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"A Sacred Duty:" Mount Vernon during the Years of the Civil War

*A Talk Presented by
Mary V. Thompson, Research Specialist
Mount Vernon Ladies' Association
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During the year 2003, the Mount Vernon Ladies' Association is celebrating the 250th anniversary of its founding. Many of you are probably already familiar with the story of how, in 1853, a woman named Louisa Bird Cunningham was traveling on the Potomac and passed by Mount Vernon in the moonlight. Struck by its appearance, and fearing that it would soon be lost to the nation for lack of upkeep, Mrs. Cunningham wrote a letter to her invalid daughter, Ann Pamela Cunningham, then thirty-seven years old, and made the comment that if the men of the United States would not save the home of its

greatest citizen, maybe the women should do it. Those words galvanized her daughter into action. Initially writing under the nom de plume, A Southern Matron, Ann Pamela Cunningham challenged first the women of the south and later the women of the entire country to save the home of George Washington. After convincing John Augustine Washington III to sell the property to a group of women, she and the organization she had founded, the Mount Vernon Ladies' Association of the Union, raised \$200,000 to purchase the mansion and two hundred acres. What many of you may not know is the story of the first

years of the Association's ownership of Mount Vernon, which coincided with the American Civil War. The challenges presented in trying to keep the property safe, and open it to the public, during the Civil War were sometimes overwhelming, but in spite of their political differences, the Mount Vernon Ladies' Association not only met the goal of preserving George Washington's home, but also survived sectional conflict as an institution.

The Mount Vernon Ladies' Association took over operation of the estate in 1860. One of the first tasks facing them was the necessity of restoring the mansion, or at least stabilizing its condition to prevent further deterioration. The need for this work was readily apparent. A group of visitors that spring described what they found:

"...Some fifty rods from the tomb is the house of Washington; this is now in a dilapidated condition; the broad portico in front, is temporarily propped up to keep it from falling; even the stone floor under the portico gives evidence of crumbling back to dust....There are some half dozen or more buildings of less size than the house of Washington, which were used for different purposes during the time he resided here; these also are going to decay—some of them are already so far fallen into ruin, as not to admit of repair. The Ladies of the

Mount Vernon Association, intend to repair and preserve the house of Washington, and as many of the other buildings as possible, but the old portico of the house will have to be taken down and a new one put in place of it, so other portions of the house and of the other buildings will have to be replaced by new material. Whoever visits Mount Vernon two years hence, will not look on the same columns, piazzas and much else that Washington was accustomed to look upon; he will only see a fac simile of what was before." (1)

Others expressed similar doubts about the restoration of the mansion and outbuildings. One, who visited Mount Vernon in the fall of 1860, thought he had a better idea:

"From what I heard of the way in which the Mount Vernon Committee intend preserving this historic building, I should think it would almost be better to leave it to its present ruin and decay. It is about to be "reconstructed," and will, of course, be so rebuilt and repaired as to retain little of its former self....The cost of erecting a glass and iron roof over the whole building would be little more than ...25,000 [pounds], when the house beneath, thus shielded from the weather, might, with a little ordinary care, survive for centuries." (2)

Sometime between May and July of 1860, the repairs got underway. (3) By 1862, the writer of an article about Mount Vernon in a Vermont newspaper could report that in the two years since the estate came under the wing of the Association, "a new and very good wharf has been made, the tomb repaired, the mansion and out-building[s] thoroughly put in

order....The object has been, not to modernize and embellish Mount Vernon, but to make it look as probably it did in the hands of the thrifty and order-loving old General." (4)

With the election of Abraham Lincoln as president in the fall of 1860, the country began a rapid slide



Mount Vernon Mansion circa 1861
Watercolor by W. Homer

toward Civil War. Throughout the early months of 1861, the Southern states began seceding from the Union. The conflict officially began on April 12th, 1861, when Confederate artillery began firing on the Union battery at Fort Sumter, just off the coast of South Carolina. As these events transpired, Mount Vernon was in a precarious position. The Regent, Ann Pamela Cunningham, who had directed the initial restoration efforts on the estate, had been forced to return to her family home in South Carolina in the fall of 1860, to help run the family plantation after the death of her father. (5) Her own illness and problems with her eyes prevented her from leaving her home, before the start of the war made such travel impossible. It would be six years before she was able to come back to Mount Vernon. To make matters worse, communication between the Regent and the staff at Mount Vernon was frequently disrupted during the war, with two years going by at one point when no letters, although sent on a regular basis, were able to get from the estate to South Carolina. (6) After Federal troops captured the nearby city of Alexandria on May 24, 1861, Mount Vernon found itself situated between the two armies, with Federal forces at Arlington and Alexandria and the Confederates at Manassas Junction. (7)

In the absence of the Regent, it was believed that "the presence of a lady" on the property would "tend to insure respect toward the place from both contending parties." (8) During

these years, the estate was managed by two very able staff members, Miss Cunningham's secretary, Sarah C. Tracy, a native of Troy, New York, who had lived for some time in New Orleans, and Upton H. Herbert, Mount Vernon's first Resident Superintendent, a Mexican War veteran, who was a descendant of George Washington's early patron, Colonel William Fairfax of nearby Belvoir Plantation, and brother of one of the principals of the Burke and Herbert Bank. Herbert was suggested for the Superintendent's position by his friend, John Augustine Washington III, who informed Ann Pamela Cunningham that, in his view, Upton Herbert was "as familiar with everything of interest here as any other person now living. His intelligence, information, courteous bearing, and kind manners will render him acceptable to those who come here, while his unflinching courage, steadiness of purpose, and pure integrity will make him a valuable agent for the Association." Miss Tracy, in turn, was described by an associate as a "Lady, both well educated and bright, agreeable, ready with her pen and her tongue," having "every needed requisite." (9) A niece who spent time with her at Mount Vernon during the war later remarked that she considered her aunt "the bravest woman I ever knew," a trait that would be put to the test often in these years. This same niece spoke warmly of Mr. Herbert, noting that he was "a fine type of the true Virginia gentleman," with an "interesting and noble personality." (10)

The two faced a constant stream of challenges. Upton Herbert's status as an able-bodied man, who was not serving with either army, caused people on both sides of the conflict to look upon him with suspicion. Miss Tracy wrote early in the war that he had "resisted every tempting offer to join the Army. He has had several. Both his brothers, and every friend he has, have done so, and they wonder much that he has refused the command of every company offered. He says very little about it, but has, I know, made a sacrifice for Mount Vernon." (11) In another letter on this topic, Tracy assured Ann Pamela Cunningham that Herbert was "faithful, and as a Virginian is sorely tried in spirit." (12)

The fact that their backgrounds were so different proved to be something of a blessing. (13) It was Northerner Sarah Tracy who negotiated with officials in Washington, when it became necessary to request favors, such as passes for herself or other employees to travel between the lines or go into Alexandria for provisions, a resumption of mail service, or limitations on the soldiers entering the estate. (14) Upton Herbert, the Virginian, in turn, negotiated with the Confederate forces, but because he had been advised not to go into Alexandria, where he would very likely "risk being examined and asked to take" an oath of loyalty to the Federal government, any trips into town had to be made by Miss Tracy. (15) One of her most important

missions took place during the first summer of the war, after Federal troops in Alexandria tried unsuccessfully to confiscate the money and bonds paid to John Augustine Washington III by the Mount Vernon Ladies' Association for the purchase of the estate. Having searched both Burke and Herbert Bank, where the funds had been deposited, and the private home of Mr. Burke, the soldiers gave up. Mr. Burke had, in fact, hidden the money at his house and later met with Sarah Tracy, who, as a "great favor for the Washington family," hid the precious cargo in an egg basket and carried it in her wagon, through the city of Alexandria, past about 75,000 Union soldiers, and into the District of Columbia, where she placed the combination of money and bonds into a safe deposit box at the Riggs Bank for the Washingtons, and headed back to Mount Vernon. Along the way, she stopped briefly to put the key to the safe deposit box into Mr. Burke's custody. (16)

The stalwart New Yorker and Virginian were assisted by a rotating cast of characters. One of them, Miss Mary McMakin, served as companion and chaperone, a very necessary addition to the household in the Victorian era. Prior to Miss McMakin's acceptance of a position at Mount Vernon, Sarah Tracy had expressed considerable concern about how things might appear, with both herself and Mr. Herbert being single:

"...A week ago I felt as if I

could not brave it out any longer, but when I reflected upon the importance of my being here, I determined to stand to my post. The only difficulty is in getting anyone to stay here with me....Everybody has a home, or in these days ties elsewhere—they were afraid to stay at Mount Vernon, or some other private reason. I talked with Mrs. Riggs and Mrs. Graham. The said ‘Under the circumstances and in these times you must be there, and no once can say anything’....I have now a scheme of trying to hire somebody to come and stay with me....while my position is not of my own choosing, I try to accept it as I do all other things, as a dispensation of One wiser to judge than I.” (17)

There were also a number of African-American employees, who included: Emily the cook; Priscilla the chambermaid; Frances, who was described as “charity maid of all work”; George, the coachman and “general assistant”; “the gardener and one or two other hands employed about the grounds.” (18) Incensed that a newspaper reporter had insinuated “that slave labor is employed here,” Miss Tracy wrote to assure one of the Vice Regents that, “All the Negroes employed here have been freed, and as much as possible those descended from the old stock, who have been free for generations.” (19)

Interestingly, there had been slaves on the estate in the first year of its management by the Association and several visitors who came in the months before the start of the war seemed uneasy at finding African-American slaves, belonging to John Augustine Washington, still at Mount Vernon. One noted, without comment, that he had found a “number of Negroes belonging to the late proprietor of the Mount Vernon estate [John Augustine Washington III],” who seemed to be living in the mansion, and supported themselves through the sale of bunches of “Magnolia leaves, to such as desired to bring away some memorial of Mount Vernon.” (20) Another wrote, however, that he “hoped Mr. [John Augustine] Washington finally removes to his new home in the mountain region above Alexandria, the place will not be disfigured by decrepid [sic] or youthful Negroes, miserably clad, who are made to sell canes, shrubs, and other souvenirs, for the profit of others.” (21) In addition to selling souvenirs, at least one other enslaved African-American, a woman who belonged to John Augustine Washington III, gave tours of the mansion to visitors who arrived on the four days each week, when the tour boat from Washington did not make the trip to Mount Vernon. (22)

Throughout the war, the staff at Mount Vernon was plagued with a shortage of money. There were a number of times, for example, when, for one reason or another relating to the military conflict, the boat bringing

visitors to Mount Vernon was stopped, a situation which had a decidedly negative effect on the budget. (23) The federal government's reluctance to issue passes to people coming by land made further cuts in the Association's income, leading Miss Tracy to comment at one point that she did "not believe there is any remedy until the war is over." (24) In a letter to the Vice Regent for Virginia, she noted that, "During the second summer of the war, the boat was permitted to run regularly from Washington here, but after the second battle of Bull Run, the Secretary of War would no longer permit passengers to land on the Virginia side. This has been a serious loss to us. No attempt was made to do anything more than keep the place in neat order, and repair the occasional breakage, but even that requires money." (25) Thankfully, the staff took its responsibility of thrift very seriously. Once, when a group of Northern officers came to visit the estate and gave her \$6.50, Tracy noted that, "Very little keeps us going." (26) As much as possible, they tried to save money during this period by growing themselves whatever they might need on the plantation for feeding "the stock and people necessary here." They fished for food and also raised flowers to sell to visitors. (27) Superintendent Upton Herbert even came up with a plan in 1864 to sell bricks, made on the estate but superfluous to the restoration efforts, in Alexandria, which he thought might bring in as much as \$200. (28) In summing up her experiences not long after the conflict

ended, Miss Tracy commented:

"...Mine is not the easiest task in the world, to make both ends meet. To contrive that peas, beans, cabbage, and flowers shall pay for rakes and hoes; flowers and photographs shall pay a gardener; that bricks shall pay for little odds and ends of plastering, bricklaying, etc., and then when these fall short, and the corn has failed, or been stolen from the fields as it was last year, and feed is to be bought, to contrive where we can pinch out the means to foot the bill."

Sharing the accomplishment, she reported that Mr. Herbert was "very good at managing these things." (29)

The military conflict often seemed very near. In one letter written in the first months of the war, Sarah Tracy noted that she could hear "all the guns fired at the different engagements around us." During one of those engagements, a group of Federal ships attacked several batteries at Aquia Creek, where the Confederates had hoped to disrupt the delivery of supplies to the District of Columbia. (30) Following the First Battle of Manassas in the summer of 1861, Miss Tracy confided to one of the Vice Regents:

"...I have considerable strength of nerve, but it was tried to the utmost yesterday. The wind was south on Thursday, and we did not hear much of the

firing until late in the afternoon, when for two hours it was very distinct, and again on Saturday. But yesterday we will none of us ever forget. At six o'clock in the morning I was roused by the cannon, and from then till one o'clock there was not three, no, hardly one minute between each fire. Then for half an hour it ceased, recommenced, and continued till dark. The sun rose upon their fury, and went down upon their unquenched wrath. We have as yet only flying rumors, but fearful must have been the destruction of life. I never imagined anything so terrible. I could not think, could not read, could hardly pray, every sense and faculty seemed concentrated on my hearing! I tremble at the idea of those who saw their last sunrise yesterday morning. It has come—the climax of the war! God forgive the instigators! (31)

Sadly, of course, this was only the beginning. In the ensuing years, the staff at Mount Vernon would hear the noise from the passing wheels of cannons and wagons as a defeated Union Army headed north after a loss at Fredericksburg in December of 1862. There would be skirmishes at Pohick Church, where George Washington had worshipped, and at Accotink, only four miles from Mount Vernon. There were raids at Fairfax Court House, Accotink, and the

Quaker settlements near Mount Vernon and Woodlawn by the famous Confederate raider, Colonel John Mosby. (32) Miss Tracy was able to write gratefully, however, in January of 1864 that, "All things considered, we have got along very comfortably. We have been a greater part of the time between the Federal and Confederate lines, but no depredations have been committed." (33)

The lack of trouble from either army was a direct result of the Regent's foresight. Within weeks of the conflict's start, Ann Pamela Cunningham wrote to inform the staff of her concerns on this issue. Fearing that troops from either side might be sent to Mount Vernon, with the ostensible mission of guarding the place, she expressed that it was imperative that no sentries or outposts be placed within the borders of the estate, lest it become a battlefield and be destroyed. After a visit from Sarah Tracy, General Winfield Scott, on July 31st, 1861, issued Order Number 13, the official pronouncement of the estate's non-partisan status:

"It has been the prayer of every patriot that the tramp and din of civil war might, at least, spare the precincts within which repose the sacred remains of the Father of His Country. Should the operations of war take the United States troops in that direction, the General-in-Chief does not doubt that each and every man will approach with due reverence, and leave

uninjured, not only the Tomb, but also the Home, the Groves and Walks which were so loved by the best and greatest of men.” (34)

One visitor in 1862 wrote that, “Mount Vernon has not, like most places of the South, been visited with the ravages of war, it being neutral ground, and held sacred by both armies.” (35)

The Association staff also had to deal with a great deal of sickness. In addition to malaria, or fevers and chills as it was described, which became a problem each summer during the war, other diseases in the neighborhood included smallpox, measles, and typhoid fever. (36) Much as she cared for sick employees, Sarah Tracy once took in a young lieutenant for several days, after he was found, “wild with delirium” under a tree on the estate suffering from a “raging fever.” (37) She also looked after several of the Washington family’s former slaves during the war. She wrote to one of the Vice Regents in the fall of 1861 that she herself had been very well, but had been called upon “to play doctress not only to nearly everyone here, but also to some still left on Mr. Washington’s farm.” (38) One of the latter was West Ford, an elderly man, then in his late 70s, who had been born at Bushfield plantation, the home of George Washington’s brother, John Augustine, in Westmoreland County, Virginia. He initially came to Mount Vernon after Martha Washington’s death and had been manumitted by

George Washington’s nephew, Supreme Court Justice Bushrod Washington, about 1805, but continued to work for the Washington family as a freeman. Upon learning that Ford was quite ill, Miss Tracy had him brought to the estate in June of 1863. She later explained her actions in a letter to one of the Vice Regents:

“...We had old West Ford brought here. Mr. H[erbert]. and myself went to see him Sunday and found him very feeble, and fearing all this excitement might hurt him we had him brought so we can take better care of him. I feel as if it was our duty to see that he should want for nothing in his old age—” (39)

Less than a month after Miss Tracy wrote that letter, a notice of Ford’s death was published in the Alexandria Gazette, which mentioned the fact that he had “lived on the Mount Vernon estate, the greater portion of his life...[and]...was well known to most of our older citizens.” (40)

About a year before the war began, one visitor had noted that plans were underway to construct what he called a “horse railroad” between Alexandria and Mount Vernon, although he felt that the steamer, which was then making the trip to the estate three times a week, was a “pleasant means of conveyance.” (41) While there were rumors early in 1863 that speculators were again planning a railroad line to

Mount Vernon, it was probably just as well that the boat trip was so pleasant, because, based on their surviving accounts, a typical visitor during the Civil War arrived at Mount Vernon by boat, which for much of this period ran two or three times a week. (42) The steamer left Washington at 10:30 in the morning, stopping briefly at Alexandria at 11:00 to pick up additional passengers on the way. On the return trip, the boat stopped again at Fort Washington, where visitors could make a quick ½ hour tour of that facility, before arriving back at Washington by 4:00 in the afternoon. The pilgrimage to Mount Vernon, thus, took the average visitor less than six hours. Passage on the boat cost \$1.50 per person, from which the Ladies' Association received 25 cents. One visitor estimated that on the day he made the trip in the spring of 1862, the steamer carried 150 passengers, which would have netted the Association over fifty, sore-needed dollars. (43)

Several visitors expressed unhappiness when they learned about the admission fee. One vented his frustration at length in a newspaper:

"There is cause for regret that, as a people, we have not sometimes better taste in the way selected to obtain money for a good purpose. Few persons go to Mount Vernon, who fail to be impressed with the Associations of the place.... We feel somewhat like grateful children.... We wish to look around with pleasant

deliberation, feeling ourselves at ease in our father's old house. Here we are stopped. A black man, standing sentry at a door, as we put our hand upon the latch, says "Sah, you must give me twenty-five cents." "Why so?" "General Washington died in that room and you can't go in without a quarter of a dollar." Now, why is this so? Why can not the Association take some other means to get money, by extra price on the boat, by act of Congress, subscription, lottery, raffle, some other way besides knocking all a poor patriot's glowing, heaven reaching, filial, grateful enthusiasm into a cocked hat? He has come to worship. You drive him from his altar and let him down to earth." (44)

A soldier initially expressed shock at being greeted with a sign, which read, "An admittance fee of twenty-five cents is required of all persons visiting these grounds. By order of the Association." Eventually, however, he came to the conclusion that it was wrong to take the Ladies' Association to task over the issue, writing:

"...here, as usual, perhaps a little reflection will serve to decrease our indignation. We must remember that...the ladies of the nation...were obliged to pay...two hundred thousand dollars, which is certainly eight times what the place is worth,

aside from its associations, and, finally, that the war, having materially interfered with their plans, the present method is found necessary to keep the place in proper repair. So, my readers, instead of emptying out our vials of wrath upon the heads of the ladies, who have done all they could, perhaps we had better reserve a little of our indignation for those of us who have done nothing...." (45)

Despite the claims of one of the carpenters working on the restoration of the mansion, who showed some gullible visitors "some old tools, which were imported, he said, by the Cincinnatus of our Republic," (46) at the time of the purchase by the Association, only a handful of original Washington objects remained on the estate. A visitor in August of 1860 recalled seeing George Washington's saddle or pack bags, which he described as being in the Large Dining Room: "In the middle of the floor are these leather knapsacks or war impliments [sic] I suppose left in [this?] situation by Washington. The[s]e are large, clumsy and [unhandy?] looking things - These are about [a] foot square with large pockets in each side something like a Doctor's saddlebags." (47) Several months later, a magazine noted the presence of "the piano," actually a harpsichord, which had been a gift from George Washington to his step-granddaughter, Nelly Custis, and the key to the Bastille, a gift to Washington from the Marquis

de Lafayette, By the exhibit standards of 1860, the Ladies' Association seems to have been doing a good job. The writer commented on some visitors' "gratification at the taste and neatness displayed in the arrangement of the place." (48) Another visitor reported seeing Washington's "large terrestrial globe, with half its zodiac half eaten through with rust, its compass broken, and the globe itself a dirty brown ball with scarcely an outline distinguishable on its surface from damp and long neglect." (49)

Still other visitors reported seeing Washington's holsters, medicine chest, the "legs [presumably a tripod] for a compass which he used to survey with," and original painting and engraving, and a "bedstead, said to be a fac-simile of the one on which that great and good man died," standing "in the room which witnessed the closing scene of his life." (50) For this last space, which was open only to visitors paying an extra fee, Sarah Tracy investigated the possibility of getting some original Washington pieces, or at least some with a family connection. She noted in a letter written about a month before the war began that, "One of the Lewises is about breaking up housekeeping, and Mr. Herbert says he can get some chairs on deposit, and I am on the track of a dressing table used by General Washington, which I think I can get on deposit. In this way, the room can be furnished and will pay." (51)

Much as visitors continue to do today, the people who came to Mount

Vernon during the Civil War wanted some kind of remembrance to take home with them. Sarah Tracy grew flowers to supply bouquets. A niece who spent time with her on the estate remembered that her "boat day mornings" were "very busy," as she tied up "small bunches of flowers, which heaped in masses, were soon disposed of by the gardner [sic] at 25 cents each, as souvenirs of Mt. Vernon. These boat day profits served to defray the expense of keeping Mt. Vernon in good condition during the war." (52) Unfortunately for the Association's coffers, however, other visitors chose to take home souvenirs, which cost nothing. One woman came with friends, who gathered "a few pebbles from the vault as sacred relics from a consecrated tomb," and then left "the sainted dead to their silent slumbers." (53) A young soldier from Company A of the 2nd Connecticut Volunteer Heavy Artillery, wrote that one of his friends picked up some pears from the ground in the garden "to carry home." (54) Another plucked a leaf from a magnolia tree, which was "planted by Washington's own hand" and a sprig of boxwood from the upper garden. (55)

In 1860, during the first summer Mount Vernon was managed by the Association, a visitor reported that a person he described as "an enterprising daguerreotypist" was present at the family tomb, who would, "for a dollar" take "a pictur [sic] of the tomb, with you a sta[n]din' afore it." (56) About a year later, there was some indication that

Matthew Brady was going to come out to photograph the interior of the mansion, presumably to provide souvenir shots, however, there is nothing to suggest that the project ever came to fruition. (57) While none of the visitor accounts dating from the time of the war mention photographers, one of the first things Miss Tracy did after the end of the conflict was to arrange for photographs of the estate to be sold to visitors. Two young men, who were recommended by her friends, spent five days at Mount Vernon in the latter half of 1865, taking photographs, under an arrangement by which they would keep the negatives and supply photographs to Mount Vernon as needed, while never allowing "them to be used by anyone but the Association." Miss Tracy wrote the following year that she had "tried, for a long time, to get a boy to sell photographs; was finally obliged to take one of old West's grandsons who can count money." The young boy must have sold quite a few. Miss Tracy delightedly wrote in another letter that, at 25 cents for a carte-de-visite, 50 cents for a stereoscopic view, or 75 cents for a cabinet card, she estimated the Association would make \$600.00 a year from those sales alone. (58)

Several visitors took note of a book, resting on a table in the central passage of the mansion, in which "all contributors to the Association have the privilege of recording their names." (59) Another reported, however, that the practice of signing in was hardly universal. It was this

person's impression that "only a few avail themselves of the privilege, which is not made compulsory." (60) Given the limitations on this source, it is still an invaluable source of information about the visitors to the estate. In the first three months of 1861, as the Civil War approached, 467 people, an average of 155 per month, came to Mount Vernon. They hailed from twenty-six states and the District of Columbia, as well as the Dakota Territory, Cuba, England, France, Ireland, Japan, and Spain. Visitation fell off almost immediately at the start of the war in April of 1861; in that month, with the boat to Mount Vernon stopped, a total of only 18 people signed the guest book at George Washington's home. According to the financial records in the guest book, visitors who came to the estate between May of 1860 and May of 1865 brought \$1,171.03 into the Association's coffers. After the close of the war, in the twenty days between May 22nd and June 10th of 1865, nearly 1,700 visitors were registered in the little book. (61)

A large percentage of the visitors to Mount Vernon during the Civil War were soldiers. It was the wish of the Regents that soldiers coming to the estate should be neither armed nor dressed in their uniforms, and the staff conveyed that information to troops stationed near the plantation. Miss Tracy was able to report in early May of 1861 that, "They have behaved very well about it. Many of them come from a great distance and have never been here, and have no clothes but their

uniforms. They borrow shawls and cover up their buttons and leave their arms outside the enclosures, and never come but two or three at a time. That is as much as can be asked of them." (62)

As the war wound on, the large number of soldiers visiting the estate caused problems. A woman who spent some time with Upton Herbert and Sarah Tracy during those years wrote that, "We are overrun with soldiers who come to see the place but they are generally very good & behave with becoming respect. Occasionally officers, "drest [sic] in a little brief authority" are impertinent but privates rarely." (63) Sarah Tracy echoed those sentiments, when she wrote to one member of the Ladies' Association that she herself would "show the privates the house. I will not the officers, they are not polite, excepting those high up." She made a request of the military command in Washington that soldiers be forbidden from coming to Mount Vernon in large groups, which the limited staff could not control. That request was honored for a time, but after General Winfield Scott's resignation, the numbers rose once again, leading her to comment that, "Within a week several hundred have come at once. They trampled over everything....if they come by hundreds in at the gate, and boat loads at the wharf, fifty policemen could not protect the place." She then approached General McClellan for help in limiting the number of soldiers entering the estate at once and got his cooperation. She noted, however, that the soldiers often

balked at paying the twenty-five cent admission fee for land visitors, pleading "poverty," an excuse she thought was true for many of them, but commented that, "We are trying to keep these contributions to pay the necessary laborers." (64) She also asked, early in 1862, that soldiers be forbidden to visit Mount Vernon on Sundays. (65)

Simply getting to Mount Vernon could be an adventure for some of these young men. Just after the close of the war, as they were headed from North Carolina to Washington, DC, for the grand review of the Union Army, the 30th Iowa stopped at Mount Vernon on May 19th and toured the estate, courtesy of their general, C.R. Woods, who paid \$200.00, "for the privilege of marching his division through the grounds." Traveling up from Acquia, the unit left the road in order to reach Mount Vernon. While crossing a waist-deep stream, which had a rocky bottom and was very swift, one of the men named Wood, a Baptist preacher in civilian life, led the company mule. Part way across, he climbed on top of the heavily loaded mule, but the animal soon stumbled on a rock and "in falling threw Wood over in front of him and under his head. Each time Wood got his head out of water the mule's struggling would knock him down again. The men began to yell, "Baptize him again", and as he would go under some one would yell "Amen." Afterwards, when the men reminisced about that part of their detour to Mount Vernon, they referred to it as 'Wood's Baptism.' Following

this incident, they continued on, stopping for half an hour at Pohick Church, before reaching Mount Vernon. One of them wrote that they then:

"...parked the teams outside the grounds and with muffled drums, past the tomb of Washington and his wife, then up past the house and out into a field where we stacked arms, made coffee and got dinner. We looked about the place during the two hours halt. Then we marched to Alexandria. We had marched seven miles out of our way to visit Mr. Vernon. The seven miles back and the twenty our corps made that day made 34 for our division. I am glad since it was the only chance I ever had to see Mr. Vernon." (66)

Even soldiers who were unable to make a visit to Mount Vernon expressed an interest in seeing the famous estate. At least one of them, a Union Army soldier named William Taylor Stott, whose unit was mistakenly sent to Petersburg in the summer of 1864, was so excited about the possibility of seeing Mount Vernon from the Potomac as his boat passed by on his return to Washington, that he climbed up to the vessel's topmast. He reported that, even from that vantage point, he "could barely see George Washington's residence so thickly surrounded by foliage. The roofing was painted red." Limited as it was, he found the sight very

moving, commenting that, "As I looked at that spot I had thoughts worth very much to me." (67)

While the majority of visitors to the estate at this period were probably ordinary citizens or soldiers, at least a handful of high profile individuals made the trek down from Washington. The first to come, in early October of 1860, was the Prince of Wales, who arrived in the company of President James Buchanan and a "very large party," of almost one hundred people. (68) The Marine Band had arrived before the official party and set themselves up near the tomb, "concealed by a neighboring thicket," and played a dirge, while the Prince's group stood with uncovered heads, looking "in through the iron-grated door at the sarcophagus which contains the remains of the Father of his Country." While on the estate, the Prince also planted "a young horse chestnut tree, to commemorate his visit to the place." (69) In contrast, the following year, Mary Todd Lincoln, wife of the newly-elected president, Abraham Lincoln, escaped official Washington, which had been highly critical of her, with a trip to Mount Vernon in the spring of 1861. The First Lady was accompanied by a group of friends, who had come down on the steamer Thomas Collyer, "like anybody else." After viewing the grounds, Superintendent Upton Herbert "took them in the Banqueting room, and General Washington's room, and the gardens." Since Herbert's lunch was ready by this time, he invited the First Lady's party to join him for a "little

lunch, of bread, butter, and 'Ham.' On the whole they had a very pleasant time." (70)

A few months later, on August 6th, 1861, Prince Napoleon of France, a cousin of Emperor Napoleon III, paid an even more low-key visit to Mount Vernon during a two-month tour of the United States. That morning at daybreak he and six other gentlemen set out in two carriages from Georgetown, arriving at Mount Vernon four hours later. Miss Tracy came down to greet them, explained the story of how the Association came to own the property and administered it "in the name of the Nation." She escorted the group through the mansion and, while they went down to the tomb, "set everybody to work and ordered everything we had to be cooked." Thankfully, the Frenchmen found it an "excellent" lunch. Although the Prince spoke English "exceedingly well," Miss Tracy was forced to dredge up her "half-forgotten" French, in order to "chat with them in their own tongue." During dessert, what one of the party described as "the small colored colony was introduced to the Prince." He went on to note that, "They are the children of Washington's slaves, freed at his death through a special clause in his will. These good people are very proud of their origin." After lunch, Miss Tracy would not permit the party to leave immediately, because of the heat, and the Prince, who was very tired, was offered the use of one of the beds in the mansion, where he napped for about half an hour. The group left at three or four

in the afternoon, carrying with them a gift, "a small box filled with soil of Mount Vernon, and a rare plant growing near the tomb," as a present for the Prince's bride. (71) The Prince, in turn, gave his hostess "a photograph of himself, as a token of his regard." (72) Miss Tracy sent an employee along to ensure that the group started out in the right direction, but the fellow soon returned, after two of the carriage horses died of sunstroke along the way. Miss Tracy reported with some amusement that, "Prince Napoleon rode to Alexandria in a carriage drawn by the Association mules!" (73)

When several of the Ladies' Association's Vice Regent met in the District of Columbia in February of 1864, their first meeting or "Council" since the war began, they took the opportunity of being so close to make an "official visit of inspection to Mount Vernon." Among the group, which not surprisingly, contained no Southern Vice Regents, was Mrs. Margaret J.M. Sweat, who would later serve as the Vice Regent for Maine. Mrs. Sweat found the short voyage "delightful" and excitedly wrote about seeing "the tokens of war around us," which "added interest to the excursion. The corrals along the river banks were full of horses; the white tents of the camps, the roll of the drum and the soldiers scattered about made the scene very striking." Upon reaching Mount Vernon, they were greeted by Upton Herbert and, after pausing briefly at the tomb, made their way to the mansion. It was a cold day and the Ladies were

"glad to enter the hospitable house, which even in these pinched and evil days wore an air of welcome; & the cheerful fire...drew us around the blaze for a long talk over the prospects of the Mount Vernon Association." Later, during a tour of the grounds with Mr. Herbert, they heard "a most interesting account of the various experiences at the place since the war broke out, & of the marks of respect shown to the place by even the stragglers from both Armies." As was the case with Mrs. Lincoln and Prince Napoleon, the special group was offered a meal. As they were leaving, Mr. Herbert presented them with a "bouquet of evergreens," before they embarked on the steamer for the return trip at four o'clock in the afternoon. (74)

The end of the war on April 9th, 1865, had an almost immediate effect on Mount Vernon's circumstances. Sarah Tracy reported in a letter that the boat had begun coming down to the estate from Washington on June 1st and that for a month before that there had been "a rush of visitors every day, and all day long, by land." By the end of August, she happily announced that, "We have since April made the years expenses! After this all is clear, except what is owing Mr. Herbert," who had foregone his salary since sometime the previous year. (75) Not all of the profits came from ticket sales. According to Miss Tracy, many of the young soldiers, who had just spent four years of their lives fighting in a particularly brutal war, "were crazy for flowers." The little bouquets

she and Mary McMakin made from flowers grown on the estate had brought in \$300 by early September. (76)

Within two months of the war's end, newspapers were delightedly passing the news along to their readers that it was now possible to come to Mount Vernon. A Boston newspaper announced that, "It is one of the pleasantest features of the return of peace, that the sacred home of the father of his country is once more accessible to the people of all sections of the nation." Following the grand review, soldiers had flocked to the estate, in both large and small groups, and one reporter noted that "now the floodgates of public travel are opened, and thousands of men and women are availing themselves of the opportunity...to visit Mount Vernon." He described coming down the Potomac on a steamer, which had been almost one hour late leaving Washington, because the boat went back to the wharf "two or three times to receive belated passengers who ran up and entreated with frantic gestures to be taken on board." On board were about three hundred people, including soldiers, a "group of demurely clad Shakers from Connecticut, belles and beaux from Washington; and bridal couples and other travelling [sic] parties from all the Northern States." Upon landing at Mount Vernon, where they found a "detachment of Ninth Corps soldiers...on duty...as guards," the large group of visitors started up the path to the mansion. In words that would have made Miss Tracy and Mr.

Herbert's hearts sing, the reporter later wrote, "It was a matter of universal comment how beautifully everything appears, how little trace is visible of any effects of war, and how admirably the place has been cared...It would be difficult to find a single flaw in the quiet beauty and scrupulous neatness of all about the place." Within half an hour of their arrival, "the shady spots" on the lawn were reportedly "all occupied by merry groups, picnicking on the grass." Neither the flower garden nor most of the outbuildings were open to the public, in order "to protect them from impertinent curiosity." The reporter found the number of African American employees "extremely large," but "quite in keeping with the customs of old times in Virginia, when the patria[r]chal institution was at the height of its prosperity." (77)

In November of 1866, Ann Pamela Cunningham was finally able to come north to meet at Council with her Vice Regents and the staff. At the gathering the Ladies passed a resolution, giving their "unqualified approval of the manner in which the Superintendent and the Secretary had discharged the arduous duties committed in their charge. They are grateful to find that with limited means, and under difficult circumstances, the Mansion and grounds under their charge have been so well preserved and protected." (78) A year later, in December of 1867, the Regent and Vice Regents met once more, first at Mount Vernon in the West parlor, the room Miss Tracy typically called "the sitting room,"

and later in the District of Columbia. During the course of the meetings, Miss Tracy resigned the position she had served so conscientiously, effective January 1st, 1868. Miss Cunningham intended to stay on in the mansion, with Miss McMakin acting as her secretary. Mr. Herbert agreed to remain for one more year as superintendent. (79)

A number of important actions would be taken over the next few years. The Regent, Ann Pamela Cunningham, came to Mount Vernon to personally take over its management in 1868, spending a great deal of time there until her retirement in 1874. (80) One of the primary endeavors in these years was a petition to the government for an indemnity to make up revenue lost by the Association during the late war, through Union actions, which prevented visitors from getting to the estate. Following personal lobbying by the Regent at the United States Capitol on several occasions, Miss Cunningham was finally able to write in March of 1869 that, "Congress has granted our claim—and the \$7,000 is to be used in repairing the desolation of Mount Vernon!" (81) To my knowledge, this is the only time in its history that Mount Vernon has ever taken government funds. One of the most interesting occurrences in the aftermath of the war took place in Philadelphia in 1872, when the two people who had sacrificed so much to keep Mount Vernon safe and, as much as possible, open to the public during the conflict, were married to one another in Philadelphia. Both

then fifty-three years old, it was a first marriage for Sarah Tracy and Upton Herbert alike. (82)

The war had deeply divided the Vice Regents. Of the twenty-eight women serving in that capacity during the conflict, eighteen were from Northern and Western states, which remained loyal to the Union, and ten were from the South. (83) Loyalties to both the federal and Confederate governments were strong. Partway through the war, Miss Mary Hamilton, the Vice Regent for New York, who was a volunteer in the District of Columbia with the United States Sanitary Commission, made an abortive attempt to circumvent the Southern Vice Regents and the very Southern Regent and turn Mount Vernon over to the United States government. (84) With hurt and bitterness on both sides, in the coming years, the neutrality for which Mount Vernon was known during the war would have to extend to the Ladies' Association itself, where members from both North and South had to serve together and get along. One of the best examples of how their empathy for one another helped to smooth over sectional hurts can be seen in the obituary for Mrs. Lucy Holcomb Pickens, who served as Vice Regent for South Carolina from 1866 until her death in 1899:

"Her life presented very unusual and interesting contrasts and vicissitudes....Married at an early age to one high in official position, her

honeymoon was spent in one of the most brilliant courts in Europe...Mrs. Pickens returned with her husband to take a still more important part in the affairs of this country, and, after a brief dream of empire, to add a pathetic agony over the 'Lost Cause' to the many trials and sorrows that strewed her path for the rest of her life. The imaginary kingdom, which to many was only an ill-considered political experiment, was to her a glorious reality, a faith, a religion, and she gave it a loyalty that only strengthened as it became hopeless. Those of us who can sympathize with emotions which we do not share can do justice to her constancy, and even understand how her intense sorrow over this lost ideal grew to a passionate pain, as it swept away her friends, her fortune, and, as she expressed it, her country."

The author of those gentle, loving, and patiently understanding words was the Vice Regent for Maine, who had been appointed to the Ladies' Association in 1866, the same year as Mrs. Pickens. (85) In their case, as well as in those of many other Vice Regents, the staff at, and visitors to Mount Vernon itself, the war had been terrible and divisive, but sectional differences which might have continued to divide them after the war were less important than the ideals represented by the memory of George Washington, his beautiful and

tranquil estate, and the very name of the organization founded by Ann Pamela Cunningham, the Mount Vernon Ladies' Association of THE UNION [emphasis added]. One hundred and fifty years later, they are still going strong.

NOTES:

- (1) F, "Mount Vernon," in The Kenosha [Wisconsin] Telegraph, Thursday, 5/24/1860 (photostat, RM-77/PS-2223, Mount Vernon Ladies' Association).
- (2) N.A. Woods, The Prince of Wales in Canada and the United States (London: 1861), pages 345-355 (typescript, Mount Vernon Ladies' Association), 352
- (3) "Editors' Excursion to Mount Vernon," [Excerpt from a Washington newspaper], 5/10/1860 (typescript, Mount Vernon Ladies' Association); RACONTEUR, "On the Potomac," The States and Union, 7/10/1860 (newspaper, RM-306/NEWS-2960, Mount Vernon Ladies' Association; typescript, Mount Vernon Ladies' Association).
- (4) "Letter from Washington," Burlington [Vermont] Weekly Times, 5/10/1862 (photostat, Mount Vernon Ladies' Association).
- (5) Elswyth Thane, Mount Vernon is Ours: The Story of the Preservation and Restoration of Washington's Home (New York: Duell, Sloan and Pearce, 1966), 128, 146.

- (6) Dorothy Troth Muir, Presence of a Lady: Mount Vernon, 1861-1868 (Mount Vernon, Virginia: Mount Vernon Ladies' Association, 1946, 1974, 1975), 72, 86. For the problems with Miss Cunningham's eyes, see Thane, Mount Vernon is Ours, 201.
- (7) Thane, Mount Vernon is Ours, 196. For a description of the capture of Alexandria, see "Invasion of Alexandria," "24 May 1861," and "Diary of a Southern Refugee," in Pen Portraits of Alexandria, Virginia, 1739-1900, edited by T. Michael Miller (Bowie, Maryland: Heritage Books, Inc., 1987), 203-207.
- (8) Muir, Presence of a Lady, 71.
- (9) Muir, Presence of a Lady, 8-10. For Upton Herbert's connection with Burke and Herbert Bank, see Thane, Mount Vernon is Ours, 192. For John Augustine Washington III's recommendation of Upton Herbert, see Judith Anne Mitchell, "Ann Pamela Cunningham: 'A Southern Matron's Legacy'" (unpublished master's thesis, Middle Tennessee State University, December 1993), 109.
- (10) Fannie Cornelia Keith, "Memoirs of Mt. Vernon During the Civil War" (undated typescript, Mount Vernon Ladies' Association), 2 & 3.
- (11) Muir, Presence of a Lady, 26.
- (12) Thane, Mount Vernon is Ours, 207.
- (13) Thane, Mount Vernon is Ours, 192-193, 198.
- (14) Muir, Presence of a Lady, 30, 31, 32-33, 37, 55-56, 63.
- (15) Muir, Presence of a Lady, 30, 32-33.
- (16) Muir, Presence of a Lady, 47-51.
- (17) Thane, Mount Vernon is Ours, 206.
- (18) Mollie _____ to Caroline L. Rees, 10/21/1869[1-4] (Kirby Rees Collection, Special Collections, University of Virginia Library, Charlottesville, Virginia, typescript, Mount Vernon Ladies' Association). I would like to thank my colleague, Jean B. Lee from the University of Wisconsin, for bringing this letter to our attention.
- (19) Thane, Mount Vernon is Ours, 203.
- (20) F, "Mount Vernon," The Kenosha Telegraph, Thursday, 5/24/1860.
- (21) RACONTEUR, "On the Potomac," The States and Union, 7/10/1860.
- (22) For an example of one of these tour guides, see Woods, The Prince of Wales in Canada and the United States, 349-350, 352. For an example of the effect the turmoil of the war years was having on the families of the African-Americans at Mount

Vernon, see "Letter from Washington," Burlington [Vermont] Weekly Times, 5/10/1862.

(23) For disruption in boat service, see Muir, Presence of a Lady, 25, 63-64, 67, 71-72, 77.

(24) Muir, Presence of a Lady, 71.

(25) Muir, Presence of a Lady, 71-72.

(26) Muir, Presence of a Lady, 34.

(27) Muir, Presence of a Lady, 77-78; for fishing for food, see Thane, Mount Vernon is Ours, 246-247.

(28) Muir, Presence of a Lady, 72-73; Thane, Mount Vernon is Ours, 261.

(29) Muir, Presence of a Lady, 85.

(30) Thane, Mount Vernon is Ours, 202, 196.

(31) Thane, Mount Vernon is Ours, 208.

(32) Muir, Presence of a Lady, 57, 61-62, 64, 65, 68.

(33) Muir, Presence of a Lady, 71.

(34) Thane, Mount Vernon is Ours, 187-186; Mitchell, "Ann Pamela Cunningham: A Southern Matron's Legacy," 119.

(35) Julia S. Wheelock, 11/4/[1862], The Boys in White: The Experience of a Hospital Agent In and Around

Washington (New York: Printed by Lange & Hillman, 1870). 49. Despite Mount Vernon's neutrality, visitors sometimes expressed bitterness toward the Washington family and the staff on the estate (see "Letter from Washington," Burlington [Vermont] Weekly Times, 5/10/1862, and Wheelock, 11/4/[1862]. The Boys in White, 49.

(36) Thane, Mount Vernon is Ours, 207, 225, 227, 244, 278-279, 280, 283, 287-293, 305, 308.

(37) Muir, Presence of a Lady, 59-60.

(38) Muir, Presence of a Lady, 56, 79.

(39) Sarah Tracy to Mrs. Comegya, 6/29/1863 (manuscript, Mount Vernon Ladies' Association).

(40) Alexandria Gazette, 7/21/1863 (typescript, Mount Vernon Ladies' Association).

(41) RACONTEUR, "On the Potomac," The States and Union, 7/10/1860.

(42) For the 1863 rumors about the railroad, see Muir, Presence of a Lady, 67.

(43) "Letter from Washington," Burlington [Vermont] Weekly Times, 5/10/1862.

(44) "Letter from Washington," Burlington [Vermont] Weekly Times, 5/10/1862.

(45) George C. Round, 1863, "Thanksgiving Day at Mount Vernon," The Ladies' Repository: A Monthly Periodical..., Volume XXIV (1864), 217-219 (typescript, Mount Vernon Ladies' Association).

(46) RACONTEUR, "On the Potomac," The States and Union, 7/10/1860.

(47) John Watts, *Journal Account of His Visit to Mount Vernon*, 8/14/1860 (Photostat, RM-682; PS-4628, Mount Vernon Ladies' Association; typescript, Mount Vernon Ladies' Association).

(48) "The Prince at the Tomb of Washington," Harper's Weekly, 10/13/1860 (typescript, Mount Vernon Ladies' Association).

(49) Woods, The Prince of Wales in Canada and the United States, 351.

(50) Wheelock, 11/4/[1862], The Boys in White, 47; Lewis Bissell, 9/8/1863 (typescript, Mount Vernon Ladies' Association); Round, 1863, "Thanksgiving Day at Mount Vernon," 217-219. For descriptions by visitors who saw similar objects shortly after the close of the war, see WACHUSETT, "Mount Vernon: The Place Reopened to the Public, The Mansion, the Tomb, and the Grounds," 6/10/1865, published in Boston Semi-Weekly Advertiser, 6/17/1865 (typescript, Mount Vernon Ladies' Association).

(51) Muir, Presence of a Lady, 19. Most of the furniture in the mansion

during the war had either been loaned to the Association by staff members or was purchased with Association funds, in order to make the rooms look and feel homier. See Muir, Presence of a Lady, 19-23; Thane, Mount Vernon is Ours, 179.

(52) Fannie Cornelia Keith, "Memoirs of Mt. Vernon During the Civil War," 4. For another reference to the bouquets as souvenirs, see WACHUSETT, "Mount Vernon: The Place Reopened to the Public," Boston Semi-Weekly Advertiser, 6/17/1865.

(53) Wheelock, 11/4/[1862], The Boys in White, 49.

(54) Lewis Bissell, 9/8/1863.

(55) Round, "Thanksgiving Day at Mount Vernon," The Ladies' Repository.

(56) RACONTEUR, "On the Potomac," The States and Union, 7/10/1860.

(57) Thane, Mount Vernon is Ours, 207.

(58) Muir, Presence of a Lady, 78, 80, 85.

(59) Round, "Thanksgiving Day at Mount Vernon," The Ladies' Repository; Mrs. Margaret J.M. Sweat, "A Visit to Mount Vernon during the War, February 24th, 1864" (manuscript, Mount Vernon Ladies' Association, ER-19, page 87; typescript, Mount Vernon Ladies' Association).

(60) WACHUSETT, "Mount Vernon: The Place Reopened to the Public," Boston Semi-Weekly Advertiser, 6/17/1865.

(61) Mount Vernon Subscription Book, May 5, 1860-June 10, 1865 (bound manuscript, Mount Vernon Ladies' Association). Both the financial information and figures on visitation after the war were taken from calculations made by Mount Vernon Resident Superintendent, Harrison Howell Dodge, 2/25/1935, which are noted in pencil on the last page of the book to be filled in. For the fact that the tour boat to Mount Vernon was stopped in the first month of the war, see Thane, Mount Vernon is Ours, 186.

(62) Muir, Presence of a Lady, 25.

(63) Mollie _____ to Caroline L. Rees, 10/21/186[1-4].

(64) Muir, Presence of a Lady, 60-61.

(65) Muir, Presence of a Lady, 63.

(66) William Lewis Miller, unpublished autobiography (manuscript privately owned; typescript, Mount Vernon Ladies' Association). For a similar description of a western unit passing Mount Vernon, see WACHUSETT, "Mount Vernon: The Place Reopened to the Public," Boston Semi-Weekly Advertiser, 6/17/1865

(67) William Taylor Stott, unpublished Civil War diary

(manuscript, privately owned; typescript, Mount Vernon Ladies' Association).

(68) Gardner D. Engleheart, "Journal of the Progress of H.R.H., the Prince of Wales Through British North America and His Visit to the United States, 10th July to 15th November, 1860," 10/5/1860 (typescript, Mount Vernon Ladies Association); Woods, The Prince of Wales in Canada and the United States, 345.

(69) "The Prince at the Tomb of Washington," Harper's Weekly, 10/13/1860.

(70) Muir, Presence of a Lady, 20-21.

(71) Lieutenant Colonel Camille Ferri Pisani, 8/6/1861, in Professor Georges J. Joyaux, translator and editor, "The Tour of Prince Napoleon," American Heritage (August 1957, 65-86), 73-75; Muir, Presence of a Lady, 39-42.

(72) Fannie Cornelia Keith, "Memoirs of Mt. Vernon During the Civil War," 5.

(73) Muir, Presence of a Lady, 41; The New York Times, 8/7/1861 (typescript, Mount Vernon Ladies' Association).

(74) Sweat, "A Visit to Mount Vernon during the War," 2/224/1864.

(75) Muir, Presence of a Lady, 77.

(76) Muir, Presence of a Lady, 78.

(77) WACHUSETT, "Mount Vernon: The Place Reopened to the Public," Boston Semi-Weekly Advertiser, 6/17/1865. For a less positive description of a visit to Mount Vernon soon after the war, see "A Visit to Mount Vernon," The Evening Post, 10/26/1865 (Mount Vernon Ladies' Association, Early Records, Volume 1, pages 196-197; typescript, Mount Vernon Ladies' Association).

(78) Muir, Presence of a Lady, 86.

(79) Muir, Presence of a Lady, 88.

(80) Thane, Mount Vernon is Ours, 347-442.

(81) Thane, Mount Vernon is Ours, 343, 350-357, 370-371; Mitchell, "Ann Pamela Cunningham: A Southern Matron's Legacy," 121.

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82) Muir, Presence of a Lady, 10, 90; Thane, Mount Vernon is Ours, 190.

(83) "Past Regents and Vice Regents, The Mount Vernon Ladies' Association, "The Annual Report of the Mount Vernon Ladies' Association of the Union 2000 (Mount Vernon, Virginia: The Mount Vernon Ladies' Association of the Union, 2001), 100-105.

(84) Thane, Mount Vernon is Ours, 241, 245-246, 251-253, 256-258, 260-261, 267-270, 270-271, 276, 302-303, 339.

(85) "OBITUARY of Mrs. Lucy Holcomb Pickens," Minutes of the Council of the Mount Vernon Ladies' Association of the Union. Held at Mount Vernon, VA., May, 1900 (Kansas City, Missouri: Hudson-Kimberly Publishing Company, 1900), 16-18.

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