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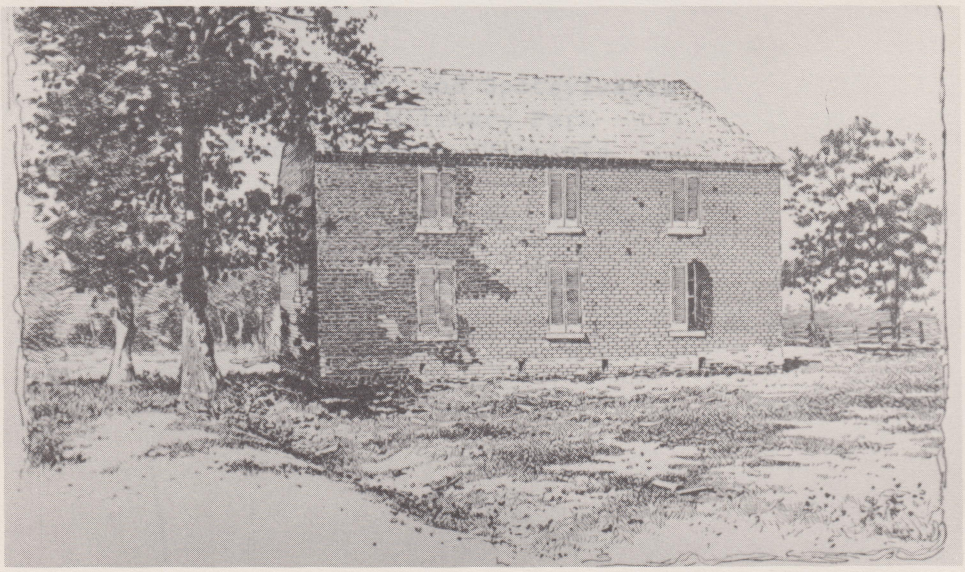
OLD SALEM CHURCH

Historic Structures Report - Part II
Historical Data Section
Fredericksburg and Spotsylvania
National Military Park

By
RALPH HAPPEL



DIVISION OF HISTORY
Office of Archeology and Historic Preservation
AUGUST 10, 1968

National Park Service

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HISTORIC STRUCTURES REPORT

PART II
SECTION 4

HISTORICAL DATA
FOR
SALEM CHURCH

Fredericksburg and Spotsylvania
National Military Park
Fredericksburg, Virginia

SECTION 4

HISTORICAL DATA

The History of Salem Church, Spotsylvania County, Virginia

by

Ralph Happel
Park Historian

Fredericksburg and Spotsylvania
National Military Park
Fredericksburg, Virginia

1965

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PREFACE

Significance of Salem Church

Old Salem Church, a mid-nineteenth century brick edifice in Spotsylvania County, Virginia, stands some four miles west of Fredericksburg. On adjoining property is the present church building, a mid-twentieth century structure. The congregation donated the old building to the United States Government in 1961 to be a part of the Fredericksburg and Spotsylvania National Military Park.

The American Civil War brought fame to this Baptist meeting house when a battle, part of the Chancellorsville Campaign, raged around it, indeed within the very yard and church itself.

Chancellorsville is imbued with drama. Federal commander Joseph Hooker made a good beginning thrust, but R. E. Lee parried it and then outpointed his stronger opponent. "The Chancellorsville campaign," wrote a Confederate veteran, "was altogether the most remarkable conducted by General Lee. While it occupied less than a week in point of time, it included a series of engagements, a number of which might be classed as battles. Some of these were fought independently by detached bodies, on fields widely separated, but all controlled and inspired by one master mind . . . . Night

attacks alternated with those by day, and were productive of panics and confusion. The odds appeared to be first on one side and then on the other, and again to be evenly balanced. The campaign presented on the whole a greater variety of situations, and more spectacular features than any in which the Army of Northern Virginia was ever engaged . . . . The battle of Chancellorsville was probably the most difficult of all General Lee's battles, at the same time it was his greatest success. At no time except during the closing chapter of the war, did he have to face such overwhelming odds."[1]

McIntosh's estimate of fifty years ago remains valid. Today, it is generally agreed that Chancellorsville was Lee's greatest achievement. Indeed, the eminent Dr. D. S. Freeman called it "perhaps more nearly a flawless battle, from the Confederate point of view, than any that was ever planned and executed by an American commander."[2]

The Salem Church fight, staving off attack against the rear of Lee's main force, was a crucial engagement of the Chancellorsville Campaign. General Paul E. Semmes, in his report of the campaign, written May 20, 1863, immediately afterward, stated that the Battle of Salem Church "was one of the most severely contested of the war." Though many other engagements would follow the

writing of that report, General E. P. Alexander, a warrior-critic of stature, after years of reflection still called the Battle of Salem Church "one of the most brilliant and important of the minor affairs of the war."[3]

Not the least of its brilliance and importance stemmed from the activities of General Cadmus Marcellus Wilcox, whose initiative saved the day for Lee and the Confederacy. Dr. Freeman has cited Wilcox as a paragon of resourcefulness. Wilcox was observant of ground and other factors, and he had the moral courage to act quickly without orders. Says Freeman: " . . . Wilcox, left alone, might have felt that he had a right to cry, Sauve qui peut. Instead, he took his chance of being destroyed in order that he might delay the advance of the enemy." "Daring and devotion had their reward. Cadmus Wilcox that day gave military history an example far outliving his time, of the manner in which one Brigade, courageously led, can change the course of battle and retrieve a lost day."[4]

The old Salem Church building, which would be largely unknown except for the war, is incidentally significant as an example of a mid-nineteenth century rural church, particularly of the brick structures then being built by Baptists all over this part of Virginia. Some housed, like Salem, new congregations. Others were new and better shelters for old congregations. All of them, though

more substantial than the frame buildings first used by Virginia Baptists, were simple, rectangular gable-roofed structures, much alike. They indicate the rising economic status of the Baptists, but represent no spurt of great wealth. Thus Salem, a well-preserved example of the type, reflects a facet of nineteenth century social life.

Mid-twentieth century Baptist construction hereabouts has produced a type also. This type is sort of neo-Early American-cum-cupola, and the buildings are quite large. The new Salem building and the new Zoan building up the road are examples. Sometimes mid-twentieth century Baptist churches have been since augmented with the kitchens and halls ("educational buildings") so dear to modern-day congregations. All this construction within a short period reflects a rise in wealth after World War Two.

Additions have also been made to old Baptist church buildings. Old Salem, not only well-preserved, is further significant as being a basically unaltered example of its class and time. (See Appendix Four for brief mention of similar nineteenth century Baptist churches.) It is fortunate that the congregation had the foresight and the ability to eschew additions or drastic alterations to the historic structure and to build their new church at some distance from the old one.

Chapter 1

Baptist Beginnings in Spotsylvania County

Virginia, unlike New England, was not founded by people seeking separation from an established church. For many years the Cavalier Old Dominion, whatever the attributes of its rank and file, hewed to the official line of the Anglican Communion. As time went on, however, dissidents made themselves heard. They received encouragement when the rights of Dissenters were granted by the English Parliament, with the passage of the Toleration Act in 1689.

The Toleration Act, a sop to the Protestant Dissenters who had helped William and Mary to the throne, allowed all Dissenters except Unitarians and Catholics to worship in their own meeting houses, though they must be registered and the doors kept unlocked. Furthermore, the ministers were licensed to preach only after taking the oaths of allegiance and supremacy and subscribing to certain Anglican tenets. Dissenters, like everybody else, continued to be taxed for the support of the state church.

A subsequent amendment liberalized the licensing of meeting houses. The Toleration Act, however, was not incorporated into Virginia laws until 1699, and then only by general reference. Virginia never gave legal recognition to the amendment.[1]

Thus, the Toleration Act, while it may have encouraged, did not much aid early Virginia Baptists, who suffered continual persecution in their fight to preach their interpretation of gospel. They preached nevertheless, whenever and wherever possible, despite opposition, and the colonial jails "became witnesses of the penalty which they endured."[2]

The Virginia authorities used the law for the preservation of the peace as a technical basis for harassment.[3] Peace, when the Baptists preached, was precarious. There were always rowdies ready to start a disturbance, and the sheriffs and constables would cause trouble if the rowdies did not. Excepting certain preachers and leaders, the Baptist brethern, as well as the rowdies, came from the plain people. It is a commonplace that conservatism among the plain people can be as violent as radicalism. The sheriffs, whatever one terms their social status, represented the gentry. Mainly, the gentry avoided violence, being content with voicing their disapproval through the established clergy, who attacked the Baptists from the pulpit, calling them wolves in sheep's clothing.

Meantime, the Baptists endured the differences among themselves. Though more peaceably conducted than their differences with the state church, the variations yet precluded a united front. There were three main subsects: the General Baptists, the Regular Baptists, and the Separates. The General Baptists believed in

"general atonement," offered to everybody. The Regular Baptists were Calvinistic, holding to a "particular atonement" for the elect only. The Regulars also had a profession of faith, or dogma, if you will, dating to 1689 in England and adopted in 1742 by the Philadelphia Association. The Separate Baptists, originating in New England in the mid-eighteenth century, separated from the New England Church and insisted on vital personal faith rather than lip service. They emphasized the depravity of man, atonement through Christ, and need for a "new birth," with baptism as the outward sign of inward change. At first it seemed the General Baptists would predominate in the Colonies. Then they gradually lost ground.[4]

Virginia was the last of the thirteen original colonies where the Baptists gained permanent footing, but the sect there soon acquired a membership almost as large as that in all the other twelve colonies combined.[5]

In Virginia the Separate Baptists came to the fore. Upper Spotsylvania Church was the mother church of this group in all the region between the James and Rappahannock rivers. Started in 1767, Upper Spotsylvania Church was later known as Craig's after its first regular pastor, Lewis Craig. It was, along with other Virginia churches, also a mother church to the settlements across the mountains, during and after the Revolution, when so many

people sought greener pastures. Individuals and groups went westward, and sometimes whole congregations, with all goods, furniture and livestock. Lewis Craig, in 1781, after nobly bearing persecution in Virginia, when that battle was won, led his flock through the dark forests and over the mountain torrents to Gilbert's Creek, Kentucky.[6]

Among those who had first persecuted Craig was John ("Swearing Jack") Waller, also known as "the Devil's Adjutant," a leading well-educated lawyer of Spotsylvania County. He was a member of the grand jury which indicted Craig for preaching without a license. Craig, however, turned this Saul into a Paul by a moving address in court. The aristocratic Waller soon became a Baptist preacher, travelling extensively and himself the object of abuse and persecution.[7]

It seems that Waller, his mentor Lewis Craig, James Childs, and apparently several others were the first Baptists actually imprisoned in Virginia. They were arrested June 4, 1768, hauled before three magistrates, who stood in Craig's Meeting House yard, and bound over to appear at Spotsylvania Court, which at that time was held in Fredericksburg. (Spotsylvania Court was held in Fredericksburg from 1732 to 1778.) They were arraigned as disturbers of the peace. During their trial, a lawyer complained to the court: "May it please your worships, these men are great disturbers of the peace; they cannot meet a man upon the road, but they must ram a

text of Scripture down his throat." Waller made such a brilliant plea that the magistrates did not know quite what to do with the disturbers. They offered freedom if the culprits did not preach in the county for a year and a day. The prisoners refused to make any concessions and were therefore sent to jail. On the way from the court house to the jail they sang the hymn "Broad is the road that leads to death," somewhat overawing the populace.

After a month's imprisonment, Lewis Craig was released. He went to Williamsburg, colonial capital of Virginia, to seek freedom for his companions, laying the case before John Blair, the deputy governor. Counteracting Craig, a number of Spotsylvania gentlemen wrote to Williamsburg, complaining of the Baptists. Blair in a letter to the King's Attorney of Spotsylvania stated that, under the Toleration Act, the Baptists were within their rights. The King's Attorney simply ignored the matter. After a time, however, Waller and his companions were released, without condition.

The local authorities had hedged, afraid of a showdown. So the release was a kind of triumph. Waller and the others resumed their labors.[8]

Waller served time in other jails also and suffered constant harassment. Once, in Caroline County, the Anglican minister went beyond verbal abuse. In the spring of 1771, as Waller was holding an outdoor service, the parish minister, Mr. Moreton, rode up with his clerk and the sheriff. Moreton tumbled the leaves of Waller's

psalm book with his riding crop. When Waller started to pray, Moreton rammed the end of the whip into Waller's mouth. The clerk then pulled Waller down for the sheriff to beat. Sore and bloody, the Baptist preacher mounted the stage and continued his service.[9]

John Waller became the first pastor of Lower Spotsylvania Church, formed December 1769. It was later called Waller's Church, after him, and is called Waller's today. The present brick house, erected in 1874, occupies the old site, twenty-three miles south of Fredericksburg. (See Preface to this paper and Appendix Four.) This was one of nine churches founded by Waller in the area.[10]

Craig's Meeting House, moribund after the exodus of Lewis Craig and the congregation, still stood at the time of the Civil War on the Catharpin Road in the western limits of the area called the Wilderness. Craig's became embalmed on the maps because of a cavalry action thereabouts during the Wilderness Campaign.

These meeting houses were rural temples of freedom, and their preachers were valiant fighters in the cause of religious liberty, ultimately benefitting others whose ideas and tenets were quite different. Though their followers might be just as intolerant as ever the established church had been of them, Craig and Waller were as much precursors of general freedom as Thomas Jefferson and

the disciples of classic philosophers. The lot of future generations, of all sects, of believers and unbelievers, has been incomparably eased by Jefferson's Act for establishing Religious Freedom. Becoming law in 1786, this act made Virginia "the first government in the world to establish by statute the complete divorce of Church and State—the greatest contribution of America to the sum of Western civilization."[11]

Chapter II

Early History of Salem Church

As Virginia's General Baptists faded, there were moves late in the eighteenth century toward union between the Separate and Regular Baptists. The emotionalism of the Separates somewhat put off the more staid Regulars, one of whom had to admit, however, that the Separates "certainly had the root of the matter at heart." Also, the Regulars objected to the Separates' lack of a creed. The Separates claimed they did not desire to tie their people down and would rather bear diversity of opinion than break with men of obvious goodness. It was finally agreed to merge as the United Baptist Churches of Christ in Virginia, under the Philadelphia Confession, or a modification thereof, nobody being forced to adhere to all points. The union included John Waller's independents, who pulled out from and later rejoined the Separates. In 1800 a revision of the Philadelphia Confession of Faith was attempted, but this too was a mere recommendation and was the last effort at adoption of a general confession by Virginia Baptists.[1]

Certain Separate practices became outmoded (for example the foot-washing revived by the Primitive Baptist movement of the nineteenth century), but doctrinal differences persisted. One of the churches where divergent beliefs plagued the brethren was Massaponax, founded by John Waller, constituted in 1788 with

T. Mastin as pastor. Since many in the congregation were of Calvinist leanings, friction between them and the Separate group brought much unhappiness. Squabbles resulted in the ousting of Mastin.[2]

The first Massaponax structure was about two miles east of the location of the present house, which is on U. S. 1, nine miles south of Fredericksburg. The present building, a brick structure, was built in 1854. Additions have been made in the twentieth century.

By the middle of the nineteenth century, Massaponax had as its pastor Elder Joseph A. Billingsley. Billingsley left Massaponax with a small group to found a new church. That church was Salem. Despite a history of friction (and Billingsley's subsequent actions at Salem indicated that he could foster friction), the split seems to have been chiefly for convenience. A body of Baptists was growing in the area just west of Fredericksburg, quite some distance from existing Baptist churches in northern Spotsylvania: Wilderness, Massaponax and Piney Branch. The site chosen for Salem Church, four miles west of Fredericksburg on the Orange Turnpike, was roughly equidistant from the other three churches.

Salem Church seems to have been organized in 1843. It was admitted to the Goshen Baptist Association in 1844.

(A Baptist "association" is roughly equivalent to a Presbyterian presbytery, except that there is even less hint of hierarchy. Above the smaller geographical associations comes the General Association for Virginia, but the individual churches belong directly to the General Association, not through the local associations. The Goshen Association once extended from the Fredericksburg area west to the upper James River. Salem is now a member of the Fredericksburg Association, organized in the 1950's. Associations rotate meetings at member churches.)[3]

The Salem organizing date of 1843 is deduced from ecclesiastical records. Walker Landram, one of Salem's founding trustees, was dismissed by letter from Massaponax Church in September, 1843. Other future members of Salem left Massaponax about that time. In 1844, J. J. Mills is listed in Goshen Association records as a delegate from Salem; before that he had been a delegate from Wilderness Baptist Church. In the 1845 minutes of the Goshen Association the clerk stated that he had failed to record the previous year the admission of Salem Church. Salem reported twenty-nine members in 1844.[4]

Land for the church building was conveyed in two deeds, both recorded on April 1, 1844. The first deed, dated December 30, 1843, was from Benjamin Mills and wife and children to George Rowe,

Walker Landram and Jackson J. Mills, "trustees acting for the Baptist Church called Salem in the County of Spotsylvania." In consideration of "the love and interest which the said Benjamin Mills and wife feel for the cause of religion and the success of the Baptist Church in particular and for the further consideration of one dollar to them in hand paid," the following was conveyed: "a certain Lot or parcel of land situate lying and being in the County of Spotsylvania and bounded as follows - Beginning within Twelve feet of the corner of Mrs. Nancy Lewis in Dr. Waller's line near the Turnpike road—running with Mrs. Lewis's line east seventy yards—thence seventy yards South—thence seventy yards West to within Twelve feet of Dr. Waller's line—thence seventy yards north and parallel with Dr. Waller's line to Starting making one acre of land . . . ."[5]

The second deed, dated March 30, 1844, conveyed land from Absalom P. Rowe to George Rowe, Walker Landram and Jackson J. Mills, trustees for Salem, with the same consideration of love and interest. This was a parcel "Beginning at the Corner of Benjamin Mills in Dr. Waller's line near the Turnpike road runing /sic/ East with the Meeting House Lot the length of the said Lot thence Square with the Meeting House Lot North to the Turnpike road, thence west up and with the Turnpike Road to Dr. Waller's line, thence south to starting point . . . ."[6]

Jackson J. Mills was Benjamin Mills' son. On September 10, 1844, by deed recorded September 16, Benjamin conveyed to his son 114.25 acres, on the south side of the Turnpike, "subject to a deduction of one acre at the upper corner conveyed by the said Benjamin Mills to Salem Church . . .".[7]

By deed of February 1, 1847, recorded April 5, 1847, Jackson J. Mills and wife Harriet, for the usual love and interest in religion, plus twenty dollars, conveyed to Salem Church a small parcel of land, evidently to even out boundaries, "Beginning at the corner of the land of A. P. Rowe and running with the said Rowe's line in an eastern direction nineteen and a half yards, thence in a Southern direction one hundred and twenty-five yards, paralel /sic/ with the present Meeting house lot to a Stone, thence in a western direction to a Stone within twelve feet of Dr. Waller's line and forty four yards below the South west corner of the present Meeting house lot . . .".[8]

The first deeds indicate 1844 as the building date of Salem Church. This date is proved by Billingsley's asking the Goshen Association, at a meeting held in September 1844, for aid in paying for the house "recently built."[9]

Though more evidence is not needed, I might record a family tradition bearing out the year. Mrs. Sadie Lewis Landwehr, who

grew up in the area, told me that her father, James Lewis, was born October 3, 1844 and his grandfather, a mason, was laying brick at Salem when the child was born. While corroborating the year, this unfortunately confuses the month. Either the building was not entirely finished in September, which could have been quite possible, or the elder Lewis in after years forgot that he had just finished work at Salem when the child was born.[10]

By 1846, the Salem congregation was meeting for worship on the second Sunday of each month. In that year it had a membership of fifty-five. Membership rose and fell. In 1854, the tenth anniversary of the building, the Salem roster stood at ninety-six, eighty white members and sixteen Negroes.[11]

The majority of Negro Christians in Virginia were Baptists. Master and slave in some places attended the same worship service together. In other congregations there was separation, either by the two races attending at different times or by attending together but in different sections of the building. In some localities the Negroes had their own buildings; state law, however, required white men to be present in a supervisory capacity, and the pastors were white. Though some owners objected to instruction of slaves, many felt that church membership had a certain practicality and instilled obedience.[12]

The slaves at Salem sat in the south gallery, which they entered by means of a door in the south wall of the building, just around the corner from the front. This door opened directly into the stair well, there being no communication with the first floor of the church, where white members worshipped. There was no cross gallery and thus no communication with the opposite gallery, used as an overflow seating space by the whites. The gallery for white people was entered by stairs accessible from the inside, and only from the inside. The stairway to the slaves' gallery was made accessible from the inside in the 1940's.[13]

In 1853-54, looking down on their white brethren, the slaves saw a troubled group.

The temperance movement had been growing throughout the country, bringing contention to many church groups. In 1853 the Goshen Association went on record as deploring the use of alcohol and recommending total abandonment of spirits as a beverage. Billingsley was a strong prohibitionist. He did not recommend. He demanded. He split the Salem congregation down the middle and wound up by leaving with thirty-odd members. Remaining at Salem were those who, while not necessarily drinkers, did not believe in the compulsory attitude of total abstinence. Indeed, there were several hues of abstinence among Baptists.

As early as 1826, a Baptist movement called the Virginia Society for the Promotion of Temperance had required abstinence, except for medicinal purposes, on the part of a member, but did not prohibit him "from the exercise of the common civilities due to his friends and neighbors."[14]

Billingsley and his group, opposed to any civilities concerning alcohol, formed a new church Zoan, two and a half miles to the west. Thus, Salem was the mother church to Zoan, but the daughter offered no filial love. Even after separation, emnity between the two groups continued, and the issue was brought up before the Goshen Association.[15] The animosity rankled for a long time.

Alexander H. Bennett succeeded Billingsley, serving until 1859, when Melzi Sanford Chancellor took over. Chancellor found a relatively weak church, composed of seventy-seven members, twenty of whom were Negroes. In 1861 the total had dropped to forty-eight, twenty being Negroes.[16]

The dwindling membership reflected unsettled conditions on the eve of the Civil War. Deterioration doubtless quickened after outbreak of hostilities. One way or another, many white members would be busy or absent from the area, and the war generally unsettled negro church members. Congregations everywhere seemed to deteriorate with the disruption of society and the exigencies of

war. "A popular notion that people turn to the Church in time of war was not true of the South. The churches experienced no revival enthusiasm similar to that which occurred in the camps . . . the cause of religion declined in the passions and strife of war, and demoralization mounted."[17]

Midway of the conflict, the impact of war upon Salem Church came as a physical blow. Mars, whose tread nearby had shaken the ground, then struck directly with mailed fist.

Chapter III

Salem Church and the Civil War

Place of Refuge

Whatever the extent of spiritual inactivity at Salem Church during 1861, there was enough martial activity in the Fredericksburg area to occupy the attention of the neighborhood. That spring, local companies helped fight off Union gunboats at Aquia Landing, fifteen miles east of Fredericksburg on the Potomac River in Stafford County, and Fredericksburg became a Confederate staging area behind the Potomac. After the Confederate victory of Manassas in July of 1861, Richmond, capital of the Confederacy, seemed supremely safe.

Then, in the spring of 1862, George B. McClellan transported his Federal army against Richmond's eastern side by water. The Confederate forces, accordingly, fell back to protect Richmond on the Peninsula between the York and James rivers. Irvin McDowell, who was to advance against Richmond over land from the north, as a part of McClellan's plan, occupied Fredericksburg. Meantime, to create a diversion, Confederate General T. J. ("Stonewell") Jackson attacked scattered units in the Valley of Virginia, demoralizing them before moving east to join the other Confederates at Richmond. Though McDowell was pulled back because of Jackson's Valley Campaign, a smaller Federal force continued to occupy

Fredericksburg, Upon McClellan's failure against Richmond, troops from his army were shuttled by water to the Potomac bases near Fredericksburg and then overland through the Fredericksburg area to northern Virginia, where John Pope was posing a new threat to the Confederates.

That spring and summer Federal patrols ranged outward on all roads leading from Fredericksburg, reaching, among other places, Massaponax Church on the Telegraph Road to Richmond. They may well have paused in the oak grove at Salem Church on the Orange Plank Road. (The Plank Road had superseded the Turnpike; in the Salem Church vicinity the roadbeds were the same.) General Ambrose E. Burnside, whose headquarters were on the Stafford bank of the Rappahannock, may or may not have surveyed the terrain around Fredericksburg. For the time, as liaison man between McClellan and Pope, he was monarch of all he surveyed. Then the success of Robert E. Lee's Army of Northern Virginia against Pope at Second Manassas in late August of 1862 cleared the Fredericksburg area of all Federal troops.

Burnside succeeded McClellan in command of the Army of the Potomac after McClellan failed to follow up the Battle of Antietam, which stopped Lee's first invasion of the North. Burnside elected to try his fortunes against Richmond by a move through Fredericksburg.

In November of 1862, his army arrived on Stafford Heights, his summer stamping grounds, opposite Fredericksburg. The Confederates now chose to keep the Fredericksburg area, at least on the Spotsylvania County side, by holding in force the good defensive positions overlooking the Rappahannock Valley. Lee, who had been regrouping in the mountain country after his retreat from Maryland, began moving his forces toward Fredericksburg. Marching eastward, James Longstreet's First Corps, including Wilcox's Alabama Brigade, passed Salem Church as the brown oak leaves were falling in the yard.

The citizens of Fredericksburg, despite the kindness of Marsena R. Patrick, their Yankee military governor of the summer, had cheered when the last of the Federals departed. Now, only a few weeks later, Stafford County was again alive with the invaders, ready to cross into Fredericksburg.

Various factors kept the Federals from crossing right away. Meanwhile, the small Fredericksburg garrison, including a battery, engaged Burnside's vanguard before arrival of Lee's main forces. This action piqued the Federals. On November 21, General E. V. Sumner, commander of Burnside's right wing, sent Patrick over the river under flag of truce to demand the surrender of Fredericksburg and threatened bombardment if his order were not heeded.

He would allow sixteen hours for the women and children, the sick, wounded, and aged to leave town. Mayor Montgomery Slaughter's realistic and mollifying reply, partly to the effect that he had no control over the Confederate military, caused Sumner to reconsider.[1]

Regardless of the threatened bombardment, a battle seemed imminent. General Lee advised the citizens to leave. The exodus, bravely and quietly carried out, impressed the Confederate soldiers. "History," wrote General Lee in his official report, "presents no instance of a people exhibiting a purer and more unselfish patriotism or a higher spirit of fortitude and courage than was evinced by the citizens of Fredericksburg." Some citizens stayed in town and others drifted back when the shooting seemed less imminent.[2]

Autumn broke into early winter. Farm houses, sheds and barns for miles around were filled with the shivering townspeople. Hunger and cold tortured their bodies. Apprehension haunted the minds of the adults; while to many of the children it was a new game, to be remembered always as thrilling after the terror of the time itself had passed. One of the children, a little boy named Cole, recalled in after years that he rode an adult piggyback all the way to Salem Church, goal of many of the refugees. That was a far longer ride than any jog around the parlor.[3]

Salem Church and its yard became a makeshift encampment, the like of which had never been seen in that countryside. It shocked the redoubtable "Stonewall" Jackson. Toward the end of November, General Jackson, accompanied by his aide James Power Smith and four or five couriers, rode ahead of his corps marching eastward to join Lee. The small cavalcade turned south at Salem Church late in the afternoon of November 26. "Snow was falling," records Smith, "and one of the most dismal scenes of war was presented to us: the road was quite filled with wagons and carts and people on foot, unhappy refugees from Fredericksburg. Old Salem Church was crowded, and around it shelters of quilts and blankets had been erected, under which the banished women and children crouched in the bitter cold."[4]

On December 11, 1862, in the course of battle rather than as a punitive measure, Fredericksburg was bombarded by the Federal cannon. Those citizens who had not left before or who had left and returned now fled. This second exodus was far more urgent and disorganized than the first.

In the hurrying throng trudged little Frances Bernard with two other small children and her widowed mother. "Our destination," she wrote years later, "was a house not far from 'Salem Church,' which we now call the 'Refugee House.' Exhausted, we reached the

house by twilight, found there some friends who had been there some weeks, and who kindly took us into their room and gave us every attention. And so great was our relief to feel that we had escaped from the horror of that day, that such small matters as having to sleep in a room with a dozen people, having no milk and no coffee, our principal diet consisting of corn bread, bacon and sorghum, seemed only slight troubles." (This house of refuge, Green Gate, still standing, is a mile east of Salem Church.)

The next day Frances and several other people walked up to Salem Church. " All was bustle and confusion. I suppose there were several hundred refugees there. Some were cooking outside in genuine gypsy fashion, and those who were infirm or sick were trying to get some rest in the cold, bare church. The leafless trees, through which the winter wind sighed mournfully, the scattered groups seen through the smoke of numerous fires, and the road, upon which passed constantly back and forth ambulances and wagons full of wounded soldiers, presented a gloomy and saddening spectacle."[5]

Following the bombardment, Burnside laid pontons and crossed the river. On December 13, he attacked the Confederate position behind the town and southward. The lower attack merely failed; the town attack was a fiasco. On the open ground in front of Marye's Heights, just west of the town, the Union battle

lines fell again and again in the face of artillery fire from the heights and musketry from the Sunken Road at the base of the hill. During the night of December 15-16, the Federals re-crossed the river, took up their pontons, and settled down for the winter.

The North was depressed. The South was jubilant. The people of Fredericksburg felt mixed emotions. A number of houses had burned to the ground; many buildings were badly damaged; hardly any escaped some damage; if not by shell, by looting and vandalism.

After a few weeks Mrs. Bernard took her family back to their damaged home. Other people, as time passed, came back also, but some remained away for months. As late as March 1863, a news correspondent wrote that refugees were "temporarily domiciled in the houses, negro cabins and shanties of the surrounding country within a radius of twelve or fifteen miles."[6]

One of the more comfortable places still harboring refugees was a house (not a town) called Chancellorsville. Among others staying there with the Chancellor ladies were old Mr. and Mrs. Murray Forbes, their maiden daughter Kate, and their married daughter Mrs. Dr. Taylor of Taylor's Hill. Taylor's Hill, the left anchor of the Fredericksburg defense line, occupied by Wilcox's Alabama Brigade during the battle, was too busy a place and too close to

the enemy for any immediate return; so the Murray-Taylor family stayed on at the Chancellor House. Chancellorsville, ten miles west of Fredericksburg, had been a tavern in the turnpike days. Now the old stand was doing its hospitable best for friends and non-paying guests.[7]

Halfway between Chancellorsville and Fredericksburg, the Salem Church yard no longer resembled a gypsy encampment, but the church itself was a jumble inside, crammed with furniture stored there by Fredericksburg refugees. Church services were a thing of the past.[8]

The Battle of Salem Church

While civilians made out as best they could, military events progressed. Burnside was relieved in January 1863. His successor, Joseph ("Fighting Joe") Hooker, determined not to repeat Burnside's mistake of a major frontal attack against Lee's strong Fredericksburg position, planned to take about half his army twenty-five miles up the Rappahannock to Kelly's Ford, cross there and then turn and come in behind Lee. The rest of Hooker's force under John Sedgwick would threaten Lee's front as the turning column marched. The two wings would then crush Lee between them, if Lee did not choose to flee the jaws of the pincers.

Hooker's strategy brought the war to the house called Chancellorsville. His turning column arrived there on April 30, 1863. (Mr. and Mrs. Forbes and Mrs. Taylor left before the Yankees arrived, setting out for Fredericksburg in their carriage.)

The Federal move uncovered the formidable Confederate defenses at U. S. Ford, behind Chancellorsville, and the detached Confederates retired from that area. Hooker had wisely not attempted to force that crossing. Now, thanks to his wide swing, U. S. Ford was his without cost and his line of communications to Sedgwick was shortened.

Instead of retreating, Lee disposed his army to meet the threat. Leaving a small force (Barksdale's Mississippi Brigade of Longstreet's Corps and Early's Division of Jackson's Corps) to contain Sedgwick,

Lee brought most of his army westward to meet Hooker. He thus divided against the divider and took his chances, even though Longstreet was absent with part of the First Corps. Lee had Anderson's and McLaws' division of Longstreet's Corps, and he had Jackson's Second Corps. He felt fully equal to Hooker.

Advancing toward Fredericksburg on May 1, Hooker was nonplussed by opposition. Lee, he surmised, must have received reinforcements. After sharp skirmishing, he ordered his men back to intrench around Chancellorsville. Maintaining Headquarters in the Chancellor House, General Hooker relegated the family and refugees to the cellar and prepared for a defensive battle.

The next day, May 2, Lee again divided his forces, keeping McLaws and Anderson to hold Hooker's attention in front and sending Jackson on a circuitous march around and against Hooker's right, or westward, flank. Confederate cavalry reconnaissance had discovered the weakness of that flank, resting on no natural obstacle or strong point. Jackson's late afternoon attack routed the Union right, but at great cost; Jackson was mortally wounded by the mistaken fire of his own men.

Darkness and Jackson's wounding put an end to the flank attack. On May 3, a Sunday, J. E. B. ("Jeb") Stuart, the cavalryman, temporarily leading Jackson's Corps, struggled eastward. Anderson and McLaws fought their way westward. The two Confederate wings

converged and swarmed over the Chancellorsville plateau. Hooker was injured by falling masonry in the shelling of the Chancellor House. His army retreated toward the Rappahannock and sheltered behind a strongly entrenched U-shaped line covering U. S. Ford. (The Chancellor House crumbled in flaming ruin. Colonel Joseph Dickinson of Hooker's staff rescued the Chancellors and refugees and got them safely over the river to await the outcome of battle)

By this time, Hooker had pulled large portions of Sedgwick's force to the Chancellorsville area by way of U. S. Ford. Sedgwick now commanded only his own Sixth Corps and John Gibbon's Division of another corps. Gibbon still occupied Stafford Heights, opposite Fredericksburg, From being the left wing of Hooker's army, Sedgwick's force had descended to a mere detached command.[9]

When Jackson smashed his right, Hooker sent urgent orders to Sedgwick to rush westward through the night to augment the force at Chancellorsville. Even before his injury, Hooker had begun to falter; he ordered Sedgwick to cross the river at Fredericksburg and march to Chancellorsville. In accordance with the workings of Hooker's original plan, Sedgwick was already across, skirmishing with Early below Fredericksburg. Sedgwick, therefore, marched up the Old Richmond Stage Road to Fredericksburg and prepared to attack Marye's Heights, which straddled the main route to Chancellorsville. He was harassed by Confederate

skirmishers and slowed by the fog prevalent in the Fredericksburg area during the nights and early mornings of that eventful week.[10]

It was light by the time Sedgwick was ready to attack. Sedgwick respected Marye's Heights. The reputation of the place would make any man cautious. Several exploratory attacks failed. Then Sedgwick adopted the expedient of sending columns up two cross streets, with a thin line of battle to their left. The heads of the columns fell like dominoes, but momentum carried the following troops onward. The line of battle, relieved of bearing the brunt of defensive fire, swept into the Sunken Road before Barksdale's men were well aware of their peril. No matter how strong the position, there were simply not enough Confederates to man it properly; General Early was trying to hold a seven-mile front with some 10,000 men; whereas almost 100,000 Confederates had held it in December. So ended the Second Battle of Fredericksburg. Barksdale's men fled, or were captured and killed; and on the hilltop the Washington Artillery of New Orleans, proud holders of that point in the first battle, lost six cannon.

Somewhat winded, resting awhile on his laurels, Sedgwick sent for Brooks, his rear division, to take the lead.[11]

General Early made good use of the time by successfully pulling back along the Fredericksburg-Richmond Highway called the Telegraph Road, ready to continue the battle. When Sedgwick did

move, however, it was not down that way, but along his chosen route straight out westward on the Plank Road toward Chancellorsville. The stage was being set for what E. P. Alexander would call "one of the most brilliant and important of the minor affairs of the war." The man about to come onstage was Cadmus Marcellus Wilcox, a blunt North Carolinian in short round jacket and battered straw hat, commanding the brigade of Alabamians in Anderson's Division.[12]

Wilcox had been chafing at Banks' Ford, midway between U. S. Ford and Fredericksburg. The bluffs overlooking Banks' Ford were heavily fortified and any adequate Confederate group there could hold off a Federal crossing indefinitely. If the ford were in Federal hands, the two Federal wings would be virtually united. Wilcox appreciated all this. His brigade had wintered there and he knew the neighborhood intimately. If, as seemed probable, nothing happened at Banks', his services, no matter how valuable negatively, would lead to no positive glory. He was no mere glory seeker, however. He chafed, but he did not sulk. He kept his eyes open. He noticed that the Federals across from him were moving up the river. "The sentinels on post had their haversacks on, a thing unusual."[13]

Lee had given him previous permission to leave if the Federals were to abandon their side of the ford. Convinced that much of the enemy force had been sent upriver, Wilcox detailed a small group

of riflemen and two cannon to keep guard and formed the rest of the brigade to march toward Chancellorsville. Just then a picket came from Taylor's Hill, part of Wilcox's front, to report that the enemy were advancing up the road from Fredericksburg. (I do not know where Mr. and Mrs. Forbes and Mrs. Taylor were just then, but they had swapped the devil for the witch in leaving Chancellorsville. The excitement of the Fredericksburg events led to Forbes' death in July. However, if he had remained at Chancellorsville, the excitement would have been as great.) Hurrying to Taylor's Hill, Wilcox gathered his pickets and ordered up a couple of pieces of artillery already prepared to move. The cannon, duly arriving, easily stopped the enemy, units of Gibbon's Division. Gibbon had crossed on pontons at Fredericksburg to operate on Sedgwick's right. Even a serious effort by Gibbon would not have amounted to much, because of the canal between him and the extension of Marye's Heights (Stansbury's and Taylor's hills). In the December battle Gibbon had fought at the other end of the field. Apparently nobody told him that the canal completely protected the extreme Confederate left.[14]

Having disposed of Gibbon, Wilcox rode down to the next keypoint on the Fredericksburg defense line, Stansbury's Hill, and there met General Barksdale and Hays, a brigadier in Early's Division. The information that the Federals were in considerable

force in and below Fredericksburg caused Wilcox to stick around the Fredericksburg front. He moved his brigade to a ravine near Taylor's and galloped to the Marye House vicinity, seeking General Barksdale, whom he did not find; whereupon, he returned to Taylor's. Soon, one of the Barksdale's staff delivered a plea for help. Wilcox was bringing down the Tenth Alabama when he learned that Marye's Hill had fallen. General Barksdale, by courier, advised Wilcox to fall back to the Telegraph Road. Wilcox had his own ideas. He saw Hays retreating from the Stansbury neighborhood and tried to get that general to join him in holding the higher ridges behind Marye's Heights. Hays declined, having been ordered to the Telegraph Road.

Wilcox decided to try his hand alone. "I felt it a duty to delay the enemy as much as possible in his advance, and to endeavor to check him all that I could should he move forward on the Plank Road."[15]

He formed his Alabamians on the high ground behind the Stansbury-Marye plateau at right angles to the Plank Road, his right resting in the Plank Road vicinity some six hundred yards east of Guest's House, i.e., in the area of present-day (1965) Oak Hill Cemetery, overlooking Marye's Heights. Skirmishers covered Wilcox's entire front, and four cannon opened fire, two from each end of his line. The Federals were gathered about eight hundred yards off, atop the Marye plateau. As the Battle of Salem Church thus began, Sedgwick replied from a battery near the Marye House, and his skirmishers cautiously advanced, making

frequent halts. Finally, larger Union forces began advancing. Not wanting to become further involved at this point, Wilcox slipped leftward and rearward to the River Road behind Taylor's Hill. He believed that he could retire along the Plank Road, if forced to, at his own speed, while arrangements were made by Confederate headquarters to deal with this Federal force.

West of Guest's and slightly farther south of the Plank Road stood the Downman House. Wilcox sent Major C. R. Collins and fifty men of the Fifteenth Virginia Cavalry, detailed with the brigade, to dismount in a pine thicket near Downman's and to deploy across the plank.

The brigade then marched west to Salem Church. Wilcox knew that the slight ridge there would be a good defensive position. Sedgwick's force, moving out the Plank Road, halted upon sight of Major Collins' skirmishers. General Wilcox studied the situation and decided to make a short stand at the toll gate, about a thousand yards east of Salem Church. The brigade countermarched to the toll gate, where Wilcox placed two rifled cannon in the road. Pushing back the small body of cavalrymen, Sedgwick's Corps, preceded by skirmishers, ran into the cannonade of Wilcox's pieces and halted again. The opposing skirmishers now exchanged musketry, while Sedgwick brought up artillery and began shelling Wilcox's line.

At this juncture, one of McLaws' staff arrived to state that reinforcements from the Chancellorsville front were forthcoming. It was directed that they be placed behind Salem Church, out of sight of the Federals, and Wilcox ordered his command back to the Church.

The afternoon was wearing away. Sedgwick was nowhere near Chancellorsville. North of Chancellorsville, Hooker's force was settling down in its strong new position, faced by the demonstrating Confederates on that front.

Reaching the toll gate, Sedgwick's men gazed westward across open fields to the rise shimmering in the spring sunshine, hiding they knew not what beneath its fringe of trees.

On the Salem Church rise, McLaws' troops were arriving. Commands rang out and battle lines formed. The Eleventh and Fourteenth Alabama regiments of Wilcox's Brigade took stand on the left (north) of the Plank Road, the Fourteenth being the leftward of the two. On the right of the road stood the Tenth Alabama, with the Eighth Alabama on its right. At the road, in a seventy-five yard interval between the infantry units, four pieces of artillery lined up in battery. Behind the Tenth was the Ninth Alabama, except two companies, one of which occupied a log school house about sixty yards to the right front (southeast) of the Church, the other being in the church building amid

the clutter of furniture stored there by Fredericksburg refugees. Wilcox directed the church company to fire from the lower windows and from the windows in the gallery. The company in the log school house could shoot from the openings and also through cracks.

McLaws brought his own brigades of Kershaw, Semmes and Wofford and Mahone's Brigade of Anderson's Division. (McLaws' other brigade, Barksdale, was with Early.) General Lafayette McLaws, upon arrival, placed Mahone on the extreme left of the Salem Church line. Then came Semmes, then Wilcox, with Kershaw on Wilcox's right, and Wofford on the extreme right.[16]

The main Confederate line crossed the Plank Road somewhat west of the church. Kershaw stated that his troops were "along a cross-road running out in the direction of the Spotsylvania road." That crossroad with troops along it shows in Confederate engineer Jed Hotchkiss' map of the battlefield as being just west of the church; Virginia 639 occupies, roughly, the roadbed today.[17]

Behind Salem's grove of oaks open fields on both sides of the road allowed the Confederates ample room for maneuver. To the east, toward the enemy, the fringe of woods on the face of the ridge extended about two hundred and fifty yards, before giving way to the open farmland stretching out the remaining seven hundred

or so yards to the toll gate. Of small growth, interspersed with bigger trees, the Salem thicket was less dense and narrower north of the Plank Road.[18]

On the eastern edge of this belt of trees, Wilcox's skirmishers, by now old hands at hide-and-seek, awaited attack. Three Federal batteries around the toll gate, "where a slight rise in the ground afforded good cover for the limbers and caissons," traded shell with the Confederate cannon at Salem Church. After twenty minutes the Confederate guns ceased fire for lack of ammunition.[19]

About 5 p.m., the Federal guns fell silent and Sedgwick's infantry resumed the advance westward, coming on steadily with no sound save the rhythmic tramp, tramp, tramp of marching lines. Brooks' Division deployed on either side of the Plank Road, Newton's Division to its right, north of the road. Brooks had Bartlett's Brigade of New York, Pennsylvania and Maine men, along with the Twenty-third New Jersey Regiment of the Jersey Brigade, south of the road. The bulk of the Jersey Brigade moved on the right (north) of the road. As the lines moved forward, Colonel Joel J. Seaver's Sixteenth New York of Bartlett's Brigade, just behind the Twenty-third New Jersey, was ordered to the right of the road.[20]

On swept the grim blue lines, meeting the Confederate pickets in the timber. It was now about 5:30 p.m. Colonel Samuel L. Buck's Second New Jersey Regiment skirmished forward astride the road, followed by the First and Third New Jersey on the right of the road in lines of battle. The Fifteenth New Jersey came behind. Through the little wood they all went, to be cut down by the Confederate musketry. Newton's men suffered similar repulse. So well did the Confederates maintain themselves that a brigadier of Newton's Division reported that the defenders enjoyed "earthworks in the timber on both sides of the road, and the undergrowth filled with rifle-pits and abatis, which rendered the position to our force quite impassable." Actually, the Confederates were not intrenched at this time, but made good use of existing cover, particularly a brush fence or hedgerow, running northward toward the river.[21]

Seaver's Sixteenth New York, just north of the Plank, not only ran into the hedgerow bristling with Rebel muskets, but was cut up by the Alabamians posted in the church, immediately on the regiment's left flank. The sharpshooters in that citadel, seemingly to the excited Seaver, fired "from port-holes in its sides made by removing the brick."[22]

Meanwhile, south of the Plank Road, forming, like the Jersey Brigade, in battle lines preceded by skirmishers, Bartlett's Brigade paced forward. His skirmish line was checked at the wood's edge. The main body took over. On the left was the Fifth Maine; then came the Ninety-sixth Pennsylvania; then the One Hundred and twenty-first New York, under the hard-fighting young Emory Upton; and then, extending to the Plank, E. Burd Grubb's Twenty-third New Jersey, a nine-months' regiment.

Bartlett's men found the thicket to be unyielding brush with little big timber. This, while retarding their advance, offered scant protection from bullets and served the Confederates better than man-made abatis. Nevertheless, Upton's New York Staters reached the crest, surrounded the school house and captured the entire company of the Ninth Alabama stationed there, penetrating farther to disorganize the Tenth Alabama behind the school house. General Wilcox dashed out and rallied his men. Four minie balls pierced his uniform and the equipment of his horse. The Ninth Alabama sprang forth, freed the captives in the school house and took their captors prisoner, driving before them all Federals not killed or captured. The Tenth recovered and joined the pursuers. As Wilcox's men burst from the wood, they knocked back other Union

lines coming up and were augumented in the counterattack by Semmes' Georgians north of the Plank.[23]

Ample reserves and the artillery at the toll gate, spewing canister, checked the impetuous Confederates. They then retired to their ridge in the growing darkness. John Sedgwick, who had personally supervised the gunners at the toll gate, lay down in the wet grass with his head on a saddle, but he did not sleep. The men, "coffeeless in their grassy beds," lit no fires and cracked no jokes. Stretcher bearers passed about silently bringing in the wounded. A soldier in the ranks felt "there was strange mystery abroad."[24]

Down on the Telegraph Road, Jubal Early licked his wounded ego, mourning the loss of Fredericksburg. Lee suggested that Early join McLaws, but the suggestion came too late for practicable application. McLaws, sending to find out Early's intentions, received word from Early that he planned to retake Marye's Heights in the morning.[25]

The fourth of May dawned gray and pale.[26]

John B. Gordon's Brigade of Early's Division retook Marye's Heights without trouble. Howe, Sedgwick's rear division in the march westward, had bivouacked in the Plank Road. General Howe quickly threw back a line northward to the river, saving Banks'

Ford from envelopment. Banks' Ford, now covered by Sedgwick's lines, was Sedgwick's only route of retreat. Early sent word to McLaws that his division would strike the flank of the enemy if McLaws would make a frontal attack. McLaws agreed, provided Early advanced first. Requesting each other to move, neither advanced in any force.[27]

Sedgwick, confused by Hooker's vague advices, was anticipating escape from the trap. McLaws and Early failed to improve the shining hour. It seemed up to the old grey chieftain at Chancellorsville to start action. Amoeba-like, the Army of Northern Virginia again split off a segment. Leaving Stuart with Jackson's Corps to keep Hooker occupied, Lee dispatched Anderson's Division toward Salem Church. Anderson arrived about noon.

Himself reaching the Salem front, R. E. Lee gave each divisional commander his task, to be begun at the sound of signal cannon. McLaws was to attack eastward as soon as Anderson and Early advanced. Anderson, between McLaws and Early, would come up from the south and Early from the south and east. Even Lee's presence on the field did not hasten the movements over the broken ground. The attack did not begin until 6 p.m.[28]

Back at Chancellorsville, Hooker lay quiet behind his U-line covering U. S. Ford. Sedgwick's men, in a similar corral covering

Banks' Ford, awaited the onslaught like restless cattle. Neither group was helping the other.

Up hill and down dale, over the streams and through the ravines of the Hazel Run tributaries in the high country west of Marye's Heights, Anderson and Early drove the enemy before them, past Downman's and Guest's to the Plank Road and beyond. Gordon, on the right flank, pushed on to Taylor's Hill. "The speedy approach of darkness prevented General McLaws from perceiving the success of the attack until . . . " too late to help much. A dense fog settled over the ground, confusing further movements and making the darkness murkey.[29]

From the Downman House, where Howe and staff had lodged the night before, Lee impatiently ordered McLaws to shove the enemy into the river. Anderson, he stated, was near Guest's House.[30]

Sedgwick had been assured in dispatches that everything was snug at Chancellorsville; Hooker did not desire Sedgwick to attack unless Hooker attacked; Sedgwick might, if he chose, retire to Fredericksburg or cross at Banks' Ford, but he must look well to the safety of his corps. Looking to that safety, Sedgwick saw, among other things, that he certainly could not now retire to Fredericksburg. The dispatches during the night of May 4 got more and more confusing, not arriving in proper sequence.[31]

Sedgwick cut the Gordian knot. "On Tuesday, the 5th, at 2 a.m.," he reported, "I received the order of the commanding general to withdraw from my position, cross the river, take up the bridge, and cover the ford. The order was immediately executed, the enemy meanwhile shelling the bridges from commanding positions above us, on the river. When the last of the column was on the bridge, I received a dispatch from the commanding general countermanding the order to withdraw. My command was on the left bank it could not recross before daylight, and it must do it then, if at all, in face of the enemy, whose batteries completely commanded the bridges. I accordingly went into camp in the vicinity of the ford, sending an adequate force to guard the river and watch the ford."[32]

The earthworks overlooking the Banks' Ford area had proved variously useful during the past days and months. Wilcox had held them all winter and in the early phase of the Chancellorsville Campaign. The fleeing Federals sheltered in them briefly before crossing, and then Confederate cannon harassed the crossing from them.

Wilcox cheated of strenuous activity on May 4 by the torpor of his superior McLaws, did penetrate the hills above the ford, about 9:30 p.m., supported by Kershaw, to take thirteen officers and

one hundred and fifty men. Some of his guns participated in the shelling of the bridges. On the morning of May 5 Wilcox was back where he had started from.

On that morning, running onward toward the river, the Confederates gleefully gathered in the booty of hastily dropped weapons, equipment and provisions. "Guns, tent flies, and cartridge boxes were picked up by wagon loads."[33]

Leaving Barksdale and Early to man the old Fredericksburg front and watch the river above, Lee started McLaws and Anderson back to Chancellorsville. So Wilcox did not stay long at his old wintering place. The foggy nights and hot days gave way to rain. An English correspondent marvelled at the Confederates marching toward Chancellorsville, "splashing through the mud, in wild, tumultuous spirits, singing, shouting, jesting, heedless of soaking rags, drenched to the skin, and burning again to mingle in the wild revelry of battle."[34]

Undoubtedly a few malcontents, as there must be in all armies, were wishing they were home drinking juleps on the verandah, or even in the fields hoeing cotton, but on the whole this was a tough bunch.

On the morning of May 6, all primed to attack Hooker, Lee found that "Fighting Joe" had retreated over U. S. Ford.

Wilcox returned to Banks' Ford to stay awhile.[35]

Gibbon, isolated at Fredericksburg, had escaped the way he came, back to Stafford Heights. Everywhere, from Chancellorsville to Fredericksburg, and above and below, the right bank of the Rappahannock was cleared of the invader.

It was a time of congratulation for the Confederates. Lee gave Anderson and Early due praise and Wilcox "especial praise for the judgment and bravery displayed in impeding the advance of General Sedgwick toward Chancellorsville, and for the gallant and successful stand at Salem Church." McLaws received no accolade.[36]

In a few weeks, at a little Pennsylvania town called Gettysburg, Lee would learn, sorrowfully, that his brave boys were not invincible after all. Meanwhile at Guiney's station on the railroad below Fredericksburg, "Stonewall" Jackson lay dying.

Sharing the fate of the Titan "Stonewall," lesser men lay dead and dying on the fields and in the woods of Chancellorsville and Salem Church, in the streets and gardens of Fredericksburg. Everywhere the wounded, panting in the spring heat, taxed the facilities of army treatment.

At Salem Church, edifice and yard were hospital and charnel place. Here, where the story of Calvary had so often been told, nineteenth century man had made another of the many Golgothas of the American Civil War.

"Here hundreds upon hundreds of the wounded of both armies were gathered up and brought for surgical attention . . .. After the house was filled the spacious churchyard was literally covered with wounded and dying. The sight inside the building, for horror, was, perhaps, never equalled within so limited a space, every available foot of space was crowded with wounded and bleeding soldiers. The floors, the benches, even the chancel and pulpit were all packed almost to suffocation with them.

"The amputated limbs were piled up in every corner almost as high as a man could reach; blood flowed in streams along the aisles and out at the doors . . .".[37]

So wrote, almost forty years later, C. C. Sanders of the Twenty-fourth Georgia, Wofford's Brigade. (Whether the Fredericksburgers' furniture remained in the building or was tossed outside, it must have been in poor condition when and if reclaimed.) Discounting a Confederate veteran's right to exaggerate, Salem Church was undoubtedly a messy place after the battle. The floor, according to old members of the congregation, was still bloodstained when a new floor was laid after the war.

Burial parties in the hurry of events disposed of bodies as best they could. Some of the Confederates buried in a narrow trench by the roadside near the church were later "taken up and placed in the city cemetery by the good people of Fredericksburg."

(Burials in the Fredericksburg Cemetery and the field just north of it were the beginnings of the Confederate Cemetery, afterwards inclosed in the same wall with the city cemetery.) When Sherman marched through the area on the way to the Washington victory celebration in 1865, he saw many bodies still unburied around Salem and reported the matter. An official came down and these bodies and others in temporary graves were ultimately interred in the Fredericksburg National Cemetery.[38]

At war's end, amid relics of death and destruction, windows broken, walls shaken, bricks scarred and chipped by minie balls, Salem Church stood desolate in its ravaged yard. Scarred, too, were the oaks, but the grove survived and descended into the twentieth century. Today a large white oak across the side road and a scattering of smaller white oaks south of the church are but a shadow of the once stately grove.[39]

Chapter IV

Salem Church After the Civil War

Lee's surrender at Appomattox, April 9, 1865, brought hostilities to a close in Virginia, but people were dazed and shaken, and it was some time before civilian life returned to normality.

The Salem Church congregation did not pull itself together until the next spring. On Sunday, March 11, 1866, at a business meeting before the worship service, E. C. Rowe was elected clerk, whereupon he read to the assembled members (four others besides himself and the preacher) the Covenant and Rules of Decorum governing the reorganized church.

A few weeks later, Zoan, its house a victim of war damage, petitioned the Salem congregation for permission to worship in the Salem building. The Salem people unanimously refused. Despite mutual suffering the old enmities still rankled.[1]

War damage at Salem, while not severe enough to preclude meetings, required attention. In 1867, Brothers Walker Landram and Francis Mills were appointed to have blinds made for the lower windows and a door for the colored people's gallery. Whether or not Negroes, now free, continued to come to Salem, and wherever they sat, they ceased being members. In 1869 there were seventy-two members, all white.[2]

At this time, Salem held services once a month and, as for many years thereafter, shared her preacher with other rural churches. Rev. Melzi Chancellor and the lay leaders worked hard in an effort to restore the old zeal. In February of 1867 the reorganization had been completed by the election of two deacons, Walker Landram and Francis Mills. Landram served as treasurer also. That autumn nightly revival services brought twenty converts.[3]

During the next several years, though membership declined, the edifice continued to receive the attention of faithful old members, notably Brother Landram, who was appointed to superintend repairing of the church in 1871.[4]

In 1875, Walter John Decker succeeded Chancellor as pastor. A veteran of the Ninth Virginia Cavalry and a recent widower, he had just turned to the ministry and had, indeed, just been ordained. He later received his ecclesiastical education at Richmond College, 1877-1881, and the Southern Baptist Theological Seminary, 1881-1884. During those years Decker served only Salem.[5]

While the earnest Decker studied betimes and brought strength and purpose to Salem Church, membership gradually rose again, from forty in 1875 to seventy-seven in 1883, when the Sunday School had ten officers and teachers and fifty-seven scholars, with a branch of thirty members. The Sunday School boasted a library of two hundred and fifty volumes. The congregation even found money for contribution to outside missions.[6]

The relative wealth of that time was not all spent on books and missions. In 1883, apparently some repairs were made to the roof, and the iron tie-rods, with their exterior star-shaped bolt ends, were installed to strengthen the walls.[7]

Further repairs were made in 1885. A committee, including W. Farley Stephens, was appointed to collect money to plaster, whitewash and paint the church, Stephens to do the work. This operation, involving scraping of the walls, lost to the world a collection of art work by Civil War soldiers. Two pictures were worthy of remembrance: one of a very large woman, titled "The Mother of the South," and just under that a good likeness in charcoal of R. E. Lee.[8]

In 1887 the window blinds were repaired. That year also the church bought an organ. About this time, the congregation valued its property at $500.00. This figure, like tax evaluations (to which churches are not subject), was doubtless a nominal one.[9]

In 1890 a committee (W. L. Landram and A. B. Jones) was appointed to repair the church. This committee was discharged in 1891. Repairs were made again in 1894 by a new committee, W. Farley Stephens, chairman. A new floor was laid at this time.[10]

A minor item, fasteners to window shutters, mentioned in 1896, indicates that the congregation was continuing to do its best in keeping up the property.[11]

Repair work continued into the twentieth century. Extensive repairs were made in 1908, one item being work on the shingle roof. From the number of shingles involved, 12,000, I would surmise that the whole roof was replaced. Cost of the shingling (not, apparently, including labor) was $66.00. Total repairs amounted to $242.22.[12]

Extensive as this work was, it would have been, by this period, routine maintenance rather than repair of war damage. As to war damage, it might be recorded here that the Salem Church congregation, as far as I can tell, never sought reparation from the United States Government.[13] Individual Northerners, however, are reported to have aided in renovation and church work. In 1899 a newspaper correspondent reported that: "Within the edifice is a memorial altar built by the contributions of New Jersey and South Carolina men, and a Grand Army post in the former State, composed of survivors of the fight, has supported the Salem church Sunday-School for thirty years."[14]

That statement may or may not have been turn-of-the-century journalism based on hearsay. A statement by C. C. Sanders, a grandiloquent Confederate veteran who hangs himself in his own syntax, is mere bombast: "This venerable old edifice was badly wrecked during the battle, but in consideration of the fact that

the wounded Federals received just as tender and careful treatment at the hands of our surgeons and their assistants as the Confederates did, caused some generous citizens of the North soon after the war closed, to show their appreciation of the kindness shown their suffering soldiers, had the house rebuilt in a very handsome manner."[15]

Though such definite and extensive aid certainly never occurred, there were, to be sure, staunch Yankee friends, who doubtless contributed liberally to the collection plate when attending services at Salem. One group of Northern men particularly friendly to Salem Church was composed of several members of an outstanding Sunday School class, called Class 45, of the South Street Presbyterian Church, Morristown, New Jersey. These laymen, of a bright and cheerful outlook, began coming to the Salem area because one of their number, J. Frank Lindsley, was looking for the spot where his father, Captain Ira J. Lindsley, fell in the Battle of Salem Church, while leading a company in the Fifteenth New Jersey Regiment.[16]

J. Frank Lindsley and his friends during the late 1880's, 1890's, and the early 1900's, visited the Fredericksburg area semi-annually. They attended and sometimes led the services at Salem Church. There is no record that these men specifically aided in the repairs of Salem Church, but they did repair White Oak Church

in Stafford County, at which point Captain Ira Lindsley had camped. They renovated the old frame building (which still stands), put in lamps and bought an organ and hymn books. This was a Primitive Baptist establishment, and the circuit preacher, who disapproved both of Sunday Schools and music, said that the organ and books must be removed or he would personally throw them out. That stopped the Jerseymen's meetings in White Oak Church.

Quite a number of people in the White Oak neighborhood wanted another type of church. The Jerseymen got together with them and helped build a new Baptist Church, Bethel, a mile east of White Oak Church. This was long called Jersey Bethel.

Among these visitors of the Class 45 there were, in addition to Lindsley, the Hoffman brothers, Dr. Joseph R. and Harry B.; Judge John B. Vreeland; and Thomas B. Ironside. They left a legacy of good works, and Harry Hoffman, living to be a very old man, left a set of photographs of interest to Civil War students and of inestimable value to this report.[17]

The congregation of Salem Church, conditioned by the pleasant relationship with the Morristown men, was happy to throw open its doors to the veterans of the Fifteenth New Jersey when they made a pilgrimage to the area, May 22-26, 1906. J. Frank Lindsley and Harry B. Hoffman, though not old enough to be

veterans, were connected with the Fifteenth's Veteran Association and helped manage the trip. Larkin Landram, of the old Salem Church family, led the procession of carriages.

The Salem Church stop, May 24, was a high point of the tour. The veterans of the Fifteenth New Jersey, who had not been able to reach the building in 1863, made a careful study, inside and out. The trip sparked the idea of a monument to the Fifteenth New Jersey on the Salem Church Battlefield. It was decided to adopt a resolution at the next Association meeting, asking the Legislature of New Jersey to vote funds for a suitable monument.[18]

The Twenty-third New Jersey veterans got to the Legislature first, however. Their monument, on the south side of the Plank Road, just east of the Salem cemetery, was erected under authority of an act of 1906. The Fifteenth New Jersey's monument was erected under authority of an act passed in 1908. It stands on the north of the road some distance east of the church. Both are conventional granite shafts with granite soldier atop. They are unusual among war memorials, however, in paying tribute to foe as well as friend. A bronze tablet on the Twenty-third's monument reads: "To the brave Alabama boys, our opponents on this field of battle, whose memory we honor, this tablet is dedicated." One side of the Fifteenth's shaft bears these words: "The survivors of the 15th New Jersey Regiment honor the memory of their comrades, who bore

themselves bravely in this contest, and bear witness to the valor of the men who opposed them on this field."

(Both monuments and small plots have been for many years part of the Fredericksburg and Spotsylvania National Military Park.)

At the turn of the century, its membership fluctuating, still sharing its minister with other churches, Salem strove to keep its house, spiritual and material, in good order and to adhere to the strict Baptist discipline of the time. All questions of business were threshed out carefully, cometimes acrimoniously. One such question was a church cemetery.

The congregation, in 1894, considered establishment of a church graveyard. After disagreement about plans, the grounds were established in 1899. Indeed, work went on for a long time; the grounds were being graded and enclosed as late as 1919. In 1926 a survey and new plats were made and a decision reached to enlarge the cemetery. Action for purchase of additional land came in 1927, with the recommendation that lots in future be sold to members only.[19]

The log school house, of battle fame, stood on a site now occupied by the cemetery, just north of its southern boundary and perhaps a little closer to the western than the eastern boundary. This approximate site was pointed out to me by Mrs. Sadie Lewis Landwehr, on the ground, June 18, 1965. It accords with

General Wilcox's placement of the school as some sixty yards to the right front of the church, i.e., from the Confederate point of view.[20]

When Mrs. Landwehr attended school on the opposite side of the road, about 1895, the old log school house was, she remembers, half fallen down. She believes it fell to ruin gradually. It had been ordered sold by congregational meeting in 1884. That was probably the approximate date of its last use. Apparently it was never sold and would have been worth little.[21]

One of the Hoffman party took a photograph (attached) of this log house in 1892, when it was still standing but beginning to deteriorate.

Miss Mildred Barnum, who interviewed old people about the log school house in 1936, reported that it was a story-and-a-half structure, one room with loft above, and there was only one small window at each end. This description agrees with the Hoffman photograph. It was, reported Miss Barnum, first a private school conducted by Miss Edmonia Parish and later a public school. Miss Eliza Orrock, one of Miss Barnum's sources, stated that she went to school there about 1880; she remembered a large depression on the north side of the school; the parents told the children that this was the site of a common grave for soldiers, the bodies having been later moved to Fredericksburg.[22]

Mrs. Landwehr remembered that Mr. Sam Eastburn taught her older brother and sister in the log house; he was very strict. The strict master and all the little scholars have gone their ways. Wm. J. Butzner, who had been appointed in 1884 to sell the school house, sleeps nearby, along with his father, George, a native of Bavaria. In the cemetery here are also W. Farley Stephens, who had so much to do with repair work, and Walker Landram, one of Salem's founders.[23]

In the early 1900's, S. H. Templeman, a ministerial student at Richmond, sometimes temporarily filled the Salem pulpit. The elderly Decker resigned in 1910. In 1911, the congregation obtained E. G. Barnum, whom they shared with Berea, Falmouth and Bethel churches in Stafford County. Barnum remained until 1924. Edward V. Peyton was then called; he arrived in June of 1925.[24]

Mr. Peyton was the first Salem pastor to be provided with a parsonage, which was conveniently situated just across the road. (For deeds of various parsonages, see Appendix - Deeds.)

Meanwhile, repair work to the church had not been forgotten. June 7, 1919, three ladies had been put in charge of painting and redecorating.[25]

In 1927, the United Daughters of the Confederacy received permission to place on church grounds a marker about the battle. This bronze plaque on a granite base was one of five in the

Fredericksburg area. The others, as erected, were on the Wilderness Battlefield at the Confederate trench line on the Orange Turnpike (now Va. 20); Spotsylvania Battlefield, at Spotsylvania Court House; Fredericksburg Battlefield, at the Sunken Road-Hanover Street junction; Chancellorsville, at the old Chancellor House site. The marker on the Salem Church Battlefield now stands on Va. 3, on the highway right of way, at the southwest corner of Va. 3 and Va. 639. The markers were dedicated May 3, 1927, with services at Spotsylvania Court House. Dr. Douglas Southall Freeman, the Richmond historian and editor, spoke to a large gathering.[26]

Another marker, of the granite milestone type, stands at the southeast corner of Va. 3 and Va. 639 on Va. State Highway property, and reads on its inscribed face:

Battle of
Salem Church
May 3, 1863
Brooks - Newton
vs
Wilcox - Semmes
Mahone

This is one of ten, all the same size, erected on the local battlefields in August, 1903 by the Reverend Captain James Power Smith, erstwhile aide to "Stonewall" Jackson, for some years minister of the Fredericksburg Presbyterian Church,

and afterwards employed in church work in Richmond. The idea for these markers occurred to Samuel B. Woods of Charlottesville and others while touring the local battlefields in the summer of 1902. They secured necessary funds from Thomas Fortune Ryan, a Virginian who had reversed the trend by carpet-bagging northward to become a millionaire. Smith, being familiar with the ground, was selected to pick the spots and attend to erection. For a total cost of $250.00 a local firm, Davis and Cartwright, provided the markers out of blue granite from the Taylor's Hill quarries. Each weighed about a ton.[27]

While the U.D.C. recited past glories, mundane worries, such as a roof over their heads, continued to occupy the Salem people. The shingle roof was giving trouble again. It was patched in 1926. In 1929, a new roof was voted. This tin roof, replacing wooden shingles, was a major change. The new roof was painted in October.[28]

That same year electricity was installed, and the congregation voted to sell the no longer needed oil lamps.[29]

The parsonage across the road also got electricity, but Mr. Peyton was not destined to enjoy amenities there. He had left. The incumbent, Rush P. Ferguson, eventually fell out with

the congregation, or they with him, and times were hard all around in those days of the Depression. It was even decided to rent out the second floor of the parsonage to raise money, and parts of the parsonage property were sold off.[30]

In 1931 Mr. Ferguson resigned to become pastor of the Fairview Baptist Church in Fredericksburg, Bascom Venable, a Missourian, took his place in 1932.[31]

Mr. Venable happened to be in the area because his son Clarke, a writer, was connected with the National Military Park.

Old Mr. Venable, a bland type, smoothed many a ruffled feeling in those troubled days. Loving flowers and shrubbery, he saw to it that plantings were made around the church and grounds.[32] Foundation planting was a fad of that period, and the feeling of creating beauty benefitted the congregation. Mr. Venable's shrubbery still flourishes. While interesting as a part of the over-all history of the building and a legitimate undertaking when the building was part of the living church, this planting does not accord with our historical interpretation.

An alteration of considerable magnitude was made to the outside of the building in 1934; the present cement platform all the way across the front was then laid. Mr. Wyatt T. Thompson, of the Wheeler and Thompson Undertaking firm, provided the

materials. He suggested the platform to expedite the rolling of coffins in and out of the church during funerals.[33]

In 1940 a bequest made extensive repainting (inside and out) and redecoration possible. Included in the redecoration were window shades and carpets for pulpit and aisles.[34]

By 1939 the congregation began discussing plans for Sunday School rooms. Discussions about alterations and additions continued throughout the years, culminating in the decision to build a new church. The original idea was to provide a six room basement to the old church.[35]

Bascom Venable resigned in 1940. He was succeeded by Jack Manly, not yet ordained. Manly soon resigned to continue his studies.[36]

In 1944, though still without a pastor, and despite gas rationing and other exigencies of World War II, the congregation voted to have special centennial exercises on Homecoming Day. Garnett R. Tureman came as pastor in time to take part in the exercises, held Sunday, September 3, 1944. A highlight of the all-day meeting was a review of the church's history by Miss Molly Orrock.[37]

Mr. Tureman began definite moves toward a building fund. He soon resigned, however, to be succeeded by in 1946 Alfred W. Coates, recently a chaplain in the Armed Forces. The building fund got well started under Mr. Coates.[38]

New construction of any kind seemed a long way off, however, and the lack of Sunday School space oppressed the congregation. In 1947 the church members decided to remodel the galleries for Sunday School use, Brother John Orrock being appointed to oversee the project, not to exceed a cost of $150.00. The alterations, duly carried out, constitute the one big internal structural change to Salem Church. In each gallery a new level floor was laid over the old slanting floor. The panelled face of each gallery had reached about two feet above the slanting floor at the edge overlooking downstairs. The level floor reduced to one foot the height of that fence, if we may call it that. Children could easily fall over. Therefore, on top of the panelling there was built a railing some two feet and a couple of inches. (I measured; but, not wishing to encroach upon another discipline, shall leave exact measurements to the architects.) The total barrier is thus about three feet high. Also in both galleries, at the ends, railings were installed to keep people from falling into the stair wells. Iron pipes were affixed to the ceilings to allow for curtaining the galleries off into compartments. The work on both galleries was not done all at once, and some curtaining did not occur until 1950.[39]

This balcony work occasioned the cutting of an inside doorway into the old slaves' stairwell, which previously had been accessible only from the side door outside. A little set of stairs was built to the inside door, where one turns to go up the old stairwell to the south gallery, used by the slave members before the Civil War.[40]

The church was still being heated by wood stoves. On October 30, 1947, a motion was passed to buy two oil stoves. In October of 1953 it was reported that the new flue would be ready in time for cold weather. Thus, we realize that the oil stoves were first used in the old flues at the east end of the church. It was decided then to have one oil stove in the south-eastern corner and the other under the new flue at the western end. This last heating arrangement is extant. (See attached photographs of interior, 1965.)[41]

As the 1940's ended, sentiment for a new building, possibly in the form of an annex, became stronger. There was difference of opinion on that matter within the congregation, but the old differences between Salem and Zoan were forgotten when Zoan Church burned in 1949. Salem sent resolutions of regret and offered her house to the Zoan congregation. The Zoan people

accepted, using Salem on Sunday afternoons. So dead was the old animosity there was even talk of merging. The merger never came about, and Zoan built a new brick building. (The old one had been frame.)[42]

Mr. Coates resigned in 1950. Dr. Frank Riley took his place in 1951. Dr. Riley became Salem's first full-time pastor. He received a salary of $3,000 plus parsonage. (For parsonages see Appendix - Deeds.) There would be services from then on every Sunday, both in morning and evening.[43]

Meanwhile, talk continued about a new building, some members in 1951 favoring an annex on the east side of the old church. As the months went by, contention divided the congregation, but the opposing groups managed to achieve spiritual unity in such matters as opposing Sunday milk delivery.[44]

They finally got together on the building matter, bought a lot adjoining the eastern boundary of the church cemetery, and built their new house thereon. It was completed in 1955.[45]

Pastor Riley retired in 1956. Johnnie /sic/ Bradley, just out of Southeastern Baptist Theological Seminary, arrived in 1957.[46]

Mr. Bradley, a North Carolinian, had served in the 11th Airborne Division and as a tail gunner in a B-24 Bomber in the

Air Corps during World War II. After the war he worked in the Newport News Shipyard and then re-enlisted in the Air Corps. Again serving abroad, he participated in the Berlin Airlift. He was discharged at the expiration of his enlistment in 1949. The ministry now became his goal and he continued his schooling at junior college, college, and seminary.[47]

Salem, his first charge, was far larger and more complex than had been the case when Decker, that other mature man who had turned to the ministry after combat experience, came there in 1875.

Mr. Bradley led his congregation in contributing to the success of a highlight in the Civil War Centennial observances of 1960-1965; the Rededication of the Twenty-third New Jersey Monument at Salem Chruch.

I suppose I am responsible for the genesis of that particular observance. When the New York City Civil War Round Table toured the local battlefields in 1960, I stressed the eulogies to their opponents expressed by the Jerseymen on the Fifteenth and Twenty-third New Jersey Monuments. Mr. Joseph N. Dempsey, of Asbury Park, N. J., one of the tourers and vice-chairman of the New Jersey Civil War Centennial Commission, took it from there.

The beginnings of the Civil War Centennial had not been entirely auspicious. The New Jersey people, wanting something

significant and happy early in the Centennial, did not want to wait until the anniversary of the Battle of Salem Church. They planned to rededicate the monument in the spring of 1961. Mr. Everett J. Landers, Executive Director of the New Jersey Commission, worked with the Virginia Commission, and with Spotsylvania County and Fredericksburg people. It fell to the Fredericksburg Park to attend to much of the planning and work at this end. Superintendent Northington being absent, final planning, execution and participation became the tasks of Acting Superintendent Weldon B. Land and myself.

The exercises, simple and dignified, taking place inside the new church (because of rain) on May 6, 1961, were an unqualified success. Brotherhood and mutual goodwill, the themes based on the monument tablets, were the order of the day, and the Park ultimately got, as a byproduct of the observance, a captured Confederate flag, donated by the State of New Jersey for display at the Chancellorsville Visitor Center.

(This observance was technically the rededication of the Twenty-third New Jersey Monument at Salem Church. The Fifteenth New Jersey has a monument not only on the Salem Church Battlefield but also at the Bloody Angle, Spotsylvania Court House Battlefield,

New Jersey sponsored other exercises at the Fifteenth's Spotsylvania Monument on May 16, 1964. At this time, by token, all the New Jersey Monuments in the Park were rededicated and marked with small rededication markers. Thus, the rededication markers at Salem Church bear the rededication date of May 16, 1964.)

Mr. Bradley accepted another call in the fall of 1963, and the pulpit was filled for several months by the Reverend W. M. Thompson. The Reverend John B. Hodge, the incumbent, came to Salem in the spring of 1964.

On December 7, 1961, during Mr. Bradley's pastorate, the Salem Church congregation voted to donate to the United States, for inclusion in the Fredericksburg National Military Park, the old church and about one acre of land.[48]

Here was another turning point in the history of the old building. Weathering the vicissitudes of war and the erosion of time, this national monument came to national ownership, to be restored, preserved and interpreted, while the remaining oaks in its yard change from the brown of dying years to the bright green of ever-returning springs.

Chapter V

Early Appearance of Church and Grounds

Handy Reference List of Repairs and Changes

(This list, from church records, includes items mentioned or discussed in the preceding chapter, as well as several minor items not mentioned before.)

1867 October 12, blinds to be made for lower windows and colored peoples' door to be replaced. (See Chapters II and IV for slaves' gallery and this list below for alteration to stairs thereto.)

1871 Walker Landram appointed in October to superintend repairs.

1883 September 22, committee on roof and tie-rods discharged after reporting. (For tie-rods, see preceding Chapter and second part of this Chapter.)

1884 November 1, log school house to be sold. This would indicate no use after that date, but it was not sold. On April 4, 1885, no sale had been made. Matter continued. It was still standing in 1892. (See preceding chapter and attached photograph.) It gradually fell to ruin.

1885 Church plastered, whitewashed and painted. Committee appointed June 6, W. Farley Stephens in charge.

1887 October 9, voted to repair window blinds and buy an organ. This may or may not be the first organ they ever had. It was later replaced.

1890 September 13, committee (W. L. Landram and A. B. Jones) appointed to repair church.

1891 January 9, committee reported on repairs and discharged.

1894 April 8, committee gave partial report on repairs.

July 8, final report. This was a new committee, W. F. Stephens, chairman. Stephens was paid $5.00. New floor probably laid during 1894 project. (See Chapter IV.)

1894 April 8, committee appointed to select and lay off burial grounds. (Cemetery also discussed July 8 and October 13, 1894; October 12 and November 7, 1895; October 9, 1897; April 9, 1898; April 22, 1899, when plans finally adopted.)

1895 November 7. A standing committee of three (W. J. Butzner, James Paytes, Ebenezer McGee) appointed to take care of any needed repairs.

1896 March 11. Committee on repairs made a report. Committee due $2.08. Motion to pay. Committee directed to put fasteners on window shutters.

1897 April 10, repair bill paid ($1.34 to Brother McGee).

1908 October 12, work on church building being unfinished, the committee could not make a report.

1908 (Extensive repairs, including new shingles on roof, as indicated, January 9, 1909)

1909 January 9, committee on church repairs reported expenditures of $242.22 as follows:

August 4, 1908	12,000 shingles, W. A. McWhirt check for	$66.00
September 3	bill of Norman E. Jett	3.89
September 4	bill of G. W. Heflin	11.00
September 5	bill of J. W. Masters	18.63
September 7	bill of S. W. Thomas	50.00
September 25	bill of E. D. Cole	60.70
October 18	bill of S. W. Thomas	22.00
December 12	bill of B. Byrd	12.00
		$ 242.22

(Some of these names are found in a Fredericksburg directory of the period. Geo. W. Heflin was a plumber. He probably did the guttering on this job; there was no water in the church. J. W. Masters, was and still is, a building supply business. E. D. Cole was a building supply business also. There was a woodworker in town named Samuel Thomas, and there was a colored man, a plasterer, named Broadie Byrd.[1]

1919 June 7, three ladies appointed to take charge of painting and redecorating church.

1919 June 7, trustees to finish grading and inclosing cemetery. (Thus, the cement fence posts would seem to date to 1919.)

1922 November 17, committee appointed to get new stove pipe for left aisle.

1926 January 6, Brother Willie Weedon appointed a committee of one to patch roof. Weedon declining, Brother Orrock, July 7, to have work done. (Orrock reported that Weedon said he did not feel able to do it.)

1926 October 6, committee appointed to have stoves polished and plaster put around stove-pipe holes in flues.

1926 October 6, committee appointed to survey cemetery and make new plats. December 31, to add to cemetery. January 23, 1927, lots in future to be sold to church members only.

1927 April 3, United Daughters of the Confederacy given permission to place marker on church grounds. (The marker is now, 1965, on State Highway property.)

1927 July 6, decided to clean up cemetery and grounds around church.

1927 October 5, motion to fix left hand gallery in good order. Committee appointed to check stove pipes and buy new ones if necessary.

1928 September 12, discussed fixing, decorating walls of church.

1929 January 20, decided to replace matting on church aisles.

1929 July 17, electricity voted. (Wiring bills in entry for October 10.)

1929 July 17, motion passed to have new roof put on church. October 10, motion to paint new roof, which is mentioned as being tin.)

1929 October 10, Mrs. S. W. Burgess appointed a committee of one to sell old kerosene lamps.

1930 January 8, bills for church roof:

Roofing and nails, etc.	$186.01
Paint	11.40
Painting	8.75
	$206.16

1930 April 9, committee appointed to redecorate exterior of church, but to await raising of funds.

1930 July 16, bill paid for fixing chimney.

1931 January 7, motion to buy new pipes for stove on left aisle.

1934 October 10, Pastor Venable suggested planting around church. (Also, October 7, 1936.)

1934-35 Cement platform laid across front of church. Suggested in autumn; completed by new year. (October 10, 1934 and January 8, 1935.)

1937 April 7, decision to paint building and appointment of committee to collect money.

1939 April 5 and July 5, more space needed. Mitchell, a local contractor appointed to look into possibility of a basement. (Subsequent discussions through the next several years of added space, new building, etc., here omitted.)

1940 A bequest made possible extensive painting and redecoration, inside and out, including window shades and carpets for aisles and pulpit. (April 10, July 10, October 9, 1940; January 18 and March 2, 1941.)

1947 April 10, decision to remodel galleries for Sunday School use. This also occasioned cutting inside door (and building little set of steps) to old slaves' stairwell. (See preceding chapter for details of work on galleries and stairs.)

1947 April 10, noted that high winds had damaged roof. (July 8, 1948, roofer promised to repair roof; July 7, 1949, motion to paint roof; May 10, 1951, roof declared unsafe. This last was added incentive for new building. Our architects might take note in restoration work, to be sure roof ends up good and strong.)

1947 October 30, motion passed to buy two oil space heaters.

1953 October 14, new flue to be completed before cold weather. This was at west end for one of the oil stoves. Before that both oil stoves had used old flues at east end. (Oil stoves are still in church, 1965; see attached photographs.)

1954 Land purchased and new church building started. Land adjoins church cemetery. (June 27, July 29, September 12, work underway.)

1955 Building completed in the spring. July 17 set as dedication date.

End of list.

(N.B. No congregational records for Salem Church exist of the period before the Civil War. Records begin with March 1866. No records were kept during two periods: October 1899-October 1908 and September 1912-June 1919.)

This list and other evidence lead us to the following conclusions about basic restoration:

The cinderblock box just off the northeastern corner should be removed and also all evidence of the well, north side of church. All electric lines to the church should be underground with no poles near the church. (Lighting and outlets in church should be concealed.) The planting around the church should be removed and also the ivy on the church. Neither shrubbery nor ivy is historic there.

The tin roof should be replaced by a wood shingle roof of the period. The wooden upper part of the west gable and of the church should be changed from weatherboarding to vertical board-and-batten. (This deduced from photographs and interviews; see below for color. No mention occurs in records.) This probably always was wood. Architectural exploration may tell us more. Tie-rods, though postwar, should be retained.

The western flue should be removed.

Inside, the galleries should be restored to original condition and also the old slaves' stairwell. The present main floor should be replaced with a period floor. I do not know about the wooden ceiling.

Pictorial and Other Evidence

After the fight to which it gave its name, battle-scarred Salem Church still stood firm in its war-modified yard just south of the Orange Plank Road (old Orange Turnpike). Damage to the oak grove was doubtless soon cured by nature, but a trench, dug by the Confederates on May 4, 1863, cut across the grounds, which were also marked with temporary graves. No wartime, or earlier, illustration has been found. A drawing, from a photograph taken in 1884, shows the earthwork running north and south, just east of the building. This earthwork no longer exists in the church yard.[2]

In addition to the trench, another lost feature of the ground was the log school house used in the Confederate defense of the Salem Church ridge. This gable-roofed, story-and-a-half structure, made of squared logs, stood about sixty yards to the southeast of the church. The roofing was wood shingles. There was one room with loft above. The room had a small window in each end and a door in one side. Alignment with compass points is unknown. An 1892 photograph (attached) by H. B. Hoffman gives us a very good idea of this building. (See preceding chapters for wartime use and discussion of school house. Mr. Hoffman and his friends are discussed in Chapter IV.) The gable end above the eaves line is seen to be constructed of rough weather boarding rather than logs.

The date May 1892 at the top of the picture was added by Mr. Hoffman when an old man; in faded ink at the bottom the date is November 1892; dead leaves on the ground and the clothing of the people suggest November as the correct date. The man on the roof seems to be H. B. Hoffman himself; he evidently got one of the party to snap the picture.

The church cemetery, as brought out in Chapter IV, did not come into existence until the turn of the century.

Basically, the church is still as it was, a two-storied, rectangular, gable-roofed brick building, 38 feet by 42 feet. There were and are six shuttered windows on each side, three up and three down. The roof, however, was covered with wood shingles rather than the present tin. (See new tin roof in list at beginning of chapter.) The back of the building has only one opening, a middle window. The front was the west gable end, entered by two doors with stone stoops, the stoops now replaced by a single large cement platform across the whole front, discussed previously.

The old stoops consisted apparently of one stone each. Stoop detail appears in several old photographs, notably H. B. Hoffman's view of four men and a carriage taken of the church front in the 1890's. (Copy attached.) One stoop is very plain in that picture.[3]

A National Park Service photograph of the early 1930's (attached) clearly shows both stoops, then still unchanged. (F. & S. N. M. P. #264).

Early details of the front doors may also be seen in this Hoffman photograph.

At the western corner of the southern side, a door shows in old photographs and still exists. This was the door into the stairwell to the slaves' gallery, discussed earlier in this paper and also below in Appendix Four.

In the old days there were, as there still are, two chimneys at the east gable end. (See old photographs attached and present day shots attached.) The flue through the roof near the west end was constructed in recent times for an oil space heater. (See list above for date of oil heaters and flue.)

The east gable end was all brick, as now. The west gable end (front) used to be wood from peak to eaves line. It is still so, but the type of construction is different; it is now horizontal weatherboarding; it was of vertical board-and-batten construction, either unpainted or painted a dark color, as indicated by photographic evidence. (Old members, to be cited further on, said that the color was a dull red.) A postulation, not necessarily mine and not dogmatically laid down by anybody, is that all of this east gable end was once brick and that the top part was put back

as wood after war damage. (See interview with old members, below.) War damage seems unlikely, because the west end received no hits unless from a few wild-shooting Confederates in reserve. Perhaps architectural investigation will clear up this matter. The architects might note that Waller's Church (see Appendix Four and attached photo) has a wood top part to its front gable end. The board-and-batten top of Salem's front was present as early as 1882, as seen in the stereoscopic photograph attached.[4]

The stereoscopic view, which is from the north, shows only enough of the west gable end to allow us to determine that the top part is wood. The nature of the wooden portion is better seen in a photograph which I shall call the Markham photograph, attached.[5]

Better yet, the board-and-batten detail shows clearly in the Hoffman photograph of the church front, cited above.

The Markham photograph shows the west end (front) and south side nicely. Almost the same view is to be found on a post card put out by the stationery firm of Robert Kishpaugh in the 1920's. Identical to that is a view in a picture booklet by the Kishpaugh firm called "Historical Fredericksburg," published about 1923; thus the card would be 1923 or earlier. Another similar view might be dated 1926 or earlier; this is a post card pasted in a little job-printed booklet by a Fredericksburg man named Harris: I shall

call it the Harris post card. The only major change indicated by comparison of these three later photographs with the Markham photograph is the type of construction of the wooden top of the front gable end: dark board-and-batten in the Markham and white horizontal weatherboarding in the later views. All show the wood shingle roof and small stone stoops to the front doors. The slave door has no stoop. I attach all three of the later views, in case some detail in any one of them might aid the architects.[6]

The north side of the church shows well enough in the stereoscopic view. It also shows in a Hoffman photograph of the 1890's, attached. The Hoffman view was evidently taken on a meeting Sunday; there are people in the yard and carriages and wagons parked nearby. The north side and the shingle roof are sharply delineated in a picture of Union Sixth Corps veterans at the church in 1887. You can count the bricks in the church on this photograph (attached) by Rile of Philadelphia.[7]

It is to be noticed that no well appears on the north side in these pictures. The present well is not old. No well appears in the National Park Service photograph (F&SNMP #264) of the 1930's, cited above. This last was also taken before the planting of shrubbery. (See shrubbery in list of changes above.) No older photograph shows planting around the building or ivy on the walls.

The roof has had guttering and downspouts for some time. In the views of the 1920's, a gutter appears on the south side with downspout at east end. In a picture of New Jersey visitors at the church in 1908, the same spout is shown. (See attached copy; this view is of the south side from the east.) The spout seems relatively small.[8]

No downspout or guttering is visible to me in the old pictures of the north side. The south guttering was present, though broken, as early as the 1890's, however. A broken downspout shows at the southeastern corner in a photograph taken April 1895 by H. B. Hoffman.

This particular Hoffman photograph (attached) presents the south side and east end. There was one window, downstairs center, in the east end, as now, between the chimneys which are within the wall. Note that the crack in the east wall, still there today, dates back at least to 1895. People to whom I have talked have believed that the crack was the result of lightning, not war damage, but nobody really seems sure. Notice an oak tree off the northeastern corner.

Another picture of the east end shows the east end and north side. The same crack appears in the east end. Two men are seated in a carriage and three men are standing on the ground. One man is virtually obscured by a tree in front of which he stands. The tree is off the southeastern corner. It does not appear in

the Hoffman photograph of 1895; thus this must be an older picture. (If you look carefully at the stereoscopic view, you see the southernmost bare tree trunk and branches of the northernmost tree. Both trees are clearly shown in the Battles and Leaders picture of 1884, cited above.) The picture of the east end and north side found in several places, is best shown in a copy in the De Renne Collection, Confederate Museum, Richmond, and in the Manuscript Department of Duke University Library, Durham, N. C. (Copy is attached.) It appears, less clear, in two publications. The date would seem to be 1876.[9]

Mrs. Sadie Landwehr (interview cited previously and below) told me that at the turn of the century the crossroad passed the eastern end of the church and then bent around westward to enter the Plank Road. Both the Hoffman and the De Renne photographs of the east end of the church show a carriage in a roadway. It is to be remembered, however, that in Civil War days the crossroad was west of the church, as now.

Several other photographs (attached) show us former condition of the ground and roads. A view of woods by Hoffman, June 24, 1890, was taken to show where Captain Ira Lindsley of the Fifteenth New Jersey fell. Though postwar, this picture accords with early descriptions of the fringe of thicket along the face of Salem ridge; the thicket was interspersed with larger trees.

A photograph of the Plank Road, taken by New Jersey visitors in 1908 shows a roadway perhaps not too different from that of the 1860's.[10]

Another photograph, this one looking east to the Fifteenth New Jersey Monument, presents the Plank Road about 1916. This is copied from Kishpaugh's 1923 booklet, cited previously. It also appears, however, exactly the same in an earlier picture book published by him, evidently early in 1916, since he includes therein a 1916 calendar. (That earlier booklet does not have Salem Church itself.)

Two photographs from F&SNMP files (nos. 1662 and 1677), taken by Superintendent Branch Spalding in 1935, show the road and field westward from the toll gate area and eastward from Salem ridge. Photographs taken by me recently show the roadway today. Many more houses have been built in the past thirty years than appear in the purview of my photographs. Three main points of development have been Bragg Road, east and north of the toll gate area; Waverly Village, south of the toll gate area; and Heatherstone Drive, a road running north from the Fifteenth New Jersey Monument.

So much for the field. To revert to the Salem Church building, though we possess no picture of Civil War days, we have seen that early postwar photographs will be of great help in

restoration work. We have, however, no early shots of any date of the interior and no contemporary descriptions. The mind of nobody available runneth back a hundred years. We can push time back a few years, both by documentation of changes and recollections of older members of the Salem congregation, and we may safely enough assume that if something were so-and-so before a recorded change, it was so-and-so in 1863. Still, there must be architectural investigation and maybe an educated guess or two to settle one or two points.

Much of the old look, both exterior and interior, has been brought out in the postwar history of the church in Chapter IV and in the preceding part of this chapter. The following summation of interviews will conclude our findings.

Mr. and Mrs. E. O. Pates were interviewed, June 24, 1965, at their home near Salem Church. Life-long members, they were married in the church in 1908 by Pastor Decker. Mr. Pates will be 83 in October of 1965.

Mr. Pates remembered the old wood part of the west gable end as being a dark red. He did not remember about the doors. The shutters were dark green. Inside, the walls were white and so were the pillars. He thought the woodwork was an oak color and may have been white originally. Long ago, before redecoration,

soldiers' writings and drawings were on the walls. I gather that Mr. Pates did not personally remember the scribbling.

He seemed to think that the old boarded top of the west gable end was brick before the war. He had no proof, however, and no firm conviction. He did remember that there used to be a pile of loose brick on the grounds, possibly saved from that end.

He mentioned the slaves' door and pointed out that there were no colored members in his day. The front door to the left, as you enter, was called the ladies' door; the other, the men's door. By custom, the men and women gathered around their respective doors and chatted on entering and leaving.

Inside, the congregation sat on pews that were really benches made of wide pine boards, probably dating back to wartime, he thought. The congregation was warmed by two stoves, about midway of the church and each partly under a gallery to keep it out of the aisle. The distance from the chimneys necessitated long stove pipes. Wires suspended from the galleries held the pipes in position.

Mr. Pates well remembered the shingle roof, but could tell nothing of the guttering, one way or another. He also remembered nothing of the origin of the crack in the east end of the building.

There used to be an earthwork, since graded away, he said at right angles to the highway and between the church and the cemetery. The cemetery has been widened westward a couple of times, he pointed out.

The school house at the earliest time of his remembrance was a ruin of framing only.

The county road to the highway in his younger days ran east of the church and curved to enter the highway about where the present road (Va. 639) enters.

Old folks told him that the church was used as a hospital and was mighty bloody inside. After the war, his uncle helped haul about fifty bodies away from temporary graves at the church to the Confederate Cemetery in town.

Mrs. Sadie Lewis Landwehr was interviewed, June 18, 1965, at her apartment in Fredericksburg and on the ground at Salem Church. She has been cited several times in this study. Seventy-eight years old at the time of the interview, she grew up near Salem Church and attended Sunday School and church there. She says she was told she was first carried to church when two years old and can remember being there when about five. Generally, her memories coincide with those of Mr. and Mrs. Pates.

She remembered the school house. It was half-fallen down when she was a child attending school on the opposite side of the road. The old school house was about ten feet north of the present

southern boundary of the cemetery and perhaps a little closer to the western than the eastern boundary.

She remembered the earthwork and described the county road as Mr. Pates did. A trace of the old crossroad can be seen just west of the cemetery fence posts.

She told about the board-and-batten of the front gable end, not aware that I already knew about it. This, she said, was painted a dark red, nearly the color of the brick. She wondered whether this wooden part were not put in after the war because of war damage, but this was just a vague thought and she did not definitely remember hearing that matter discussed.

The two front doors were painted a dark red and so was the slave door, according to her recollection of the turn of the century. She told the story also of the ladies' door and the men's door. The green shutters were conventional, like the present ones.

She mentioned that the old shingle roof was replaced by tin.

As to the east end of the church, she seemed to think, but was not positive, that her father said the crack was caused by lightning rather than war damage. That end is, however, pock-marked by bullets, she pointed out. Many people have pointed this out through the years; the marks still show.

She thought the tie-rods were put in because the church was shaken by war damage. We know when the rods were installed. (See list at beginning of this chapter.) The outside holding ends of these rods are the conventional five-pointed stars. (See attached photograph.) The rods do not run the length of the building, but are short straps bolted to the bottom of the galleries. Corner stars seem to be tied to each other.

The church never had shrubbery around it in the old days, said Mrs. Landwehr.

The church was lighted when she was a little girl by coal oil reflector lamps fastened to the pillars. The lamps had squat bowls and the shiny metal reflectors were the size of dinner plates. Two big lamps also sat on either side of the pulpit.

The walls inside were white; the woodwork was dark; once, she said, it was a tawny yellow. The pillars were always white. (As to the tawny yellow, we have an example of that on the inside of the little cabinet affixed to the wall in the northwest corner of the church. This yellow represents a type of painting very popular at the turn of the century and during the early twentieth century. First a ground was put on, then a slightly different colored second coat, which was combed while still wet in a wavy manner to simulate wood grain. I do not know whether or not this type of painting was prevalent in the mid-nineteenth century.)

Mrs. Landwehr thought the little cabinet was for books. It certainly would not hold the two hundred and fifty volumes the Sunday School once had. The cabinet may be old, but the hardware is not.

The pulpit, she said, was a cream color in her girlhood and the wood ceiling was varnished dark, as now. The pulpit was furnished with a purplish satin cloth with long cords hanging in tassels.

She told about the change in the galleries and pointed out the bullet holes in the gallery panels and said she seemed to remember that more holes were in evidence in her younger days.

The pews were very hard. When the church got new pews, the old ones were given to a colored church, Mt. Zion, but a few were kept for the gallery. (I believe this as something she heard and that she had moved away before this happened.)

Her description of the stoves accords with that of Mr. Pates. She seemed to remember, however, that the stoves were all the way, rather than partly, under the galleries. They were, she stated, between the two pillars closest to the pulpit. They did a poor job in really cold weather.

She remembered no window shades.

On June 16, 1965, I interviewed Miss Molly and Miss Maggie Orrock at Salem Church. These life-long members of the congregation live nearby. Their brother John is one of the trustees. They remember

much of what older people have said and share a devoted interest in the history of the church. Miss Mollie teaches school in the county and Miss Maggie is a retired school teacher. This interview has been cited previously. Most of their account brought out the same things mentioned by the older people interviewed. (Though the Orrocks were interviewed first, I am considering the interviews in sequence of seniority.)

These ladies, not old enough to remember the log school house, had nothing to add to other accounts about that.

Miss Molly told of the stoves and the long stove pipes, and, in addition, described the stoves. They were long cast iron stoves with apron in front. (I found a similar type in old Hebron Church; see attached photograph and Appendix Four.) Wood for the stoves was kept in a closet under the stairs.

Benchlike pews were used both downstairs and in the galleries. The new church still has some of the old pews, in use in the Junior Department. We looked at these. They seem to have been originally made with one board for the back, a space existing between that and the seat. More boards have added on all to make a solid back. These benches are quite old, but not necessarily of the Civil War period. It would be reasonable to assume that the original pews were destroyed or lost during the Civil War,

but that replacements would be similar. Indeed, in the hard times after the war, the replacements may have been more primitive than the originals. One bench has one wide old board for its solid back, and the nails seem old.

The antique coal oil lamps, said the Misses Orrock, were later supplemented by Rayo (an improved type) kerosene lamps, hanging at four points from the ceiling. (Thus, there evidently were two kinds of lamps offered for sale when electricity was put in. See list of changes, above.) The older lamps were fastened to the top of each pillar. Lamps may have been put in the church, I might add here, just after the Civil War. Revival services in the fall of 1867 were held nightly. Thus, there had to be lighting. It is doubtful that lamps were in church before the war; kerosene lamps were just coming into use in mid-century and probably would not appear in a rural church. Anyway, we have no record of that period.

The alterations to the galleries were carefully explained by Miss Molly and I afterward found the date in the records. She pointed out bullet holes in the gallery panels. She also explained the matter of the slaves' entrance to the slaves' gallery and told about the cutting of the inside door to the slaves' stairwell when the galleries were altered for Sunday School use. (These alterations are discussed in Chapter IV.)

Miss Molly showed me the little cabinet, which she thought might be old. Her remembrance went back to dark rather than all white woodwork. We noted the old yellowish paint inside the cabinet, obviously a clue to a paint job of long ago. We agreed, however that neither this clue nor remembrance of anybody living provided us with the decor of Civil War days.

These ladies also explained why the cement apron was laid along the front of the church. (See Chapter IV.)

They stated that their mother said the horizontal weatherboarding in the west gable end was put on because the old board-and-batten top fell in. This does not tell us, however, whether all of that end was, or was not, originally brick.

Miss Mollie never heard of any outbuildings, other than the school house. The horses were tied to the trees, some trees having rings for the purpose. The well (north side) is new. There seems to have been no old well.

Basically, Miss Molly pointed out that everything inside the church seems to be old, except the main flooring and the alterations to the galleries and slaves' stairwell. The old slanting floors in the galleries exist under the new level floors there.

Suggestions for Interpretation

There are several themes and sub-themes in the story we are to tell. The national significance of Salem Church stems from the Civil War. The church is also a good example of a way of life in the mid-nineteenth century. We may consider the following outline:

I. Significance Because of War

A. Place of Civilian Refuge (Fredericksburg Campaign)

B. The Church as Namesake and Citadel, Battle of Salem Church

1. Nearby Log School House also used as Fortress

C. Church Used As Field Hospital After Battle

II. A Rural Church of the Mid-nineteenth Century

Restoration of the building presents no great problem. A question arises, however, in the matter of furnishing. How shall we furnish the inside? General Wilcox placed a company in the church to act as sharpshooters during the battle. He stated that the building was full of furniture stored there by Fredericksburg refugees. If we were to furnish the place exactly as it was on the main day of battle, Sunday, May 3, 1863, we would fill it with a jumble of pews and mid-Victorian furniture. This, however true historically, would not make much sense.

I suggest we furnish the church as it appeared just before or just after the war. This would not be costly. (And I state here for the eyes of higher authority that the church should be furnished. Empty historic structures disappoint visitors and everybody closely concerned.) We could probably get some old pews and reproduce others. Lamps (if we want to show the church as it was after the war) would be easy to acquire. An old stove is at Hebron Church. (See attached photograph.) We should try to get that.

The sharpshooters in the furniture-packed church and the post-battle hospital scenes could be shown on paintings. The outdoor scene, with log school house (but no earthworks on May 3, 1863), could also be shown in a painting. A taped recording with outdoor painting would be useful, but there should be no elaborate housing to confuse the historic scene. I would suggest narrative markers, as well as recordings, telling all phases, military and civilian, of the story.

If it were not practicable to man the area, the church could be kept open only on special occasions or intermittently in summer. There could be glassed insets in the doors, as at the store at Appomattox, the doors being left open during the day.

The shrubbery, not planted until the 1930's should go. The ivy should go too. None appears in old photographs.

The DeRenne photograph shows a fence in the background, west side of property. A fence was possibly there at the time of the

battle. I suggest a period fence with a farm gate to parking south of the church. The gate could be shut at night to eliminate night parking. Any elaborate parking, however, would be an intrusion on the historic scene, and there should be no hard surface. The park property includes a small triangle across Va. 639. (See attached plat.) That could be used for limited parking or for parking after the church grounds were closed. Traffic on Va. 639 is not usually heavy, but the safety factor would have to be considered in this suggestion.

Va. 639 enters the highway (Va. 3) just west of its mid-twentieth century entrance. This shift occurred in the course of making Va. 3 a divided road in the early 1960's. The Virginia State Highway Department then placed the U.D.C. Marker on the west side of the new Va. 639 entrance on the road right-of-way and the little Smith marker on the east side. A good sized piece of the east corner is State property; a casual observer might consider it part of park property. (See attached plat.)

I feel sure that the State Highway Department would not object to our moving these markers. Should we move them to a point nearer the church? A high bank precludes ready examination of the U.D.C. marker. I might mention, however, that the U.D.C. marker refers to <u>the followers of Lee and the followers of Grant</u>. It may be correct,

after the war, to speak in a larger sense of the followers of Grant, but Grant was not yet the Union's chief field commander at the time of this battle and he was not here. I believe the use of his name on this marker is a possible source of confusion to visitors. We should probably leave the U.D.C. marker where it is.

Appendix One

Deeds: Churches and Parsonages

Salem Church

Spotsylvania County Deed Book KK, p. 623, December 30, 1843, recorded April 1, 1844: Benjamin Mills and wife to George Rowe, Walker Landram and Jackson J. Mills, "trustees acting for the Baptist Church called Salem in the County of Spotsylvania," one acre. (N.B. Deed Book LL, p. 112, September 10, 1844, recorded September 16, 1844: Benjamin Mills to his son Jackson J. Mills, land on south side of Turnpike 114.25 acres, "subject to a deduction of one acre at the upper corner conveyed by the said Benjamin Mills to Salem Church . . . ").

Spotsylvania Deed Book KK, p. 621, March 30, 1844, recorded April 1, 1844: Absalom P. Rowe to George Rowe, Walker Landram and Jackson J. Mills, Salem Church trustees, piece of land adjoining Salem Church plot.

Spotsylvania Deed Book MM, p. 140, February 1, 1847, recorded April 5, 1847: Jackson J. Mills and wife Harriet to George Rowe, Walker Landram and Wm. P. Bowen, Salem Church trustees, piece of land adjoining Salem Church property.

Spotsylvania Deed Book 104, p. 17, May 10, 1929, recorded June 21, 1929: agreement between Salem Church trustees (W.S. Dickinson, C. A. Orrock, S. W. Burgess, E. T. Hilldrup, and L. W. Landram) and the Virginia Electric and Power Company. Right of way for poles and lines. Plat on p. 18. Line was close to and parallel with Va. Highway 37, now called Va. Highway 3.

Spotsylvania Deed Book 134, p. 446: agreement signed September 28, 1945, between John R. Orrock, Jesse McWhirt, and G. L. Weedon, Salem trustees, and the Virginia Electric and Power Company. Right of way for lines across church property. Attached plat, dated January 7, 1946 and numbered M2217, shows line running southward from about the center of church's frontage on Va. 3, passing church on east, to a curve in Va. 639.

Spotsylvania Deed Book 168, p. 406, August 9, 1954, recorded August 10, 1954: DuVal Q. Hicks, Sr. and wife Helen G. Hicks to Salem Church trustees: Frank D. Porter, Clifford Deitz, Jesse T. McWhirt, Henry Prasse, G. L. Weedon, and John R. Orrock, 5.05 acres of land adjoining real estate of Salem Church on the east. This is the land for the new church building. It surrounds the

Twenty-third New Jersey Monument plot (part of F&SNMP-0.15 acres), which almost touches the old eastern boundary of Salem Church real estate.

Spotsylvania Deed Book 174, p. 393, December 3, 1954: agreement between Salem trustees John R. Orrock, Clifford R. Deitz and Henry Prasse and the Virginia Electric and Power Company. Right to run lines. This is a line from Va. 3 to the new church building. The plat is in VEPCO Plat Book No. 1, Spotsylvania Clerk's Office, plan M4840. (See under S, Salem Church.)

Spotsylvania Deed Book 195, p. 134, certificate no. C2175, January 11, 1961: Virginia Department of Highways estimated $1,657.00 as compensation to Salem Church for lands taken in alteration of Va. 3. Plat is in Highway Plat Book No. 1, p. 281, Clerk's Office, Spotsylvania. Deed Book 198, p. 489, court order, September 6, 1961, Salem trustees agreed and Court confirmed transfer to Virginia State Highway Department and payment of $1,657.00 to Salem Church.

Spotsylvania Deed Book 200, p. 431, December 19, 1961, recorded March 20, 1962: Salem trustees J. R. Orrock, Henry Prasse, C. R. Deitz, J. P. McWhirt, Jr., and R. Warwick Daniel to the United States

of America—old Salem Church. The congregation met December 7, 1961 and voted to give to the United States, for inclusion in the Fredericksburg National Military Park, old Salem Church and land embracing 1.27 acres: net 1.06 acres. On December 18, 1961, the Circuit Court approved. The congregation retained right of way and easement of passage and access to the burial ground, both ingress and egress, over the real estate conveyed. (See plat on p. 434 of Deed Book 200.) The total of 1.27 acres is minus 0.21 acres (Parcel C) conveyed to the Va. Department of Highways by deed of January 11, 1961, recorded in Deed Book 195, p. 134.

Parsonages

Spotsylvania Deed Book 98, p. 110, March 16, 1925, recorded March 17, 1925: Josephine Brown and husband W. S. Edward Brown to Salem trustees G. W. Lewis, E. T. Hilldrup and L. W. Landram, 13-1/4 acres known as Sam Thomas tract. (Goes back through various hands to A. P. Rowe. William S. Williams sold to William B. Perry, January 28, 1905, recorded in Deed Book AS, p. 352, wherein described.) Fronted on highway across the road from Salem Church. (Had been 14-1/4 acres at one time. A deed of January 5, 1910, Deed Book 79, p. 416, excludes one acre sold for monument; that was land for the Fifteenth New Jersey Monument, the acreage of which,

a part of the park now, is no longer one acre; some was cut off in widening the highway in the early 1960's.)

Spotsylvania Deed Book 98, p. 126, March 16, 1925, recorded March 23, 1925: Deed of trust to secure $2,500.00 on this property. Marked released, December 17, 1930.

Spotsylvania Deed Book 106, p. 29, December 17, 1930, recorded December 27, 1930: Church sells eight acres of this parsonage property. Trustees C. A. Orrock, E. T. Hilldrup and W. S. Dickinson to Grover L. Weedon. The whole piece was a triangle with its base on the Plank Road and the parsonage on the road about midway of road frontage. See Plat by W. N. Hamlet on p. 30. The eight acres did not include the parsonage.

Spotsylvania Deed Book 131, p. 265, May 20, 1944, recorded May 24, 1944: Salem trustees Grover L. Weedon, Jesse McWhirt and John R. Orrock to George Kube, 0.456 acres of this parsonage land.

Spotsylvania Deed Book 131, p. 283, May 20, 1944, recorded June 2, 1944: Grover L. Weedon, Jesse McWhirt and John Orrock, Salem Church trustees, to Fred Peek and wife Celia, rest of this property, including the parsonage itself.

Spotsylvania Deed Book 136, p. 378, July 11, 1946, recorded July 12, 1946: Alfred McWhirt to A. W. Coates, house and land fronting 105.1 feet on Va. 612 (Catharpin Road) near Five Mile Fork. Plat on p. 379. Ibid., p. 379, same dates, A. W. Coates and wife Lillian, deed of trust for $3,250.00 to S. B. Coleman and W. J. Gibson. Ibid., p. 381, same dates, A. W. Coates and wife Lillian to Salem Church trustees Jesse McWhirt, Grover L. Weedon and John R. Orrock, this property, subject to deed of trust, and Coates had right to occupy the place for two years and to pay the Church $35.00 a month rent. Coates was the preacher at the time, and this was the second parsonage furnished in the history of the church.

Spotsylvania Deed Book 184, p. 95, February 28, 1958, recorded March 7, 1958: Salem Church trustees Henry Prasse, John R. Orrock, Clifford R. Dietz, F. D. Porter, and Jesse McWhirt to Thomas D. Richard and wife Mary M. Richard, the parsonage property on Va. 612, $7,350.00.

Spotsylvania Deed Book 184, p. 401, May 12, 1958, recorded May 14, 1958: Henry Prasse and wife Edna to Clifford Deitz, Henry Prasse, Jesse McWhirt, Frank Porter, and John Orrock, trustees for Salem Church a lot 32,918 feet square on westerly side of Va. 694

(110 feet more or less; 300 feet deep, see plat on p. 402). This land, given by Mr. and Mrs. Prasse for a new parsonage, is on the road called Heatherstone Drive, running north from the Fifteenth New Jersey Monument. Deed Book 188, p. 252, April 11, 1959, recorded April 14, 1959: Salem trustees to Wm. J. Cox and DuVal Q. Hicks, Jr., deed of trust, $6,000.00 on this property. (New Parsonage). Deed Book 198,p. 326, August 1, 1961, recorded August 14, 1961: deed of release. Ibid., p. 425, August 14, 1961, recorded August 28, 1961: new deed of trust, Salem trustees to Francis B. Gouldman and William J. Cox, marked released on the margin by William J. Cox, March 23, 1962.

Appendix Two

List of Ministers and Dates of Tenure

Joseph Ascham Billingsley,	1843 - 1854
Alexander H. Bennett	1854 - 1858
Melzi Sanford Chancellor	1859 - 1875
Walter John Decker	1875 - 1910
(Samuel H. Templeman, supply pastor, early 1900's in Decker's time)	
Elmer Grant Barnum	1911 - 1924
Edward V. Peyton	1925 - 1928
Rush P. Ferguson	1928 - 1931
Bascom Venable	1932 - 1940
Jack H. Manly	1941 - 1943
Garnett Roy Tureman	1944 - 1945
Albert W. Coates	1946 - 1950
Frank C. Riley	1951 - 1957
Johnnie /sic/ Bradley	1957 - 1963
W. M. Thompson, supply	1963 - 1964
John B. Hodge	1964 - (incumbent)

Appendix Three

Houses and Sites on the Battlefield

A battle position occupied successively by both forces was the toll gate area on the Orange Plank Road (now Va. 3). Sometimes, the toll house (north side of road) is mentioned; Landram's Blacksmith Shop stood across the road from the toll house. (The Plank Road, which had succeeded the Turnpike, was a toll road, just as the Turnpike had been.) Old accounts generally placed the toll gate about a thousand yards east of Salem Church, as indicated on Hotchkiss' map for May 3 at the back of Chancellorsville by Hotchkiss and Allan, previously cited. (See attached section of this map.) The toll house has been gone a long time. So has Landram's Shop. Kube's Shop, a large postwar shed still standing on the south side of the highway, is just east of the Landram Shop site. A postwar dwelling house occupies the Landram Shop site (the old Landram well is in the yard); then, eastward, comes the Kube Shop, then the Kube dwelling (also postwar). In the Kube yard there stands a rock and brick vaulted outhouse over a shallow cellar. Mr. E. G. Mason, who has lived nearby for many years, called this an oven dating back before the Civil War. (See interview further on.) The present Mr. Kube told me, August 26, 1965, that his family once used it as a cooling house; they built a trough in the floor and kept it filled with water from their well.

The Kube Shed complex, valuable as a landmark for Landram's Shop, and thus for the toll gate, is at the southeastern corner of Va. 3 and Va. 710, about six-tenths of a mile (1056 yards), by speedometer reading, east of Salem Church. Va. 3 thereabouts was made a divided highway with median strip in the early 1960's; at that point the lanes are both new and the old road remains as a spur on a high bank, south of the two lanes. This rise, used by the Confederate Wilcox in his delaying tactics, became late in the day of May 3, 1863 an important Federal artillery position.

A prominent house often mentioned in accounts of the battle is the Guest House, the estate name of which is Altoona, now the home of Mrs. Dorothy Rowe. It is south of Va. 3, just east of Interstate 95. (This was not a "guest house" in the sense of a hostelry, but the home of a man named Guest.)

The Downman House, Lee's headquarters the night of May 4-5, after the Federals had been pushed back, is Mr. Nile Straughan's Idlewild, south and a little west of Guest's place. Some of Longstreet's units had camped in the Guest-Downman area the winter before Chancellorsville.

North of the road not far east of the toll gate site is Warwick, as shown by Hotchkiss. This was known as the Refugee House because so many Fredericksburg refugees were there during and after the First Battle of Fredericksburg. It is marked

Underwood on Michler's map of the Fredericksburg Battlefield, which extends as far west as Salem Church. Michler's map is dated 1867, and Underwood would be a postwar occupant. A Confederate map of Spotsylvania County by Campbell, like Hotchkiss' map reflecting 1863 conditions, also marks the place Warwick. It is shown as Bowen on a couple of Federal maps, doubtless relying on sources of earlier date. J. Pratt Bowen sold land in that area to a James Watson in 1834; so it was probably a Bowen House before the war.[1] This house, called Green Gate, has been remodeled somewhat. The property of the real estate firm of Johnson and Glazebrook, it stands behind a modern pond on the north side of Va. 3, just east of the road now called Bragg Road (Va. 639). Bragg Road is just east of the toll gate site.

A Federal officer speaking of the area around the junction of the Plank Road and the road now called Bragg Road used the term "Morristown" and mentioned a Morrison House. There were indeed several Morrisons in the neighborhood. They were a family who came down from Delaware before the Civil War. Hotchkiss shows a Morrison on the north side of the Plank, west of the crossroad. The house still stands, about opposite the Landram Shop site. Thomas L. Morrison bought this property from William S. Williams in 1858.[2] This, the property of the late Will Dickinson, is now (1965) occupied by his son DuVal. This place was the girlhood home of Mrs. Sadie Lewis Landwehr, one of my informants in the early appearance of Salem Church.

Her father Jim Lewis rented from the Decker family after the war. Mrs. Landwehr said the house was used as a hospital during the battle and she remembered the blood stains on the floor. The stains would not scrubb off.[3]

The place shown as Yellow House on Hotchkiss' map was also a Morrison homestead. This still stands, somewhat altered, on the west side of the Bragg Road, just north of the Morrison place now occupied by DuVal Dickinson. The Yellow House is marked R. Morrison on Michler's Fredericksburg map. It is now locally known as the Hall place. (Mr. Hall was murdered there in the 1950's.)

The place called Stansbury by Hotchkiss, just east of Warwick, was another Morrison place. Michler's Fredericksburg map shows it as Morrison. This, the Orange Grove Farm, was for many years in the twentieth century the home of Clarence Jones, a prominent Spotsylvanian. Sidney Shannon, Jr. bought it from the Jones heirs. The old house has been remodeled.[4]

(N.B. This appendix is rapidly becoming out of date before final typing. Mr. Shannon in January of 1966 moved the Clarence Jones house to a point near Green Gate to make way for a huge motel development.)

Just east of the Blacksmith Shop site and some distance south of the road, behind a branch of Hazel Run (now dammed at that point), stands a house shown on Michler's Fredericksburg as

Parish. It should be Farish. Hotchkiss marks this Sullivan; Sullivan must have been a tenant. Walker Landram acquired this place in 1845 and deeded it in 1854 to Sarah and George Farish, his daughter and son-in-law.[5] Larkin W. Landram, who had a spoke factory in Fredericksburg, lived at the Farish place after the war and called it Holly Tree Farm. It is shown on a map in Lindsley's Pilgrimage, previously cited, and mentioned in the text of that book. The house, also used as a hospital during the battle, is now the home of Mr. and Mrs. E. G. Mason. The south part (back) was added by the Masons. In the addition work, they took out a south window frame of the old house and found a minie ball embedded, a relic of the skirmishing of May 4, 1863.[6]

Walker Landram, one of the founding fathers of Salem Church, lived in the house marked W. Landram on Michler's Fredericksburg. That place, in the forks of Hazel Run near Alum Spring, is long gone. It is an unnamed dot on the map in Hotchkiss' book, but is shown as Landram on Hotchkiss' similar map of Chancellorsville in the Atlas to O.R., plate 41, map. 1.

The place marked W. S. Williams on Michler's Fredericksburg map and Williamson on Hotchkiss' Chancellorsville, west of the branch of Hazel Run and just east of Salem Church, is known as the J. K. (Jim) Dickinson place, now owned by Johnson and Glazebrook, real estate agents. It is just west of the settlement called Waverly Village. This paper is not a definitive study of these houses. Williamson, I might add, however, could be the former

Dr. Waller place. (See Salem Church deed quoted in Chapter II.) Campbell still shows it as Waller in 1863, though his dot seems too close to the road. Michler also shows two houses east of the run there: J. Mills and Mills; only one of these shows on Hotchkiss and that as McMay. These houses are not extant; they were homes of the Mills family who donated the land for Salem Church.

Just west of Salem Church and north of the road stood a large brick house, the Orrock place, shown on Hotchkiss' map. This was torn down some years ago. An outbuilding remains. This Orrock place belonged to the grandparents of Miss Mollie and Miss Maggie Orrock, who have been most helpful to me in my researches. The Orrock House doubtless served as a Confederate hospital.

The houses on Taylor's, Stansbury's and Marye's hills were landmarks on the battlefields of First and Second Fredericksburg and Salem Church. Taylor's Hill, the estate name of which is Fall Hill, overlooking the falls of the Rappahannock, is owned and occupied by Mrs. Butler Robinson Franklin, a Taylor descendant. The Stansbury place, Snowden, the home of Mr. and Mrs. George Benoit, partially burned and was rebuilt in the early twentieth century. The Marye House, the premier landmark on the Fredericksburg Battlefield, is better known locally by its estate name Brompton. A part of Mary Washington College, Brompton serves as the home of the chancellor, Dr. and Mrs. Grellet C. Simpson being the present occupants.

Appendix Four

Similar Mid-Nineteenth Century Baptist Churches

The middle years of the nineteenth century seem to have been prosperous years for the Virginia Baptists. At any rate, rural members of that sect were then well enough off to build brick churches. These buildings were remarkably alike. Several attained a measure of fame because of the Civil War, among them being Berea in Stafford County and Salem and Massaponax in Spotsylvania County, all near Fredericksburg. Farther south was Bethel, near Milford, figuring in the North Anna operations and briefly U. S. Grant's headquarters. Bethel is pictured in Miller's Photographic History of the Civil War, and the same photograph is shown as a cut in Battles and Leaders, primary sources familiar to students of the period.[1]

Massaponax Church is nine miles south of Fredericksburg on U. S. Highway 1. Cavalry of both sides often stopped there and scribbled and drew pictures on the walls. Some of the scribbling has been retained by the congregation. Just after the Spotsylvania Court House operations, Massaponax Church was Grant's Headquarters on May 21, 1864. A picture shown in Miller's Photographic History as Bethesda Church, near Cold Harbor, is really a photograph of Massaponax Church, and the photographs of Grant and officers on church pews in the yard were also taken at Massaponax rather than Bethesda.[2]

Berea Church, on an old section of the Warrenton Road, is just off Va. 17, four miles northwest of the U. S. 1 traffic light in Falmouth, which village is just north of Fredericksburg. Berea was a prominent landmark and picket post in Federal-held Stafford. Though this building is not exactly representative of the Salem type in its architecture, there is a similarity, and it is mentioned for whatever value comparison may offer to the architects.

Besides Salem and Massaponax, other nineteenth century churches of the Salem type in Spotsylvania County are Hebron and Waller's. Hebron is twenty-two miles southwest of Fredericksburg by way of U. S. 1 and Va. 208; it is on Va. 208 three miles west of Post Oak. Waller's is twenty-three miles south of Fredericksburg on Va. 738 by way of U. S. 1 and 208, being eight miles below Snell. Massaponax and Waller's replaced older buildings; Salem and Hebron were brand new.

Salem, Massaponax, Hebron and Waller's offer great similarity of general appearance, with differences and similarities of detail in varying pattern and degree.

A pillared porch was added to Waller's about 1914 and an annex in the 1950's.[3]

At first glance, the pillars give a neo-classic look. Ignore the porch, however, and you see how much the exterior of the old part of Waller's resembles Salem and the others. The annex to Waller's (across the back) is unobtrusive. Architects should note

that the gable end (front) of Waller's is wood at the top, as is the case at Salem Church.

Massaponax has two twentieth century additions: an educational building, erected, according to a marble tablet thereon, 1961, and another building behind.

Hebron, founded 1847, is now (1965) dilapidated. It, too, has an annex, or rather a separate new church, recently completed, just behind and at right angles to the old one.

Though, unlike Salem, old Hebron has no side door, it has, like Salem, two front doorways. As you enter Hebron by the right-hand doorway, the angled staircase to the gallery is just to your right. There is only the one stairway. The gallery is three sided; i.e., along the sides and across the entrance end, a customary arrangement. The cross gallery slants.

It will be remembered that Salem has side galleries only and that the side door, around the corner from the right-hand front door, opened in the old days on a boxed-in stairway leading up to the slaves' gallery. The stairwell had no entrance on the main floor of the church. This device kept the slaves off the main floor and also, there being no cross gallery, out of the other gallery used for overflow of the white congregation. Steps to the other gallery were entered inside the church.

At Massaponax there are two side doors, but only one front doorway. The front doorway gives into a vestibule, from which you enter the santuary by two doors. As you face these doors, on your right a small set of steps leads to a door in a stairwell, the stairs (very tricky and steep) then turning to go up to the gallery. This stairwell is also accessible from the outside by way of the right-hand side door. Architectural and historical research could very possibly indicate that the inside door to this stairwell came later. The building's other side door opens on a stairwell leading to the left-hand gallery and having no inside communication at first floor level. Possibly that was for slaves. Note, however, that there is a cross gallery. If the right-hand stairs were always accessible from the first floor inside, and if the right-hand gallery were for white members only, there could have been at least technically possible integration by way of the cross gallery. If, however, both stairways were once accessible only from the outside, all three parts of the gallery could have been for slaves. I have been told that at one time there were more negro than white members.

The two pillars holding each side gallery are round. At Hebron they are simple square members. At Salem the three pillars on each side are square at the bottom and round at the top, the round part being a little more than half the total length.

The pulpit end of the Salem building runs straight across. At Massaponax a little house jut-out provides for a recessed pulpit under an inside arch, but the pulpit is now in front of the arch. The present minister, the Reverend Mr. John E. Edmonds, told me that the pulpit was moved in the 1950's. Hebron has a similar arrangement and the pulpit is also now in front of the interior of the jut-out, which contains a couple of benches.

Salem had, originally, two stoves; the two old chimneys exist. Massaponax and Hebron have only one chimney. Massaponax, beautifully kept and still used, now has central heat and airconditioning, part of the present three-building complex.

The few pews in the derelict old Hebron Church seem antique. An old stove, with long stovepipe, is still in place. (I am speaking of the summer of 1965.) On the front of the stove the marking FLON 40 occurs. On each side of this oblong cast iron stove there is a bas-relief (the same on both sides) of a bucolic scene and the marking (at top): LEIBRANDT & MCDOWELL STOVE CO./PHILADELPHIA & BALTIMORE. In the gallery I found a melodeon made by Carpenter Co., Brattleboro, Vermont. Both stove and instrument might be acquired for the Salem Church restoration.

Though old Salem has not suffered drastic change, Hebron would seem, up to the time of the new church there, to have been the least changed, in every respect, of the mid-nineteenth century rural Baptist churches hereabouts.

Ralph Happel

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Preface:

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2. Freeman, Douglas Southall, R. E. Lee, A Biography. Four volumes. Charles Scribner's Sons, New York, 1935, vol. 3, p. 2.

3. The War of the Rebellion: A Compilation of the Official Records of the Union and Confederate Armies. Government Printing Office, Washington, D. C., 1889, series 1, vol. 25, part 1, p. 835. Hereinafter cited as O. R. Alexander, E. P., Military Memoirs of a Confederate. Charles Scribner's Sons, New York, 1907, p. 353.

4. Freeman, D. S., Lee's Lieutenants, A Study in Command. Three volumes. Charles Scribner's Sons, New York, 1943, vol. 2, pp. 656 and 626.

Chapter I

1. Ryland, Garnett, The Baptists of Virginia, 1699-1926. The Virginia Baptist Board of Missions and Education, Richmond, 1955, p.2.

2. Semple, Robert B., A History of the Rise and Progress of the Baptists of Virginia. Revised and extended by G. W. Beale. American Baptist Publication Society, Philadelphia, 1894 (originally published 1810), p. 4.

3. Ibid., p. 291.

4. Ryland, op. cit., pp. 7-8, 23, 36, 41.

5. Semple, op. cit., p. 5.

6. Ibid., p. 472.

7. Tyler, Lyon Gardiner, editor, Encyclopedia of Virginia Biography. Lewis Historical Publishing Co., New York, 1915, vol. 2, p. 273.

8. Semple, op. cit., pp. 29-32. See also Quinn, S. J., The History of the City of Fredericksburg, Virginia. The Hermitage Press, Richmond, Va., 1908, pp. 209-210. Semple states that this, to the best of his knowledge, was the first actual imprisonment of Baptists in Virginia.

9. Ryland, op. cit., p. 58.

10. Semple, op. cit., p. 24 and footnote on p. 197.

11. Ryland, op. cit., p. 126, quoting William Taylor Thom's The Struggle for Religious Freedom in Virginia. Baltimore, 1900, p. 78.

Chapter II

1. Ryland, op. cit., pp. 42, 138 ff, 162 ff, 164.

2. Semple, op. cit., pp. 201-202.

3. I am indebted for this information to the Reverend Mr. J. Howard Cates of the Fredericksburg Baptist Church.

4. Minutes of the Goshen Baptist Association, 1844, p. 4 and 1845, p. 5. For Landram's and other withdrawals from Massaponax Church, see Minutes of the Massaponax Baptist Church, 1838-1875, passim. Goshen's and other records are to be found at the Virginia Baptist Historical Society at the University of Richmond. I am indebted for these citations and the conclusions reached to the late Reverend Mr. E. B. Cahoon, who wrote a paper on Salem while still a student: Cahoon, Edgar Benjamin, Jr., "An History of the Salem Baptist Church, Spotsylvania County Virginia, 1843-1958," thesis, History Department, University of Richmond, presented in partial fulfillment of requirements for B.A. degree, May 25, 1959. The Salem congregation feels that the church was formed in 1840, but I believe 1843 is the date, proven beyond reasonable doubt. (I should have liked to have paid my respects to the promising young Cahoon, who was highly regarded in Baptist circles. He died in 1965.)

5. Spotsylvania County Deed Book KK, p. 623.

6. Spotsylvania Deed Book KK, p. 621.

7. Spotsylvania County Deed Book LL, p. 112.

8. Spotsylvania Deed Book MM, p. 140.

9. Minutes of the Goshen Association, 1844, p. 9.

10. Interview, June 18, 1965, with Mrs. Sadie Lewis Landwehr at her apartment, 1202 Prince Edward Street, Fredericksburg, Va., and, same date, at Salem Church. Mrs. Landwehr, seventy-eight years old, grew up near Salem Church, to which her family belonged, and worked as a civil servant in Washington for many years before moving to Fredericksburg.

11. Minutes of the Goshen Association, 1846, p. 4 and 1854, pp. 6-7.

12. Daniel, W. Harrison, "Virginia Baptists, 1861-1865," The Virginia Magazine of History and Biography. Richmond, January 1964, vol. 72, no. 1, part 1, pp. 109-111.

13. Interview with Miss Mollie Orrock and her sister Miss Maggie Orrock at the church, June 16, 1965. Miss Maggie is a retired school teacher. Miss Molly still teaches. Lifelong members of Salem Church, they have always lived in the neighborhood. Their grandfather's house, a fine old brick structure across the road and just west of the church, was pulled down several years ago. These ladies might be called the unofficial historians of Salem Church. For comparison of galleries with other Baptist churches of the period, see Appendix Four.

14. Ryland, op. cit., p. 218.

15. Minutes of the Goshen Association, 1854, pp. 1, 6-7 and 1855, p. 4.

16. Ibid., 1859, p. 9 and 1861, p. 5.

17. Daniel, op. cit., p. 112.

Chapter III

1. O.R., series 1, vol. 21, pp. 783-785.

2. O.R., series 1, vol. 21, p. 551. See also Quinn, op. cit., pp. 86-87.

3. Interview with the Misses Orrock, cited above. They stated that the late William B. F. Cole, Commonwealth's Attorney for Fredericksburg, told the story of the child's ride at Salem's centennial celebration in 1944. The little boy grew up to become W. B. F. Cole's father.

4. Smith, James Power, "With Stonewall Jackson in the Army of Northern Virginia," Southern Historical Society Papers, September 1920, New series No. V, whole No. XLIII, p. 25. In an account quoted by Mrs. Jackson, Smith mentions but does not describe the refugee camp at Salem Church: Jackson, Mary Anna, Life and Letters of General Thomas J. Jackson. Harper and Bros., New York, 1892, p. 392.

5. Goolrick, Mrs. Frances Bernard, "Suffering in Fredericksburg," Southern Historical Society Papers, Richmond, 1909, vol. XXXVII, p. 357. Another version of this article will be found in a book by her husband, Judge John T. Goolrick: Historic Fredericksburg, the Story of an Old Town. Whittet and Shepperson, Richmond, 1922, pp. 41-47. The version in

the book, though fuller, does not have the paragraph about Salem Church and the church yard. A condensed version of these recollections appears as "The Shelling of Fredericksburg," Confederate Veteran, Nashville, Tenn., December, 1917, vol. XXV, No. 12, pp. 573-574. This contains a short biography and a picture of Mrs. Goolrick.

6. Article in the Richmond Examiner for March 11, 1863, quoted in Anon., The Grayjackets: and How They Lived, Fought and Died for Dixie. Jones Bros. & Co., Richmond, 1867, pp. 483-486, section headed "The Fredericksburg Exiles."

7. See Happel, Ralph, "The Chancellors of Chancellorsville," The Virginia Magazine of History and Biography. Richmond, Va., July 1963, Vol. 71, No. 3, p. 269.

8. For information on furniture, see O.R., series 1, vol. 25, part 1, p. 858.

9. Dodge, Theodore A., The Campaign of Chancellorsville. James R. Osgood Co., Boston, 1881, p. 163.

10. Paris, Comte de, History of the Civil War in America. Porter and Coates, Philadelphia, c. 1883, vol. 3, p. 93. The Count states that the moon, shining bright at Chancellorsville, was obscured by mist in the river valley at Fredericksburg during the early hours of May 3. Mist on Sedgwick's front in the night of May 2-3 is also mentioned in Doubleday, Abner, Chancellorsville and Gettysburg. Charles Scribner's Sons, New York, 1882, p. 56. A veteran of Sedgwick's Corps mentions the night of May 2-3 as misty and says that the morning of May 4 broke pale and gray; of the night of May 4, he states, "The nights about that time were all foggy and misty, and this was no exception."—Hyde, Thomas W., Following the Creek Cross, or, Memoirs of the Sixth Army Corps. Houghton Mifflin Co., Cambridge, Mass., 1894, pp. 123, 129, 133. A Confederate later recollected of that period that in the morning of May 5 the sun was "perfectly hidden by a heavy fog, so much that one could not see a man twenty yards distant."—Dickert, D. Augustus, History of Kershaw's Brigade. Elbert H. Aull Co., Newberry, S. C., 1899, p. 219. However, it must be recorded that one of Sedgwick's divisional commanders, Albion P. Howe, stated to a congressional committee that the night of May 2 was "bright starlight" and the night of May 4 was quite clear.—Report of the Joint Committee on the Conduct of the War, at the Second Session, Thirty-eighth Congress. Government Printing Office, Washington, 1865, pp. 22 and 25. Howe seems to have been a prejudiced witness against Sedgwick, and I would think other evidence outweighs his testimony, in this and other matters. Indeed, no less an authority than Robert E. Lee mentions the "dense fog" of the night of May 4.—O.R., series 1, vol. 25, part 1, p. 802. That should dispose of Howe, the weatherman. Of course, there could have been rifts in the mist, and the nights were bright except for the mist.

11. Despite the later calumnies of Hooker and Hooker's friends, I think that Sedgwick's conduct of affairs up to this point was beyond cavil. Now, a deliberate man, he does show a flaw. Granting that Hooker, commanding the stronger force, well-entrenched, was asking a lot in ordering a smaller force to his rescue, while he did nothing, the fact remains that Sedgwick should have pushed on quickly after the break-through at Marye's Heights. However, if he had advanced immediately, it still might not have saved Hooker. (See Dodge, op. cit., p. 184, and pp. 173-174.)

12. The visiting Englishman Fremantle, speaking of the summer of 1863, said that General Wilcox "wears a short round jacket and a battered straw hat." - Lord, Walter, editor, The Fremantle Diary. Little Brown and Co., Boston, 1954, p. 215. Let us assume that Wilcox had gone to his straw by May 3.

13. Wilcox's report in O. R., series 1, vol. 25, part 1, p. 855.

14. Ibid. pp. 856 and 350 - 351, Wilcox's and Gibbon's reports.

15. Ibid., p. 857.

16. For dispositions, see Wilcox's report, O.R., series 1, vol. 25, part 1, p. 858 and McLaws' report, Ibid., p. 827.

17. Some years ago Va. 639 entered the highway at about its present point, but swung around the east end of the church in so doing. Then it was moved and passed quite close to the west end of the church. The present road, still farther west, accords with the Civil War road. (The last alterations occurred in the early 1960's.) Hotchkiss also shows a minor crossroad some distance east. Hotchkiss, Jed. and William Allan, The Battle-Fields of Virginia. Chancellorsville. D. Van Nostrand, New York, 1867, map in rear for May 3, 1863. For Kershaw's statement, see O.R., series 1, vol. 25, part 1, p. 830. As to the distance of the line back from the church, one mention of distance is thirty yards; another source says sixty yards. Since the troops were in the crossroad, the distance would be whatever the distance the crossroad was from the church. The sixty-yard figure comes from McIntosh, S.H.S.P., op. cit., p. 94.

18. North of the Plank, the fringe was considerably less than two hundred and fifty yards. Colonel Seaver, whose New York regiment attacked north of the road, says the woods on his front were only thirty yards wide. - O.R., series 1, vol. 25, part 1, p. 586. A Confederate veteran of the Eleventh Alabama, just north of the road, recalled "a skirt of timber. . . with some undergrowth." - Hogan, N.B., "The Virginia Campaign-A Touching Incident," Confederate Veteran, February 1899, vol. 2, no. 2, p. 52. McIntosh, in S.H.S.P., op. cit., p. 95, mentions that when the Federals reached a point about two hundred and fifty yards from the church,

"there was a thick wood on the south side extending nearly to the Church." Wilcox mentions small, thick woods, with no reference to sides of the road, two hundred and fifty yards deep; his front was mainly south of the road. See O.R. series 1, vol. 25, part 1, p. 858. Upton, A Union regimental commander attacking south of the road, says the woods were three hundred yards deep; Penrose, commanding the New Jersey Brigade, also uses the figure three hundred yards.—Ibid., pp. 589 and 574. See Hotchkiss' map, cited above.

19. O.R., series 1, vol. 25, part 1, pp. 564 and 858.

20. Ibid., pp. 559, 568 and 586. For the lack of noise except that of marching lines, see Clark, Hon. George, "Chancellorsville and Salem Church," Confederate Veteran, March 1910, vol. XVIII, no. 3, p. 126.

21. The quotation is from O.R., series 1, vol. 25, part 1, p. 618. One of Bartlett's staff vividly described "the enemy's line of rifle pits fringed with fire" at the church.—Hall, H. Seymour, Personal Experiences Under Generals Burnside and Hooker, A Paper Prepared and Read before the Kansas Commandery of the Military Order of the Loyal Legion of the United States, no date, p. 16. Hall doubtless did not have the opportunity of close inspection. A secondary source makes the statement, without proof, that Wilcox dug in while awaiting attack.—Bates, Samuel P., The Battle of Chancellorsville, Meadville, Pa., 1882, p. 147. Wilcox was skipping about too much that afternoon to do any digging. His first occupation of the Salem ridge, before his stand at the toll gate, was brief; he had hardly deployed the last time, and the other Confederates had barely arrived, when the Federals attacked. The Salem trenches were dug after the fight of May 3. Lieutenant Colonel Hilary A. Herbert, commander of the Eighth Alabama, later wrote: "It was an impromptu battle. Our lines were suddenly formed at a point where no fight had been anticipated or prepared for. The next morning, however, thinking the enemy might attack again, we did dig rifle pits with bayonets, the men scraping up the earth with their tin plates." Quoted in "Historical Sketch of Salem Church," prepared by Miss Mollie Orrock for the Church's centennial celebration of 1944. Typescript. Miss Molly states therein: "Remains of these hastily made entrenchments may still be seen in the church yard." They were often mentioned by visitors to the field. They no longer exist in the yard. It may be noted that the trench ran through the yard east of the church and that the main line of the Confederates on May 3 was west of the church.

Kershaw, we remember, said that his men, south of the Plank Road, were in a crossroad. The road bank may have offered some protection. One of Sedgwick's staff officers referred to the Confederates as being in a "sunken road across the crest."—McMahon, General M.T., "Major General John Sedgwick" in Blakeman, A. Noel, editor, Personal Recollections of the War of the Rebellion, Addresses Delivered before the Commandery of

the State of New York, Military Order of the Loyal Legion of the United States. G. P. Putnam's Sons, New York, 1897, p. 172. There was a cross-road north of the Plank as well as south, but the one to the north entered the Plank east of the church.

The wattled fence north of the Plank is mentioned several times. The officer commanding the First New Jersey said the Confederates were "strongly posted behind brush, fence, and intrenchments in a wood. . ." O.R., series 1, vol. 25, part 1, p. 576. Colonel Seaver of the Sixteenth New York, mentioned a hedgerow.-Ibid., p. 586. One of Newton's officers called it a wicker fence.-Ibid., p. 616. A colonel in Semmes's Brigade said his men were behind a fence.-Ibid., p. 829. Another Confederate, writing in later years, stated that the Confederates north of the road were behind "a brush cedar fence which extended from the road toward the river. . ." - Clark in Confederate Veteran, op. cit., XVIII, p. 126. Another Confederate veteran wrote: "We formed behind a wattled cedar fence. . ." - Woods, John L. G., "Semmes's Brigade at Chancellorsville," Confederate Veteran, January 1911, vol. XIX, no. 1, p. 13. Yet another, of the Eleventh Alabama, wrote that he and his comrades were sheltered by a thin brush fence, about waist high. - Hogan, Confederate Veteran, op. cit., vol. II, p. 51. The historian of the Fifteenth New Jersey says that the Confederates were "posted behind a fence and a ditch." - Haines, Alanson, History of the Fifteenth Regiment New Jersey Volunteers. Jenkens and Thomas, Printers, New York, 1883, p. 54.

22. O.R., series 1, vol. 25, part 1, p. 586. Wilcox ordered his men to shoot through the windows, which, I think, would be enough for the purpose. What with excitement, smoke of battle, lack of long or close inspection, Seaver could not have studied the church in any definitive manner. The architectural part of Seaver's report may be dismissed as true in general, but confused in detail. He certainly does give evidence that Wilcox's plan for the use of the building was carried out.

23. For Wilcox's personal bravery, see Richardson, Charles, The Chancellorsville Campaign, Fredericksburg to Salem Church. Neale Publishing Co., New York and Washington, 1907, p. 40. Richardson was a Confederate in that battle. For battle action, see O.R., series 1, vol. 25, part 1, p. 581, Bartlett's report; pp. 858-859, Wilcox's report; and p. 835, Semmes' report. Upton states: "The enemy opposite the center and left wing broke, but rallied again 20 to 30 yards to his rear." Ibid., p. 589. He is speaking of his own front here. He goes on to say: "The Ninety-sixth Pennsylvania Volunteers now came up to our left and the Twenty-third New Jersey to our right, but opened fire before coming on our line. Lieutenant-Colonel Olcott endeavored to have the Twenty-third New Jersey charge, but without success. The firing became very heavy on both sides,

and was maintained about five minutes. It was impossible to remain longer." Since Upton's report indicates that he attacked and broke the enemy before the Ninety-sixth Pennsylvania or the Twenty-third New Jersey attacked, there is no question that Upton's men were those who captured the school house and temporarily broke the Confederate line. No Union report seems to mention the school house as such. The reporting commanders of the Twenty-third New Jersey (pp. 578-579) and Ninety-sixth Pennsylvania (p. 590), while doing their best to sound good, do not indicate any achievement by either regiment. The commander of the Ninety-sixth even admits that: "The men were entirely worn out and without spirit, having been nearly sixteen hours under arms, the greatest portion under a burning sun. The officers and men behaved well, with some few exceptions. . . ." He recommended a lieutenant for dishonorable discharge. Colonel Seaver (p. 586) said the regiment on his left, i.e., the Twenty-third New Jersey, "retired precipitately" and this caused him, in part, to retire. The elan of Wilcox's counter-attack, of course, explains the retirement of the Twenty-third.

24. The soldier was Seymour Dodd in Howe's Division. See Dodd, Seymour, The Song of the Rappahannock, Sketches of the Civil War. Dodd, Meade and Co., New York, 1898, p. 23. For Sedgwick, see McMahon, op. cit., pp. 172-173 and Hyde, op. cit., p. 129.

25. O.R., series 1, vol. 25, pt. 1, p. 827. For Lee's suggestion to Early, see Ibid., part 2, pp. 769-770. Lee did not write until 7 p.m., and it would have been much later before the courier could have reached Early. McIntosh in S.H.S.P., op. cit., p. 96, makes much of Early's sulking and not joining McLaws, who was only about three miles away by way of a good crossroad. McIntosh, however, does not take the time element into consideration.

26. Hyde, op. cit., p. 129.

27. O.R., series 1, vol. 25, part 1, pp. 827 and 1001-02. Ibid., Howe's report, p. 600.

28. Freeman, R. E. Lee, op. cit., vol. 2, p. 554.

29. O.R. series 1, vol. 25, part 1, pp. 802 and 1002, Lee's and Early's reports. The quote is from Lee's report. Federal sources state that Sedgwick's men were not driven. This is a question of semantics. The fact remains that the Federals lost no time in getting to the river.

30. Ibid., part 1, p. 828 and part 2, p. 860. Wright's Brigade of Anderson's Division had taken Downman's Hill—Ibid. part 1, p. 869. For information about Howe's headquarters, see Richardson, op. cit., p. 18.

31. See Dodge, op. cit., pp. 192-193 for a discussion of these dispatches.

32. O.R., series 1, vol. 25, part 1, p. 561. For the dispatches, see Ibid., part 2, pp. 363-366. See also Dodge, op. cit., p. 201 ff.

33. Dickert, op. cit., p. 219. See also McLaws' report and Kershaw's report, O.R., series 1, vol. 25, part 1, pp. 828 and 831; Kershaw collected over 800 stand of arms. For Mahone's men, see Bernard, Geo. S., editor and compiler, War Talks of Confederate Veterans. Fenn and Owen, Petersburg, 1892, pp. 64 and 74. Ray Carpenter, a young man who lives on the battlefield and has studied it carefully, told me, November 28, 1964, that he found a lot of relics with his mine detector; many retreaters apparently used Bragg Road (present name) to the River Road corner and then cut straight over fields and woodland to the river. Others continued right on the River Road and then turned left to Scott's Ford. Though Banks' Ford is the general name used, the actual crossing was at Scott's Ford, just downriver from Banks'. The Confederate defenses covered both points and earthworks still (1965) exist. It might also be brought out here that the fords above Fredericksburg were not always fordable and the armies usually bridged them with pontoons. The fords were the only practicable crossing places because of the road network.

Scott's became the crossing place before the war when a canal dam and lock invalidated old Banks' Ford.

34. London Times correspondent quoted in McIntosh, S.H.S.P., op. cit., p. 100.

35. O.R., series 1, vol. 25, part 1, p. 860.

36. Ibid., p. 803.

37. Sanders, Col. C. C., 24th Georgia, "Chancellorsville," Southern Historical Society Papers, 1901, vol. XXIX, pp. 171-172.

38. Quotation from Odom, Rev. A. P., "The Battle of Salem Church," Confederate Veteran, February 1908, vol. 16, no. 2, p. 61. The story about Sherman was told by a Colonel Bird to the rest of a party visiting the battlefields around Fredericksburg in the summer of 1899. He said he was sent down to attend to the burials. He pointed out to the party various spots where bodies had been exhumed. This was a party studying the feasibility of a military park. See "On Historic Spots, A Visit to the Battlefields Around Fredericksburg," Southern Historical Society Papers. Richmond, 1908, vol. 36, p. 199. This was from an article by a correspondent who accompanied the group in the Richmond Dispatch, July 23, 1899.

39. Odom, Confederate Veteran, op. cit., p. 61 spoke of "more than a hundred scars on the church." The bullet marks were mentioned by almost all visitors and are plainly to be seen today (1965) though somewhat eroded.

Chapter IV

1. Record Book of Salem Church, Spotsylvania County, Va., 1866-1919, items for March 11 and June 10, 1866. This book is not paginated, so references are by dates only. This and the 1919-1931 book are in the library of the Virginia Baptist Historical Society, University of Richmond. The current records are in the keeping of the clerk, Mrs. Wilbur Weedon.

2. Salem Records, October 12, 1867. Minutes of the Goshen Association, op. cit., 1869, pp. 10-11.

3. Salem Records, February 9, 1867 and October 12, 1867.

4. Ibid., October, no day, 1871.

5. Cahoon, op. cit., pp. 17-18.

6. Ibid., pp. 19-23.

7. See Chapter V for description of tie-rods, also attached photographs. Salem Records, September 22, 1883, Committee on Roof and Rods gave report and was discharged.

8. Statement by Mrs. W. Farley Stephens in 1938. See Fredericksburg and Spotsylvania National Military Park Museum Records, Accession No. 84 folder. Committee was appointed June 6, 1885.

9. Salem Records, June 6, 1885, and October 9, 1887. Minutes of the Goshen Association, 1888, p. 19

10. Salem Records, September 13, 1890; January 9, 1891; April 8, 1894; July 8, 1894. As is usually the case, the records do not specify the type of repairs, but we know about the floor from Mrs. W. Farley Stephens, nee Margaret S. Eastburn. Farley made a souvenir miniature ladder from some of the old flooring and presented it to her. They called the souvenir a memory ladder. Mrs. Stephens said W. Farley Stephens was chairman of the repairs committee and indicated that 1890 was the date. The records, however, show that Farley was not on the 1890 committee, but was chairman of the next committee. Mrs. Stephens' memory failed her on the date, but her evidence is very valuable. Her statement was made October 22, 1938, accompanying her donation of the ladder to the Fredericksburg and Spotsylvania National Military Park. The souvenir ladder is now in the Salem Church exhibit, Chancellorsville Visitor Center. Her statement is filed in F&SNMP museum records, Accession No. 84 folder. N.B. Her words "He assisted in the work . . ." indicate that he was not only chairman, but a carpenter, or capable of carpentry.

11. Salem Records, March 11, 1896.

12. Ibid., January 9, 1909. Itemized bill and discussion given below in this paper under List of Repairs and Changes.

13. Letter to Ralph Happel, May 20, 1965, from W. Neill Franklin, Chief, Diplomatic, Legal and Fiscal Branch, National Archives and Records Service, Washington, D. C.

14. On Historic Spots," S.H.S.P., op. cit., vol. 36, p. 199.

15. Sanders in S.H.S.P., op. cit., vol. XXIX, p. 172.

16. For Captain Lindsley's fall see O.R., series 1, vol. 25, part 1, p. 191 and Haines, op. cit., p. 55.

17. See appended photographs. Mr. Harry B. Hoffman in 1941 and in 1943, when he was 89, gave a set of photographs he had taken of this area to the Fredericksburg Park, through Mr. Clyde P. Allen, a Morristown school teacher. Correspondence brought out much of the story of the Morristown men. When Bethel burned in 1948, a park historian wrote an article on Bethel's history in the Fredericksburg, Va., Free Lance-Star, Wednesday, December 15, 1948, p. 10. The church was rebuilt. The article was used in connection with two feature stories by Frederick B. Cobbett, Historian, Morris County Historical Society, in the Morristown, N. J. Daily Record, Saturday, January 29, 1949, p. 10 and Thursday, February 4, 1949, pp. 17 and 24. On May 18, 1965, Mr. Ray L. McCabe, of 60 Franklin Place, Morris Plains, N. J., sent me a clipping of another article by Cobbett on Class 45 and its Virginia connections from the Daily Record, Saturday, April 12, 1947, p. 10. Mr. McCabe also sent some notes from a talk given to Class 45 by Harry B. Hoffman in 1932, the fiftieth anniversary of the class. The class is still going strong. Mr. McCabe informed me that he could find no mention in its records of assistance in repair work at Salem Church. Mrs. Sadie Lewis Landwehr, cited elsewhere in this paper, told me in the spring of 1965 that her father was a close friend of the Jerseymen, particularly Lindsley. She knows of no tradition that they helped repair the church.

18. Lindsley, J. Frank, Historian, Pilgrimage of the Fifteenth Regiment New Jersey Volunteers' Veteran Association to White Oak Church Camp Ground and Battlefields of Fredericksburg, Va. and Vicinity, May 22 to 26, 1906. Madison and Co., Stationers and Printers, Newark, N. J., 1906, pp. 8, 27, 50 and 58.

19. Salem Records, April 8, 1894; October 13, 1894; April 10, 1897; October 9, 1897; April 9, 1898; April 22, 1899; and Record Book for 1919-1931, June 7, 1919; October 6 and December 31, 1926; January 23, 1927.

20. Interview, previously cited, and O.R., series 1, vol. 25, part 1, p. 858.

21. Salem Records, November 1, 1884; April 4, 1885, Brother Butzner who had been appointed on committee to sell, reported that no sale had been made; matter continued.

22. Barnum, Mildred, "Salem School (Site)," report dated October 30, 1936, Works Progress Administration Virginia Historical Inventory. Bound typescripts, Spotsylvania County W.P.A. Reports, R-Y, Wallace Library, Fredericksburg.

23. Walker Landram died in 1880 at the age of 81 years. The other dates are: Wm. J. Butzner, 1852-1915; George Butzner, 1823-1907; W. Farley Stephens, 1853-1923.

24. Cahoon, op. cit., pp. 35-37, 38, 43-44.

25. Salem Records, June 7, 1919.

26. Ibid., April 3, 1927. See Fredericksburg, Va., Free Lance-Star, Saturday, March 12, 1927, p. 1; Monday, March 28, p. 1; Wednesday, April 6, p. 1; Wednesday, May 4, p. 1.

27. See Smith, J. P., notes in Southern Historical Society Papers, April 1914, new series No. 1, whole no. XXXIX, pp. 100-101 and Ibid., September 1916, new series No. 3, whole no. XLI, pp. 145-146. Also, Fredericksburg, Va. Daily Star, Monday, August 10, 1903, p. 3. A glance at the plat of the Salem Church property conveyed to the U. S. will show that neither of the road corners whereon the U.D.C. and Smith markers are now located is Park property. Spotsylvania County Deed Book 200, plat on p. 434, plat dated October 25, 1961. Route 639 was shifted; for old location, including historical marker, see at the Court House, Highway Plat Book no. 1, p. 281 (not 280, as written in the deed); this is sheet 7, Highway Plan no. 0003-088-016-R/W 201.

28. Salem Records, January 6 and July 7, 1926; July 17, 1929; October 10, 1929.

29. Ibid., July 17, 1929, October 10, 1929.

30. Ibid., October 8, 1930; October 19, 1930. (For sale of property see Appendix-Deeds.)

31. Ibid., December 6, 1931, and April 6, 1932.

32. Ibid., October 10, 1934; October 7, 1936.

33. Ibid., October 10, 1934; January 8, 1935. Reason explained by Miss Molly Orrock during interview previously cited.

34. Salem Records, April 10, 1940; July 10, 1940; October 9, 1940; January 18, 1941; March 2, 1941.

35. Ibid., April 5 and July 5, 1939.

36. Ibid., June 2 and July 10, 1940. July 9, 1941; August 22, 1943.

37. Fredericksburg, Va., Free Lance-Star, Tuesday, August 29, 1944, p. 5.

38. Cahoon, op. cit., pp. 74, 76-78, 81-82.

39. Salem Records, April 10, 1947. Further information about alterations to galleries was obtained from Miss Molly Orrock, interview previously cited. Further reference in records are July 11, 1947; October 30, 1947; January 22, 1950.

40. Interview with Misses Orrock.

41. Salem Records, October 30, 1947; October 14, 1953.

42. Ibid., December 18, 1949; December 29, 1949; January 15, 1950.

43. Ibid., March 5, 1950; January 11, 1951; January 21, 1951.

44. Ibid., May 10, 1951; January 7, 1954.

45. Ibid., June 27, 1954; July 29, 1954; September 12, 1954.

46. Ibid., October 18, 1956; March 5, 1957.

47. Cahoon, op. cit., pp. 122-123.

48. The circuit court approving, December 18, 1961, the deed of December 19, 1961 was recorded March 20, 1962. The congregation retained right of way and easement of passage and access, both ingress and egress, over this conveyed real estate to the burial ground. A net of 1.06 acres was actually conveyed to the United States; the total of the lot was 1.27 acres, but subtracted from that was 0.21 acres conveyed to the Virginia Department of Highways by deed of January 11, 1961. This exception is shown on the plat accompanying the deed to the U.S. as Parcel C, which widened the Va. 639 right of way. (See attached copy of part of deed and plat.) J. R. Orrock and other Salem Church trustees to the United States, Spotsylvania County Deed Book 200, p. 431, plat on p. 434. Salem trustees to Va. State Highway Department, Deed Book195, p. 134.

Chapter V

1. Fredericksburg, Va. City Directory, Piedmont Directory Company, Asheville, N.C., 1910-1911, various pages.

2. Johnson, Robert Underwood and Clarence Clough Buel, editors, Battles and Leaders of the Civil War, Four Volumes. The Century Co., New York, 1888, vol. 3, p. 230. The regular edition labels the drawing "From a recent photograph." The Grant-Lee edition has it: "From a photograph taken in 1884." This picture was probably taken by Betz and Richards of Lancaster, Pa., in May 1884; cf. illustration of Second Chancellor House in Ibid., p. 213.

3. Since Hoffman has marked names and initials and since these men figure in our narrative, we might identify them. Hoffman has written out Ironside and Lewis. Lewis was James Lewis, who lived nearby. L. W. L. was Larkin W. Landram and J. F. L. was J. Frank Lindsley.

4. This is from a copy negative of a view in a set of stereoscopic cards of Fredericksburg and surrounding battlefields owned by Mr. Paul W. Bean, West Auburn Road, Auburn, Maine. Mr. Bean found the set in a New England antique shop. A number of the pictures were obviously taken from the steeple of St. George's Episcopal Church in Fredericksburg. One of those views, entitled "Fredericksburg South," shows a Gothic chapel behind the Presbyterian Church. That chapel was built in 1880. Another view, "Fredericksburg North," shows across Caroline Street from Hall's Drugstore a vacant space in the lower part of the block above William Street. That space, made vacant by the bombardment of Fredericksburg, was filled by the construction of the Opera House, as they used to call combined theater and store buildings, in 1883. Thus, the pictures ere taken not before 1880 or after 1883, which is to say, they were taken in 1881 or 1882. We may assume that all the views, not just the city shots, were taken about the same time to furnish a stereoscopic packet of the Fredericksburg area. Thus 1882 seems a fair date for the Salem Church photograph. N. B. The Presbyterian Chapel burned in the 1950's, and the Opera House was torn down to make way for a Woolworth Store.

5. The Markham photograph, called that simply for convenience, is from Markham, Edwin, editor, The Real America in Romance. Thirteen volumes. William H. Wise Co., New York 1912, vol. XII, p. 380. This same picture is in Goolrick, John T., Historic Fredericksburg, op. cit., facing p. 178. I would say this photograph dates back to the early 1900's; evidence of the cemetery shows in the background, and the cemetery was not established until the turn of the century.

6. Kishpaugh post card undated. Kishpaugh booklet, undated: "Historical Fredericksburg," Robert A. Kishpaugh, Stationery and Printing, Fredericksburg, Va. Mr. Laurence G. Hoes of the James Monroe Memorial Libary told me, January 29, 1965, that Mr. Kishpaugh once told him the booklet dated to about 1923. (Mr. Kishpaugh died only recently, but was not lucid for some time before his death.) The Harris booklet is by Thomas Henry Harris and called "Chancellors of Chancellorsville, 1655 to 1926." printed 1926. (He was a member of the Chancellor family. Mr. George H. S. King, another member and a professional genealogist, says the genealogy therein is not

correct.) The Harris card, undated, is marked "Published by Louis Kaufmann & Sons, Baltimore, Md. Made in U.S.A." One cent postage-two cents foreign.

7. Sedgwick Memorial Association, Spottsylvania Court House, Va., May 11, 12 and 13, 1887. (Dedication of Sedgwick Monument). Dunlap and Clarke, Printers, Philadelphia, 1887, facing p. 72. A note on p. 98 says Rile came along.

8. This picture appears in Lindsley, J. Frank, Pilgrimage, op. cit., p. 42.

9. De Renne Collection, Album 98-A, Chancellorsville. There are no dates or information about pictures in this collection. Reproduced in the Manuscript Department of the Duke Library this photo is included among the Chancellorsville pictures in the Confederate Albums, vol. 1. Generally speaking, the provenance of the albums is unknown, but some of the photographs, including this one, bear the stamp of the Philadelphia Centennial Photographic Company, International Exhibition, 1876. Lossing, Benson J., A History of the Civil War. The War Memorial Association, New York, 1912, p. 321. Also La Bree, Ben, editor, The Confederate Soldier in the Civil War. Courier Journal Job Printing Co., Louisville, Kentucky, 1895, p. 153. The reproduction in La Bree is poor. Lossing is better known for his pictorial histories than for the book above mentioned. N.B. A small drawing of Salem Church of no value appears in Lossing, Benson J., Pictorial History of the Civil War. Winter and Co., Hartford, Conn., n.d., three volumes, vol. 3, p. 36.

10. From Lindsley's Pilgrimage, op. cit., p. 42.

Appendix Three - Houses and Sites on the Battlefield

1. Atlas to Accompany the Official Records of the Union and Confederate Armies. Government Printing Office, Washington, D. C., 1891-95, plate 33, map 1, Michler's Fredericksburg. See also maps 2 and 3 of plate 39 and the Spotsylvania County map, plate 91, map 1. For Bowen deed, see Spotsylvania County Deed Book PP, p. 38. (Some houses on the maps of plate 39 are not correct.)

2. O.R., series 1, vol. 25, part 1, p. 618. Spotsylvania Deed Book QQ, p. 173

3. Interview with Mrs. Landwehr, cited before, and with Mrs. Will Dickinson, June 23, 1965. Mrs. Dickinson, who lives in the new brick house on the west of the property, showed me an abstract of title.

4. Interview with William Morrison and George Swift, June 22, 1965. Both of these men grew up in the area.

5. Spotsylvania Deed Book LL, p. 405 and Deed Book PP, p. 26.

6. Interview with Mr. and Mrs. E. G. Mason at their home, June 23, 1965. Both are seventy-six years old.

Appendix Four - Similar Mid-Nineteenth Century Baptist Churches

1. O.R., Series 1, vol. 36, part 3, p. 77, May 22, 1864. Miller, F. T., editor, The Photographic History of the Civil War. Ten volumes. Review of Reviews Co., New York, 1912, vol. 3, p. 67. Battles and Leaders, op. cit., vol. 4, p. 169.

2. O.R., series 1, vol. 36, part 3, p. 64. Miller's Photographic History, op. cit., vol. 4, pp. 210-211 and vol. 3, pp. 80-81. The late Deacon McClaren, of Massaponax, and I worked this out many years ago; the error has since been cited by other people.

3. The dates are as remembered by Judge A. Nelson Waller, a lifetime member of the church. Judge Waller told me this in conversation and stressed it was recollection only. I am not researching Waller's; so these dates are only tentative for purposes of general discussion.

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The War of the Rebellion: A Compilation of the Official Records of the Union and Confederate Armies. Government Printing Office, Washington, D.C., 1889, series 1, vol. 25, part 1. (Cited as O.R.).

Woods, John L. G., "Semmes's Brigade at Chancellorsville," Confederate Veteran, January 1911, vol. XIX, no. 1.

PLATE I

SALEM CHURCH. FROM A PHOTOGRAPH TAKEN IN 1884.

Salem Church - drawing from an 1884 photograph
North Wall and East End

Note to the east of the church the Confederate
earthwork dug after the fight of May 3, 1863

(Battles and Leaders, Grant-Lee Edition, vol. 3, p. 230)

Salem Church, North Wall and West End

(From a Stereoscopic Photo taken about 1882, owned by
Mr. Paul W. Bean of Auburn, Maine)

PLATE 2

Salem Church, North Side

Union VI Corps veterans photographed by Rile of Philadelphia, May, 1887

(From Sedgwick Memorial Association pamphlet, facing p. 72)

PLATE 3

Salem Church, East End and North Side

1880's or Early 1890's

De Renne Collection - Confederate Museum

Salem Church, East End and South Side

Photo by Harry B. Hoffman, April 1895

PLATE 4

Salem Church, North Side, and
portion of yard with vehicles
Hoffman photograph - 1890's

The strip of woods on east face of
Salem Church Ridge as seen in the
1890's
Photo by Harry B. Hoffman, June 24, 1890

PLATE 5

The Log School House near Salem Church

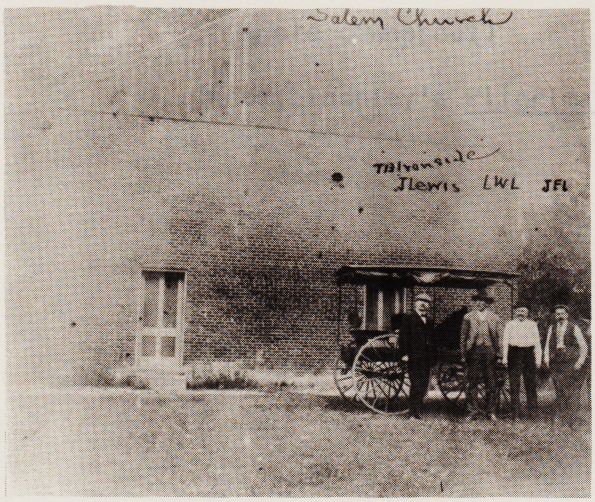
Hoffman photo - November 1892

PLATE 6

Salem Church, West End and South Side

Early 1900's

(From Markham's Real America in Romance, vol. XII, p. 380)



Salem Church West End (Front) - 1890's

This photo by Harry B. Hoffman shows detail of board-and-batten at top and door and stoop details

PLATE 7

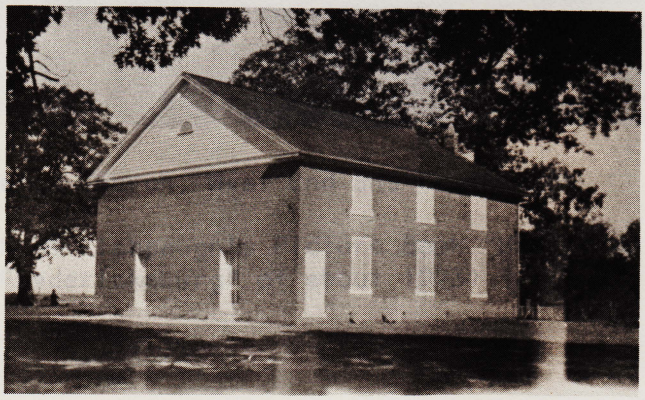
Salem Church, South Side

New Jersey visitors in 1908

(Note downspout)

(From Lindsley's Pilgrimage, p. 42)

PLATE 8



Salem Church, West End and South Side

Kishpaugh post card, 1920's

(About same as view in Kishpaugh's 1923 pamphlet "Historical Fredericksburg," but sharper)

PLATE 9

Salem Church, West End and South Side

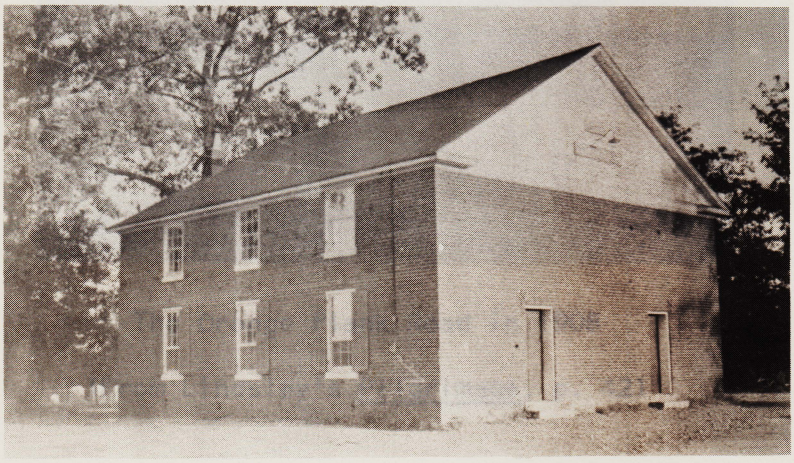
(From Kishpaugh's Picture Book "Historical Fredericksburg" of about 1923)

Salem Church, West End and South Side

(From post card pasted in Harris' booklet on Chancellorsville, 1926)

(Note: Stone marker superimposed from its proper site)

PLATE 10



Salem Church in the Early 1930's

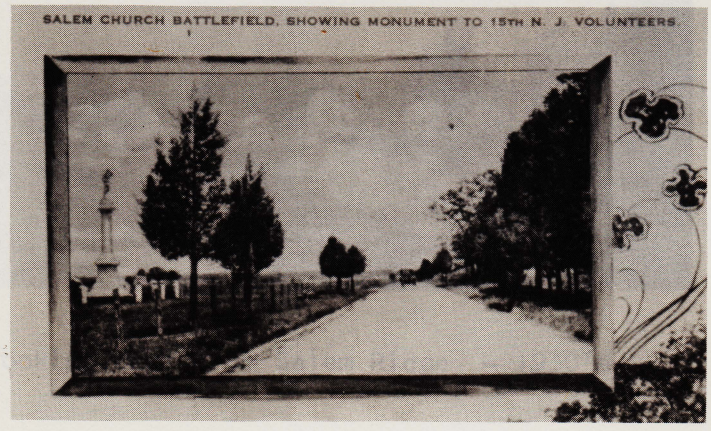
North Side and West End

F&SNMP photo No. 264 (old file)

PLATE 11

The Orange Plank Road in 1908

(From Lindsley's Pilgrimage, p. 42)

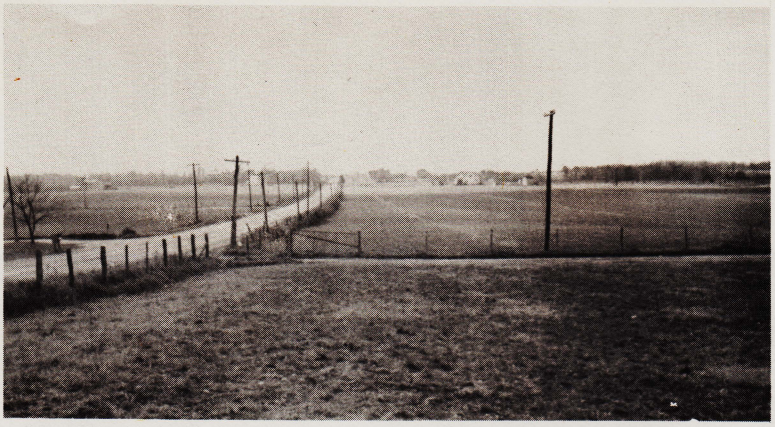


The Orange Plank Road in 1916

Looking East - 15th N. J. Mon. on north side of road

(From Kishpaugh's picture booklet)

PLATE 12



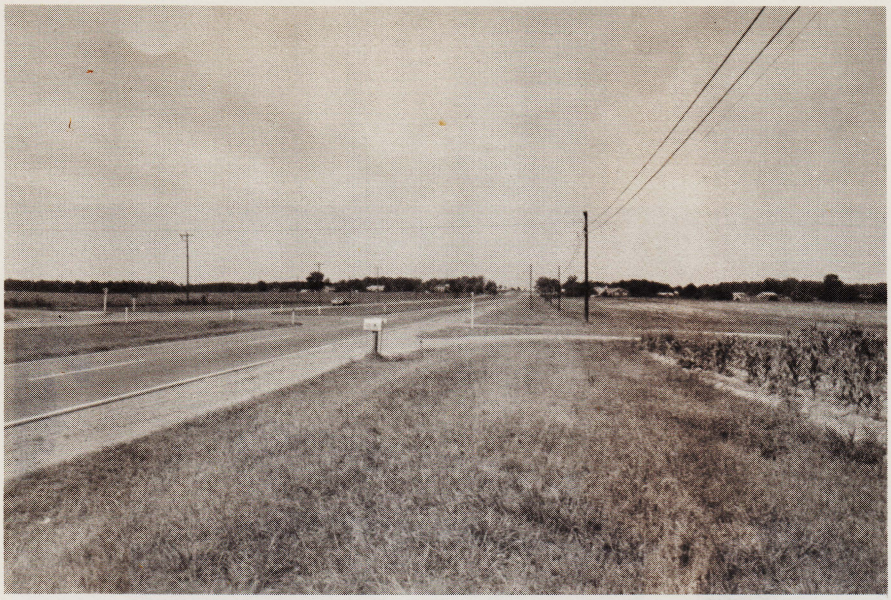
Looking West to Salem Ridge from Toll Gate area

1930's

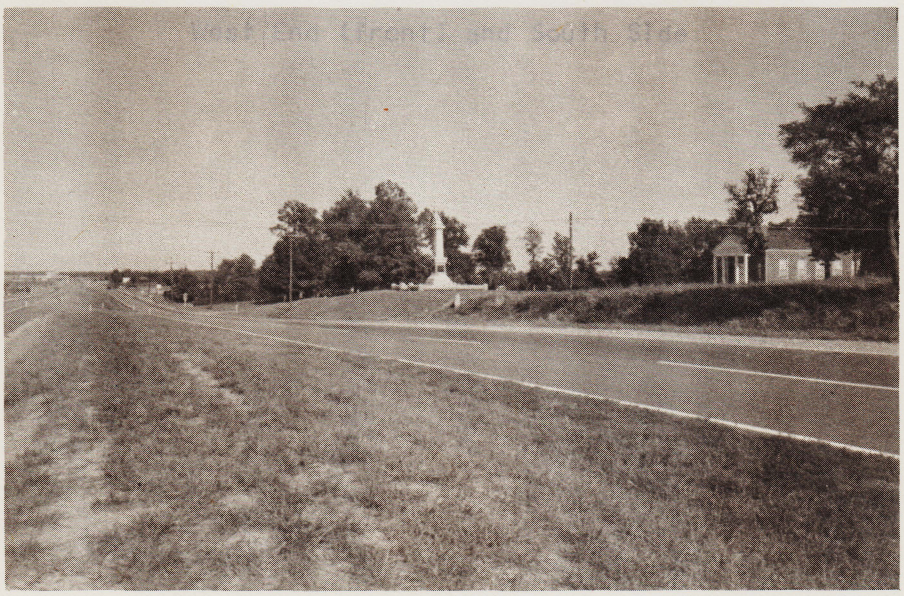
Looking East from Salem Ridge - 1930's

F&SNMP Nos. 1662 and 1677 (old file) - photographs by Branch Spalding, Dec. 1935

PLATE 13



Looking West to Salem Church Ridge from Toll Gate area
Side road at left (South) is Va. 710



Looking East from Salem Church Ridge

(View is somewhat south to include 23rd New Jersey
Monument and new Salem building)

Photographs by Ralph Happel, Summer 1965

PLATE 14

Old Salem Church - General View

West End (front) and South Side

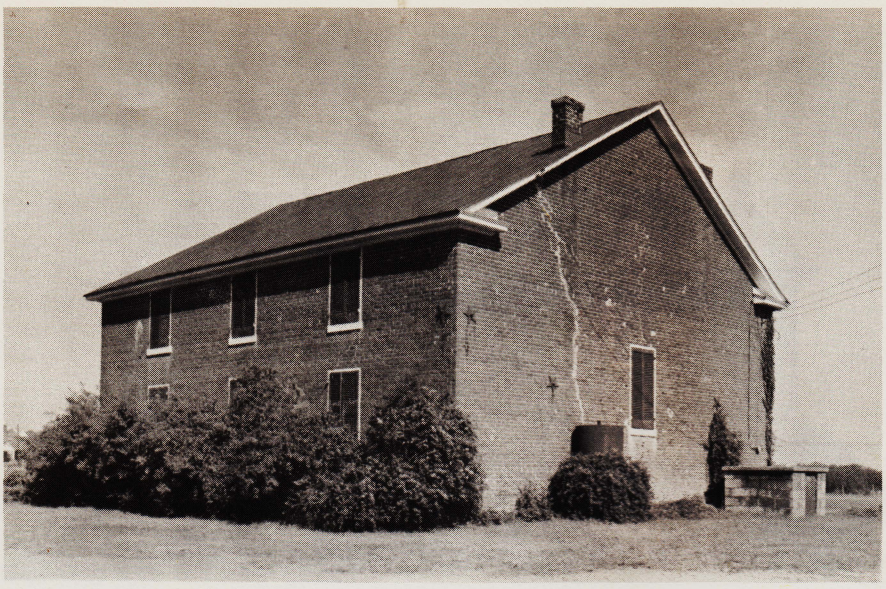
Photograph by Ralph Happel, Summer 1965

PLATE 15

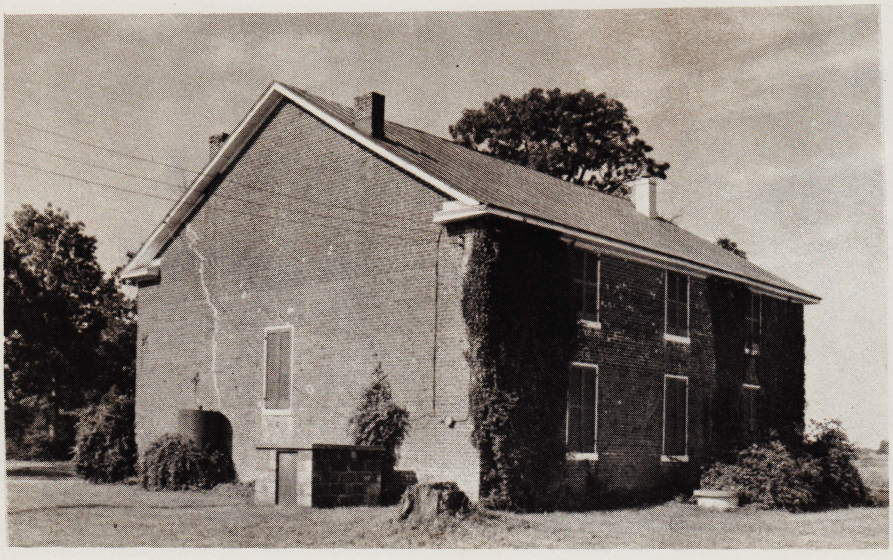
Old Salem Church - West End (front)

Old Salem Church - East End

Photographs by Ralph Happel, Summer 1965



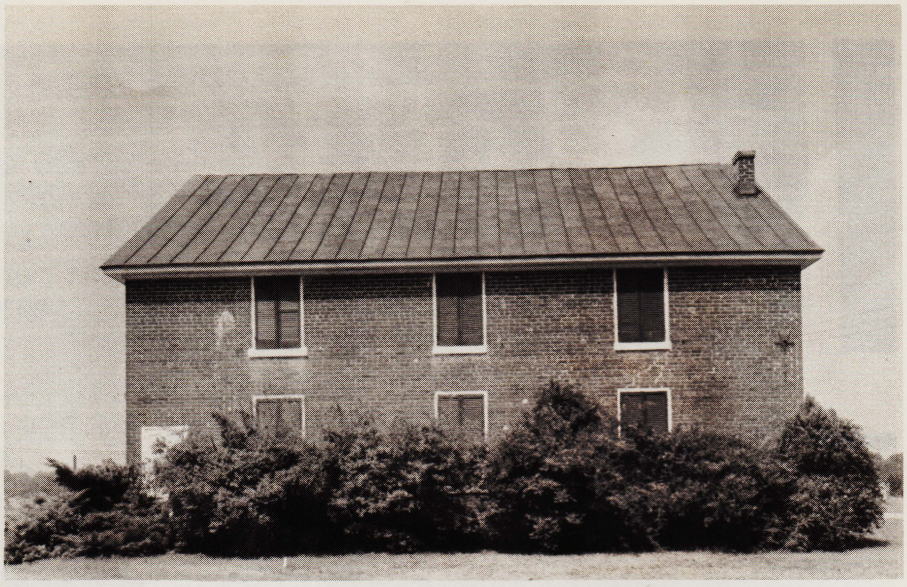
Old Salem Church - East End and South Side



Old Salem Church - East End and North Side

Photographs by Ralph Happel, Summer 1965

PLATE 17



Old Salem Church - South Side

Old Salem Church - North Side

Photographs by Ralph Happel, Summer 1965

PLATE 18

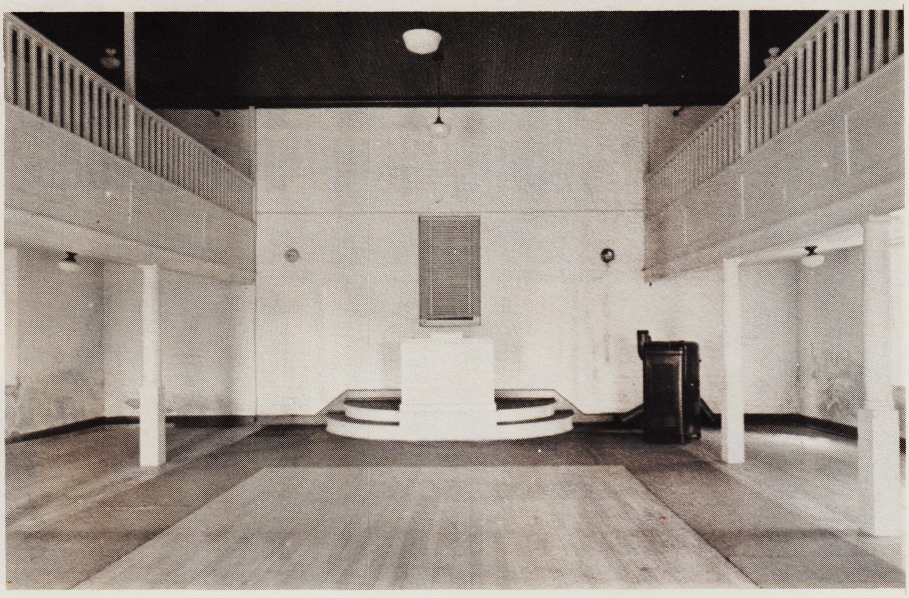
Old Salem Church, closeup of East End

Note projectile scars

Old Salem Church, closeup of Tie-rod head

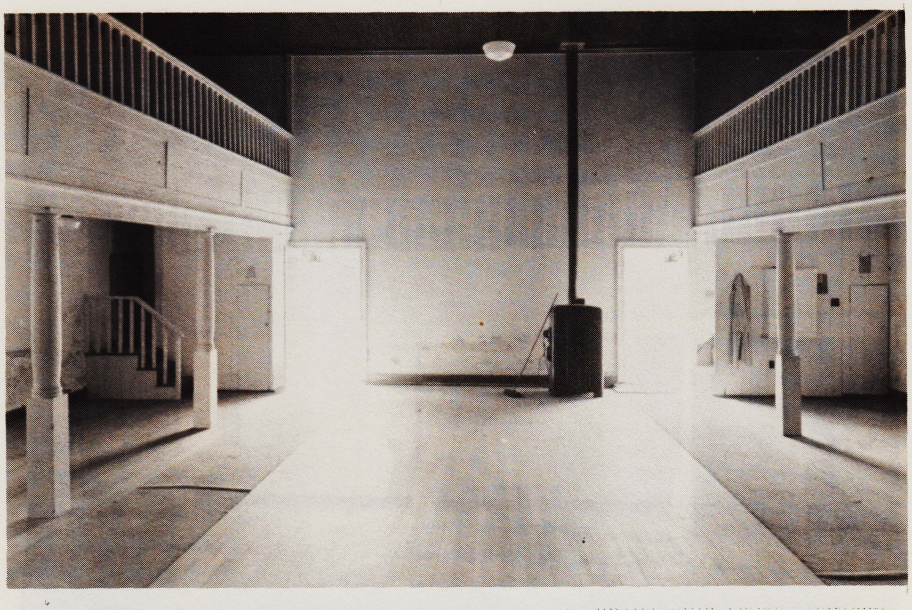
Photographs by Ralph Happel, Summer 1965

PLATE 19



Old Salem Church Interior, looking to East (Pulpit) End

Note original flue holes



Old Salem Church Interior, looking to West (Front) End

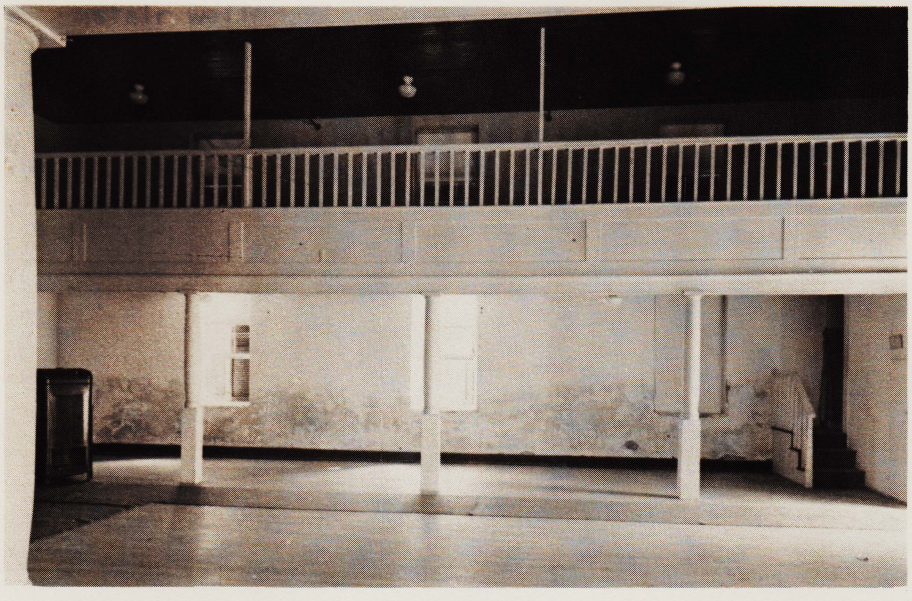
Note non-historic flue through roof

Photographs by Ralph Happel, Summer 1965

PLATE 20

Old Salem Church Interior, looking to North Wall

Note original stairway and bullet holes in gallery



Old Salem Church Interior, looking to South Wall

Note bullet holes in gallery and non-historic steps to non-historic inside door to slaves' stair well

Photographs by Ralph Happel, Summer 1965

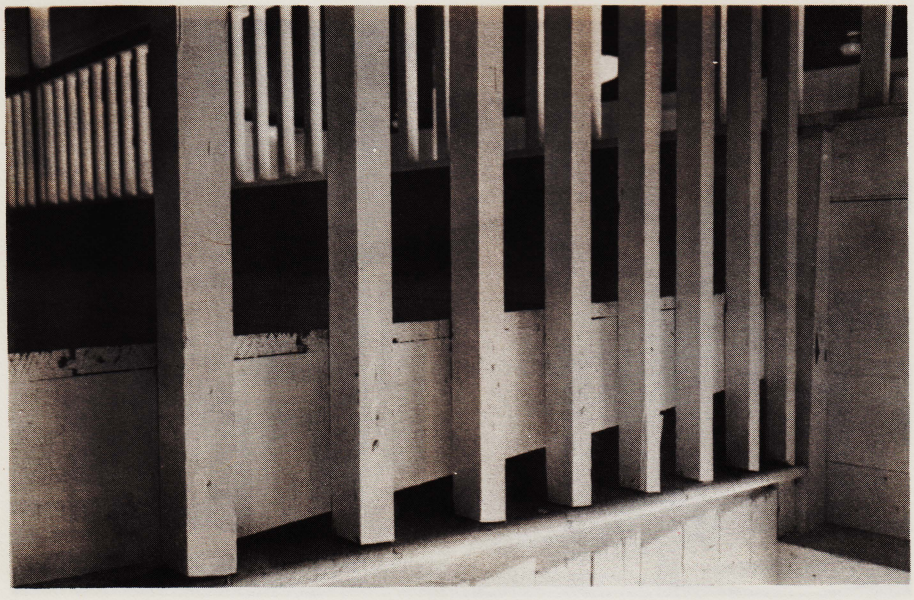
PLATE 21

Old Salem Church Interior, closeup of non-historic steps and non-historic inside door to slaves' stair well

Photograph by Ralph Happel, Summer 1965

PLATE 22

Old Salem Church Interior, north gallery, looking west to stairway, showing non-historic railings, non-historic floor and non-historic pipes for hanging curtains from ceiling



Old Salem Church Interior, north gallery, from top of stairway, showing original floor and superimposed non-historic floor

Photographs by Ralph Happel, Summer 1965

PLATE 23

Waller's Baptist Church, Spotsylvania County

Massaponax Baptist Church, Spotsylvania County

Photographs by Ralph Happel, Summer 1965

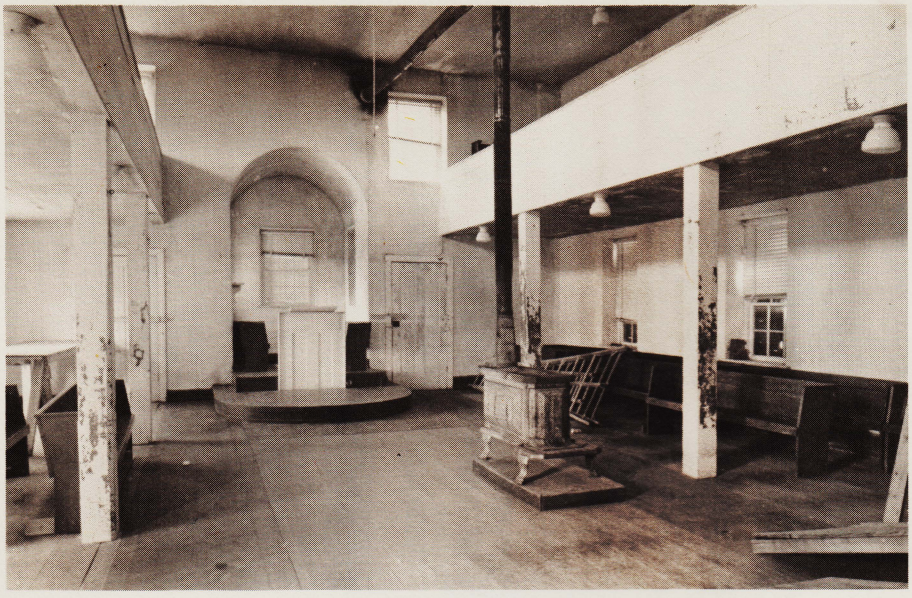
PLATE 24

Old Hebron Baptist Church, Spotsylvania County

(New church in background does not connect)

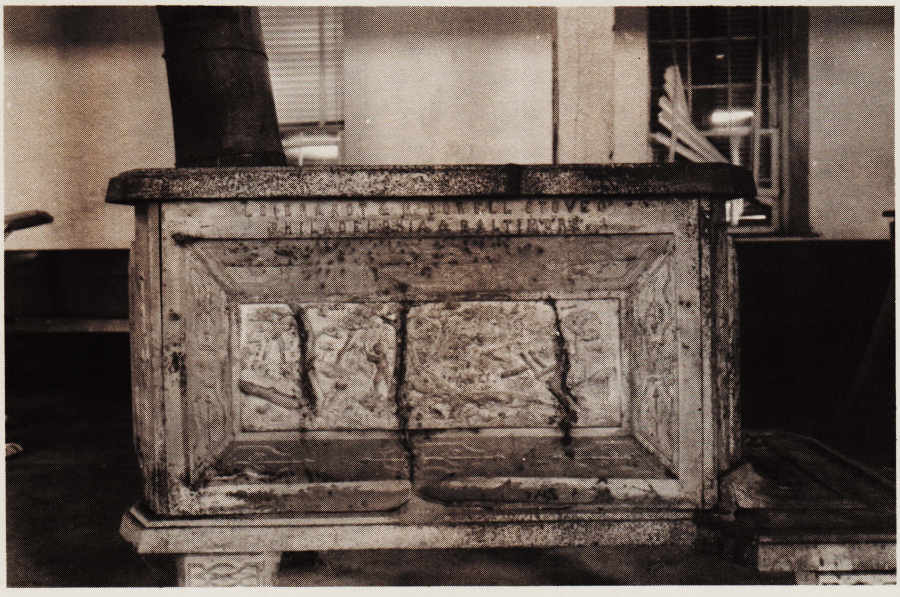
Photograph by Ralph Happel, Summer 1965

PLATE 25



Old Hebron Baptist Church, Spotsylvania County

Interior, looking toward pulpit

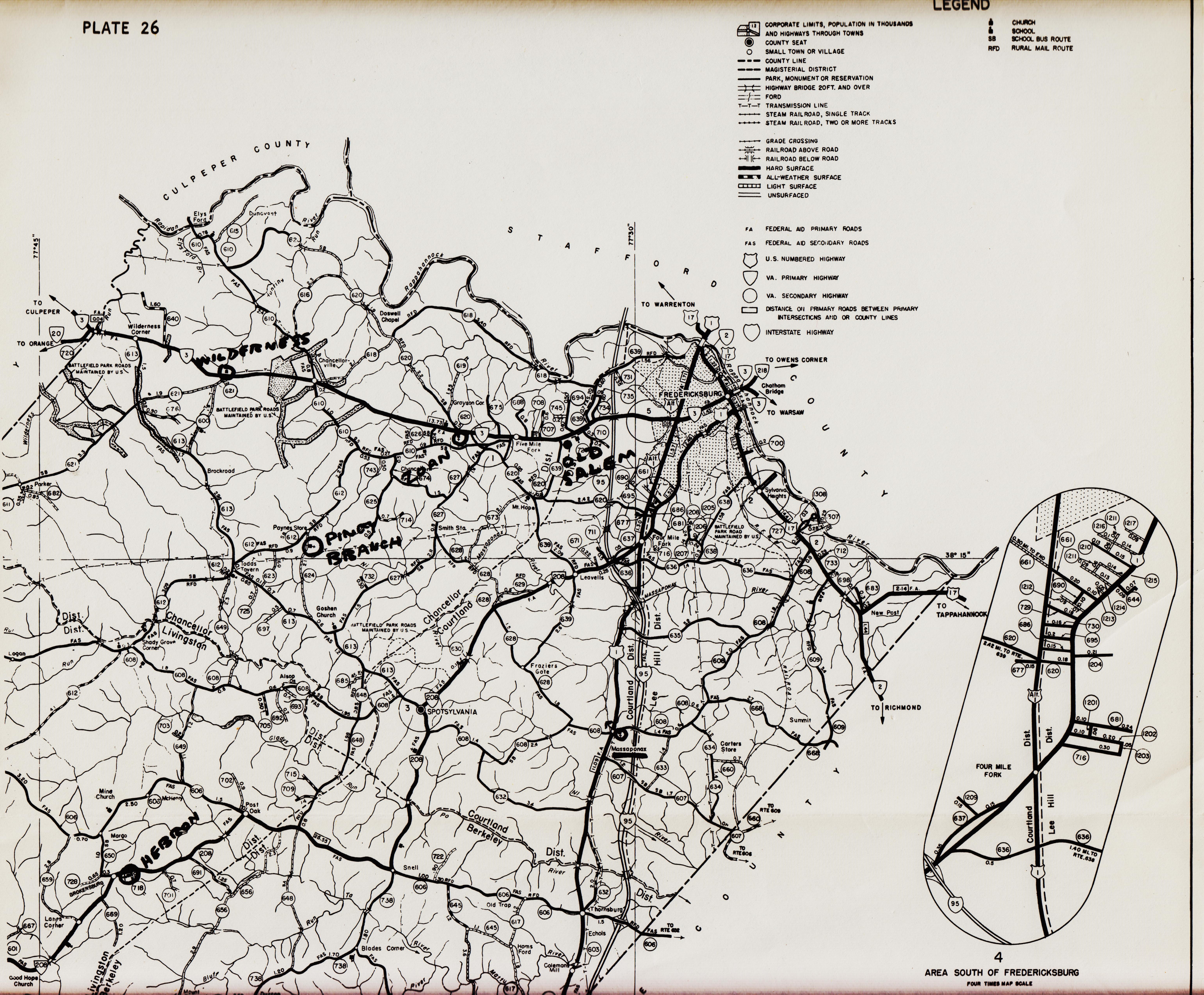


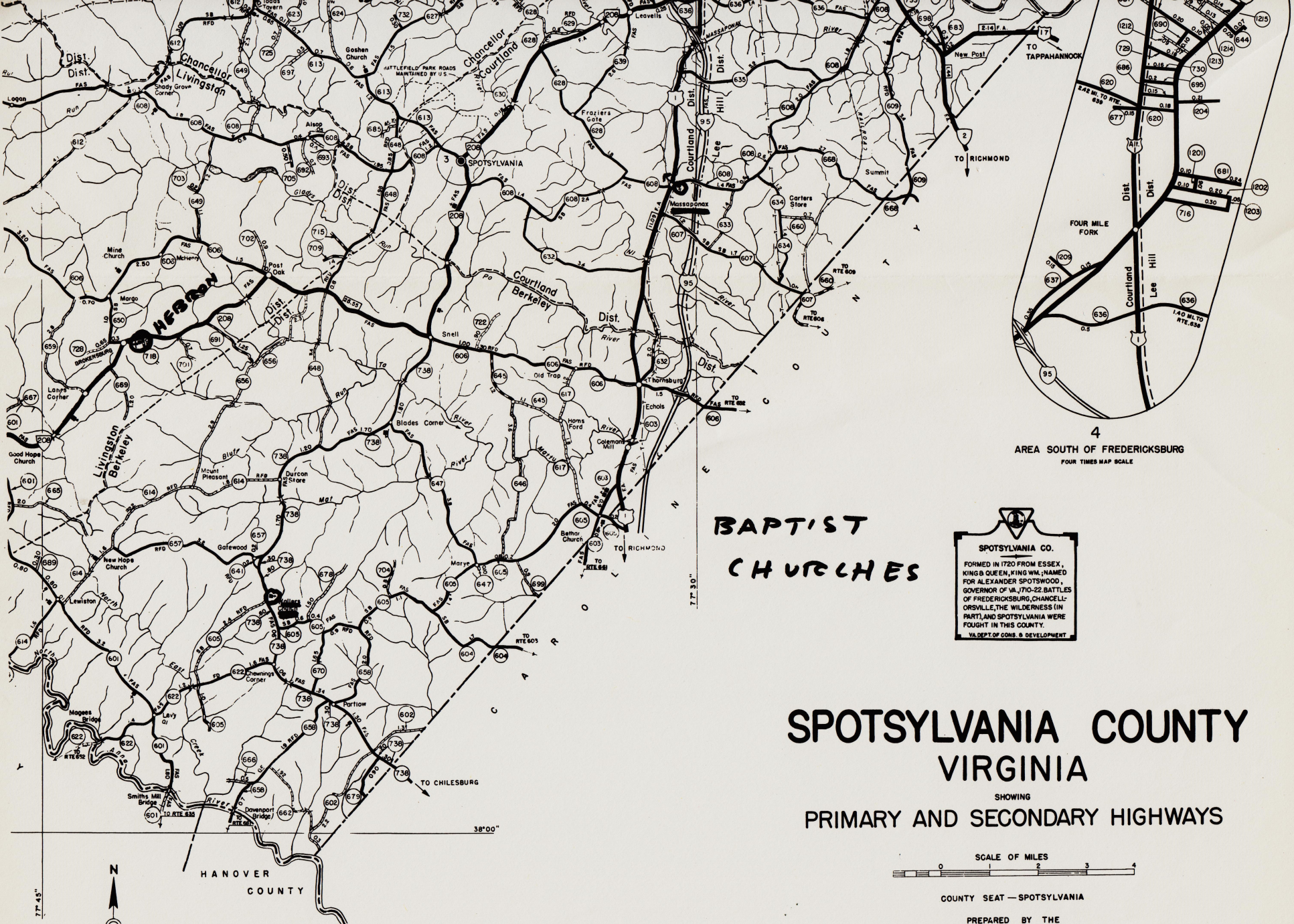
Old Hebron Baptist Church, Spotsylvania County

Closeup of cast iron stove

Photographs by Ralph Happel, Summer 1965

PLATE 26


LEGEND
CORPORATE LIMITS, POPULATION IN THOUSANDS AND HIGHWAYS THROUGH TOWNS
COUNTY SEAT
SMALL TOWN OR VILLAGE
COUNTY LINE
MAGISTERIAL DISTRICT
PARK, MONUMENT OR RESERVATION
HIGHWAY BRIDGE 20FT. AND OVER
FORD
TRANSMISSION LINE
STEAM RAILROAD, SINGLE TRACK
STEAM RAILROAD, TWO OR MORE TRACKS
GRADE CROSSING
RAILROAD ABOVE ROAD
RAILROAD BELOW ROAD
HARD SURFACE
ALL-WEATHER SURFACE
LIGHT SURFACE
UNSURFACED
CHURCH
SCHOOL
SB SCHOOL BUS ROUTE
RFD RURAL MAIL ROUTE
FA FEDERAL AID PRIMARY ROADS
FAS FEDERAL AID SECONDARY ROADS
U.S. NUMBERED HIGHWAY
VA. PRIMARY HIGHWAY
VA. SECONDARY HIGHWAY
DISTANCE ON PRIMARY ROADS BETWEEN PRIMARY INTERSECTIONS AND OR COUNTY LINES
INTERSTATE HIGHWAY
CULPEPER COUNTY
STAFFORD COUNTY
TO CULPEPER
TO ORANGE
TO WARRENTON
TO OWENS CORNER
TO WARSAW
TO TAPPAHANNOCK
TO RICHMOND
FREDERICKSBURG
Chatham Bridge
Wilderness Corner
Chancellorsville
Elys Ford
Dunavant
Doswell Chapel
Grayson Cor.
Five Mile Fork
Mt. Hope
Brockroad
Paynes Store
Todds Tavern
Smith Sta.
Leavells
Four Mile Fork
Sylvania Heights
New Post
Goshen Church
Shady Grove Corner
Alsop
SPOTSYLVANIA
Fraziers Gate
Massaponax
Carters Store
Summit
Mine Church
McHenry
Post Oak
Margo
Lanes Corner
Snell
Old Trap
Thornsburg
Echols
Blades Corner
Coleman Mill
Good Hope Church
BATTLEFIELD PARK ROADS MAINTAINED BY U.S.
WILDERNESS
OLD SALEM
PINEY BRANCH
HEBRON
Chancellor Dist.
Livingston Dist.
Courtland Dist.
Lee Hill Dist.
Berkeley Dist.
77°45'
77°30'
38° 15"
4
AREA SOUTH OF FREDERICKSBURG
FOUR TIMES MAP SCALE
FOUR MILE FORK



BAPTIST CHURCHES

SPOTSYLVANIA CO.

FORMED IN 1720 FROM ESSEX, KING & QUEEN, KING WM.; NAMED FOR ALEXANDER SPOTSWOOD, GOVERNOR OF VA., 1710-22. BATTLES OF FREDERICKSBURG, CHANCELLORSVILLE, THE WILDERNESS (IN PART), AND SPOTSYLVANIA WERE FOUGHT IN THIS COUNTY.

VA. DEPT. OF CONS. & DEVELOPMENT

SPOTSYLVANIA COUNTY
VIRGINIA

SHOWING

PRIMARY AND SECONDARY HIGHWAYS

SCALE OF MILES

0 1 2 3 4

COUNTY SEAT — SPOTSYLVANIA

PREPARED BY THE

DEPARTMENT OF HIGHWAYS

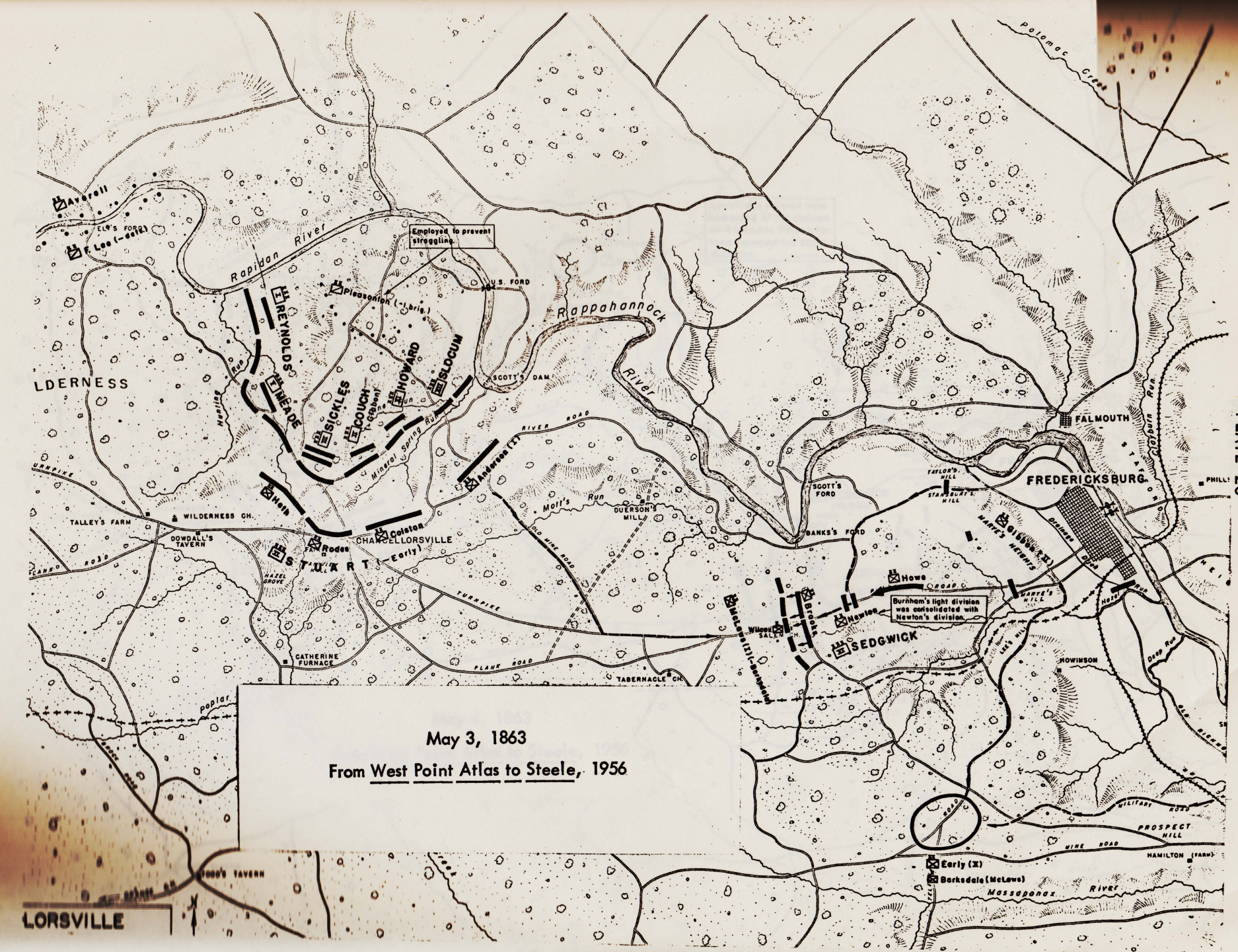
RICHMOND, VIRGINIA

JAN. 1, 1965

REQUESTS FOR INFORMATION ON ROADS SHOWN ON THIS MAP SHOULD BE ADDRESSED TO DISTRICT ENGINEER, DEPARTMENT OF HIGHWAYS FREDERICKSBURG, VIRGINIA

RURAL or MUNICIPALITY	1960 CENSUS POPULATION	SQ. MILES
RURAL	13,819	411.00
TOTAL	13,819	411.00
FREDERICKSBURG	13,639	6.00

May 3, 1863
Section of Hotchkiss from Chancellorville
by Hotchkiss and Allan



May 3, 1863

From West Point Atlas to Steele, 1956

PLATE 28

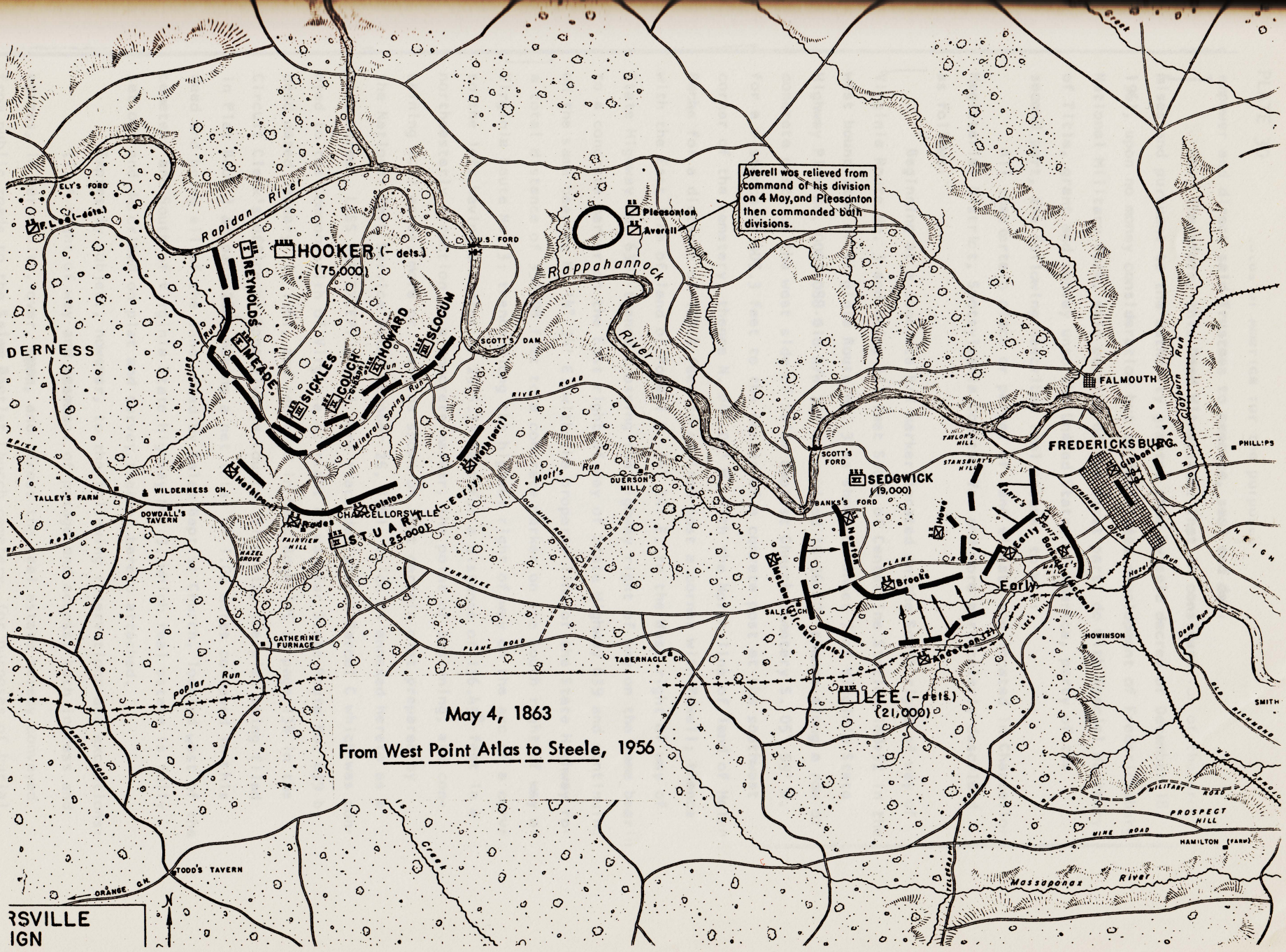

Averell was relieved from command of his division on 4 May, and Pleasonton then commanded both divisions.
Pleasonton
Averell
HOOKER (- dets.)
(75,000)
REYNOLDS
MEADE
SICKLES
COUCH
HOWARD
SLOCUM
SEDGWICK
(19,000)
STUART
(25,000)
LEE (- dets.)
(21,000)
Early
Rapidan River
Rappahannock River
U.S. FORD
SCOTT'S DAM
FALMOUTH
FREDERICKSBURG
WILDERNESS CH.
CHANCELLORSVILLE
TABERNACLE CH.
SALEM CH.
ORANGE CH.
TODD'S TAVERN
May 4, 1863
From West Point Atlas to Steele, 1956

PLATE 29

PLATE 30

States of America for the purposes

empower and direct said Trustees to execute, seal and deli

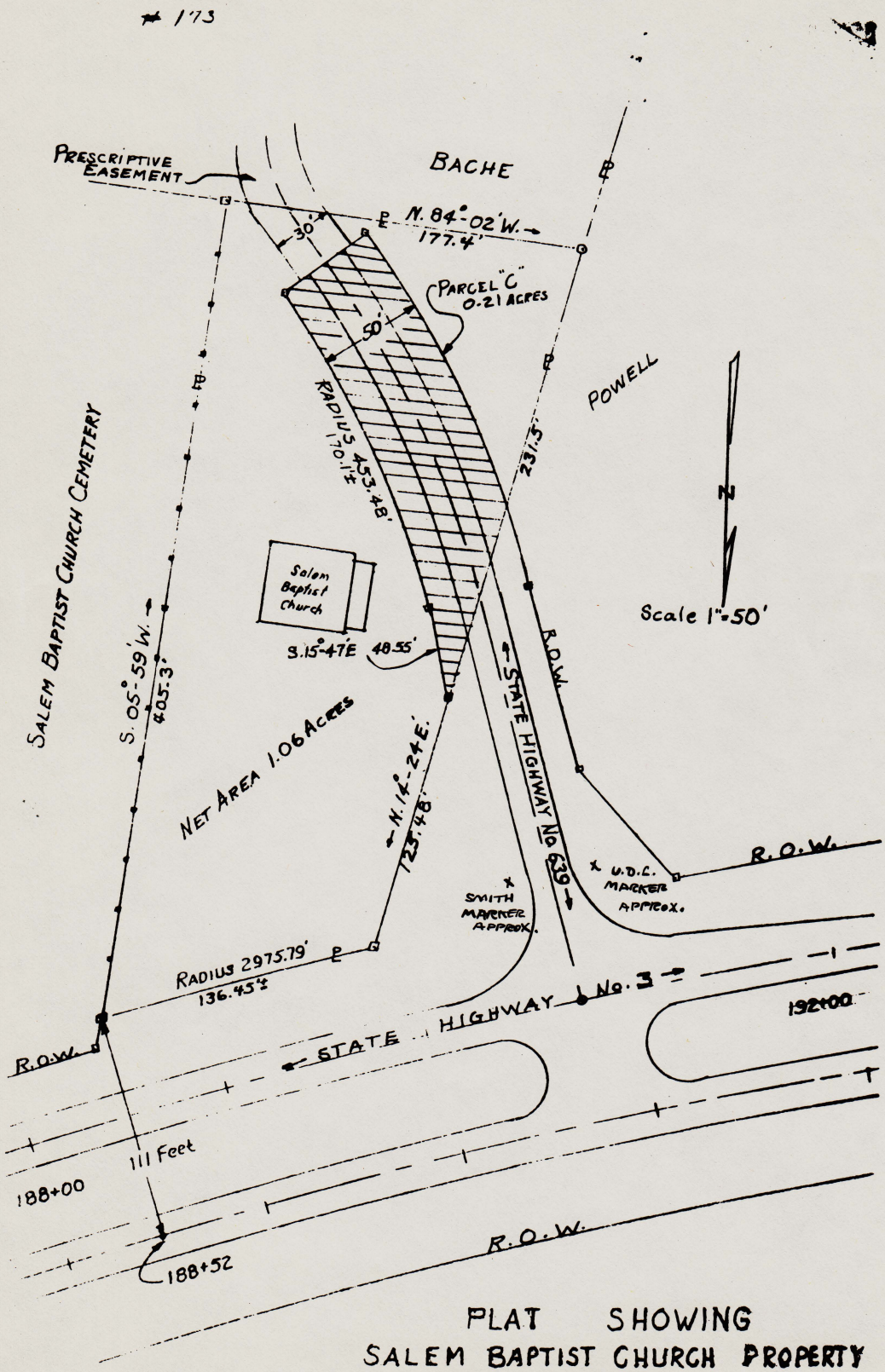
Now, Therefore, this Deed Witnesseth: That in consideration of the pre mises and pursuant to the authority granted them by said decree of December 18, 1961, upon no money consideration but to facilitate development of Fredericksburg National Military Park, said parties of the first part, do with Special Warranty of Title, grant and convey unto the United States of America, party of the second part, the following described real estate, to wit:

All that certain piece or parcel of land situate and located in Chancellor Magisterial District, Spotsylvania County, Va. and more particularly described as follows:

Beginning at a concrete R/W marker located on the South right of way of Virginia Route No. 3 and being 111 feet South of Centerline Station 188+52 in the west bound lane of Virginia Route No. 3 as shown on Sheet 7 of Virginia State Highway Plan No. 0003-088-016 R/W 201 as revised 10-26-60; thence along a row of concrete posts on the west side of Salem Baptist Church cemetery S. 05° 59' W. for a distance of 405.3 feet to the center of a concrete post at the southwest corner of the cemetery; thence N. 84° 02' W. with the North line of land of Helen Bache for a distance of 177.4 feet to an iron post a corner with Powell; thence with the East line of land of Powell N. 14° 24' E. to the West right of way of State Highway No. 639; thence crossing the highway right of way on the same bearin to a concrete marker on the East right of way of State Highway 639 and continuing on the same bearing N. 14° 24' E. with the property line of the State Highway for a total distance of 356.98 feet to a concrete marker on the South right of way of Virginia Route No. 3; thence along the highway right of way on the arc of a curve to the left having a radius of 2975.79 feet for a distance of 136.45 feet in a northeasterly direction to a concrete marker, the point of beginning, and containing 1.27 acres, more or less, as shown on that certain plat prepared by the National Park Service dated October 25, 1961, which is annexed hereto as a part hereof, LESS AND EXCEPT a 0.21 acre tract designated Parcel C which was conveyed to the Commonwealth of Virginia as right of way for State Route No. 639 by deed dated January 11, 1961, and recorded in Deed Book 195 at page 134 in the Circuit Clerk's Office of Spotsylvania County, Virginia, the plat being filed in Plat Book 1 at page 28, making a net total of 1.06 acres conveyed in this deed and being all of the land owned by Salem Baptist Church, located west of the cemetery and South of Virginia State Highway No. 3; which real estate is fully set out and described on plat and survey thereof hereto attached.

Expressly subject, however, to the following reservations and exceptions:

(1) A right of way and easement of pasage and access, both ingress and egress, in perpetuity, over, upon, and across the real estate hereby conveyed from public roads to the Salem Baptist Church cemetery, for purposes of burial,



PLAT SHOWING
SALEM BAPTIST CHURCH PROPERTY
WEST OF CEMETERY
OCTOBER 25, 1961.

SPOTSYLVANIA DEED BOOK 200 — P. 434

GPO 865-903