001477
(7) 6

10-23
(May 1929)

UNITED STATES
DEPARTMENT OF THE INTERIOR
NATIONAL PARK SERVICE

---------- NATIONAL PARK

2326
Return to Room ~~5314~~
Branch of Historic Sites

FILE NO.

Appomattox Court House National Historical Monument
Appomattox, Virginia

McLEAN HOUSE STUDY

By

Ralph Happel
Junior Historical Technician

December - 1940

IMPORTANT

This file constitutes a part of the official records of the National Park Service and should not be separated or papers withdrawn without express authority of the official in charge. All Files should be returned promptly to the File Room. Officials and employees will be held responsible for failure to observe these rules, which are necessary to protect the integrity of the official records.

ARNO B. CAMMERER,
Director.

U. S. GOVERNMENT PRINTING OFFICE 6—7410

LIBRARY
BRANCH OF HISTORY
NATIONAL PARK SERVICE

UNITED STATES

DEPARTMENT OF THE INTERIOR

NATIONAL PARK SERVICE

NATIONAL PARK SERVICE RECEIVED JAN 6 - 1941 MAILS AND FILES

Appomattox Court House National Historical Monument
Appomattox, Virginia
January 4, 1941

Memorandum for the Regional Director, Region One:

There is enclosed herewith for your approval Junior Historical Technician Nappel's McLean House study.

The McLean House study was prepared to serve as the research paper for unit one, archeological investigation, at the McLean House site and as historical reference paper embodying available information relating to the history and construction of the building for use in preparation of reconstruction plans.

(SGD) Hubert A. Gurney

Acting Superintendent

Enclosure 2194618
cc-The Director w/enclosure
Dr. of Hist. Sites, Wash. w/enclosure
Regional Architect, L. w/enclosure
Coord. Supt. Spalding w/enclosure

JAN 6 1941

Dr. Lee
Mr. Kahle
Dr. Kelly
L. Pfeiffer
R. Young
V. Fiske
Appomattox
Research File

The McLean (or Surrender) House at the village of Old Appomattox Court House, Virginia: A Study for the Reconstruction Thereof

by
Ralph Happel

Junior Historical Technician, Appomattox Court House National Historical Monument, Appomattox, Virginia

This is intended as a complete report on the McLean House (though not the furnishings) to serve first as the justification for the CCC Job for Archeological Investigation at the Site and later for the justification of the reconstruction.

It is believed that all pertinent sources have been consulted and that no material will turn up that will change any of these findings radically, although we will undoubtedly find new material in the next several years of work.

November, 1940

I

McLean Place, Chronology of Property, the Houses Thereon and Their Disappearance

One of the most famous houses in the world, because of the implications of a single event there, was the McLean House in the old village of Appomattox Court House, Virginia, where Lee surrendered his Confederate Army of Northern Virginia to Grant, April 9, 1865, virtually ending the American Civil War and determining the future course of American History. The name of Wilmer McLean, whose story everyone knows by now, is indissolubly associated with the house. Were it not for his story, if he had never left Manassas to get out of the war zone, the war would not have ended in his house as it had begun in his front yard. It would have ended, possibly, in the Raine House, a similar sound, at any rate.

The Appomattox County Land Books[1] show that in 1846 Hugh Raine of Cumberland owned lot 21 in the Village of Clover Hill (Appomattox Court House).[2] The next year his property was valued higher, value of buildings placed at $600.00. In 1849, Charles A. Raine

---

1. Copy of pertinent portions in NPS Appomattox Office. When the old court house building burned in 1892, the land books were in Richmond for rebinding and thus were saved.

2. The NPS office at Appomattox has a map with lot numbers, drawn by W. A. Moses, surveyor, November 22, 1932, "Map of the plan and layout of Old Appomattox Court House grounds as disclosed by a paper found in the effects of the late W. S. Peet 'Sur of Campbell County' who did surveying at and around the place about the date 1880's and early 1890's."

is shown as owner with $1600.00 added for new improvements. Charles Raine had built the house known in history as the McLean House. The date 1848 was made into the guttering of the house, according to Mr. Ragland Featherston, who was born there in 1874, it then being the home of his grandfather, N. H. Ragland.[1] Mr. Featherston says he was told this. Although he played around the house as a boy, he does not remember to have seen the date himself. Branch Walker, born in 1834, wrote in 1901, that "soon after the county was formed, Mr. Raine, from Cumberland, came to the village. I remember when the bricks were made for 'Raines' Tavern', which became known as the McLean House".[2]

The earlier Raine house was on the road (Lynchburg Pike, present Virginia Route 24), in front of the McLean House. It may be seen in the two copies, at the end of this paper, of portions of an old print in the New York Public Library.[3] Later known as the old store or

---

1. Interview with Mr. Featherston at his home in the present town of Appomattox, October 5, 1940.

2. The Lynchburg News, March 6, 1901, typescript of article in files of Appomattox Court House National Historical Monument. Walker's articles on Old Appomattox, from the News, were reprinted in part in the Appomattox and Buckingham Times. George T. Peers, Clerk of the Court for many years, wrote a series of articles on Appomattox from the time of the surrender on in the Southside Virginian, Appomattox, in 1907.

3. This print is listed in Stokes, I. N. Phelps and Haskell, Daniel C., American Historical Prints Early Views of American Cities, Etc. From the Phelps Stokes and Other Collections. New York Public Library, New York, 1933, p. 128 - Appomattox Court House etc., drawn on the spot by W. Webber, Imp by J. H. Bufford & Sons, Boston, date depicted, 1865; date issued, 1865. Size 26.5 X 15.11. The writer sent for a photostat, from which he

post office, the house was moved by Mr. N. H. Ragland to a point a little east of the McLean Yard, according to information given Mr. Featherston by his uncle, W. H. Ragland.[1] It stood there until the spring of 1940, when it was torn down by Works Progress Administration (WPA) men working for the State Highway. A photograph taken by Dr. Porter in 1937, designated as "F., Old Bar or Tavern", is shown in his "Preliminary Report, Old Appomattox Court House Area", July 3, 1937.

The McLean House was torn down in 1893.

Mr. McLean had bought the property from the Raine family. (Lots 20, 21, and 22 from the Estate of Eliza D. Raine in 1863). The noteworthiness of the event of surrender was apparent to all present at his house that Palm Sunday, April 9, 1865. A study of accounts of the surrender shows that the Federal officers bought or stole practically all his furniture, whether or not he wanted to sell. Those who could find nothing else pulled up his flowers for souvenirs. Merely living on the battlefield at Manassas was nothing to this. No wonder he complained bitterly to his kinsman E. P. Alexander, the Confederate artillerist, about the way the armies were following him

---

3. (Con't) made the photographic copies at the end of this paper. A smaller photostat of this same print, by the Map Division, Library of Congress, is included in Dr. Charles W. Porter's "Supplementary Report, Appomattox Court House, Virginia", National Park Service Region One, July 21, 1937, Plate 1.

1. Featherston interview on the ground, Oct. 12, 1940.

around.[1] After the war, McLean tried to sell pictures and make a little something on the fame of his house, but he lost his property as a result of borrowing to finance the unsuccessful venture. "He sold the property - - - to Mr. N. H. Ragland, of Richmond, who married an Appomattox lady, and merchandised in that county a number of years".[2] Actually he sold the property, lots 20, 21, 22, and part of 23 and 31, to John L. Pascoe of Baltimore, as noted in the land records for 1869, N. H. Ragland acquiring the McLean House in 1872.

"In January, 1891, the property was acquired by Mr. M. E. Dunlap for the purpose of removing the house to the Chicago World's Fair. Later Mr. Dunlap decided to re-erect the building on a permanent site in Washington, D. C., and had the building torn down for that purpose. Again his plans went awry, and the unsheltered pile of brick and timbers were (sic) left to the ravages of natural decay and souvenir hunters".[3]

In the beginning the local people were apparently not entirely aware of Dunlap's intentions. The second number of the first newspaper had a little piece full of the expansive cheer of rural journalism "Appomattox C. H., Oct. 12.- Col. M. E. Dunlap and wife of

---

1. Alexander, E. P., "Lee at Appomattox", The Century Magazine. April, 1902, vol. LXIII, no. 6, p. 931.

2. Appomattox and Buckingham Times, Appomattox Court House, Va., Thursday, May 31, 1894, from the Richmond Dispatch, May 27, 1894.

3. O'Brien, R. A., attorney at law, Appomattox, Abstract of Title, McLean House property, typescript presented by him to files of ACHNHM

Niagara Falls, N. Y., are on a visit to Col. R. B. Poore near Appomattox Courthouse. Col. Dunlap is part owner of the 'Surrender House' and is today engaged with Mr. Plecker of Lynchburg in taking photographs of the different historical points in this section. The Colonel will leave in a few days for Chicago to further his interests at this place. While he talks in a very conservative manner of his prospects to build up this place, we gather from him that he is confident of success. He appears to be a thorough man of business and we may expect interesting developments at this place in the near future".[1] The Colonel doubtless talked very conservatively, since he planned to tear down rather than "to build up this place". They knew better soon, however, as attested by another article, "The old brick house situated at the old courthouse site and known in history as the McLaw (sic) house, in which Gen. Lee and Grant met and agreed upon the terms of surrender, will soon be removed from its old stand to Washington city, where it will be re-erected and converted into a museum for war relics. The promoters of this scheme recently paid ten thousand dollars for the old mansion.

"Messrs. Hardy and Hancock are now engaged in tearing down the old structure and will also re-erect it in Washington".[2]

---

1. The Appomattox and Buckingham Times, Appomattox Court House, Va., Friday, October 14, 1892, p. 1. This is the new Court House, or present town of Appomattox. The county seat was moved from the old village to Appomattox Station after a fire, February 1, 1892, destroyed the old court house at the old village.

2. Ibid., Friday, February 17, 1893, p. 1.

Later we find that, in May of 1893, "Col. M. E. Dunlop (sic), of Chicago, is here in the interest of his enterprise, the removal and re-erection of the old McLane (sic) house in Washington city".[1] Whatever his plans that May, as he looked on the piles of rubble, nothing more was ever done, and that, for all one knows, was his last trip to Appomattox.

The Norfolk and Western RR has no record of any material at all leaving for Washington, or any other place.[2]

The next mention in the local paper is a quotation from the Richmond Dispatch[3] -- "The house was torn down preparatory to removing it to Washington, but for some reason it still remains there with a guard to watch over it to keep off depredators and relic-hunters".

This guard was "old Bob Browning, son of a renegade Yankee", hired by the Dunlaps, and there about ten or twelve years, whether or not paid for that length of time. My informant for this fact is Mr. J. R. Horsley, of Appomattox County, who will be quoted on more important matters further on.

Hancock and Hardy contributed to posterity the most important source for reconstruction of the McLean House, now considered: --

---

1. Ibid., Thursday, May 18, 1893.
2. Letter to ACHNHM, dated Roanoke, October 3, 1940.
3. Appomattox and Buckingham Times, Thursday, May 31, 1894.

II

The Hubard-Hancock Plans and Specifications

In the Appomattox and Buckingham Times for October 7, 1892, "Appomattox Items", Mr. C. W. Hancock is referred to as an architect and builder. In succeeding numbers his advertisement is frequently noted. The news item naming him as the man who tore down the McLean House for Dunlap has been given above.

The firm made specifications for the rebuilding of the house and Mr. P. C. Hubard made sketches. This material is extant and has been purchased from the heirs of the firm by the National Park Service.

Before final purchase, the writer of this paper was commissioned to take the Hancock material to various experts in Washington for their opinions as to its authenticity, a step taken by the National Park Service as a matter of routine precaution rather than because of any actual doubt. Favorable opinions of authenticity from the Manuscript Division of the Library of Congress, the Manuscript Section of the Federal Bureau of Identification, and the Division of Repair and Preservation of the National Archives all coincided. The examinations were made during the week of September 16, 1940, and are fully reported in the writer's narrative report for September, 1940.

See Mr. J. E. Hoover's letter of Sept. 20, 1940 among exhibits below, also the copy of the plans

Positive photostats of the plans and a typed copy of the specifications are included at the end of this essay. They will form the chief source of information for archeologists and architects in the reconstruction of the McLean House and will be accepted as true in all details except where other evidence shows reasonable cause to make changes, as will hereinafter appear. For the most part, recollections of Appomattox citizens and old accounts of the house corroborate the plans, though photographs and recollections correct details and illuminate and add to our knowledge considerably.

III

The Evidence Seen in Illustrations (Photographs & Drawings)

Wartime Photographs.

The McLean House photographs taken at the time of the Civil War are available to us in two collections and two books. Wartime Photographs of this place in other sources turn out to be copies of these items.

Collections: The U. S. Signal Corps, whose historical photograph collections is always valuable and readily available, has one wartime negative of the McLean House, of which a contact print is shown at the end of this report. The Brady Collection, Library of Congress has three prints, nos. 221, 223, and 224 (Library of Congress numbers). The Library does not have the negatives. Junior Historical Technician Floyd Taylor copied these prints for Dr.

Charles Porter's Preliminary Report on Appomattox, 1937. Mr. Taylor has the copy negatives at the Fredericksburg office. Copy prints of each are shown at the end of this report.

Books: Eaton, Edward Bailey (publisher), Original Photographs Taken on the Battlefields During the Civil War of the United States By Matthew B. Brady and Alexander Gardner. Hartford, Conn., 1907. On page 109 a photograph of the McLean House is shown, the caption stating that it was taken a few hours after the surrender. This is the same as Library of Congress print 221. Miller, Francis Trevelyan (ed.), The Photographic History of the Civil War. 10 vols. Review of Reviews, New York, 1912. On page 315 of volume 3 a picture of the McLean House appears, the same as the Library of Congress print 223; 223, in fact, takes in more ground, showing more of the well house.

A study of these four different wartime photographs, all of which are included at the end of this paper, gives us an excellent idea of the appearance of the front of the McLean House at the time of the Civil War, the condition to which it should be restored. The rear of the house, for which we have a postwar photograph, will be discussed later.

The Signal Corps print, being more of a close-up, and being a contact print from an original negative, shows more detail. This print (no. B-6333) and Library of Congress prints nos. 221 and 223 show that the house was a rectangular brick structure with a wooden

shingle gable roof and inside chimneys, one at each end. The bond of the brickwork was Flemish, a brick-and-a header.[1] There were two stories above a ground floor. A high porch, on the level of the first story, ran across the entire length of the house, supported by six square brick posts from the ground, above which were square wooden posts supporting the porch roof. The porch roof was railed in. The wooden steps to the porch had a hand rail on either side, and a railing extended around the porch. The door to the first floor was midway of the house, directly in line with the middle of the porch steps, a similar door opening on the porch roof. Each door was flanked by a window on either side, midway between the door and the corner of the house. The house end walls had no windows.

More technical details, such as the type of railing on the porch roof, can be found by architects who study the photographs. The Hancock-Hubard drawings should be compared with these photographs carefully, and any necessary corrections to the plans should be made, because it must be remembered that the drawings were executed in 1895, after certain changes had occurred.

As to the ground layout of the place, an outbuilding of some

---

1. Note the copy of Hancock's Specifications, p. 2 and p. 3 at the end of this paper, in which he says the front wall from porch floor to cornice was Flemish; everywhere else, every sixth course was made up of headers.

sort is seen on the right and another in the left rear. In front, a small white lattice work house appears, the well house. Library of Congress print 224 shows that the fence across the outside front of the grounds along the road is a picket fence with the horizontal timbers apparently on the inside and a "Cap" along the top. The trees can be pretty well spotted also (See notations on Hubard drawing, sheet 1, at end of this paper).

Wartime Sketches.

Sketches are naturally not as authentic as photographs, but old sketches often times show more field than photographs taken before the day of wide angle lenses. Various wartime drawings of the McLean House, many being copies or adaptations of others, are available.

A good one is to be found in Lossing's Pictorial History.[1] The house is like the photographs and shown also are two, perhaps three, outbuildings along the alley west of the house (i.e., the reader's right; the alley is at right angles to main road, which the house fronts). A similar picture is found with a magazine article by Lossing.[2] These drawings are the sort in which it is

---

1. Lossing, Benson J., Pictorial History of the Civil War in the United States. Three vols. T. Belknap, Hartford, 1868, vol. 3, p. 558. A photostat is shown in Dr. Porter's Preliminary Report, op. cit.

2. Lossing, Benson J., "The Historic Buildings of America. VI. The McLean House, Appomattox Court-House, Virginia", Potter's American Monthly, An Illustrated Magazine. Philadelphia, June, 1875, vol. IV, no. 42, p. 401.

hard to tell whether the house is supposed to be frame or brick. Lossing in the text, however, plainly says brick.

In a sketch of the village in Battles and Leaders[1] end windows are erroneously depicted in the McLean House and no outbuildings appear, but the first Raine House, see page 2 of this report, is shown.

Harper's Pictorial History has a drawing with the outbuildings shown, though the fence, judging by other material, seems to be wrong.[2]

Best drawing, to my mind, is the Webber-Bufford print, already cited. The copies of the two portions thereof, included at the end of this paper, should be studied carefully. They will be discussed more fully later. The view from SW shows the rear of the house, it may be noted, but any details are hidden by the thick shrubbery drawn in.

Valuable also are two sketches, one of the village and one of "McLane's House", with Henderson and Company's Map of Appomattox, 1866. The Library of Congress and the War Department have copies of this map, a photostat of which appears in Dr. Charles Porter's Supplementary Report, previously cited.

---

1. Johnson, Robert Underwood and Buel, Clarence Clough (eds.), Battles and Leaders of the Civil War. 4 vols. The Century Co., New York, 1888, vol. IV, p. 751. The sketch is photostatically reproduced in Dr. Charles Porter's Preliminary Study, op. cit.

2. Guernsey, Alfred H. and Alden, Henry M., Harper's Pictorial History of the Great Rebellion. 2 vols. Harper and Brothers, New York, 1866-68, vol. 2, p. 767.

Photographs Taken After the War.

These pictures bear out the Civil War photographs and show changes. They represent a period to be ignored in the reconstruction, which should be of the 1865 house, but the very changes are important in that they indicate the good faith of the Hubard-Hancock drawings, which were of the 1893 house and grounds. If we had only the wartime photographs and the Hubard drawings, we should be confronted with either the assumption of change or disbelief in the details of the drawings. As it is, we know of the changes.

One change to be noted concerns the roof. Wooden shingles in the '60's give way to a covering of tin in the later photographs. Proof of the fact that the roof had been made of wooden shingles, other than the proof of the older photographs, is found in a local news item mentioning that Mr. George T. Peers had "a beautiful miniature model of the house made out of a shingle from the original roof".[1] Another change is the absence of the porch roof railing.

These later pictures can also be valuable for the reconstruction, the Stevens one, shows the door detail for instance, better than the wartime views and also shows plainly that a window existed on each side, at the ground floor level, immediately under the upper windows. Details like these had not changed from the war days.

---

1. Appomattox and Buckingham Times, Thursday, Nov. 12, 1896, p. 3.

The later pictures, front elevation, are as follows: The Stevens Photograph -- contact print included with this report. Mr. Frank Stevens, of Lynchburg, Virginia took the picture about 1875. He and Mr. Randolph Harrison, a lawyer, also of Lynchburg, were visiting Col. R. B. Poore, a prominent Appomattox attorney.

Mr. Stevens made the necessary adjustments of his view camera and got in the picture himself. He stands with his hand on the porch rail. The man with the Napoleon II whiskers is Col. Poore. Mr. Stevens has graciously donated the negative, an old glass plate, to the Appomattox Court House National Historical Monument.[1]

The Plecker Photographs. The first Plecker photograph which we know about is a picture of the McLean House draped in black for Grant's funeral, 1885. A contact print was located by the writer and copied by him, the owner being Mr. Calvin Robinson, editor and publisher of the Times-Virginian, Appomattox, Virginia. A print from the copy negative is included with this report. An identical photograph taken the day before Plecker's has been publicised by Mr. Featherston and Mr. Jerry Burke, of Appomattox, owners of a plate made from the original photograph owned by M. S. Horner, a

---

1. This picture was located through the good offices of Mr. Pendleton Clark, Lynchburg architect and advisor to the Monument. Letter from Clark to the Acting Superintendent, August 30, 1940. Visit of the writer to Mr. Stevens, October 21, 1940, Stevens Lumber Co., Peoples Bank Building, Lynchburg. Mr. Stevens is of English birth and had not been in this country long when he took the picture.

grandson of Charles Raine. A copy of this picture is in the museum at Stratford, Lee's birthplace, Westmoreland County, Virginia, along with a printed affadavit, both presented by Mr. Featherston. The broadside states that the picture is a good likeness of the house and that it was taken on the day of Grant's funeral, depositions made by various old residents and prominent Virginians in 1901. It seems that Plecker came over the next day, after the drapes had been taken down and all the black bunting had to be strung up again for him, a not unheroic task, since at least one old Confederate wanted to fight about the idea of mourning for Grant.[1]

As does the Stevens photograph, this picture represents the house still in fair repair.

The next front view by Plecker shows the house in bad shape, obviously some time later. Mr. and Mrs. James Cleland of Lynchburg have an original print of this picture, purchased by them some years ago when Plecker sold out his effects. A copy negative of another original print of this photograph is in the U. S. Signal Corps collection, BA-74, print included with this report. More ground is taken in than in the Cleland print. The value of this picture is that it shows plainly the ice house to the east of the house. The little lattice work building in front of the house in the wartime photographs was the well house. Either that well

---

1. Interview with Mr. Featherston, op. cit., Oct. 5, 1940.

house or the camera angle hid the ice house in those pictures. In the Plecker photograph under consideration, a house no longer covers the well and therefore the ice house can be seen plainly. The gable roof of the ice house goes right down to the ground.

Mr. Featherston, quoted above, says that is now he remembers it. A lot of people are standing or sitting around in this picture, indicating something of more than usual interest going on; futhermore the bad repair of the house indicated that the period is some time after the Plecker photograph of 1885, when the repair was still fair, --- all of which leads me to believe that this was one of the photographs taken by Plecker for Dunlap in 1892 (see page 5 above).

Rear View.

Another Plecker photograph, perhaps also taken for Dunlap, is most valuable. (If these Plecker photographs were taken for Dunlap to aid in reconstruction of the house in the 1890's, it is interesting to note that they may finally be used for their original purpose in the 1940's). This picture is the only one we have of the rear of the house. A print is exhibited in the Valentine Museum, Washington and Lee University, Lexington, Virginia, from which we have secured a copy negative, made by a Lexington photographer. A print from our negative is included at the end of this report. Here two windows are shown, one on either side of a door in the center, on the ground floor. The first (though one is tempted to say second)

floor windows on either side of a door are similar in arrangement. This door opens on a rear porch. The rear porch has not a flat roof, like the front porch, but a gable roof; and the rear porch does not extend all across the house, but only about the door. Three windows run across the top floor. There are apparently no marks on the brickwork to indicate that the porch at the rear ever ran all across the house. One feature of the rear porch, as here shown, however, is a later addition and presumably not of 1865. That is the railing. Mr. Featherston says that his uncle Trent Ragland put the railing there after his mother (Mr. Featherston's grandmother) fell off the porch emptying ashes.[1]

The rear of the ice house is seen in this picture and also part of a shed in rear of the main house. A picket fence is evident on the western side of the yard (background of picture). Note that the rear brickwork has every sixth course headers. (See footnote 1, p. 10 above). Something else worthy of note is the matter of ground level. In the front views, one sees that the ground floor level, under the porch, was below the yard level. In the back, the ground floor was level with the yard. The cornice, guttering, and downspouts in the rear are similar to those details in front. The steps, as shown, from the rear porch to the ground may or may not be of the Civil War period, a problem for the architects to decide.

---

1. Featherston interview, October 12, 1940.

Interior.

Still another Plecker photograph from Lexington Constitutes our only photographic source for the interior of the house. This view shows the surrender room. A copy print is appended to this report. The walls seem to be plain white plaster and the woodwork simple, apparently black or dark brown in color. The fireplace, mantel, and hearth show up nicely. Since houses of this period (i.e., 1848, the building date) were usually finished inside in a uniform manner, we can assume that the surrender room was like the other rooms. In the houses still standing in the village the rooms are usually all alike in any given house. We note, however, that the windows in the room opposite the surrender room were more elaborately moulded and had panels under them reaching to the floor. (Copy of Hancock's Specifications at end of this paper, p. 5).

Before leaving the subject of postwar photographs, the photographs of the McLean House in a little series called The Real America in Romance should be noted. A front view is like the Plecker photograph of the place draped for Grant's funeral. A rear view is identical to if not the same as Plecker's rear view. A third is a view of the village from the west; a white outbuilding behind the house has a chimney and is without a doubt the stable; other sheds seem to be there but are obscured by foliage and the bad reproduction.[1]

---

1. Markham, Edwin (ed.), Brothers For Ever, The Age of Union, 1854 - 1868. William H. Wise and Co., New York and Chicago, 1912, vol. XII of the series, pages 446, 447, and 452 respectively.

Postwar Prints.

One postwar drawing is interesting. It resembles the photographs and is carefully done. The ice house shows plainly. This engraving by Dresher appears in Grant's Memoirs and a photographic copy by the writer is included in this report.[1]

IV

Written and Other Descriptions of the McLean House

Most of the contemporary and early writers on the Civil War seem to have resented the fact that so great an event as the surrender of Lee's army occurred in so small a town as Appomattox Court House. They hardly ever failed to mention the size, so small indeed that a Richmond paper could not locate the place at first; then reported on April 14, 1865 that at last it was able to name the place of surrender, an obscure little village called Clover Hill, near Lynchburg. Four days later it copies a dispatch from the New York Times, giving the name as Appomattox Court House and mentioning the residence of Mr. McLean.[2]

We are not particularly concerned here with descriptions of the

---

1. Grant, U. S., Personal Memoirs. 2 vols. Charles L. Webster and Co., New York, 1886, vol. 2, facing p. 488.

2. The Richmond Whig, Friday Morning, April 14, 1865 and Tuesday Morning, April 18, 1865. Richmond, it must be admitted, was badly off for news anyway. The Whig, which had turned "loyal", was made up mostly of reprints and so was the new paper, the Times, established April 21, 1865. The other papers were burned out in the great fire.

village, though one might be quoted - "The town consists of about five houses, a tavern, and a court house, all on one street, and that was boarded up at one end to keep the cows out. On the right hand side as we went in was the principle residence, owned by Mr. McLean - - -".[1] Not counting out buildings and cabins, that seems a fair picture.

Wilmer McLean's House is described variously all the way from a plain farm house to a mansion. We can see for ourselves in the photographs that it was an average substantial middle class house, no more and no less.

The contemporary Northern papers, aside from their occasional condescending tone, give us several valuable bits of information. For instance, L. L. Crounse, the New York Times correspondent, who got his information, he says, from Col. Tal. P. Shaffner, "the eminent telegraph engineer", an eyewitness, states that "The room in which the interview took place was a comfortable parlor, about eighteen by twenty feet - - -".[2] Actual measurement, according to sheet 3 of the Hancock-Hubard drawings, was twenty feet by sixteen feet five inches.

Another corroboration of facts found elsewhere is even more important. New York Herald correspondent T. S. Bulkley says that

---

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

2. The New York Times, Friday, April 14, 1865, p. 1.

"The McLean House, where Lieutenant General Grant and General Lee had their conference, is evidently the best private residence of the town. It is likewise built of brick - - - with the inevitable portico in front and rear."[1] The underlinings are mine. The Plecker photograph of the rear of the house taken after the war is our only view of the rear. This news item is our only written source describing the rear. With this mention of a back porch in 1865, we need not fear that the back porch in the Plecker picture was added after the war. Or, at any rate, a hypothetical opponent choosing the other side of the argument, would have to prove that it was.

Practically all later accounts of the McLean House stem from the writings of three or four distinguished officers who were intimate figures in the surrender scene.

Of these, the most widely known, perhaps, is that of Horace Porter in the compilation of firsthand stories of the war called Battles and Leaders. This member of Grant's staff describes the place as " - - - a two-story brick house, better in appearance than the rest of the houses - - - The house had a comfortable wooden porch with seven steps leading up to it. A hall ran through the middle from front to back, and on each side was a room having

---

1. The New York Herald, Friday, April 14, 1865, p. 5, column 6.

two windows, one in front and one in rear. Each room had two doors opening into the hall. The building stood a little distance back from the street, with a yard in front, and to the left was a gate for carriages and a roadway running to a stable in the rear".[1] The chapter on Appomattox in Porter's book has the same wording.[2] In another article by the same author, the wording is slightly different, and he refers to "some stables" in the rear.[3] We know from other sources that there were several buildings in the rear.

Porter seems right on the matter of the porch steps, by a check with the wartime photographs. On one important matter he seems wrong, however. According to sheet 3 of the Hancock-Hubard drawings, each room on the first floor had only one door leading into the hall. The door was centered in the room opposite the parlor. The parlor, or east room, i.e., the surrender room, had its one door near the front, the rest of the wall, going back, being a side of the stair well. It is doubtful that the doors were changed after the war. There was a third hall door at the rear, to the basement stairs, which might have confused Porter.

Mr. Featherston (who has been quoted above and whose recollections will be treated fully presently) was asked specifically

---

1. Battles and Leaders, op. cit., IV, p. 734 & p. 735.

2. Porter, Horace, Campaigning With Grant. The Century Co., New York, 1897.

3. From the Outlook, quoted in The Richmond Times-Dispatch, Sunday, January 20, 1907, Special Lee issue, p. 8.

about the door question at his home in Appomattox on November 16, 1940. He said that he is sure his grandfather did not change any of the doors, and he remembers no evidence of filled-in old doorways. The situation, as Mr. Featherston, remembers it, was just as the Hubard drawing shows it to have been. Change by some postwar owner is the only thing which would make Porter right. If Mr. Ragland made no changes, Pascoe (see page 4 above) certainly made none, Pascoe apparently having been only a broker of some sort for Mr. Ragland when McLean's property was sold at auction. McLean was too busy after the war losing his money on the fame of his house to make any changes in the house itself. Another factor would be that people in the South after the Civil War had neither the money nor the inclination to make unnecessary changes. The only possible conclusion is that Porter was wrong.

Another officer, not as important a figure in the proceedings, but definitely on the ground, George A. Forsyth, a member of Sheridan's staff, agrees with Porter in this matter --- "The door opened into a hall that ran the entire length of the house, and on either side of it was a single room with a window in each end of it, and two doors, one at the front and one at the rear of each of the rooms, opening on the hall. The room to the left, as you entered, was the parlor, and it was in this room that General Lee was awaiting General Grant's arrival".[1]

---

1. Forsyth, George A., "The Closing Scene at Appomattox Court House", Harper's New Monthly Magazine, April, 1898, vol. XCVI, no. DLXXV, p. 706. This article is used as a chapter in Forsyth, George A., Thrilling Days of Army Life. Harper and Brothers, New York, 1900.

But this account reads so much like Porter's anyway, that one, noticing how much later it was written than Porter's, is tempted to believe that Forsyth was relying on Porter's memory rather than his own.

Two appurtenances of the house mentioned by Forsyth are apparent in the wartime and later photographs and should be restored -- the "two small wooden benches" on the front porch, "placed close against the house on either side of the entrance".[1]

An important figure in the surrender negiotions was the Indian Chief Ely Spencer Parker (less well known as Do-ne-ho-geh-weh, or Keeper of the Western Gate), General Grant's Military Secretary, who acted as Grant's right hand man on this occasion, and who wrote, years later, "I will add only a few details of the incidents occuring at McLean's house. Immediately after reaching it nearly everyone dismounted, General Grant's Staff taking seats on the broad front porch or piazza. The house was divided into two parts by a wide hallway running through the centre from front to rear. On the left as you entered was the parlor, and on the right what seemed to be the family living rooms - - -".[2] No mention of the two doors to a room here. The supposition that the family quarters on the other

---

1. Ibid., p. 705.

2. Ely S. Parker's Appomattox Surrender Facsimiles, Manuscript Division, Library of Congress. Facts about Parker and an unfinished autobiography are to be found in Severance, Frank H. (ed.), Publications of the Buffalo Historical Society. Buffalo, New York, 1905 vol. VIII, pp. 511 - 536.

side were rooms rather than a room is natural. A glance at the Hubard drawing will show that the room across the hall was larger than the parlor.

The account by Colonel Marshall, Lee's only aide on this occasion, is valuable for its general story, but adds nothing to our description of the house.[1]

Badeau, another member of Grant's staff, confuses the issue by saying that "the McLean House - - - a plain building with a veranda in front - - -" had "a narrow hall and a naked little parlor."[2]

We can accept this as Yankee belittling, however, and again look at the plans, which call for a fairly wide hall, indicating that the Indian Do-ne-ho-geh-weh was the more accurate observer.

Recollections of Mr. Horsley and Mr. Featherston.

These gentlemen have been quoted above. Their testimony is important both to corroborate facts found elsewhere and to check upon errors in those facts.

---

1. Marshall, Col. Charles, "Appomattox, An Address Delivered Before the Society of the Army and Navy of the Confederate States, in the State of Maryland, On January 19, 1894, at the Academy of Music, Baltimore, Md." Printed by the Society, Press of Guggenheimer, Weil & Co., Baltimore, 1894. Reprinted as "The Last Days of Lee's Army" in the Century Magazine, April, 1902, vol. LXIII, no. 6. See also for a more colloquial account, Maurice, Major General Sir Frederick (ed.), An Aide-de-Camp of Lee, Being the Papers of Colonel Charles Marshall, Sometime Aide-de-Camp, Military Secretary, and Assistant Adjutant General on the Staff of Robert E. Lee, 1862 - 1865. Little, Brown and Co., Boston, 1927.

2. Badeau, Adam, Military History of Ulysses S. Grant. D. Appleton and Co., New York, 1881, vol. 3, p. 602.

Mr. Horsley does not claim special knowledge of the Surrender House. He was in and out of it many times after the war and once spent the night in the surrender room. The point he made, before being asked, was that the woodwork was plain and not at all fancy, a fact verified by Mr. Featherston. The house, though not a hovel, was definitely not a mansion, and the mistake of making the reconstruction too elegant must be avoided.

Mr. Featherston is a very important source. As we have noted before, he was born in the house in 1874. Though he did not actually live there as a child, he visited there frequently.

The outbuildings as of the time prior to the Hancock-Hubard drawings are not all shown on the drawings, Mr. Featherston says. The draftsman was not necessarily in error; he was showing the grounds in 1893, after some of the old buildings had fallen in or been changed. Mr. Featherston's corrections and amplifications, which are noted on the drawings, sheet 1, are as follows:

Behind, i.e., south of the house, in line with the surrender room, or east end, are shown three sheds, all adjoining, one behind the other. The forward one can be noted in some of the photographs. This first one, the stable, had an upstairs; its front door was on the left, as you faced it, and a window was on the right. The shed behind this, used for feeding, was only one story; a door connected these sheds, which, says Mr. Featherston, were all one building when built, a building that seems to have been there at the time of

the war. Wartime photographs 221 and B-6333 (see end of report) show plainly a weather boarded shed with wooden shingle roof, high enough to be two stories, in the proper place. Plecker's photograph of the rear of the McLean House, taken from the southeast shows the north east corner of the shed, in bad repair. (See end of report.) The third shed in the drawing, behind the first two, was put up after the war by Mr. N. H. Ragland.

To the west of this group was a one story wartime log cabin for slaves, in ruinous condition in Mr. Featherston's time. It is not shown on the drawing, and was probably gone or very nearly gone in 1893, when the drawing was made. To the west and rear of this cabin were the hen house and privy of Mr. Featherston's recollection, probably not wartime. To the west and front of the cabin were two wartime buildings on the outside of the north-south fence line along the western edge of the yard. These sheds are not shown on the Hubard drawing. The front of the front one was on a line with the back porch. That one was the smoke house and was weatherboarded; then came a space and the shed behind it, sided up and down, Mr. Featherston thinks. The smoke house can be seen in wartime photograph B-6333. The sketch in Lossing's book (mentioned above, not included with this report) shows at least three buildings in a row here, on the inside of the fence, and too far forward apparently. The fact that they are shown, however, is more important than any descrepancies.

The Webber wartime drawing, however, which has also been cited before and copies of portions of which are included with this report, bears out Mr. Featherston's description of the whole back and side yard as it must have looked at the time of the surrender. In the photographic copy of the Webber drawing, marked view from SW, we see the stable, with its chimney as indicated in the drawing by Hubard, and its attached leanto. The only fault might be that the leanto is not large enough. Then to the west of the stable, the log cabin is plainly seen. Near the cabin is a small house not identified. Then on the western edge of the yard are shown two buildings, on the outside of the fence line.

For that matter, the Webber drawing seems also to be accurate for the front yard. In the copies at the end of this report, view from SW and view from NW, we note the well house, shown in its proper place, directly in front of the house, and resembling the lattice work in the wartime photographs very much. We know from the photographs and from the fact that the well is still there that this placement is correct. Shown also in the front yard is the first Raine House, discussed at the beginning of this report. This rectangular house, we see, faced the road, was two stories high, though small. It had a porch in front, and two chimneys in rear. These outside chimneys were not quite at the house corners, and between them were two windows, one upstairs, and one down; the

bottom "window" may have been a door; it is difficult to determine exactly which. At the ends of this gable roofed house, where one would expect chimneys in a house of its period, were apparently two windows, one up and one down. This building was inside the fence. One might ask why this house does not appear in wartime photograph 224. It is my belief that it was to the right of the photographer taking that picture. In Dr. Charles W. Porter's National Park Service reports cited above, this earlier Raine House is shown as it looked in 1937 from the east[1] and from the west.[2] It then had inside chimneys, one at each end. See also Hubard drawing, sheet 1. But Mr. Ragland may have altered the building when he moved it from its original and wartime location.[3] We see from Dr. Porter's pictures that this house was frame.

To complete the wartime layout plan of the McLean place, we refer again to Mr. Featherston's corrections of the Hubard drawing, sheet 1. Wartime photograph 224 shows a picket fence along the road, running on east of the yard proper; on the east side of the yard a fence can be seen running back to the house, from this front fence. The Hubard drawing shows a fence on either side running back, turning at right angles to the front corner of the front

---

1. Preliminary Report - Old Bar or Tavern (F).
2. Supplementary Report - photographs 6 & 7.
3. We remember that Ragland moved it. Mr. Featherston, above, p. 3.

porch, on each side. Mr. Featherston says that these little pieces of fence (picket also) from the side fencing did not run to the corners of the front porch, but to the corners of the house. A glance at the wartime photographs will show that he is right. The fence on the east side of the yard ran all the way to the ice house, and then the little piece went from middle of the ice house to the corner of the dwelling house. (See photograph BA-74). The Hubard drawing also does not show that the fencing on the western side of the yard ran on south past the house to the rear of the lot. The smoke house and the house behind it, previously discussed, were outside this fence, and were utilized in lieu of it. This fence can be made out in the background of Plecker's photograph of the rear of the McLean House, taken from the south east, and in the view from SW, Webber wartime drawing. Webber shows it a picket fence from the front to the smoke house and other house, and a rail fence from there on back. The fence along the east boundary of the yard shows up in the postwar Dresher engraving (cited above, copy included with this report) as a picket fence with the posts and top rail on the outside of the yard.

In Hubard's drawing, five locust trees are shown along and inside the eastern fence. In the wartime photographs only four of the trees in the line show up, the one on the road apparently being just missed in each view. Four large old stumps, one uprooted, are on the ground there today.

At the time of the war a sixth locust stood right at the

eastern front corner of the dwelling house. It is to be seen in wartime photograph B-6333, but is absent in later photograph BA-74. The two wartime locusts at the western front corner of the house (see photograph 223) and shown on Hubard's drawing are now stumps. The cedar tree near them, also shown on Hubard's drawing, still stands. It is to be seen in postwar photograph BA-74, and it may be the black splotch in wartime photograph 223; landscape men should make a study of these facts and the ground and judge for themselves. A cherry tree, as remembered by Mr. Featherston, which stood just outside the western fence, is now a stump. An important thing about this stump and the row of locusts along the eastern fence is that they help locate those fences. The row of locusts, Mr. Featherston says, was just inside the eastern fence; the cherry was just outside the western. The extant stumps are as valuable for the purposes of location as the whole trees would be.

The well, which was directly in front of the front porch, is still on the site, and the brick walk can be seen in places. In the wartime photographs, the well shows as being neatly housed in lattice-work. Later photographs show it open, of the type wherein the bucket is raised and lowered by means of winding the rope on a spool. The present superintendent's residence at the village (Ferguson House, formerly) has such a well today (1940). Many visitors to the village express the opinion that a well right in the front yard, directly

in the path, was peculiarly placed. Apparently the lattice work camouflaged it completely in the old days, if we are to believe the statements of one of the visiting Federals of April 9, 1865 -- "Mr. McLean was - - - so much excited by his appreciation of passing events that he did not know where his pump was, or if he had any, and if not could not tell us where there was a spring".[1]

The ice house hole is plainly evident on the site today, in the spot where one would expect to find it after consulting the photographs and the Hubard drawing. Soil differences should enable the archeologist assigned to the job to determine the amount of fill and the original depth.

So much for the grounds.

Mr. Featherston's recollections of the dwelling house itself are also clear. He has been quoted previously on certain points regarding the main house, notably the probable absense or railing around the back porch in 1865. The front porch, as Mr. Featherston remembers it, had a brick floor under it, level with the basement inside. Three or four steps led down to this floor from the yard, but the basement was level with the back yard. All of the front view photographs show this drop from the front yard to the ground floor level, and the Plecker photograph of the rear of the house

---

1. Newhall, F. C., op. cit., Account of surrender, pp. 219 - 225.

shows that the back yard was level with the ground floor. The drop to the brick floor in front was not walled in, Mr. Featherston says, though this drop curved back around the east corner of the house in a slope that was bricked to prevent washing. The steps to the under-the-porch-floor were on the left of the porch steps when you faced the house.

The basement floor was not brick, as these ground floors often were in old houses. It was an ordinary wood floor, quite close to the ground. This agrees with Hancock's specifications. (Copy at end of this paper). The kitchen was at the east end and the dining room at the west end of the basement. The walls there, as well as all walls upstairs, were plastered and left white or white-washed. (See Hancock's Specifications, p. 7.). Plecker's interior photograph, discussed above, can be used in corroboration of this point, as to the first floor.

The wood work all over the house was plain and not at all elegant, Mr. Featherston says.

Mr. Featherston studied all the Hancock-Hubard drawings carefully and pointed out that the middle window in the top story, rear, was omitted (Hubard drawing, sheet 4). That window was important; it gave light to the stairs. It shows plainly enough in Plecker's rear view photograph. This was simply a slip on the part of Mr. Hubard. Hancock mentions and describes this "missing" window, however -- See specifications. Another "error" is to be noted on sheet

4. Mr. Hubard was, naturally, drawing the house as it was in 1893. He shows a closet in the north east corner of the upstairs hall. That closet was originally in the south east corner of the west upstairs room, says Mr. Featherston, and was moved out into the hall about 1885 by Mr. Featherston's uncle Trent Ragland.

V

Landscaping of the Site; the Yard as it Was

Before the Colored Veterans of Civilian Conservation Corps Camp NP28 cleared the site of the McLean House in the fall of 1940, the undergrowth was tropical in its luxuriance. Locust trees (descendents of the wartime trees) and brush hid the site, and honeysuckle concealed the piles of rubble.

The place had been like this for a long while. As we go back in time, however, the jungle decreases and the amount of building material increases, as evidenced in magazine articles with current photographs of the site in 1927 and 1915.[1] Even in 1903, however, the desolate quality was strong, "The McLane (sic.) house, where Grant and Lee met for conference before the surrender, is torn down and left a dismal heap of ruin."[2] Whereas, in 1887, before the

---

1. Long, Tag. A., "Appomattox", Norfolk and Western Magazine, Roanoke, June, 1927, vol. 5, no. 6, p. 491 & p. 492. Hunter Mrs. C. W., "The Ruins of Appomattox", The Confederate Veteran, December, 1915, vol. XXIII, no. 12, 537.

2. Chamberlain, Brevet Major-General Joshua L., "Reminiscences of Petersburg and Appomattox: October, 1903", War Papers Read Before the Commandery of the State of Maine, Military Order of the United States. Lefavor-Tower Co., Portland, 1908, vol. III, p. 179.

removal of the court house and consequent decline of the village, and before the advent of Mr. Dunlap, there still stands "directly west of the court-house, at a short distance - - - an airy, comfortable brick structure, wearing an air of conscious dignity, as though aware of the importance of the role which it played in the memorable drama of April, 1865. As long as a brick shall remain in its place this house will stand as an object of curiosity and interest."[1]

When we put this house back together again, however, we must go farther back in time for our inspiration. We must go all the way to 1865. A study of the old photographs, the Hubard drawings, sheet 1, as amended by Mr. Featherston, and of the ground itself will show the layout of the place, even to trees. But we must also reproduce the flora smaller than trees, the little plants that lend atmosphere to old Virginia places in the spring, all the more important here because the great event occurred in the spring.

The landscape men can fall back on japonica and other old fashioned shrubs as things which must have been there and would be in keeping even if they were not. We have bases for shrubs in a contemporary news paper account, "It is a large two-story brick house - - - surrounded by a beautiful yard of shrubberry and flowers.

---

1. Through Virginia Over the Norfolk and Western Railroad. Passenger Department, Roanoke, Virginia, 1887, pp. 19 - 20.

Roses and violets were in full bloom --."[1] Wartime photograph B-6333 shows what is apparently a rose bush on a trellis by the porch, and no. 223 shows a shrub or vine at the well house.

Newhall[2] and Grant's biographer Richardson[3] state that the Federals who lost out in the scramble for relics inside the McLean House stripped the garden of flowers to send to their wives and sweethearts. Richardson adds daffodils to the list of flowers there.[4]

So - roses, violets, and daffodils, and a shrub or two. The shrubbery should be sparse, for, in spite of some accounts, wartime photographs show a bare yard. The grass, judging from the photographs, seems to be crab grass, which seems right enough, for that is the only sort any ordinary citizen has ever been able to grow in Virginia.

VI

Conclusion

What to do First (Archeological Investigation)

After the study, the next step towards the reconstruction of

---

1. Correspondent Uriah H. Painter in the Philadelphia Inquirer, Friday, April 14, 1865, p. 1. column 3.
2. Op. cit., p. 223.
3. Richardson, Albert D., Personal History of Ulysses S. Grant. American Publishing Co., Hartford, 1868, p. 488.
4. Ibid., p. 484.

the McLean House will be archeological investigation at the site.

The things to look for have been brought out in this paper. They may be summarized briefly as follows:

All loose building material still left at the site should be carefully saved and classified and the exact spots of its location when found recorded.

Search for plants and shrubs or vestiges. While this is not vital, it can and should be done in the course of the more important search for other things. The CCC men have worked carefully in the preliminary clearing, have left things when in doubt, and have not grubbed the honeysuckle.

Foundations of the dwelling house. The house spot is plainly evident, and the old iron marker seems to be in what was the center of the house. With the Hubard drawings the foundations can be located to the inch. Special features to watch out for are the brick under-the-porch floor and the bricked slope curving around the front east corner of the house. The drop from the front yard to the ground floor level should be placed exactly and excavated to the proper depth.

The outbuildings and the first Raine house should be placed exactly. Though the first Raine house was moved, the foundations were probably left. Some of the building material of the outbuildings seems to be on the ground still. The general opinion about the various outbuildings is that they were not pulled down, but just fell in and disappeared. If no ground evidence of the outbuildings is conclusive enough, they can at least be placed by the Hubard drawing as amended by Mr. Featherston.

The stumps of the old trees are apparently all there today. The well is there and should be cleaned out. The ice house hole is there and should be cleared out to its original size. Other features of the yard are possible outlines of flower borders, which we know nothing of, and brick walks, at least one of which is still apparent, --the walk from the front gate to the house. It went around the well and to the front porch. The steps to the under-the-porch floor were to the east of the porch steps and should be located. A study of the photographs, both wartime and later, indicates that the front walk was not bricked from the well to the house. The carriage-way and other paths should be borne in mind too.

Location of fencing. All fencing should be located on the ground and the post holes found wherever possible; such holes, it is understood, can be spotted by differences in soil texture and com-

pactness. The dirt road running obliquely across the rear of the property should also be located exactly.

In all this work the photographs, drawings, and plans included in this report should be consulted constantly.

The lot numbers from the Moses-Peet plat, cited above in this paper, have been used as the bases for all proposed work. See Development Sheet, Master Plan, Appomattox Court House National Historical Monument. The old village lot numbers concerned in this job are 21 and 22.

What to Do Next (Furniture and Interior Woodwork)

It is believed that a lot of the building material, scattered around the country, can be recovered. The whereabouts of various pieces of furniture is known and other pieces might be found. Investigations towards these ends should be begun as soon as practicable.

It has been humorously suggested that an appeal might be put out for the recovery of all the bricks taken by souvenir hunters in the past forty-odd years. This might not be so silly after all. Fake bricks would inevitably come in, but any bricks of the right age and color could be used. The publicity attendant upon such a scheme would be valuable, and good will could be promoted by the inscribing of the donors' name on a suitable scroll, though, of course, there would be no effort to identify separate donations in the structure.

Notes on Sources Consulted

Sources useful to this paper on the McLean House appear in the footnotes. Since each source is given its full title, a bibliography has not been appended.

Of the many sources consulted, there is no need to make a full listing here. It might be stated, however, that a great deal of Appomattox material was found that is useful, though not pertinent to this study. Everything has been noted on typed 5 by 8 inch research cards and deposited in the files of the Appomattox Court House National Historical Monument, including sources of no assistance, to save future consultation. The list can be classified as follows:

Norfolk and Western RR literature.	Consulted because the road passes close by the old village
Travel books.	
General books on the Civil War.	
Periodicals listed in Swem's Index.	These Virginia magazines, however, are more genealogical than historical.
Periodicals listed in Poole's Index and the Readers Guide.	Checked for "Appomattox", "Historic Houses", "McLean".
Periodical - The Confederate Veteran.	All numbers checked for "Appomattox", "Memorial", "McLean", "Surrender", "Lee", "Last etc.", "Reminiscences", "Monuments". Mostly trivia.
Biographies, autobiographies, and recollections of people at the place.	Many promising sources do not amount to much. Grant is terse. Babcock, his aide, an important figure here, never wrote of Appomattox (Freeman, IV, p. 135, footnote 73).
Newspapers of April, 1865: Richmond, New York, Philadelphia, Baltimore, and Washington. Also later papers, Richmond and Appomattox.	

The Official Records of the war, Moore's Rebellion Record, and Annals of the War.

These primary sources do not go into the detail of the description of the place.

Insurance Records.
Mutual Assurance Society of Virginia, started in the 1790's.
Virginia Fire and Marine, incorporated 1832.

The records of the Virginia Mutual Society have been helpful in similar research. Mr. Moffat King, head of the Society, informed the writer, however, that the Society wrote all country property off its books in 1820 (conversation by telephone, Richmond, August 2, 1940). The McLean House was built in 1848. The Virginia Fire and Marine writes for five year periods and destroys all records over five years old. (Letter from Mr. B. C. Lewis, vice president, dated Richmond, October 5, 1940).

Old history books and texts.

Picture books, such as Forbes' Army Sketch Book, Mottelay and Campbell-Copeland, The Soldier in Our Civil War.

Photograph Collections.

The Handy Historical Photograph Studio, Washington, has a number of Brady photographs and other historical illustrations, but nothing on Appomattox not available elsewhere.

It was thought that Rees, the prominent Southside Virginia photographer, might have taken the McLean House. His collection, however, does not seem to be extant. (Letter from O. F. Northington, Supt., Petersburg National Military Park, September 23, 1940).

Military Society Papers.

Papers read before commanderies in various states of the Military Order of the Loyal Legion of the United States. Proceedings of the Massachusetts Historical Society. Papers of the Military Historical Society of Massachusetts. Papers read before the Rhode Island Soldiers and Sailors Historical Society.

The Southern Historical Society Papers. Nothing new on the subject.

Some sources within the above classification have been useful, as may be seen in the body of the paper. Books which quoted other sources or copied illustrations are not usually cited. Not appearing is Freemen, D. S., R. E. Lee, A Biography. 4 vols. Charles Scribner's Sons, New York, 1935, vol. IV, pp. 117-148-the best coordinated secondary account of Appomattox, valuable for its bibliography.

Quite a bit of information about the furniture of the McLean House was found, but that is not considered a part of this subject.

2/17/93.

Specifications for

McLean or Surrender House

at Appomattox

Va

Specifications

For Moving and Rebuilding The McLean or "Surrender House"

From Appomattox Court House Va to Washington D C

Removal

The house must be carefully taken down. All wood work numbered and removed so that none will be broken split or lost.

All Doors, Windows, Mantels etc to be taken down & shipped whole as far as possible. Care being taken not to deface the paint or moulding more than absolutely necessary.

The Bricks must be removed with great care so that the fewest number will be broken. The corner and Front bricks must be Kept separate and built back in their respective places. All of the bricks must be carefully cleaned.

Cartage

The Contractor is to deliver all material on Cars at Appomattox Depot and cart All Material from Washington Depot to Building lot. The owners to pay all other freight charges.

Rebuilding -

The accompanying drawings are to be considered a part of this specification. The figures on drawings to have preference over

scale measure And the wording of this specification to have preference over both figures and scale measurements.

The House consists of a basement first and second stories, with a decked front porch extending the length of house. Back porch fourteen feet long by eight feet 1½ inches wide with a comb roof.

When the word right or left room is used it means right or left hand when facing the front of the house.

Foundation -

The foundations to be of brick of dimensions shown on drawings To be two feet below the surface of ground or more if necessary to get a good foundation Bricks to be laid in mortar Composed of one Part James River or Rosendale Cement. two parts clean sharp sand to the surface of ground, then in lime mortar of good quality one part lime two parts sharp sand. All Joints between brick to be close

Walls

All outside walls are brick. Partitions wood. Both end walls thirteen inches thick. Laid every sixth course headers. Front and back basement walls Seventeen inches thick, every sixth course headers. Front & Back walls to first story 13" thick. Front wall flemish bond from front porch floor to Cornice. Very Close joints not over ¼" thick. Back wall every sixth course headers.

Second Story- All walls 13" thick, every sixth course headers

Chimneys and Flues must be rebuilt as found on old building.

Six brick pillars are to be built to support front of front porch as shown on ground plan and elevation. The back porch rests on wooden posts, whose bottom ends rest on flat stones, as shown on end elevation and ground plan The house has 123 Courses of brick on sides.

Floors

Basement floors are board resting on scantling laid on the grounds Large fire hearths with brick paving.

1st Floor is nailed to 3x10 Joists, 24"ø and two 10x10 Oak sills running crosswise of the house, the hall floor rests on joists running lengthwise of the house & morticed into the 10x10 Oak sills

2nd Floor same as first except it hasent the 10x10 sills.

Ceiling joists are 10"x3" running across the house Rafters 3"x4" Sheeting 1" Covered with tin

Front Porch Framing morticed together, one end of sills resting in walls of house, the other on brick pillars as shown on end elevation of house. This porch has 9 steps with 3" oval hand

rail on each side with 3½"x4½" Newells 38" high at bottom of steps as shown. The porch has a railing extending all around with hand rail 3½" wide top edge bevelled this porch has Six 12x12 Square wooden columns supporting deck. The flooring of this deck has a slight drainiage to the front about 1½". This porch has a hand railing around the top as follows. Eight post 3"x8"x30". hand rail 3x3 foot rail 3x3 lattices 1½x2. run diagonally to form diamonds as shown on drawings. Top rail chamfered 1/3. 1" chamfer

Front of posts panelled with a ¾" half round moulding. Rail run over top of posts and mitered at corners

The Back Porch is reached by a flight of 13 steps. plain 1 1/8" treads no risers hand rail 2"x4" top rounded foot rail 1x6 plain, Newell 3'8" high Porch railing same as front porch the roof of this porch is a comb roof covered with shingles Columns of this porch 10½"x11"

Doors Windows etc

Basement story has 4 windows of 16 lights each 10x12 glass as shown on drawings. windows set 2'5½" from floor. Outside blinds

Front Door to basement 6'5½"x2'11" Back Door 6'5½"x3'3½". Two hall doors 6'6"x2'11". One 2'6" wide under steps in Right hand room

Stairs leading from basement to first story hall. 12 steps 9" rise 11" tread 2'-11" wide hand rail & balusters with newell & posts as shown on plans.

1st Story has 4 windows of 24 lights each 10"x12" glass as shown on drawing, but the two windows in right hand room are more elaborately moulded than those in surrender room and also have a panell under them reaching to the floor 6½" Square rose blocks in Corners. Outside blinds Windows in Surrender room have no rose blocks inside

The Front door has double doors with transom as shown on detail Back door single 6'5½x3'9½" panelled side hall doors 6'5½x3'1½" 5 Panells door frames finished off inside same style as window frames Stair from first to second story has a landing as shown on plan. these Stairs have hand rail & newells these stairs are Ciiled on underside & are panelled on side that shows in hall. Stop strips for 5 panelled door leading to basement.

Flat strips in front hall level with top of door 1"x2". wash board in Surrender room 5½"x1½" Flat strip in this room 1¾"x1¼" level with top of door

2nd Story Doors etc

The Second story has 5 windows 16 lights 2 windows in each room & one in end of hall over back porch. And a door in front end

of hall opening on the deck of front porch as shown on drawings, this door is 4'-1" wide 6'-10" high- Height from floors of rooms to windows 2'-3"-

Mantels in these rooms as shown on detail sheet. Mop & Chair boards in both rooms, panelled doors leading from hall to each room located as shown. All windows have outside blinds. Tin Gutters hung under main roof with down spouts At each corner of old pattern with gutter heads.

All Rooms are plastered and white washed.

All fire places are open for burning wood on old fashioned iron logs.

The Contractor is to furnish all tools machinery & materials for moving & rebuilding this house unless otherwise specified-

Upon Completion all rubbish must be removed from building & deposited in some suitable place-

All broken glass replaced & house cleaned up.

COPY

John Edgar Hoover
Director

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
WASHINGTON, D. C.

September 20, 1940

Mr. Newton Drury
Director
National Park Service
Interior Building
Washington, D. C.

Attention: Doctor Charles W. Porter

Re: Appomattox, Virginia Surrender House Plans

Dear Mr. Drury:

In accordance with your request, the papers presented personally by your Mr. R. Happel were examined for the purpose of determining their authenticity. These papers consisted of four pages and a cover bound together and represented drawings of the original house, including details of mantels and frames, and a separate bound document of handwritten specifications.

The entries on the drawings, showing the dimensions, the names of doors and windows, mantels and descriptions and dimensions of these, were, like the drawings, executed in ink, the color of which is now brown and in pencil. Examination discloses that the original drawings were made in pencil over which the ink was traced with a fine pen and without erasing the pencil. At the upper right-hand portion of each sheet of the drawings appears the date in figures "2-17-93", and at the lower left of each sheet of the drawings there are entries in red ink. On the reverse side of sheet number one there are additional ink entries consisting of a title, the date "2-17-93", the signature of Mr. Hubbard and similar notes. This ink is similar to that of the drawings, that is, faded to a brown.

The specifications are written in script with an ink which is now brown and on the first page appears the date "2-17-93".

It was concluded that all of the handwritings are by the same person.

The date "2-17-93" on the faces of each drawing and at the beginning of the specifications is written with an ink of a different color from the remainder of the entries. This ink is blue-black and has not faded to a brown. The remainder of the writing in the specifications and drawings was written with an iron ink the color of which has faded to a brown and this occurred because of aging conditions. This includes

the entry "2-17-93" on the reverse side of page number one of the drawings, which shows the same aging effects as all of the inks in the drawings and specifications.

The difference in the inks of the date on the faces of the drawings and specifications compared with the ink of the specifications and drawings may be due to the fact that these entries of the date were not placed upon the sheets at the time the original drawings and specifications were made. No estimate as to when these entries of the date were placed on the papers may be made because it is impossible to know the conditions under which the writings were kept, but if these entries were made with the same ink (tests indicate it is the same general class of ink) and the conditions for the papers were the same, then the conclusion is warranted that these entries of the date on the faces of the drawings and specifications are not as old as the drawings and specifications. The difference in these ages cannot be estimated because again information is not available as to the conditions under which date entries were kept. These considerations do not affect the authenticity of the documents because the date on the reverse of sheet number one of the drawings is exactly in conformity with the drawings and specifications.

There are no means of determining the dates of the pencil entries, some of which apparently were not made with the pencil used on others. With the exception of one caption, however, it is quite evident that both the ink and pencil entries on the drawings were made before the folds in the papers were sufficiently creased either to crack the paper completely in two, as it presently exists, or even to cause a small ridge. This is evidence that even the pencil entries are not later additions to the original drawings because these entries are partly written over by the ink, the original pencil still appearing and evidently having been for the purpose of a model in a way that draftsmen prepare drawings. The folds in the paper of the drawings, the discoloration of the paper, the extra discoloration at the edges, the kind of paper used and similar factors are all in conformity with the execution of the drawings on the date when they purport to have been made and the filing of these documents in the files utilized at that time. Such files provided for the folding of the document in a number of folds in which condition it is preserved with a certain amount of pressure. The aging of paper under these conditions and a reasonable amount of inspections or use of the document cause the drying out and finally a cracking and shearing of the paper at the folds, in exactly the manner in which this appears in the drawings.

The paper of the drawings and specifications was examined in order to observe, if possible, any fact or condition incongruous with the claim that these papers were in existence since 1893 or were used for the purpose described. The examiner was unable to find any such evidence. One method of securing additional evidence would be to compare the physical characteristics of the paper with paper known to have been used at the time or with paper similar to the questioned specimens, the source and date of which is known. If it were possible to determine the manufacturer of the paper by such means as a watermark this could be easily accomplished, but no watermark was found in any of the sheets of the drawings, specifications or the cover. The cover appears to be a piece of wrapping paper folded in order to protect the drawings. The paper used in the drawings is of the kind utilized by architects, draftsmen, contractors and other businesses for the preparation of specifications or similar documents at the time of the alleged execution of the drawings. The paper of the specifications is apparently of the type used for legal purposes, each line being numbered. The printed figures in line would enable easy identification of this paper if specimens of a known source could be located. One method of doing this would be to search through the files of a court house or other legal depository in which such papers might be found of this vicinity.

In documents of this kind, of a spurious nature, there usually are found indications of care in the execution which in themselves are sufficient because usually unnatural. No such indications were found in these documents.

In order that the Laboratory may have evidence of what it has examined a small portion of page three of the drawings has been photographed and likewise a small portion of the bottom of the first page of the specifications. No copy completely showing any page or drawing has been kept, in conformity with the desire of your Mr. Happel.

The specimens were examined in the presence of Mr. Happel and the original specimens were delivered to him personally on September 18, 1940.

Assuring you of my desire to be of assistance in these matters, I am

Sincerely yours,

(SGD.) J. E. HOOVER

John Edgar Hoover
Director

2/17/93.

Specifications for

McLean or Surrender House

at Alexandria Va

Specifications

For Moving and Rebuilding The McLean or "Surrender House" From Appamattox Court House Va. to Washington D. C

Removal

The House must be carefully taken down. All wood work numbered and removed so that none will be broken split or lost.

All Doors, Windows, Mantels &C to be taken down & shipped whole as far as possible. Care being taken not to deface the paint or moulding more than absolutely necessary.

The Bricks must be removed with great care so that the fewest number will be broken, The Corner and Front bricks must be kept separate and built back in their respective places. All of the bricks must be carefully cleaned

Cartage

The Contractor is to deliver all material on Cars at Appamattox Depot and Cart all material from Washington Depot to Building lot. The owners to pay all other freight Charges.

Rebuilding

The accompanying Drawings are to be considered a part of this Specification. The figures on Drawings to have preference over scale measure

And the wording of this specification to have preference over both figures and scale measurements.

The House Consists of a basement first and second stories with a decked front porch extending the length of house. Back Porch fourteen feet long by eight feet 1½ inches wide with a Comb roof.

When the word right or left room is used it means right or left hand when facing the front of the house.

Foundation.

The foundations to be of brick of dimensions shown on drawing. To be two feet below the surface of ground or more if necessary to get a good foundation. Bricks to be laid in mortar Composed of one part James River or Rosendale Cement. two parts clean sharp sand to the surface of ground, then in lime mortar of good quality one part lime two parts sharp sand. all joints between brick to be close.

Walls.

All outside walls are brick. Partitions wood. Back end walls thirteen inches thick

Laid every sixth course headers. Front and back basement walls Seventeen inches thick, every Sixth Course headers. Front & Back walls to first story 13" thick - Front wall flemish bond from front porch floor to Cornice - Very Close joints not over 1/4" thick - Back wall every sixth Course headers.

Second Story - all walls 13" thick, every Sixth Course headers

Chimneys and Flues must be rebuilt as found on old building -

Six brick pillars are to be built to support front of front porch as shown on ground plan and elevation - The back porch rests on wooden posts, whose bottom ends rest on flat stones as shown on end elevation and ground plan the house has 123 Courses of brick on sides -

Floors.

Basement floors are board resting on scantling laid on the ground Large fire hearths with brick paving.

1st Floor is nailed to ~~two~~ 3x10 Joists 24" c & two 10x10 Oak Sills running Crosswise of the house, the back floor rests on joists running lengthwise of the house & ~~resting~~ mortised into the

10x10 Oak sills
2nd Floor same as first except it hasn't the 10x10 sills.
Ceiling joists are 10"x3" running across the house. Rafters 3"x4" Sheeting 1" Covered with tin
Front Porch Framing morticed togather, one end of sills resting in walls of house, the other on brick pillars as shown on end Elevation of house, This porch has 9 steps with 3" oval hand rail on each side with 3½"x4½" newells 38" high at bottom of steps as shown, The porch has a railing extending all around with hand rail 3½" wide top edge bveled this porch has ~~Six~~ 12x12 Square wooden Columns ~~extending~~ supporting deck. The flooring of this deck has a slight drainage ~~to~~ the front about 1½". This porch has a hand railing around the top as follows. Eight foot 3"x8"x30". hand rail 3x3 foot rail 3x3 latticed 1½x2. run diagonally to form diamonds as shown on drawings. Top rail Chamfered ½. 1" Chamfer Front of posts panelled with a ¾" half round moulding. Rail run over tops of posts and mitred at Corners

The Back Porch is reached by a flight of 13 steps. plain 1 1/8" treads no risers hand rail 2"x4" top rounded foot rail 1x6 plain, newell 3' 8" high Porch railing same as front porch the roof of this porch is a Couch roof covered with shingles Columns of this porch 10 1/2"x11"

Doors Windows &c

Basement story has 4 windows of 16 lights each 10x12 glass as shown on drawings. windows set 2'-5 1/2' from floor Outside blinds

Front Door to basement 6'-5 1/2" x 2'-11" Back Door 6' 5 1/2" x 3' 3 1/2" - Two Vault doors 6' 6" x 2' 11." one 2' 6" wide under steps in Right hand room

Stairs leading from basement to first story hall. 12 steps 9" rise 11" tread 2'-11" wide hand rail & balusters with newell & posts as shown on plans.

1st Story has 4 windows of 24 lights each 10"x12" glass as shown on drawing, the two windows in right hand room are more elaborately moulded than those in Surrender room and also have a panell under them reaching to the floor 6 1/2' square rose blocks in corners. Outside blinds Windows in Surrender room have no rose blocks inside

The front door has double doors

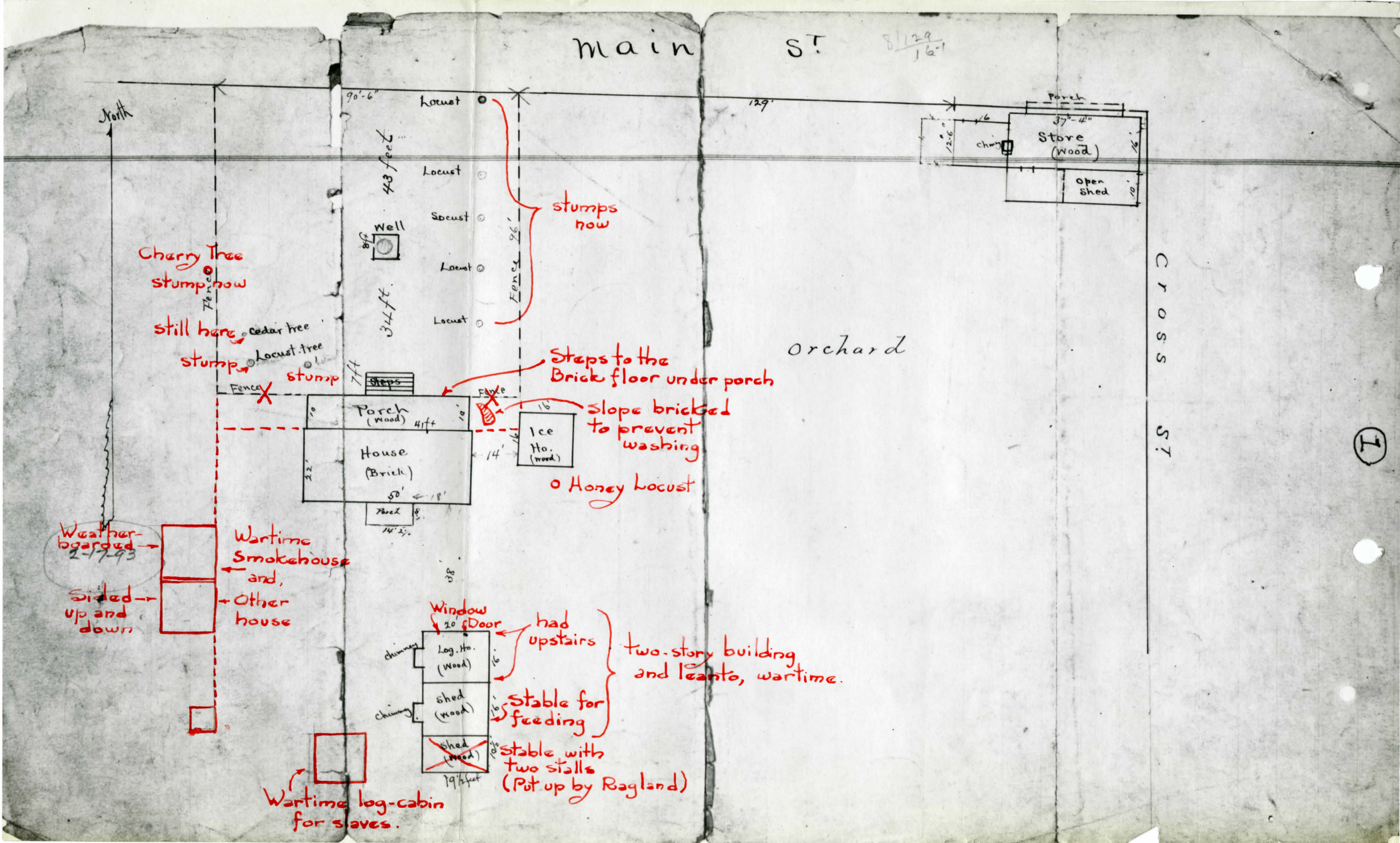
with transom as shown on detail
Back door single 6'-5½ x 3'-9½" panelled
side hall doors 6'-5½ x 3'-1½" 5 Panels
door frames finished off inside
same style as window frames
Stair from first to second story has
a landing as shown on plan—
these stairs have hand rail & newells
these stairs are Ciled on underside &
are panelled on side that shows in
hall— Stop Striks for 5 panelled door
leading to basement—
Hat strips in front hall level with
top of door 1"x2"— wash board in
Surender room 5½"x 1½" Hat Strip in this
room 1¾"x1¼" level with top of door

2nd Story Doors &c

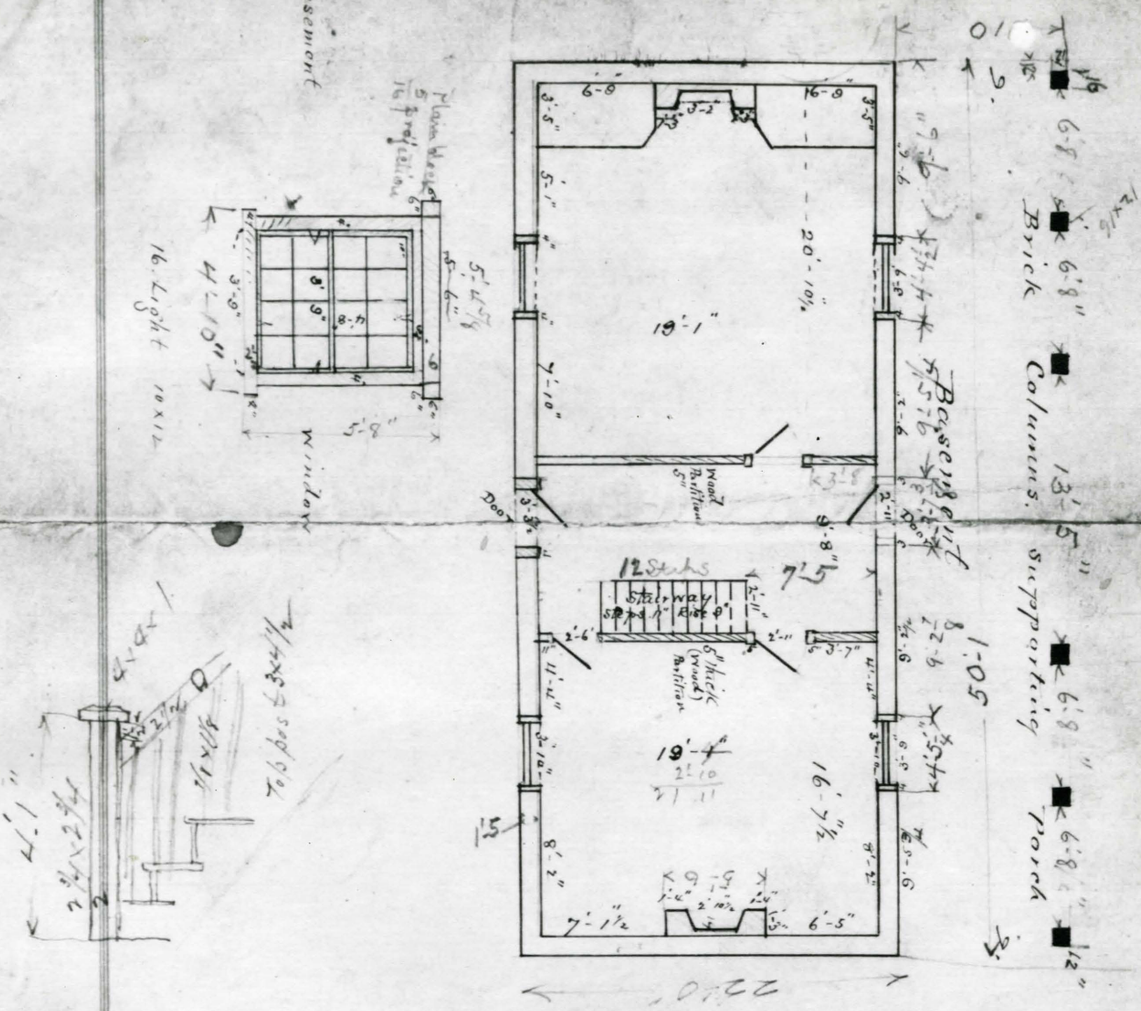
The second story has 5 windows 16 lights
2 windows in each room & one in end
of hall over back porch— And a
door in front end of hall opening on
the deck of front porch as shown
on drawings— this door is 4'-1" wide
6'-10" high— Height from floors of rooms
to windows 2'-3"—
Mantels in three rooms as shown
on detail sheet— mop & Chair boards
in back rooms, panelled doors
leading from hall to each room
located as shown— All windows
have outside blinds. Tin Gutters
running under main roof with down spouts

At each corner of old pattern with gutter heads.
All Rooms are plastered and white washed.
All fire places are open for burning wood on old fashioned iron dogs.

The Contractor is to furnish all tools machinery & materials for moving & rebuilding this house unless otherwise specified.
Upon completion all rubbish must be removed from building & deposited in some suitable place.
All broken glass replaced & house cleaned up.


main St
8/129
16-1
North
90'-6"
Locust
129'
Porch
37'6"-4"
Store
(Wood)
Open Shed
43 feet
Locust
Locust
Locust
Well
stumps now
Cherry Tree
stump now
still here
Cedar tree
Locust tree
stump
stump
Fence
Fence
34ft.
Fence 96'
7ft
Steps
Steps to the Brick floor under porch
Porch
(Wood)
41ft
10'
Fence
16'
slope bricked to prevent washing
Ice Ho.
(wood)
House
(Brick)
50'
18'
14'
22'
Porch
8'
14'2½"
Honey Locust
orchard
Cross St
1
Weather-boarded 2-17-93
Wartime Smokehouse and,
Sided up and down
Other house
38
Window
20' Door
Log. Ho.
(Wood)
chimney
had upstairs
two-story building and leanto, wartime.
shed
(wood)
chimney
Stable for feeding
Shed
(Wood)
10½"
Stable with two stalls (Put up by Ragland)
19½ feet
Wartime log-cabin for slaves.

2-17-93-



Basement - Story.

~~Front Door. Heighth - 6'-8½ Width 3'-3½~~

Back Door " 6'-5½ " 2'-11"

Ceiling " ~~8'-9~~ 8'-10 floor beam to floor beam

Heighth windows from floor 2'-5½

Thickness of wall Side walls 1'-5" End 1'-0"

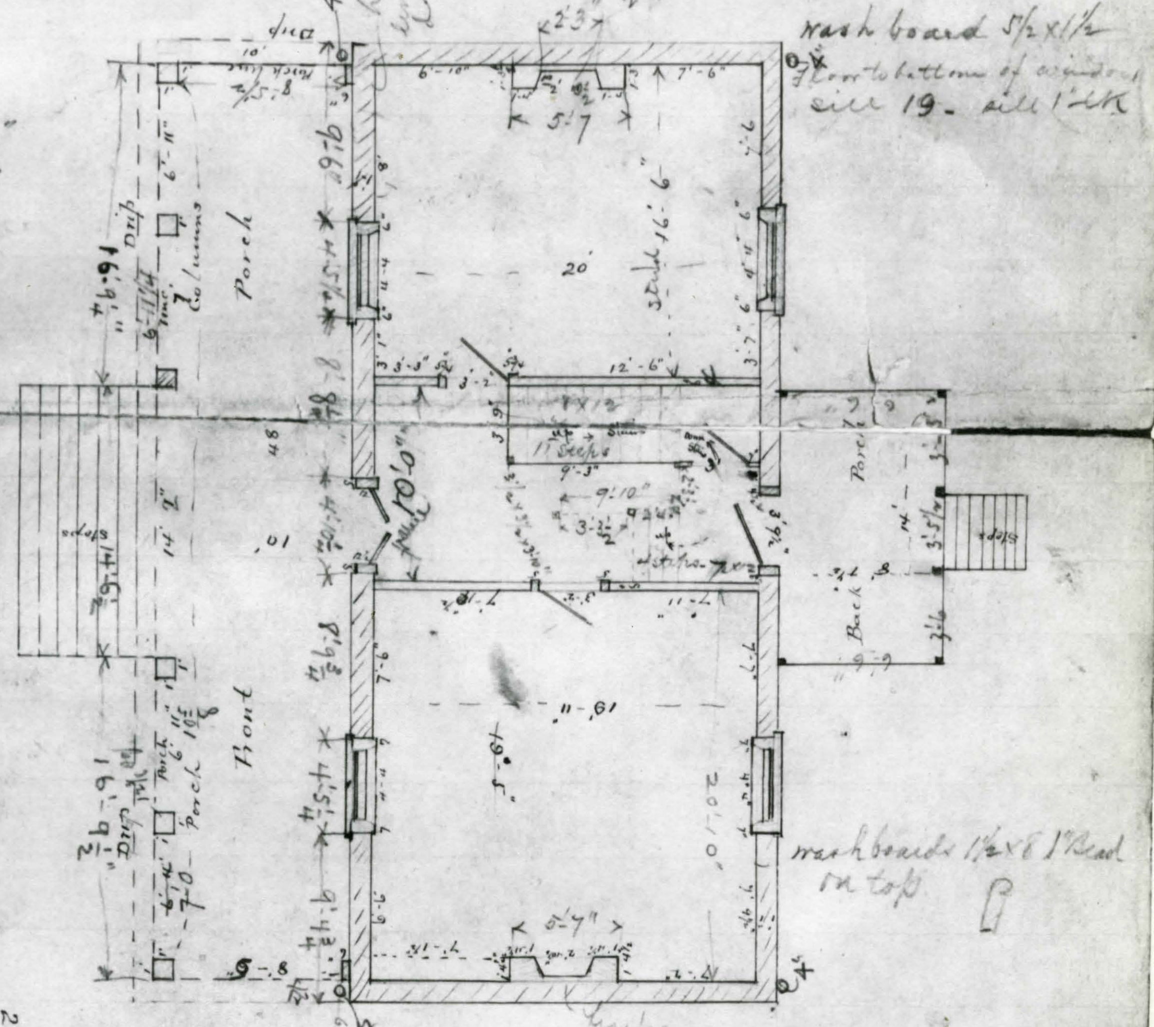
" " Partitions (wood) 5"

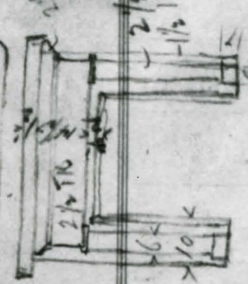
10" Beams to second story.

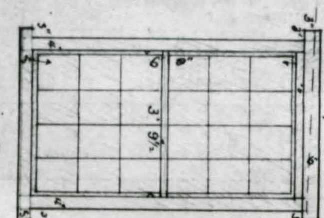
Masonry Est at 194600
Wood work " " 3800 } for Basement 198400.

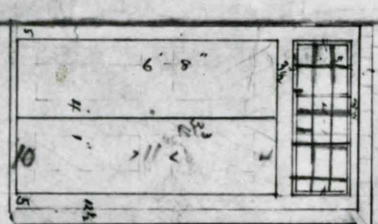
(3) 2-17-93-

1st newell 3½ x 3½ x 3'-10"
2nd " " 10'-7"





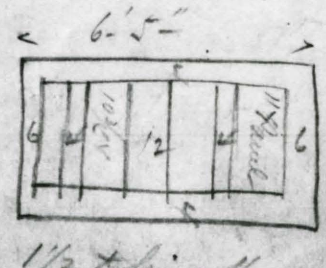




1st Story
2nd Story

Front Door. "Double"	Width	4'-1"
" "	Heighth	6'-8"
"	Thickness	0-1½
Back Door "Single"	Width	3' 9½
" " "	Heighth	6' 5½"
Ceiling 2 floor to 3rd floor / floor 1st - 8" Beams -	"9'-9½	~~8-2~~
" Over back Door	"	6'-1½
Thickness of Wall		1'-1"
" " Partitions (wood)		0-5"
From Floor to window		1'-8"

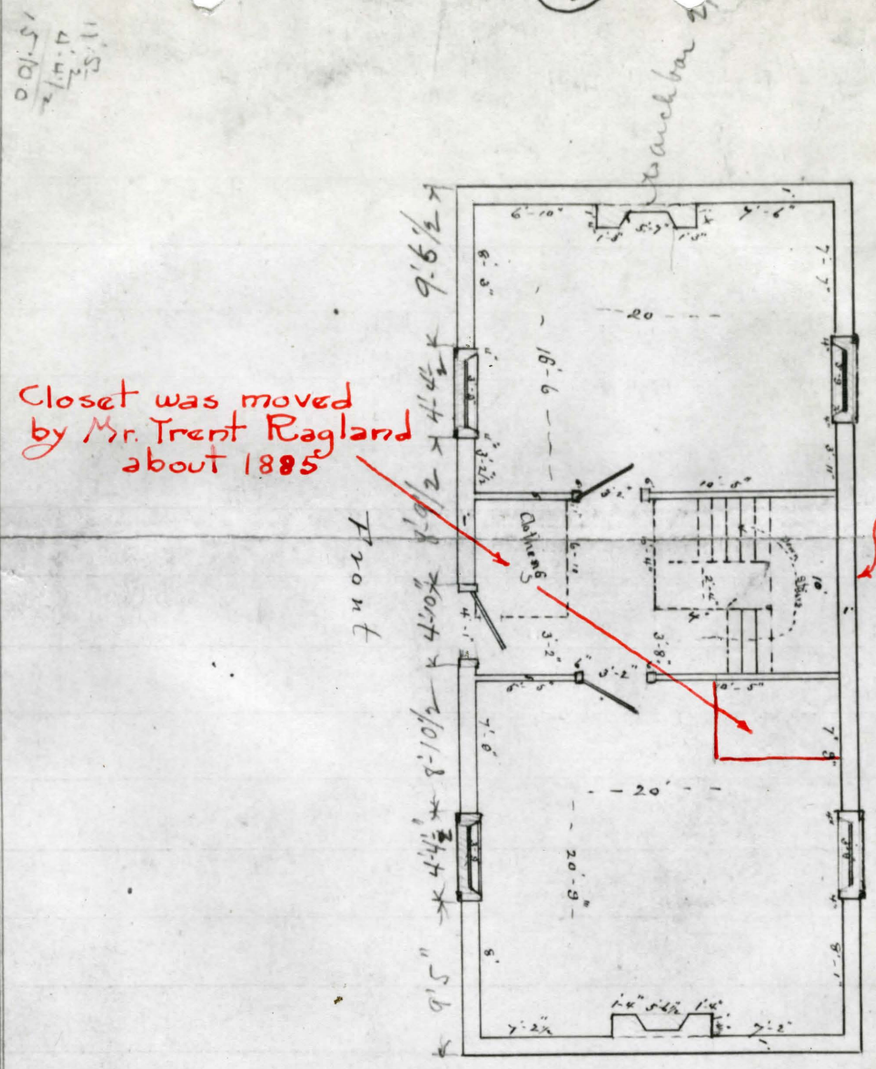
6'-5"



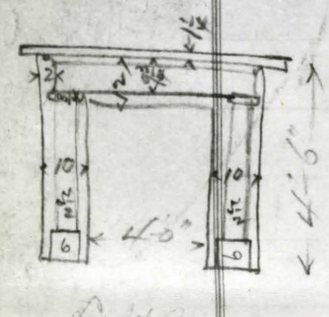
3'-0½
1½ thick

(4)

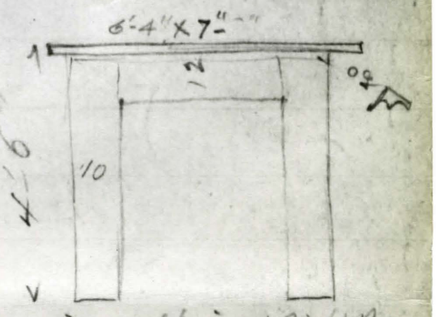
2-17-93-



2nd
3d Story.



Left Room



Mantle in Right Room

Heighth of Ceiling	8'-2"	
Thickness of Wall	1'-0"	
Thickness of Partitions (Wood)	0-5"	
Front Door. Width	4'-1"	
" " Heighth	6'-10"	
From Floor to window	2'-3"	

Windows - 16 light 10" x 12". same as basement
Floor to top of window Sill 2' 3½"
Plain Mantels 4-6" high 6'-4 x 7" tops -
Mopboard boards in back rooms

Brick 143696 } 3rd Story -
Rough Mark 12600 } 156296 Roof 17500 approximately -

Rear View of the McLean House - Taken by Plecker of Lynchburg.
Copy of a Print in the Valentine Museum, Washington and Lee University, Lexington, Virginia.



An 1865 Photograph of the McLean House, Courtesy U. S. Signal Corps, Photo # B6333



Photographs of the McLean House as it was in 1865. Copies from Prints in the Brady Collection, Library of Congress









Photograph of the McLean House as it Appeared in the 1870's
by Mr. Frank Stevens of Lynchburg

U. S. Signal Corps Photo # BA74. This view of the McLean House some years After the War is a Copy of a Plecker Photograph.



#1. McLean House - Appommattox Court House, Va.

Dresher Engraving of the McLean House After the War



The Plecker Photograph of the McLean House, 1885



Interior -- The Surrender Room, McLean House,
A View by the Lynchburg Photographer Plecker,
Copied from the print in the Valentine Museum,
Washington and Lee University, Lexington, Va.



Views from the Drawing by Webber (Bufford Engraving),
Note McLean House, Outbuildings, Yard and General Set-up.



View from N W



View from S W