and Episcopalian. John Holmes Bocock, the son of the first Clerk of the Court of Appomattox County, became a prominent Presbyterian minister and Confederate Army chaplain.
See Selections from the Religious and Literary Writings of John H. Bocock, D. D. Whittet & Shepperson, Richmond, 1891, passim. Mrs. Sarah Margaret Kemper Bocock, editor.
Thomas Salem Bocock, the first attorney of Appomattox County, had a Prayer Book bound by William J. Folkes in 1868.
See William J. Folkes Account Book, p. 102. Original in Jones Library, Lynchburg, Va.
Mrs. Mary McDearmon, the wife of Colonel Samuel D. McDearmon, was a member of the Presbyterian Church at Hixburg, Va., when it was re-organized May 29, 1852.
See "Sesquicentennial Homecoming Old Walker's Church." Folder in ACHNHP files.
The records of the South River Friends Meeting do not show that any people of the Quaker faith lived in Appomattox County.
Interview with Rev. James G. Thompson, pastor of Quaker Memorial Presbyterian Church, October 17, 1958, by Frank P. Cauble.
Deplorable religious conditions apparently existed in Buckingham and Appomattox counties during the first third of the nineteenth century.
See Lacy, Benjamin Rice, Jr., "Jesse Scott Armistead, D. D.", The Union Seminary Bulletin, Vol. XIII, Series 2, No. 2, 1935, p. 1.

67. Interview with Richard W. Smith, December 10, 1958, by Frank P. Cauble. Mr. Smith is a grandson of A. A. LeGrand, the first Commissioner of Revenue of Appomattox County.

68. Featherston, op. cit., p. 4.
Instruction was often given in private homes. Mary B. Christian taught a school in the home of Turner H. Patteson in the fall of 1844. The school apparently ran for two months, during August and September. The tuition was $1.00 per month per pupil.
See original letter from Mary B. Christian to Thomas

S. Boocock, June 12, 1846, in ACHNHP files.
The average attendance of children at common schools in Virginia in the pre-Civil War period was 52 3/4 days at a cost of $2.15.
See Edwards, op. cit., p. 109.
School teachers often had considerable difficulty in collecting their meager salaries. Barbara White had to petition the General Assembly of Virginia for $65.36 for teaching indigent children in Appomattox County at the rate of four cents per day per pupil in the winter of 1844-45. The Prince Edward County Commissioners refused to pay her for teaching indigent children in that part of Appomattox County which had formerly belonged to Prince Edward County, although they had entered into a verbal agreement to make such payment.
See Eckenrode, op. cit., p. 132.
William A. Swan, another school teacher, had to petition the General Assembly of Virginia for $17.36 for his services as a school teacher. Ibid., p. 133.
Harvey C. Walker, a member of the Appomattox "Invincibles", mentioned the lack of education among the men in his company in a letter written to his father, Samuel J. Walker, on September 24, 1861. Typewritten copy in ACHNHP files.
Apparently very few young men from Appomattox County sought a higher education at the University of Virginia during the pre-Civil War period. Only one University of Virginia alumnus from Appomattox County was killed in the Civil War.
See Johnson, John Lipscomb, The University Memorial Biographical Sketches. Turnbull Brothers, Baltimore, 1871, p. 755.

69. Original letter in possession of Mrs. Madge Boocock Shumate, Lynchburg, Va. Typewritten copy in ACHNHP files.

70. The Richmond (Va.) Times Herald, May 13, 1944, carried the following statement in Robert Ripley's "Believe it or Not" column: "The Banjo (the only American musical instrument) was invented by Joseph Sweeney-- a musical Irishman who was so versatile that he was called a whole band in himself-- 'Band Joe.'"
Miss Vera Thomas, Lynchburg, Va., published an article about Joe Sweeney in The Washington Post, April 19, 1942, Section B, p. 2.
Miss Thomas believes that Joe Sweeney merely added the fifth string to the banjo, which was brought to America by African slaves. Sweeney served in the Confederate

Army with General J. E. B. Stuart. He was apparently at home on sick leave on April 9, 1865. He was buried near the site of the poplar tree where General Lee is supposed to have made his farewell address to his troops. Interview with Miss Vera Thomas, October 20, 1958, by Frank P. Cauble.

71. Original letter in possession of Mrs. Madge Bocock Shumate, Lynchburg, Va. Typewritten copy in ACHNHP files.

72. The sealing wax which was used to seal Mr. Bocock's letter left a dark spot on the back of the dove.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

and

NOTES ON SOURCES CONSULTED

A careful study was made of the various materials in the files at the Appomattox Court House National Historical park. Superintendent Hubert A. Gurney was quite helpful in giving suggestions, and I am greatly indebted to him for his assistance.

The papers of Colonel Benjamin P. Walker, which are now in the possession of Mrs. Madge Bocock Shumate, Lynchburg, Va., were the most valuable discovery of new material. Mrs. Shumate was glad to render all possible assistance.

The unpublished material in the Southern Historical Collection, University of North Carolina Library, Chapel Hill, N. C. was thoroughly examined. This collection of material on the Civil War is the most valuable and extensive outside of the Library of Congress.

For The Southern Historical Society Papers in the Jones Library, Lynchburg, Va., we are also indebted as a source of information very helpful in this study.

All the most likely sources of information were re-checked or checked for the first time and a record was made as to whether the results were negative or positive. A special effort was made to find some unknown photographs, but, unfortunately, nothing new was discovered.

All the individuals who were interviewed and the librarians who were contacted took a great deal of interest in the study.

I am confident that much more source material will be uncovered in the future because of the sincere interest which so many people are now taking in the work being done at the Appomattox Court House National Historical Park.

SHORT INDEX

Pages

Alexander, E. P. 28, 32

Alexander, W. D. 21, 43

Appomattox County, formation of 2, 5, 37

Appomattox County, statistics 3

Appomattox Court House, as village name 7-8

Appomattox County Court House building . . 2, 5, 7, 10-12, 16, 19, 21-22

Burning of 1

Bricks 12

Babcock, Col. O. E. 28

Baker, General Andrew 6

Bell, Norman 32

Biglow, Charles S. 4

Bocock, John Thomas 34-35

Bocock, Henry Flood 8

Bocock, Mrs. Henry Flood 7

Bocock, Thomas Salem 7, 44

Brown, Cary C. 4

Bryant, Reubin 30, 43

Buckingham County 37

Chapman, K. K. 9, 40

Christian, Mary B. 7, 44

Pages

Christian S. P. 6

Christian, Susan 6

Church 33, 44

Clover Hill, description of 9

Clover Hill, laying out the town 4-5

Clover Hill, name changed to Appomattox Court House . 5-8

Clover Hill Tavern 4-5, 21-22, 23, 36

Cooke, Giles B. 9, 40

Cumberland County 21

Devereux, T. P. 28, 43

Fence:

Height. 14

Lack of gates 14

Lack of uniformity 19

Materials 12-14, 42

Not sawed out by hand 16

Rails 13, 16, 42

Rail rests 17

Rails removable 17

Posts 16

Stiles 14-15, 17

Unpainted 16

Use as hitching rail 13

Ferguson, Mrs. Bessie 41

Gilliam, H. E. 23, 41

Pages

Gordon, General John B. 26
Grant, General U. S. 1, 24, 28, 32
Grass on Village Green 27-28
Guerrant, P. 7
Gurney, Hubert A. 30, 41

Hampden-Sydney College 6
Hannah, William 4
Happel, Ralph 2, 38, 41-42
Henry, Patrick 6
"Hills" as names in Appomattox County 6
"Hills" as names in Prince Edward County 6
Hix, Miss Mary Margaret 41
Horsley, J. R. 15, 42

Johns, T. W. 4
Jones, J. W. 24, 28
Jones, Thomas G. 22, 26
Jones Library, Lynchburg, Va. 47

Lawson, John N. 4
Lee, General R. E. 1, 9, 24, 28, 32, 46
LeGrand, Miss Isa 39
Logwood, Thomas 2
Lynchburg, Va. 21, 38

Martin, T. H. 25, 29, 32, 34

Pages

Marshall, Colonel 28

Matthews, S. F. 4

Meade, General George G. 21

McLean house 28, 31, 33

McDearmon, Colonel S. D. 2, 3, 37, 38, 39

McDearmon, James 4

Newhall, F. C. 17

Old Brick Kiln 41

Paris, William 4

Pamplin, Nicholas 4

Peel, W. S. 21

Political activity in Appomattox County 34

Porter, General Horace 28

Prince Edward County 2,6, 37, 45

Richmond, Va. 21

Roads, width and condition 21

Schools in Appomattox County 33, 44-45

Sears, Edward 8, 39

Sheldon, James R. 9, 40

Shrubbery, lack of 26-27

Shumate, Mrs. Madge Bocock 38, 39, 40, 45, 47

Smith, Richard W. 14, 16, 17, 23, 25, 29, 41, 44

Stuart, General J. E. B. 46

Pages

Southern Historical Collection 47

Southern Historical Society Papers 47

Surveyor's stone 25, 29

Surveyor's stone, dimensions of 30

Sweeney, Joe 34, 45

Tents 18

Thomas, Miss Vera 45-46

Thornhill, Miss Emiline 38, 40

Thornhill, Hubert 39

Trees 18, 24-25

Trees, kinds of 24

Union Academy 33

Village Green 3, 9, 11, 22

- Extent 4
- Location 3
- No public hangings on 32
- Ownership 1-3
- Social center 33
- Undamaged by war 31

Walker, Colonel Benjamin P. 4, 7, 33-34, 39, 47

Walker, John Meriwether 6

Walker, Isaac 6

Walker, Samuel 6, 33

Page

Walks 22, 24

Watermark 35

Webber drawing 31

Well 30

Whitethorne, J. E. 9, 40, 42

Williams, G. F. 27

Worley, Mrs. Corinna 18-19

PERTINENT PHOTOSTATS

and

PICTURES

Picture No. 1

Letter from T. W. Johns (March 7, 1845) describing the first attempt to lay out the town of Clover Hill.

Buckingham March 7th 1845

Dear Col

I expected to have seen you at Clover Hill on yesterday. Sixteen Justices and the commissioners appointed to lay off the Town were in attendance on the grand occasion; They convened in the Sitting room of the Tavern and after some deliberation proceeded to lay off the Public Square and lots; Being acquainted with the locality of the Tavern I can give you some Idea of the situation of the Public Square, It is bounded on the west by the Tavern, on the South by the Richmond Road; and the eastern boundary extends about sixty feet below the Stable, giving a front on main Street of an acre and running back and acre & ; The C. House will be erected between the Stable and Tavern so as to range with the latter and about equidistant from each; The Jail will be fifty or sixty yds in rear of C. House on the brink of the hill. The Proprietors speak of laying off 15 acres / The Village and deviding and subdeviding to suit purchasers. So much for the Town of Clover Hill.

I take the liberty of saying to you as a personal friend that my competitors for the office of Commissioner are increasing with an alarming rapidity; we really seem to be a genus far more prolific than any known to modern Naturalist - when I was announced there were only two in the field. now eighteen is the number; and I think it highly probable before the election comes on there will be twenty more.. Therefore I will esteem it a particular favour (If you think me qualified to discharge the duties of the office) to say a word in my behalf whenever an opportunity presents itself. I have been somewhat encouraged and from all appearances, and the general impression of the people I have reason to believe, at this time, my chance is equal to that of any other Candidate; though I am by no means sanguine of success.

Little Susan Walker has been very sick since Cousin Sam left home, but I am glad to to say she is much better at this time; The rest of us are all well; we should be highly pleased to see you and family at any time you can make it convenient to honor us with a visit. My best respects to Sally and Cousin

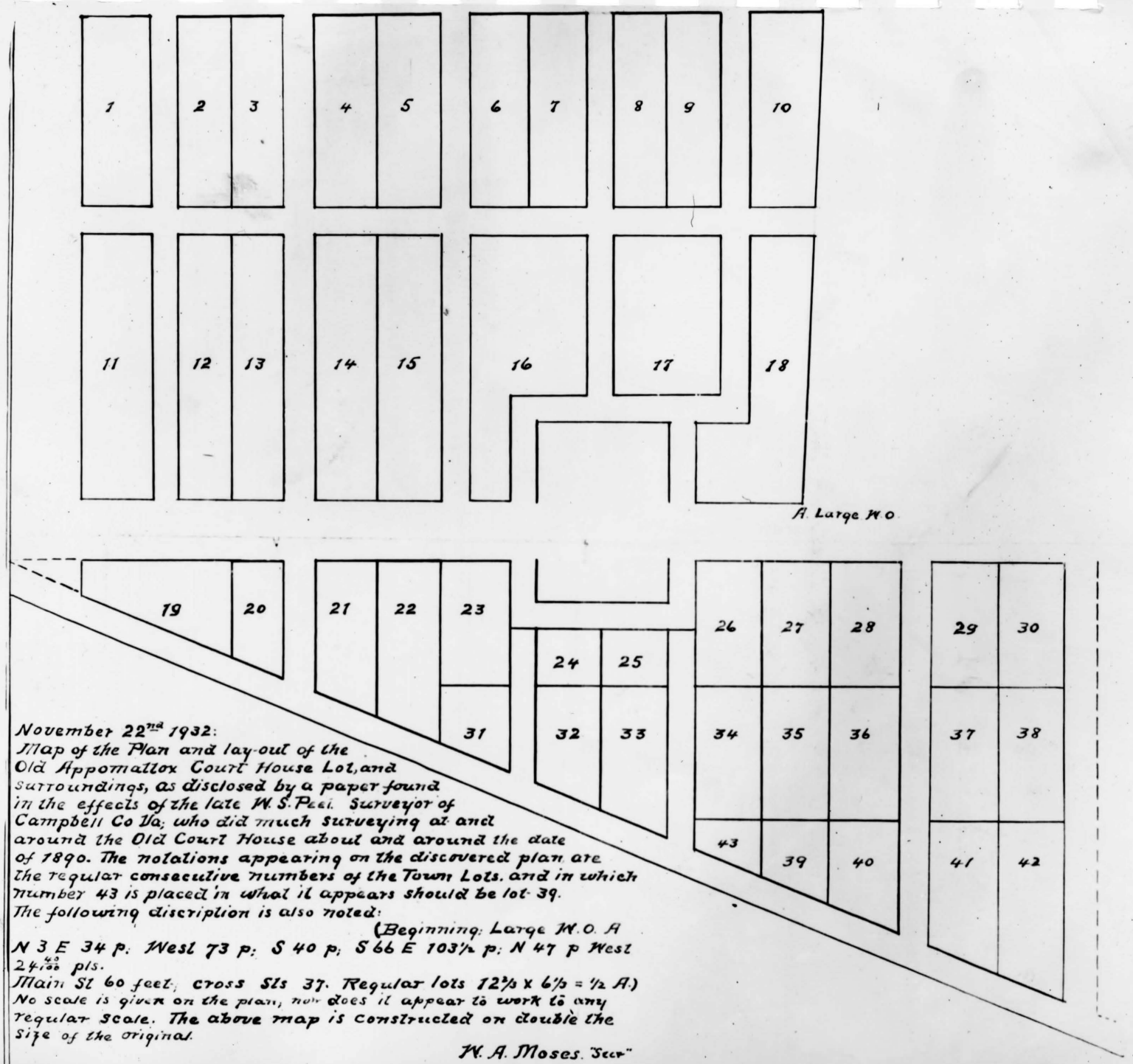
Yours Sincerely

J. W. Johns

My friend Lyons, Request that my card me to day to you that he is Clerk keeping on Litter from death to an dead dog

Picture No. 2

Surveyor's Map of Appomattox Court House -
drawn by W. S. Peel.



November 22nd 1932:
Map of the Plan and lay-out of the Old Appomattox Court House Lot, and surroundings, as disclosed by a paper found in the effects of the late W. S. Peel. Surveyor of Campbell Co Va; who did much surveying at and around the Old Court House about and around the date of 1890. The notations appearing on the discovered plan are the regular consecutive numbers of the Town Lots. and in which number 43 is placed in what it appears should be lot 39.
The following discription is also noted:

(Beginning: Large W.O. A
N 3 E 34 p. West 73 p; S 40 p; S 66 E 103½ p; N 47 p West 24$^{40}/_{100}$ pls.
Main St 60 feet; cross Sts 37. Regular lots 12⅔ x 6⅔ = ½ A.)

No scale is given on the plan, nor does it appear to work to any regular scale. The above map is constructed on double the size of the original.

W. A. Moses. Surv.

Picture No. 3

Photograph of Appomattox Court House showing soldiers and civilians at time of surrender.

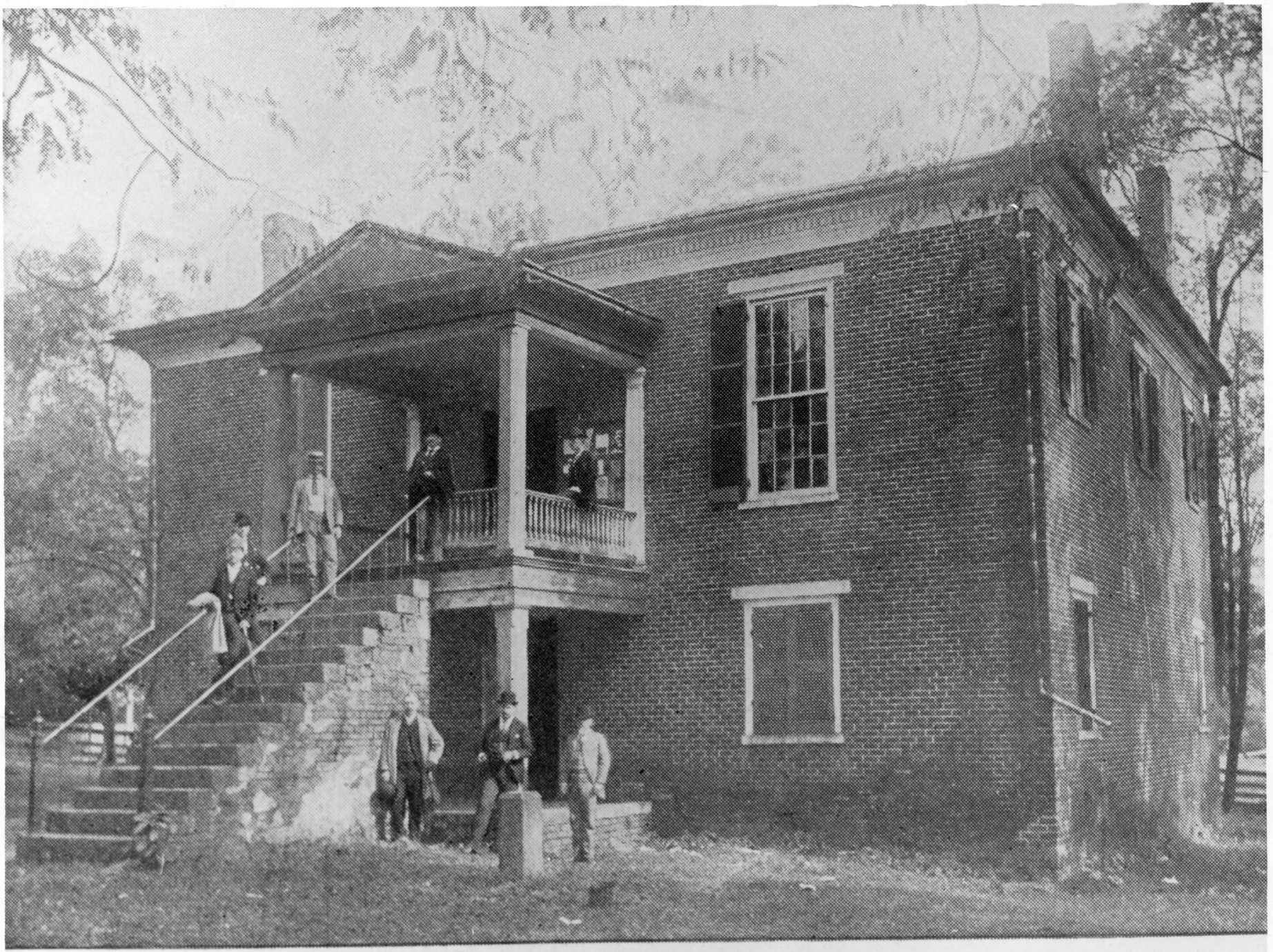
U. S. Signal Corps Photo



Picture No. 4

Photograph of Appomattox Court House

about 1880-1890 (?)



APPOMATTOX COURT-HOUSE

Picture No. 5

Drawing by W. Webber of scenes in and around Appomattox Court House.



Picture No. 6

Enlargement of the Court House inset from the drawing by W. Webber.

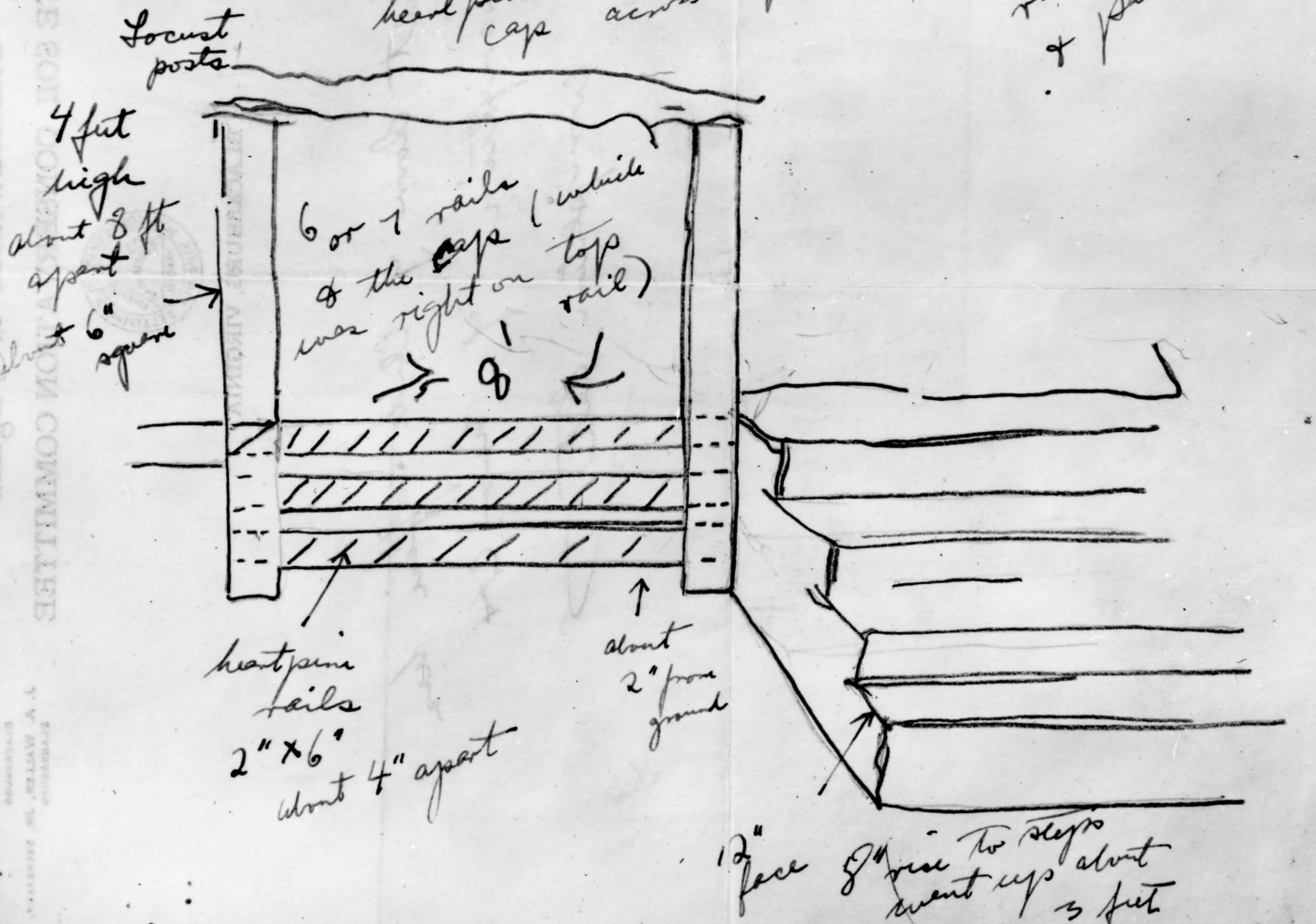

VIEW OF APPOMATTOX COURT HOUSE

Picture No. 7

Sketch of the Court House fence -

drawn by J. R. Horsley, Oct. 4, 1940.

No gate at all — stile in front & behind
about ~~six~~ feet wide



Mrs. Hornsby Uncommon. Locust posts was not known to us here. Locust known as Post of Mrs. Hornsby to Mrs. Hornsby, 1894.

Picture No. 8

Letter from J. T. Bocock announcing himself as candidate for office of Clerk of the Court (Feb. 25, 1845).

Buckingham County Feb 25th 1845

Dear Sir

As there are several Candidates for office in the new County of Appomattox I hope I shall pardoned for the liberty taken of offering myself a candidate for the Clerkship to the Court of said County —

It is fair to presume that every gentleman on whom the responsibility of filling that office devolves would necessarily wish to be informed of the claims of every Candidate, that information could perhaps be better relied on in the present coming case from any other person acquainted with me than myself, I can only say that if it should be the pleasure of the Court to give me the appointment no effort shall be wanting on my part to comply with the requisites of the law and the instructions of the Court

respectfully yours

J. T. Bocock

Col Benjamin S. Walker

Buckingham

Picture No. 9

Dove and Olive Branch Watermark in the stationery of J. T. Bocock (February 25, 1845).

Rockingham County Feb 26th 1840

Dear Sir

As there are several Candidates for Office in the new County of Rockingham I hope I shall be pardoned for the liberty I take of offering myself a Candidate for the Office of Clerk of said County

It is fair to presume that many gentlemen are desirous the responsibility of filling that office, but they would reasonably like to be informed of the claims of every Candidate, that information could perhaps be better related on in the person. Confine any other person acquainted with me than myself; I can only say that if it should be the pleasure of the Court to give me the appointment, I pledge to attending on my part to comply with the requisites of the Law and the instructions of the Court

Respectfully Yours

D. F. Dorsett

Picture No. 10

Cover of letter addressed to Thomas S. Bocock at Clover Hill P. O., June 12, 1846.

Mr Thomas S Beech

Clover Hill P O

Picture No. 11

Letter from Edward Sears (February 7, 1852) describing political activity at Appomattox Court House.

Feby 7th 1852

Dr Sir

I received your letter dated 5th Inst the same or next day, which I showed to no person until the day of Elections day, I found a considerable number of persons had gathered and were busily engaged examining some certificates, said to have been given by Mr A W Carter of Clover Hill. I told Mr Wm. W. Gray, a son of Temperance who had their certificates, and was using them to prove that the reports in circulation against Col S. D. McDearmon was false that I had a letter from Colo B. F. Walker and one just received from Mr J. D. Isbell, which I was requested to have read provided those certificates were exhibited Mr W. W. Gray with some warmth replied that he had been authorized by Col S D McDearmon to say that those reports relative to ~~him~~ the Sons of Temperance, were Grog Saloonkeeps and that I ought not to have those letters read I told him that I thought otherwise, and was a free man I should do as I pleased about that. At that time several of our friends, both Whigs & Democrats interfered and advised me to drop it; and the certificates and letters all read, to all the people assembled and let them judge for themselves respecting them all. to which we both assented and it was accordingly done by Mr Benj— Morris and there the matter ended.

P.S. I should have mentioned that a letter from Mr Shallow was also in the hands of some one I know not who and was also read at the same time

Edward Lacy

Picture No. 12

1849 Appomattox Court Tax Receipt

issued to Colonel Benjamin P. Walker.

Mr. [illegible]

1849. To the Sheriff of Appomattox County, Dr,

Tax on [illegible] A. Land, $ 10 01

2 Blacks, [illegible] Horses, [illegible] 13 80

[illegible] County Levies, at $ [illegible] each, poor levies, at [illegible] cts., each, [illegible] 01

Tickets [illegible] 3 13

Received payment, H. S. Beasley D. for $ 34.35

T. Rudd, Sheriff.