National Park Service

National Register of Historic Places Registration Form

This form is for use in nominating or requesting determinations for individual properties and districts. See instructions in National Register Bulletin, *How to Complete the National Register of Historic Places Registration Form.* If any item does not apply to the property being documented, enter "N/A" for "not applicable." For functions, architectural classification, materials, and areas of significance, enter only categories and subcategories from the instructions.

Signature of commenting official:	Date
In my opinion, the property meets does	not meet the National Register criteria.
State or Federal agency/bureau or Tribal Gov	vernment
Signature of certifying official/Title: <u>Virginia Department of Historic Resources</u>	Date
Signature of contifuing official/Titles	Doto
<u>X</u> A <u>B</u> <u>X</u> C <u>D</u>	
nationalX_statewideX_ Applicable National Register Criteria:	_ local
In my opinion, the property \underline{X} meets $\underline{\underline{X}}$ does I recommend that this property be considered significance:	icant at the following
I hereby certify that this X nomination requested the documentation standards for registering propertions and meets the procedural and professional reductions are the standards for registering propertions.	es in the National Register of Historic quirements set forth in 36 CFR Part 60.
As the designated authority under the National History	
3. State/Federal Agency Certification	
City or town: Culpeper State: VA Co Not For Publication: N/A Vicinity: X	unty: <u>Culpeper</u>
2. Location Street & number: 19202 Batna Road	
(Enter "N/A" if property is not part of a multiple pro	
Name of related multiple property listings: The Civil War in Virginia, 1861–1865: Historic and	Archaeological Resources
Historic name: Rose Hill Other names/site number: VDHR No. 023-0018	

Rose Hill Name of Property	Culpeper County, VA County and State
4. National Park Service Certification	_
I hereby certify that this property is:	
entered in the National Register	
determined eligible for the National Register	
determined not eligible for the National Register	
removed from the National Register	
other (explain:)	
Signature of the Keeper	Date of Action
5. Classification	
Ownership of Property	
(Check as many boxes as apply.) Private:	
Public – Local	
Public – State	
Public – Federal	
Category of Property (Check only one box.)	
Building(s)	
District	
Site	
Structure	
Object	

ng
buildings
sites
structures
objects
Total

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7. Description		
Architectural Classification		
(Enter categories from instructions.)		
MID-19TH CENTURY: Greek Revival		
Materials: (enter categories from instructions.)		
Principal exterior materials of the property: WOOD, STC	ONE, BRICK, METAL	

Narrative Description

(Describe the historic and current physical appearance and condition of the property. Describe contributing and noncontributing resources if applicable. Begin with **a summary paragraph** that briefly describes the general characteristics of the property, such as its location, type, style, method of construction, setting, size, and significant features. Indicate whether the property has historic integrity.)

Summary Paragraph

Rose Hill is a historic farm located in Culpeper County four-tenths of a mile southwest of Stevensburg, Virginia, and about six miles southeast of the town of Culpeper. The farm contains a well-preserved house and domestic outbuildings constructed by a prosperous farmer in the mid-nineteenth century. The house is a two-and-a-half story, five-bay, frame dwelling with a single-pile, central-passage plan known as an I-house. While not ostentatious, it is a well-built and nicely detailed house that exemplifies the aspirations of a solidly successful farmer. The surviving historic domestic outbuildings, all frame like the house, include two identical onestory, two-bay dependencies and a smokehouse. One of the dependencies was used as the kitchen while the other was used as a schoolhouse. According to family lore, the family lived in the schoolhouse while the main dwelling was built. Two cemeteries, the Nalle cemetery and the Ashby-Covington cemetery, where members of the three families that have owned Rose Hill are buried, are located near the buildings. An ice pit is located west of the smokehouse. By the late twentieth century, the historic buildings had deteriorated but were restored by the current coowner John Covington beginning in 1995. Noncontributing buildings on the property include a grain building constructed about 1955, a late-nineteenth- or early twentieth-century pole barn, two 1960s garages, and six bird houses that were built in 2009. There are four contributing buildings, three contributing sites, and ten noncontributing buildings. All of the noncontributing resources postdate Rose Hill's period of significance, which ends in 1864. The property is now used as a game preserve.

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Narrative Description

Rose Hill meets the registration requirements set forth in "The Civil War in Virginia, 1861–1865: Historic and Archaeological Resources," Multiple Property Documentation (MPD) Form (076-5168) as a headquarters dwelling, an associated property type. The Rose Hill farm served as a campsite for part of the Army of the Potomac's Third Cavalry Division, and also served as the headquarters for the division; the commanding general, Brigadier General H. Judson Kilpatrick, resided in the Rose Hill house between December 1863 and March 1864. Rose Hill meets the MPD's registration requirements for integrity of location, association, setting, feeling, design, materials, and workmanship, as described below.

Setting

The 207-acre Rose Hill farm consists mostly of open fields with trees along field lines and streams. The house faces east toward Batna Road and is reached by a long driveway with the historic outbuildings and ice pit located behind (to the west of) the house. Two historic cemeteries are sited north of the house. The entrance road forks when it reaches the house. The northern arm becomes less well defined and provides access to the Nalle cemetery before continuing to the north. The southern arm continues to the west and provides access to the more modern outbuildings as well as to a parking area in front of a modern garage. The open fields are now planted with native grasses and maintained with indigenous wildflowers and plants. Two ponds were added in the mid-1950s. The land drops off to the west with the Blue Ridge Mountains forming the western horizon. Rose bushes line the brick walkway to the front of the house and a decorative wrought-iron fence encloses an area on both sides of the front porch.

Inventory

- 1. House. Mid-19th century. Contributing building
- 2. Detached kitchen. Early-to-mid-19th century. Contributing building
- 3. "Old Hall" or School. Early-to-mid-19th century. Contributing building
- 4. Smokehouse. Early-to-mid-19th century. Contributing building
- 5. Ice Pit. Early-to-mid-19th century. Contributing site
- 6. Nalle cemetery. 1826-1907. Contributing site
- 7. Ashby-Covington cemetery. Mid-19th century. Contributing site
- 8. Pole barn. Late 19th century. Noncontributing building
- 9. Grain house. ca. 1955. Noncontributing building
- 10. Garage #1. ca. 1960. Noncontributing building
- 11. Garage #2. ca. 1960. Noncontributing building
- 12. Bird Houses (6) 2009. Noncontributing buildings

House. Mid-19th century. Contributing building

The house at Rose Hill is a two-and-a-half story, five-bay, frame dwelling sheathed with beaded weatherboards. The main block of the house has a stone foundation while the one-and-a-half-story rear ell has a brick foundation. Both the main block and rear ell have gable roofs sheathed

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with standing-seam metal. The roof of the main block has a central pediment with flush siding and a fanlight window outlined by raised molding. Two gable-roof dormers pierce the front slope of the roof and have six-over-six-light windows. The main block also has two interior-end brick chimneys with the masonry exposed to the attic level on the exterior. The north chimney is parged. The south chimney is only partially parged, revealing the brick is laid in five-course American bond. The rear ell has a single gable-roof dormer on each side of the roof, also with six-over-six-light windows. The rear ell has an exterior-end brick chimney, which has been rebuilt, with a shed-roof extension across the rear. The windows have nine-over-nine-light sash on the first floor and six-over-nine-light on the second floor on both the front and rear. The window above the façade porch is shorter and has six-over-six lights. All windows have shutters.

The façade features a nicely detailed one-story, three-bay porch with columns and reeded pilasters supporting a pedimented gable roof. Like the pediment on the main roof, the porch pediment has flush siding and a traceried fanlight framed by a decorative sawtooth molding. The double-leaf front door has three panels in each leaf. The rear elevation has a three-bay, shed-roof porch with scalloped cornice and slender chamfered posts. The railing has a molded almost round handrail and slender balusters. The rear entry, like the front, has a double-leaf door with three panels in each leaf. The door to the rear ell also opens onto the rear porch. The six-panel door to the rear ell has a four-light transom.

The main block of the house has a single-pile, central-passage plan while the rear ell has a single-pile, side-passage plan with the passage located against the main block. Both passages contain stairs. The central passage contains a half-turn stair that ascends to the attic. It features slender newels with oblong or egg-shaped finials, a molded handrail, rectangular balusters (three per tread), and decorative brackets. The wall below the stair is paneled. The passage walls are plastered above a wainscot with a flat chair board with a lip at the top and a deep baseboard. The wall going up the stair has chair board only and the second-floor central passage and bedrooms also have the same chair board. Both first-floor rooms in the main block have a wainscot; however, the dining room wainscot has a horizontal bead in the center. There is a definitive hierarchy in design of the door and window surrounds. All surrounds have flattened corner blocks, but the parlor and central passage openings are more elaborate with a form of reeding and a channel on the vertical and horizontal pieces. The dining room door and window surrounds have more of a bead and a channel while the bedroom surrounds are plain, with only a channel on the vertical and horizontal pieces. All doors are six-panel doors with a barely raised panel and the doors in the southeastern bedroom are grained, which appears to be original. Many of the interior doors retain their original or early locks. The mantels in the main house are all identical. They have a wide, undecorated, five-part frieze supported by two columns and a plain shelf.

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Rose Hill's front porch with Brig. Gen. H. Judson Kilpatrick (standing center right), staff and guests, ca. Feb. 1864, courtesy Library of Congress

The house has a finished attic. The hall walls and ceiling are sheathed with horizontal beaded boards while the rooms on either side are plastered. Both attic rooms have batten doors. There is evidence in the southern attic room that at one time there was a rear dormer that has since been removed. The lapped and pegged roof rafters can be seen through a hole in the ceiling of this attic room. It is also possible to see where soldiers wrote their names and their companies on the plaster and woodwork. The writing includes the names J. B. Rogers, Co. A, A. G. Warner, Co. J or G, and L. L. Stuart.

The story-and-a-half rear ell that today contains the kitchen extends to the west from the rear of the southern end of the house. The side passage is adjacent to the rear of the house and contains an entrance on both sides as well as the stair. The stair accesses both the room above the kitchen as well as the second-floor southern bedroom in the main block. The door from the southern bedroom into the rear ell stair hall is a very narrow batten door with a plain surround suggesting it is a later doorway. The stair hall is sheathed with horizontal beaded boards on both floors. The

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half-turn stair is very similar to the main stair but plainer. The stair lacks finials on the newels and the stair brackets are plain. The first-floor ell room has the same wooden wainscot as the dining room with a horizontal bead in the center. The first-floor mantel is the same as found in the other rooms in the main house. The mantel in the upper room, however, is different. It is simpler and features pilasters instead of columns and a plain frieze.

Rose Hill's I-house plan was a favorite house type built by successful farmers during the nineteenth century and is the most widely distributed rural dwelling in the East and Midwest. Rose Hill's five-bay façade and exposed interior-end chimneys also attest to the owner's prosperity. The architectural details of the house illustrate a transition from the Federal style to the new Greek Revival style that became popular in Virginia in the years immediately prior to the Civil War. Some owners and builders were less willing to experiment with new styles and continued to use traditional forms. Many of the interior details of the house, such as the doors and elements of the mantels and stair, continue the use of Federal style. The window and door surrounds, however, convey the newer Greek Revival style with the use of flat corner blocks and decorative molding on the vertical and horizontal members. The house at Rose Hill is an example of a house built by a successful farmer and businessman that presented his success to all who passed by on the historic road to Stevensburg.

Detached kitchen. Early-to-mid-19th century. Contributing building

About forty feet southwest of the rear ell stands the old kitchen. It is a one-story, two-bay, frame building on a rebuilt stone foundation with a gable roof of standing-seam metal. Both entrances have batten doors. The interior is one room with an enclosed stair in the southeastern corner. The stair also has a batten door. The first-floor walls are sheathed with horizontal beaded boards and the beaded ceiling joists are exposed. The mantel features pilasters and a wide frieze. The roof framing has lapped and pegged rafters and lapped collar beams.

When Rose Hill was surveyed in 1993 for the Virginia Department of Historic Resources, this kitchen was attached to the rear of the rear ell of the house. Photographs from the survey show that the exterior-end chimney had been removed and replaced by an interior-end brick chimney flue although there was evidence that there had been an exterior chimney. According to the present owner, whose family has owned the property since 1853, the kitchen was moved and attached to the rear ell some time in the 1920s. In the late 1990s, the kitchen was moved back to its original location and restored. The existing stone chimney with brick stack, beaded sheathing, and exterior trim for the windows and doors all date from the time of the most recent move.

"Old Hall" or School. Early-to-mid-19th century. Contributing building

This is a one-story, two-bay, frame building that stands about forty-five feet northwest of the main house. In form, interior plan, and finishes, it is much like the kitchen. The building is sheathed with plain weatherboards and has a low stone foundation and a gable roof. The chimney does not survive but interior evidence indicates it was located on the western end. Like the kitchen, this building originally had two doors and two windows that were oppositional on the north and south side. While the window openings survive, the door on the northern side has been covered with siding but is visible on the interior. Both doors are batten doors. The original

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windows have six-over-six-light wooden sash. Like the kitchen, there is an enclosed stair in the southeastern corner with a batten door. Originally, the walls were covered with horizontal beaded boards but were covered with wallpaper at a later date. The ceiling joists are exposed and are beaded. The roof structure is the same as the detached kitchen with lapped and pegged rafters and lapped collar beams. This building has not been restored. According to the current owner, the family who built Rose Hill lived in this building until the house was completed.

Smokehouse. Early-to-mid-19th century. Contributing building

A little less than one hundred feet west of the house and about forty-five feet northwest of the kitchen stands the smokehouse. It is a one-story, single-bay, frame building with weatherboard siding on a stone foundation. The pyramidal roof is sheathed with standing-seam metal.

Ice Pit. Early-to-mid-19th century. Contributing site

An ice pit is located about thirty feet west of the smokehouse. The ice house that once stood above the pit is no longer extant.

Nalle cemetery. 1826-1907. Contributing site

The Nalle Cemetery is located north of the house and today is surrounded by a post-and-rail fence. It contains about fifteen markers that date from 1826 to 1907. The most recent marker is also the largest. Most of the markers are traditional in shape and are made of marble. Several of them features stylized willow trees. Elizabeth Nalle's gravestone, the first known burial in the cemetery, has an angel's head in the tympanum.

Ashby-Covington cemetery. Mid-19th century. Contributing site

The Ashby-Covington Cemetery is located northwest of the house and west of the Nalle Cemetery. It is smaller and is not enclosed. It contains about ten markers. Most of the inscriptions are unreadable.

Noncontributing Buildings

Pole barn. Late 19th century. Noncontributing building

This is a two-story, eight-bay-long pole barn that has vertical-board siding and a gable roof of standing-seam metal. The north side and western end are completely sided but the siding is only on the end bays of the second floor of the south side and on the second floor of the eastern end. The tree-trunk posts that extend the full two stories have up braces. Intermediate posts only extend one story.

Grain house. ca. 1955. Noncontributing building

This is a one-story frame building on concrete piers constructed about 1955 with weatherboard siding and a gable roof of standing-seam metal. The main door is a batten door and there is a small batten door low on the front wall. The building, used to store grain and other items, was associated with a barn that once stood next to it but is no longer extant.

Garage #1. ca. 1960. Noncontributing building

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This is a one-story, four-bay, frame building constructed in the 1960s on a concrete-block foundation and sheathed with weatherboards. The gable roof is sheathed with corrugated metal. There is one multi-panel garage door on the front along with three pedestrian doors. The windows have six-over-six-light double-hung sash.

*Garage #2. ca. 1960. Noncontributing building*This is a modern one-story, two-bay, metal, gable-roof building built in the 1960s.

Bird Houses, 2009, noncontributing buildings (6)

This is a group of six frame buildings that were built in 2009 by the current owner to house game birds. They are all one-story, gable roofed buildings sheathed with T-111.

Statement of Integrity

Rose Hill retains a high degree of architectural integrity. The layout of the buildings and their spatial relationship remains the same as during its period of significance (landscape, location, design, setting). The buildings have experienced few alterations and the interior floor plans of all buildings are unchanged (materials and workmanship) from when the property served as the headquarters of Union Maj. Gen. H. Judson Kilpatrick during the Civil War. Overall, Rose Hill retains its sense of feeling as an antebellum plantation of a successful businessman and has seen few changes since the Civil War. The handful of noncontributing resources on the property are small in scale and for the most part associated with continued farming activities into the twentieth century. The property's integrity of association is established by its physical integrity and historic records, including photographs, that document its appearance and function during its period of significance.

Rose Hill Name of Prop	perty		Culpeper County, V
8. St	aten	nent of Significance	
	"x"	e National Register Criteria in one or more boxes for the criteria qualifying the property for l	National Register
х	A.	Property is associated with events that have made a significant broad patterns of our history.	contribution to the
	В.	Property is associated with the lives of persons significant in ou	ır past.
х	C.	Property embodies the distinctive characteristics of a type, periodic construction or represents the work of a master, or possesses his or represents a significant and distinguishable entity whose continuity individual distinction.	gh artistic values,
	D.	Property has yielded, or is likely to yield, information important history.	t in prehistory or
		onsiderations in all the boxes that apply.)	
	A.	Owned by a religious institution or used for religious purposes	
	В.	Removed from its original location	
	C.	A birthplace or grave	
	D.	A cemetery	
	E.	A reconstructed building, object, or structure	
	F.	A commemorative property	
	G.	Less than 50 years old or achieving significance within the past	50 years

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	e Hill of Property	
	Areas of Significance (Enter categories from i ARCHITECTURE MILITARY	nstructions.)
- -] -	Period of Significance <u>c. 1857-1864</u>	
- - -	Significant Dates 1864	
	Significant Person (Complete only if Criter N/A	ion B is marked above.)
-	Cultural Affiliation N/A	-
-	Architect/Builder Unknown	

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Statement of Significance Summary Paragraph (Provide a summary paragraph that includes level of significance, applicable criteria, justification for the period of significance, and any applicable criteria considerations.)

Rose Hill is located in Culpeper County four-tenths of a mile southwest of Stevensburg on Batna Road (the historic Carolina Road). It was constructed in the mid-1850s to replace a dwelling likely built for Martin Nalle before 1815. During the Civil War, the United States Army of the Potomac camped in Culpeper County for the winter of 1863-1864. Brigadier General H. Judson Kilpatrick, who commanded the Third Cavalry Division, occupied Rose Hill as his headquarters and lived in the house while the owners moved to the cellar. Kilpatrick planned a complicated cavalry raid on Richmond—the Kilpatrick-Dahlgren Raid—while at the house, and President Abraham Lincoln approved it. This raid, intended to free Union prisoners held in the city under inhumane conditions, failed disastrously. Colonel Ulric Dahlgren, who led one wing of the cavalry force and had met with Kilpatrick at Rose Hill, was killed. Papers found on his body, allegedly in his handwriting, revealed a plan to capture and kill Confederate president Jefferson Davis and his cabinet and set Richmond ablaze, two clear violations of the rules of war. Richmond newspapers published the Dahlgren papers beginning on March 5, 1864, a day after Davis read them. The ensuing outrage and controversy shook the United States government as well as the army high command, with leaders from Major General George G. Meade to Kilpatrick denying that such orders had been issued. Northern and Southern newspapers debated the authenticity of the documents, which the Confederate government used to launch several failed plots to kidnap Lincoln in retaliation. Rose Hill is significant at the state level under Criterion A in the area of Military as the place where the Kilpatrick-Dahlgren Raid was planned. The property also is locally significant under Criterion C in the area of Architecture as a wellpreserved example of a mid-nineteenth-century I-house designed in the nationally popular Greek Revival style and with surviving antebellum domestic outbuildings. Rose Hill retains the integrity of its historic location, association, setting, feeling, design, materials, and workmanship. The period of significance extends from ca. 1857, the likely date of the house's construction, to 1864, when the Kilpatrick-Dahlgren Raid was planned and executed, and when its use as a military headquarters ended.

Narrative Statement of Significance (Provide at least **one** paragraph for each area of significance.)

Historic Context

Rose Hill presently occupies 207 acres of former farmland southwest of Stevensburg in Culpeper County, Virginia. A two-story frame I-house with a one-story rear ell, several outbuildings, and two substantial family cemeteries are located on the property. The tract also includes the sites of vanished slave quarters and an icehouse.

The Rose Hill house is located four-tenths of a mile southwest of the intersection of two historic roads in the village of Stevensburg. The east-west road (presently Route 600 or York Road) once

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was part of the main road between Fredericksburg and George Town, located a few miles southeast of the county seat (then called Fairfax; now Culpeper). The north-south road, historically referred to as Rogues Road or Carolina Road (today called Stevensburg Road, Batna Road, or Route 663), extended north to Brandy Station and south past Rose Hill to fords on the Rapidan River. In the eighteenth century, both roads were among the principal thoroughfares in the county; their intersection was the logical point around which to build a town.

In 1782, the Virginia General Assembly authorized the creation of Stevensburg. Half-acre lots were laid off, and the lots were to be sold and houses constructed on them within a few years. As was often the case with new towns, however, sales and construction lagged, and several extensions were granted. Nonetheless, by early in the nineteenth century, Stevensburg boasted perhaps 180 residents, a post office, three schools, a Masonic lodge, and a meetinghouse. Because no plat of the town seems to have survived, its exact extent east and west or north and south of the intersection is uncertain, with some half-acre lots being described as "near" rather than "in" Stevensburg.¹

On February 1, 1808, Merrick Starr and his wife, Ann, sold part of a lot totaling forty-nine "perches" of land "near Stevensburg" to Jacob Stokesbury for £4. A square perch measures sixteen-and-a-half feet on a side and contains 1/160th of an acre; forty-nine square perches are slightly more than three-tenths of an acre. Two points in the boundary were in the middle of the Carolina Road. Almost four years later, on January 1, 1812, Isaac Cowgill and David Stokesbury sold the same parcel for \$50 to Martin Nalle but described the property as their "house and Lot lying . . . near the Town of Stevensburg." Between 1808 and the end of 1811, then, a house had been constructed on the lot. The Stokesbury and Cowgill families had intermarried: Isaac Cowgill to Elizabeth Stokesbury in 1797, and John Stokesbury to Sarah Cowgill in 1804; David Stokesbury married Frances Cocke in 1801. The relationship of David Stokesbury and Elizabeth Stokesbury Cowgill to Jacob Stokesbury is unknown. Perhaps Jacob was their father, died between 1810 (when he appeared in the census) and the end of 1811, and they inherited his estate. No will, inventory, or estate settlement has been found in the Culpeper County records.²

Martin Nalle was a son of Francis and Anne Nalle. Francis Nalle was born in Orange County, Virginia, in 1740, perhaps in the part from which Culpeper County was formed nine years later. It was in Culpeper County that Martin Nalle was born on December 7, 1777. In addition to buying the lot from Cowgill and Stokesbury, Nalle purchased several nearby or adjoining tracts. He bought a half-acre lot from Merrick and Ann Starr on November 20, 1809. On September 27, 1811, he bought fifty-three-and-one-half acres "near Stevensburg" from the executor of John Jameson's estate; like Nalle's forty-nine-square-perch tract, its boundary included a point in the

¹ Eugene M. Scheel, *Culpeper: A Virginia County's History Through 1920* (Culpeper, VA: Culpeper Historical Society, 1982), 80–81.

² Culpeper County, Deed Book CC, 1807–1808, Reel 13, pp. 226–227, deed, Starr to Stokesbury, recorded Apr. 18, 1808; ibid., Deed Book FF, 1812–1813, Reel 14, pp. 164–165, Cowgill and Stokesbury to Nalle, recorded June 15, 1812; Raleigh Travers Green, *Genealogical and Historical Notes on Culpeper County, Virginia* (Culpeper, VA: Exponent Printing Office, 1900), 70; "United States Census, 1810, Culpeper County," on FamilySearch Web site, www.familysearch.org, accessed Feb. 26, 2019.

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middle of the Carolina Road. On November 15, 1813, he bought another two acres from Jameson's executor near the same location, and a month later, on December 22, he acquired from Henry and Peggy Miller two hundred and one-half acres on "Rogues Road," the alternative name for the Carolina Road. Nalle also bought seventy acres on May 1, 1814, from Archelaus and Jemimah Lewis (whose land some of Nalle's parcels bordered). It was described as "contiguous to Stevensburg" and was located on the road to George Town. By 1814, then, Martin Nalle had assembled adjoining parcels of various sizes into a large farm.³

On September 15, 1809, Martin Nalle married Eleanor (Nelly) Madison Barbour (1785–1826) in Orange County. They eventually had twelve children before Eleanor Nalle died in 1826. Martin Nalle subsequently married, on December 2, 1831, "Mrs." Elizabeth Branch Mallory (1787– April 27, 1856), presumably a widow. They had no children, and when Martin Nalle died on December 2, 1843, he left no will. His abundant personal property, reflected in the 1815 tax records, suggested that he was a prosperous man. In that year, his personal property assessment included three enslaved people between the ages of twelve and sixteen, as well as four individuals over the age of sixteen. Other taxable property included four horses, sixteen head of cattle, a clock valued between \$50 and \$100, two chests of drawers, a sideboard, a dining table, and a mirror. When he died intestate, Elizabeth Nalle was allotted one-third of his estate, including the enslaved people, by dower right, while the remainder was divided among the living children of Martin and Eleanor Nalle. Elizabeth Nalle's portion included an approximately 160acre tract with "the mansion house," more than two hundred other acres of woodland, and nine enslaved African Americans. In 1850, Elizabeth Nalle owned six enslaved females between the ages of four and fifty, and three enslaved men aged between twenty and seventy. The census taker estimated that the farm contained two hundred improved acres and sixty unimproved acres. He calculated that the farm's value was \$3,120 and that it contained \$100 in "implements and machinery." Nalle owned seven horses, three milch cows, two working oxen, four "other" cattle, eighteen sheep, and twenty-seven hogs, all valued at \$325. With the use of enslaved African American workers, the farm produced ninety bushels of wheat, five hundred bushels of corn, sixty bushels of oats, ten bushels of Irish potatoes, two tons of hay, and \$20 worth of "homemade manufactures," probably cloth woven from the sixty pounds of wool that the sheep produced. During the year, Nalle had slaughtered \$116 worth of livestock.⁴

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³ "Francis Nalle," on Ancestry.com Web site, www.ancestry.com, accessed Feb. 14, 2019; "Martin Nalle," on Find A Grave Web site, www.findagrave.com, accessed Feb. 11, 2019; Culpeper County, Deed Book DD, 1808–1810, Reel 14, pp. 206–207, deed, Starr to Nalle, recorded Nov. 20, 1809; ibid., Deed Book EE, 1810–1812, Reel 14, pp. 431–433, Jameson's executor to Nalle, recorded Nov. 1, 1811; ibid., Deed Book GG, 1813–1817, Reel 15, pp. 34–35, Jameson's executor to Nalle, recorded Nov. 19, 1813; ibid., pp. 177–179, Henry and Peggy Miller to Nalle, recorded Aug. 15, 1814; ibid., pp. 210–211, Lewis to Nalle, recorded Oct. 17, 1814. The Miller tract may be the same as the wooded tract located about a mile from Rose Hill that Alfred L. Ashby bought in 1853.

⁴ "Martin Nalle in the Virginia Select Marriages, 1785–1940," marriage to Nelly Barbour, on Ancestry.com Web site, www.search.ancestry.com, accessed Feb. 12, 2019; ibid., marriage to Elizabeth Mallory; "Virginia, Orange County Marriage Records, 1757–1938," on FamilySearch Web site, www.familysearch.org, accessed Feb. 13, 2019, showing page from marriage register with "Mrs." Elizabeth Mallory, suggesting she had been married earlier; Sally N. Dolphin and Charles F. Nall, *Nall Families of America, Including Nalle, Naul, Nalls* (Coeur d'Alene, ID: Dolphin, 1978), 55; Auditor of Public Accounts, Personal Property Tax Books, Culpeper County, 1815–1865, LVA; Culpeper County, Will Book Q, 1844–1847, Reel 35, pp. 288–299, Library of Virginia, Richmond, VA (LVA); U.S.

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In 1851 or 1852, Elizabeth Nalle decided to return home to Orange County, where on July 3, 1852, she wrote her will. She left her property to her niece, Eloise C. Stanard, and she appointed her stepson Philip P. Nalle, of Culpeper County, to be her executor. Philip Mallory and Robert Mallory, perhaps her children from her previous marriage, were witnesses to the will. After she died on April 27, 1856, an inventory and appraisal of her estate listed only bonds, two flowerpots, and a few items of bedroom furniture including two "rolling chairs," perhaps wheelchairs. She may have moved home to Orange County because she was disabled and needed a relative to care for her. What of the farm near Stevensburg that she had possessed as her dower right after Martin Nalle died? Because that property was only hers to occupy during her lifetime, she and her late husband's heirs initiated a case against his executors in the Culpeper County chancery court so that it could be sold. On June 16, 1853, the court ordered that the farm and other tracts be sold at auction, thereby enabling the heirs to divide the proceeds of the sale. On July 7, the Alexandria *Gazette* advertised the property:

The "HILL FARM," containing about 169 ACRES of open arable land, of fine quality, and having upon it a fine MANSION HOUSE, with all necessary outhouses for a comfortable establishment in a beautiful and healthy section of country, within 7 miles of the county seat and 4 of the Orange and Alexandria Railroad station at Brandy.

When the auction was held on August 17, 1853, Alfred L. Ashby, a widower, became the new owner of the Hill Farm. He also acquired Elizabeth Nalle's wooded tract, located about a mile away. Ashby soon moved into the "mansion house" with his children and his mother-in-law.⁵

Alfred Lomax Ashby was born in Stafford County, Virginia, on April 27, 1811. He married Mary Eleanor Jones on July 4, 1833, and they had three children: John W. Ashby (born July 4, 1837), William T. Ashby (born December 28, 1839), and Mary Jane Ashby (born October 9, 1842). Mary Ashby died on October 14, 1842, less than a week after giving birth to their daughter in Stevensburg, where the family had moved at some unknown date. Alfred Ashby, who never remarried, continued to reside in Stevensburg with his children and his mother-in-law, Jane Jones, for the next decade. In 1850, six years before he purchased the Hill Farm tract, Ashby worked as a tailor in the village. Other residents there included two blacksmiths, a saddler, a wheelwright, and a railroad superintendent (probably for the Orange and Alexandria Railroad, which passed through Brandy Station four miles north of Stevensburg).

Census, 1850, Slave Schedules, Virginia, Culpeper County, Reel 119, p. 920, LVA; ibid., Agriculture Schedules, Reel 129, p. 67.

⁵ Orange County, Will Book 12, 1852–1864, Reel 28, p. 233, Elizabeth Nalle will, recorded May 26, 1856; ibid., 241–242, inventory and appraisement, recorded May 30, 1856; Alexandria *Gazette*, July 7, 1853; Culpeper County, Deed Book 14, 1858–1864, Reel 28, pp. 402–407, LVA. The source or first occurrence of the farm's current name, Rose Hill, is not known. On May 15, 1858, the Alexandria *Gazette* advertised for sale two farms in Orange County, both of which belonged to Benjamin Franklin Nalle, a nephew of Martin Nalle: Wood Park and Rose Hill. The Nalle and Ashby families knew each other; perhaps Alfred L. Ashby adopted the name after he purchased the farm.

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After Ashby purchased Hill Farm and moved there, he and his extended family occupied a substantial dwelling that was approximately forty years old in 1853. It had served as the home of Martin Nalle and his very large family since 1812. In 1815, the county's personal property tax records noted that the house was valued at \$1,500, a sum that suggests a sizeable house of recent vintage. When, in 1820, the county land tax records added a category for the value of buildings on properties, Nalle's buildings were valued at \$1,595, a figure that remained the same until 1840, when it declined to \$1,000, probably because of depreciation for the house's age. Six years later, the value fell to \$500, rose to \$1,000 in 1850, and then declined again to \$500 in 1851. Then, in 1857, four years after Alfred Ashby purchased Hill Farm, the value tripled, to \$1,500. It declined to \$500 again in 1859, where it remained until 1870, the year before Ashby's death. The tripling of the value in 1857 suggests that the present house may have been constructed at about that time.⁷

Architectural evidence suggests a mid-nineteenth-century date of construction for the extant house at Rose Hill, perhaps utilizing the foundation of the Nalle dwelling of ca. 1815, since no other house foundation has been discovered on the property. Constructed in the I-house form, the dwelling features interior woodwork, especially the window and door surrounds, typical of the newly popular Greek Revival style of the mid-nineteenth century. Interior doors and parts of the stair and mantels continue the older Federal tradition, reflecting perhaps the conservative tastes of the Ashby family. Ashby, his three children, and his mother-in-law all still lived together in 1860—when Ashby's two sons and one daughter were adults—as they had in 1850, so perhaps the house was constructed in the mid-1850s because of the need for space and some privacy.⁸

By 1860, Ashby had significantly improved production on the farm, which the census taker estimated at two hundred improved acres and twenty unimproved, with a value of \$9,200—almost triple the value in 1850, paralleling the similar increase in the value of buildings between 1851 and 1857—and \$20 worth of implements. Ashby owned nine horses, seven mules, five milch cows, fifteen working oxen, and sixty hogs, for a total value of \$1,050. The farm's harvest included 575 bushels of wheat, 100 bushels of corn, 426 bushels of oats, five bushels of peas and beans, 50 bushels of Irish potatoes, 11 tons of hay, and two bushels of grass seed. Other commodities included two hundred pounds of butter and \$293 worth of slaughtered livestock. The four enslaved females between the ages of five and twenty-eight and two enslaved males

⁶ "Alfred L. Ashby in the Virginia, Deaths and Burials Index, 1853–1917," birthplace, on Ancestry.com Web site, www.search.ancestry.com, accessed Feb. 11, 2019; "The Ashby Family Bible," on Rootsweb Web site, www.sites.rootsweb.com, accessed Feb. 11, 2019.

⁷ Auditor of Public Accounts, Personal Property Tax Books, Culpeper County, 1815–1865, LVA; ibid., Land Tax Books, 1820–1870. Martin Nalle purchased the "house and lot" on Jan. 1, 1812, for \$50. If that price reflects the true value of the lot and buildings on it, the valuation of \$1,500 in 1815 suggests that by then he either had built a new house or had enlarged the old house considerably. In 1815, Virginia raised revenues from several sources not usually subject to taxation, in order to pay down the state's debt incurred during the War of 1812. For the first and only time, houses located in the countryside and valued at more than \$500 were taxed, and Martin Nalle was assessed for a house worth \$1,500.

⁸ U.S. Census, 1860, Schedule of Inhabitants, Virginia, Culpeper County, on Ancestry.com Web site, www.search.ancestry.com, accessed Feb. 18, 2019.

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aged ten and twenty-four presumably performed the majority of the labor necessary for such yields. On the eve of the Civil War, then, Alfred L. Ashby was a prosperous slave- and landowner with property conveniently located near the intersection of two of Culpeper County's principal roads, a situation that soon would prove especially inconvenient to him and his family.⁹

As the secession movement gained momentum in 1860 and 1861, popular opinion among whites in Culpeper County was divided, as in other Virginia communities, over whether to support it or not. The newly formed Confederacy's on Fort Sumter, South Carolina, followed by President Abraham Lincoln's call for volunteers to suppress the "rebellion," and Governor John Letcher's refusal to send Virginia troops, all galvanized the supporters of secession in April 1861. In Richmond, the Convention passed an Ordinance of Secession, and on May 23 Culpeper County's eligible voters (all of whom were white males) approved it, 1,051 to two. Confederate units were formed, vocal Unionists withdrew into the background for their own safety, and once the war began in earnest, the county found itself unexpectedly in the thick of military campaigns.¹⁰

War came to Culpeper in part because of Virginia's topography. The state is divided into five geographical regions: from east to west, they are the Tidewater; the Piedmont; the Blue Ridge; the Valley of Virginia; and the Allegheny Mountains. A geological feature called the "fall line" forms a boundary between Tidewater and Piedmont; it consists of an abrupt drop-off in altitude from the rolling land to the west toward the Blue Ridge and the flatter terrain to the east toward the Chesapeake Bays. This decline produces boulder-strewn "falls" or rapids in the navigable internal rivers—the Potomac, Rappahannock, James, and Appomattox—and effectively marks the upstream limit of navigation linking inland commercial centers to the Chesapeake Bay and Atlantic Ocean. For that reason, the principal inland city on each river was constructed at or just downriver from the falls: Alexandria on the Potomac; Fredericksburg on the Rappahannock; Richmond on the James; and Petersburg on the Appomattox. These cities, as well as smaller towns near them, profited not only from the rivers but also from the network of turnpikes and railroads that were constructed in the first half of the nineteenth century. Internal transportation improvements such as these linked the large commercial centers with each other as well as with smaller centers and the regions to the west. When the war began, the rivers, roads, and railroads immediately became of immense strategic importance to the armies of each side. Most of the war's battles and smaller engagements occurred along these transportation corridors, especially around junctions and river fords, to secure them for one side and deny their use to the other. What had been peaceful avenues of commerce were transformed into highways of death and destruction.

Culpeper County's terrain, location, and transportation corridors made it a pathway for marching armies. From the war's beginning, a major objective of each side was to capture or at least threaten the capital of the other, hoping to draw the opposing army into a decisive battle and

⁹ U.S. Census, 1860, Agriculture Schedules, Virginia, Culpeper County, Reel 196, p. 133, LVA; ibid., Slave Schedules, Reel 191, p. 26.

¹⁰ Daniel E. Sutherland, *Seasons of War: The Ordeal of a Confederate Community, 1861–1865* (New York: Free Press, 1995), 53.

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destroy it. The fall line pushed much of that effort westward, because the rivers downstream to the east were so wide that they formed a natural obstacle to easy movement north or south. A massive Union army, for example, could be transported south from the Washington area by ships via the Chesapeake Bay, disembarked at Fort Monroe in Hampton, and marched west up the Peninsula toward Richmond, as in fact occurred in 1862. To execute that same movement from Washington by marching over the Tidewater Virginia countryside east of the fall line, however, would have been nearly impossible because of the wide rivers and the lack of bridges. But to march armies north and south between the fall line and the Blue Ridge was easy by comparison, since the river crossings were narrow and largely fordable, even where bridges were lacking. Such movements, beginning in 1862, frequently took the armies through Culpeper County.

Two rivers formed the county's eastern and southern boundaries: the Rappahannock on the east, which separated it from Fauquier County, and the Rapidan (a branch of the Rappahannock) on the south, bordering Orange County. The principal fords on the Rappahannock, from north to south, were Freeman's, Beverly's, Kelly's, and Barnett's. On the Rapidan, from east to west, were Ely's, Germanna, Morton's, Raccoon, and Somerville Ford. From the northeast, the Orange and Alexandria Railroad crossed the Rappahannock River from Fauquier County into Culpeper at Rappahannock Station and ran west past Brandy Station (four miles north of Stevensburg) to the county seat, parallel to a good road. It then ran south to cross the Rapidan River (a branch of the Rappahannock), pass through Orange Court House and Gordonsville, and terminate in Charlottesville at a junction with two other railroads. Numerous roads crossed the rivers at various points including the fords, with most of them passing through towns and villages such as Stevensburg en route to and beyond the county seat. One of them, the Rogues or Carolina Road, traversed the county south through Brandy Station and past Rose Hill in a southwesterly direction to fords on the Rapidan River. 11

Soon after Virginia seceded, Culpeper's Confederate units began training at Camp Henry, north of the country seat, and then headed north to fight at Manassas Junction. Some of them soon returned among the wounded to convalesce—or die—in the Culpeper military hospital. In March 1862, they were joined by the first "invading army" to occupy the county, Confederate General Joseph E. Johnston's command. It had evacuated Manassas Junction and marched into Culpeper on the way to Richmond to block Union General George B. McClellan's advance toward the capital up the Peninsula from Fort Monroe. Most of Johnston's men stayed in the county only briefly, but Major General Richard S. Ewell's infantry division and Brigadier General J. E. B. Stuart's cavalry brigade remained behind. The former occupied Culpeper County while the latter ranged east of the Rappahannock River to Warrenton. Ewell's force was reassigned in April to Major General Thomas J. "Stonewall" Jackson's command in the Shenandoah Valley, while Stuart joined General Robert E. Lee's army at Richmond. For the next two years, Culpeper County seldom lacked the presence of at least a large part of a Confederate or Union army, if not

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¹¹ Ibid., front endpaper map of Culpeper Co.; George B. Davis, Leslie J. Perry, and Joseph W. Kirkley; Calvin D. Cowles, comp., *The Official Military Atlas of the Civil War* (New York: Barnes & Noble Publishing, 2003), plate 87, map 2; "The Winter Encampment, 1863–1864," map, in Clark B. Hall, "Season of Change: The Winter Encampment of the Army of the Potomac, December 1, 1863–May 4, 1864," *Blue & Gray Magazine* 8 (Apr. 1991): 8–22, 48–62.

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an entire army. Whenever one side occupied the county, both forces probed the Rappahannock and Rapidan fords and other crossing points between Culpeper and Fauquier and Orange Counties, resulting in engagements of varying intensity. The two rivers formed the natural barrier between each army, as well as the geographical line of defense for each side between Richmond and Washington.¹²

Union Major General John Pope occupied the county in July 1862, but on August 9 Jackson dealt him a defeat at the Battle of Cedar Mountain and Pope retreated across the Rappahannock River. Confederate General Lee arrived in Culpeper County with the Army of Northern Virginia and by August 25 had driven Pope away toward Manassas. After Lee defeated the Federals in the second battle there, he invaded Maryland and was fought to a bloody draw at Antietam on September 17. Retreating to Virginia, the Confederates occupied Culpeper County again and sparred with Union forces across the Rappahannock until the new Federal commander, Major General Ambrose E. Burnside, shifted them to Falmouth, across the river east of Fredericksburg. Lee directed his army to take up positions on the western riverbank, and defeated Burnside's attack in the especially bloody Battle of Fredericksburg on December 13, 1862. In the spring of 1863, on May 1, Major General Joseph Hooker (Burnside's replacement), launched a movement around Lee's left flank and rear into Culpeper County at Kelly's Ford. Lee turned most of his army around to face Hooker at the Battle of Chancellorsville, dealing him a stunning defeat over the next three days, and then encamped in Culpeper County. During the month that followed, Lee planned his second invasion of the North, to threaten Washington, D.C., by way of Maryland and Pennsylvania. Early in June, he began stealthily marching his infantry toward the Shenandoah Valley, intending that Stuart screen the movement from prying Federal eyes, but Union cavalry struck the first blow. On June 9, Major General Alfred Pleasonton launched a large-scale, two-pronged attack across the Rappahannock at Beverly's and Kelly's Fords to disperse and destroy the Confederate cavalry. Although he literally caught Stuart sleeping, the Confederates reacted quickly, and the Battle of Brandy Station developed into the largest allcavalry engagement of the war.¹³

Part of that battle took place uncomfortably close to Rose Hill. Union Brigadier General David M. Gregg commanded the detachment of Pleasonton's cavalry that crossed into Culpeper County at Kelly's Ford. The Confederate pickets there galloped off to Brandy Station to inform Stuart, who dispatched Brigadier General Beverly H. Robertson's brigade to block the direct route northwest to the railroad. Gregg left an infantry brigade at the ford and led his cavalry west to outflank Stuart. He then divided his force, leading one division up a road toward the station while sending Col. Alfred A. N. Duffié with the other division toward Stevensburg. There, Duffié was supposed to turn north on the Carolina Road and head to Brandy Station; in theory, the two cavalry divisions would attack Stuart from the rear. Stuart, however, had posted Col. Matthew C. Butler's 2nd South Carolina Cavalry south of the station, and Butler had led his men south to guard the Stevensburg intersection. Some were positioned in the road while others lined

¹² Sutherland, *Seasons of War*, 43–45, 93–97; Clark B. Hall, "Upper Rappahannock River Front: The Dare Mark Line," March 6, 2011, pp. 6–22, Fauquier County Web site,

http://www.fauquiercivilwar.com/Assets/downloads/article_rappahannock_front.pdf, accessed March 24, 2019.

¹³ Hall, "Upper Rappahannock," 7–15.

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Hansbrough Ridge north of the village. Just as Duffié approached and ordered his men to charge, Colonel Williams C. Wickham's 4th Virginia Cavalry, which had been following Butler, rode into the fray. Outnumbered, the Confederates retreated north, pursued by Duffié, who arrived at Brandy Station just as the action there ended late in the afternoon. Although the Stevensburg engagement had occurred less than a half-mile north of Rose Hill, the house and its occupants were unaffected.¹⁴

At another time during the war, however, Rose Hill suffered damage that is still visible, when a stray cannon ball (solid shot) struck it. The ball crashed through the attic wall and then passed down through the floor into the second-floor bedroom below. Several cavalry engagements, one of which may have caused the damage, occurred in the area during the war. The first-known such action took place on August 20, 1862, between Stevensburg and Brandy Station, another occurred on April 29, 1863, on the road to Culpeper Court House east of Stevensburg, and a third took place on November 7, 1863, when Union Brigadier General H. Judson Kilpatrick's cavalry brigade drove Confederate cavalry west out of Stevensburg toward the county seat. None of them was close enough to Rose Hill to account for the damage, and no cannons were mentioned in the after-action reports. Two other cavalry engagements occurred in 1863, however, that did involve artillery. On September 13, a Union cavalry regiment riding west on the Stevensburg road from Kelly's Ford was a mile short of the village when it encountered a Confederate force supported by artillery posted on high ground, perhaps Hansbrough Ridge. The Federals drove the Confederate troopers back to their guns but then withdrew. No mention was made of Union cannons, and the Confederates would not have been firing in the direction of Rose Hill, so it was unlikely that this clash caused the damage. More likely it occurred on October 11, when part of the 12th North Carolina Infantry regiment crossed the Rapidan River at Raccoon Ford and then, joined by the 23rd North Carolina Infantry and some cavalry, marched north toward Stevensburg on the Carolina Road. About three miles southwest of the village, the force encountered part of a Union brigade supported by artillery, which the Confederates slowly pushed north past Rose Hill and through Stevensburg toward Brandy Station. There, the Federals found reinforcements and the North Carolinians withdrew. It was most likely during this engagement and the Union fighting retreat north that the damage to Rose Hill occurred.¹⁵

The actions that took place in September through November 1863—the months following the Gettysburg Campaign—began with the Confederate retreat from Pennsylvania to Orange County, and the Federal occupation of Culpeper County. The armies faced each other across the Rapidan River, which once again became the boundary between Confederate and Union territory. Each side made incursions, fought over the fords and other crossings, and used the time to regroup and reinforce their positions. By the early part of December, both armies established

¹⁴ John S. Salmon, *The Official Virginia Civil War Battlefield Guide* (Mechanicsburg, PA: Stackpole Books, 2001), 199–202.

¹⁵ Hamilton Gay Howard, *Civil-War Echoes: Character Sketches and State Secrets* (Washington, DC: Howard Publishing Co., 1907), 214–216; Robert N. Scott, ed., *The War of the Rebellion: A Compilation of the Official Records of the Union and Confederate Armies* (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1880-1901), Ser. 1, vol. 12, part 2, pp. 745–746 (Aug. 20, 1862); ibid., vol. 25, part 1, pp. 1087–1088 (Apr. 29, 1863); ibid., vol. 29, part 2, p. 430 (Nov. 7, 1863); ibid., vol. 29, part 1, pp. 123–124 (Sept. 13, 1863); ibid., pp. 347–348, 416–417, 442 (Oct. 11, 1863).

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camps in which to spend the winter of 1863–1864. The Army of the Potomac centered its enormous camp on Brandy Station. The western edge was situated about four miles west of Culpeper, the eastern boundary was in Fauquier County just past Rappahannock Station, the northern edge was roughly five miles north of Brandy Station above the Hazel River at Freeman's Ford, and the southern boundary was located about two miles south of Rose Hill. These limits were fluid, not sharp lines, and Union cavalrymen constantly patrolled well beyond them to counter Confederate probes and to launch their own forays. Major General George G. Meade, the army's commander, established his headquarters approximately in the middle of the camp, on the eastern side of Fleetwood Hill above Brandy Station. It was located on a farm and in and around a large frame house owned by Unionist William Douglas Wallach, the editor of the Washington *Evening Star*. While the soldiers built themselves cabins—or at least tents with chimneys—to make their winter quarters as warm and comfortable as possible, other senior officers emulated Meade and commandeered houses. Some, like Kilpatrick, chose dwellings owned by secessionists. He selected Rose Hill, and Alfred L. Ashby and his family moved downstairs to the cellar. 16

Hugh Judson Kilpatrick was born in Deckertown, New Jersey, on January 14, 1836. From an early age he was interested in military matters, and he received an appointment to the United States Military Academy in 1856. Graduating in 1861, he married Alice Shailer (born 1841; died November 23, 1863) and almost immediately received an appointment as captain of Company H, 5th New York Infantry. He was wounded in the hip at the Battle of Big Bethel, Virginia, on June 10, 1861. As he recuperated, the intensely ambitious Kilpatrick angled for a higher rank, and succeeded in gaining a commission as lieutenant colonel of the 2nd New York Cavalry. In the spring and summer of 1862, he and his unit served in Major General George B. McClellan's Peninsula Campaign and Major General John Pope's Northern Virginia Campaign. Kilpatrick was jailed in Washington, D.C., in the fall of 1862. He was accused of accepting bribes, and other improprieties involving money, but was released in 1863 without facing a court martialhe even received a promotion to colonel while in prison. In May 1863, during the Chancellorsville Campaign, he led his regiment and the 12th Illinois Cavalry in a raid under Major General George Stoneman to disrupt Confederate communication and transportation routes. Kilpatrick's command reached the outer defenses of Richmond, causing considerable alarm, but he withdrew before he could be attacked. President Abraham Lincoln and Northern newspapers lamented the missed opportunity to free Union prisoners, capture Confederate president Jefferson Davis, and burn the city. Kilpatrick performed well at the Battle of Brandy Station in June and was promoted to brigadier general, then to command of the newly created Third Cavalry Division in time for the Battle of Gettysburg, in which his performance was criticized. His next assignment took him to New York City to help quell the Draft Riots there, and he also visited his wife and infant son. In the fall, at the Battle of Buckland Mills, Virginia,

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¹⁶ Hall, "Season of Change," "The Winter Encampment, 1863–1864," map; Bruce M. Venter, *Kill Jeff Davis: The Union Raid on Richmond, 1864* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 2016), 8. The winter camp was extraordinarily well photographed from start to finish, and the Library of Congress Web site (http://www.loc.gov/pictures/) features dozens of images made in Culpeper County between Dec. 1863 and May 1864.

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on October 19, Stuart routed Kilpatrick's command and pursued it for some miles in what became derisively known as the "Buckland Races." The winter camp in Culpeper County gave Kilpatrick time to rest and hatch a scheme to rehabilitate his (mostly self-created) reputation as a brilliant cavalry commander.¹⁷



Brig. Gen. H. Judson Kilpatrick (leaning against column) and staff at Rose Hill, ca. Feb. 1864, courtesy Library of Congress.

Kilpatrick, like many talented, aggressively ambitious officers, had both admirers and detractors. Most observers acknowledged his courage and skill as a cavalry commander, while also criticizing his frequent recklessness to the point of needlessly endangering his men's lives—hence the nickname "Kill-cavalry." He was said to be expert at extracting his men from difficult situations, into which he never should have led them. His ambition was too blatant, many felt. Although he was considered a witty and effective public speaker, some thought him a blowhard. According to "common knowledge," he had a weakness for women, although he was devastated when his wife died of influenza in November 1863, just before the army entered winter camp,

¹⁷ Eric J. Wittenberg, *Like a Meteor Blazing Brightly: The Short but Controversial Life of Colonel Ulric Dahlgren* (Roseville, MN: Edinborough Press, 2009), 161–163.

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and when their son died in January 1864. Whether he was motivated by grief or mere lust, Kilpatrick's alleged proclivities were the object of both humor and disgust among many in the army.¹⁸

Because boredom was the enemy of good order in camps, commanders kept themselves and their men busy. Drilling helped, as did occasional patrols with the chance of some action, but neither were especially enjoyable in cold or foul weather. Games involving sticks and balls, as well as cards, also helped. Many of the officers hosted dances, banquets, and reviews, which proved popular at least with fellow officers if not with the troopers and horses. Such activities also usually drew attractive women and girls, which both officers and soldiers agreed were spiritlifting. On February 22-23, 1864, Kilpatrick hosted a memorable event at Rose Hill for notable figures attending a grand review of the cavalry near Culpeper Court House. He had invited several of them to spend the night at Rose Hill before riding up to the review the next day. One guest described Kilpatrick as "happy, and as active as a flea . . . a little man, with loud swaggering voice, full of fun and profanity." Wine and spirits flowed freely, and that night several young staff officers and newspapermen shared mattresses in the attic, where the cannonball damage was noted, while some young ladies shared the room below. The enterprising young men poked a hole in the newspaper that temporarily patched the cannon-ball hole, the better to observe the scantily clad lasses, who noticed and retaliated by jabbing at the men through the hole with broom handles. Eventually the parties declared a truce and the men let down several bottles of "Pommery Sec" Champagne to pacify the ladies. Several names are inscribed in pencil in the attic—J. B. Rodgers, Co. A; A. J. Warner, Co. I; and L. L. Stuart are legible—and they may belong to some of the occupants that night. The next morning, the party rode horses to the review ground near the county seat and took part in the display of horsemanship. 19

When the Civil War began, accepted military doctrine relegated the role of the cavalry arm largely to patrolling, scouting, picketing, and harassing retreating enemy troops. The cavalry typically served as a supporting arm for the infantry in combat, charging into enemy artillery positions or attacking massed troops on the flanks. This doctrine changed on June 12-16, 1862, with the spectacular and well-publicized "Ride Around McClellan" that the Confederate cavalry executed under Stuart's command. "Stuart's Ride" was basically a rapid large-scale cavalry scout that he undertook to learn whether Union Major General George B. McClellan's army's right flank was protected by some natural obstacle, such as a river, or was instead "in the air," or unprotected, as the Federals approached Richmond during the Peninsula Campaign. After Stuart found that McClellan's right flank was indeed unprotected, he continued his expedition east, south, and west, riding completely around the army with the loss of only one man. Stuart discovered that McClellan's left flank, near the James River, also was unsecured, and raced into Richmond ahead of his command to report his findings to General Robert E. Lee. The exploit made Stuart famous, gave Lee valuable intelligence, and lifted the spirits of Southern cavalrymen. Soon, Confederate and Union troopers alike rode off not only on large-scale scouts

¹⁸ Theodore Lyman, *With Grant and Meade from the Wilderness to Appomattox*, George R. Agassiz, ed. (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1994), 79; Duane P. Schultz, *The Dahlgren Affair: Terror and Conspiracy in the Civil War* (New York: W. W. Norton, 1998), 72–73; Venter, *Kill Jeff Davis*, 24.

¹⁹ Howard, Civil-War Echoes, 214–216; Lyman, With Grant and Meade, 75–76.

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and reconnaissances in force but also on lightning raids to destroy bridges, uproot rail lines, burn enemy supply depots, and the like. Riding hard and fast, striking quickly, employing the element of surprise, and having a good escape plan were the keys to "successful" raids. Confederate commanders John Singleton Mosby in Northern Virginia and Nathan Bedford Forrest in Tennessee and Kentucky profited from Stuart's example and elevated creative hit-and-run tactics to the level of a fine art. Higher up the chain of command, however, not every general supported the concept enthusiastically. Success was not guaranteed, bridges and railroads could be repaired within days, and aside from the toll on the cavalrymen, it exhausted the horses. The effect on the animals was an especially important consideration when a major offensive was planned and there was an acute need for well-rested horses, particularly when the stock was of poor quality or the herds were depleted. Even a raid deemed successful remained so only for a short time, then, and at a considerable cost.²⁰

While living at Rose Hill during the winter camp, sometime before mid-February 1864, Kilpatrick developed a plan for a raid on Richmond with the primary objective of releasing the Federal prisoners of war in the Confederate capital. The plight of the prisoners was well known and aroused anger and pity in many in military service as well as in the administration, including President Lincoln, who was famously tender-hearted regarding the welfare of soldiers. Prisoner exchanges took place between the United States and Confederate governments, but the practice had slowed, serving to increase the burden of care on the Confederacy. Consequently, the already overstressed prison system became even more stretched, resulting in rising sickness and death rates among the prisoners. In Richmond, the filthy conditions in Libby Prison, where officers were housed, and on Belle Isle, where soldiers were confined, grew ever more hideous. By early in 1864, scores of men were being transported daily to Georgia, where many, already weakened by their treatment on Belle Isle, soon succumbed to the horrors of the prison at Andersonville. Escaped or previously released prisoners published accounts of their captivity that enraged Northerners and fueled demands for action and retaliation.²¹

Kilpatrick was by no means the first to propose such a raid. Most recently, a similar undertaking, approved by Major General Benjamin F. Butler at Fort Monroe, had failed early in February. Brigadier General Isaac J. Wistar had led a mixed detachment of cavalry, infantry, and artillery toward Richmond on February 6 to capture Confederate president Jefferson Davis and release the prisoners. The scheme failed because of a stronger-than-expected Confederate defense at key points on February 7, thanks to word of the plan reaching Richmond the previous day. Kilpatrick would have known of the failure and designed his own raid to follow a different path. He also deliberately bypassed his superiors in the chain of command—Pleasonton, the cavalry commander, and Meade, commander of the army—and took his plan over their heads to Washington. Using his political connections audaciously, Kilpatrick succeeded in accessing the very top of the administration. Lincoln's invitation for Kilpatrick to come see him arrived in Culpeper County at army headquarters on February 11, and the next day Kilpatrick met briefly

²⁰ Venter, Kill Jeff Davis, 13–15.

²¹ Ibid., 25–28; Virgil Carrington Jones, *Eight Hours Before Richmond* (New York: Henry Holt and Co., 1957), 14–18; John S. Salmon and David Dutton, National Register of Historic Places, Nomination Form, "Belle Isle," 1995, DHR File No. 127-455, Virginia Department of Historic Resources, Richmond, VA.

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with the president at the White House to present his plan, which Lincoln approved. Kilpatrick then met with Secretary of War Edwin Stanton to obtain Stanton's approval.²²

Kilpatrick then returned to Rose Hill and refined his plan, describing the routes that he and his forces would follow. The objectives, as he stated them, were to

accomplish the double purpose of distributing the President's amnesty proclamation [to persuade Confederate soldiers to surrender] to the rebel command in our front, and to the inhabitants of Virginia in the various counties about Richmond; as also to destroy, as far as practicable, the enemy's communications, and attempt the release of our prisoners at Richmond.²³

On February 16 submitted his plan to Pleasonton, who in turn sent it to Meade for review. When Meade asked Pleasonton for his assessment, the cavalry corps commander stated that the plan was not feasible at that time. His reasons were that any destruction that the raid could cause would be repaired in short order, that word of the raid would reach Richmond quickly on telegraph lines that Kilpatrick could not cut, and that the amnesty proclamation already was wellcirculated. Meade, on the other hand, thought that a quick raid could at least accomplish the release of the prisoners, given that Richmond was very lightly defended. None of the generals, however, addressed an obvious logistical challenge: how to liberate thousands of half-starved, sickly prisoners and get them to Federal lines without bringing hundreds of wagons and horses along on the raid. Kilpatrick had only one horse for each cavalryman, plus enough horses to pull the six cannons, eight caissons, three wagons, and four ambulances he took with him when he left Rose Hill. The captive population of Belle Isle alone was estimated at between 8,000 and 10,000 enlisted men early in 1864. Libby Prison held about 4,000 officers, and Castle Thunder about 3,000 Unionist civilians and Confederate deserters. If only the Federal prisoners had been released, their numbers would have amounted to 12,000-14,000, or between three and four times the 3,595 men in Kilpatrick's force. It was not possible for the prisoners to walk scores of miles to safety. Most of them probably would have been recaptured in short order.²⁴

The lack of security around Kilpatrick's supposedly secret expedition was another problem. Lieutenant Colonel Theodore Lyman, a volunteer aide on Meade's staff, wrote sarcastically of the army's inability to keep mum. The lone exception seemed to be Meade's chief of staff, Major General Andrew A. Humphreys, who had been a "mass of mystery" as he wrote numerous orders related to the raid,

to the great amusement of the bystanders, who had heard, even in Washington, that some expedition or raid was on the tapis [under consideration], and even pointed out various details thereof. However, their ideas, after all, were vague; but they should not have known anything. . . . A secret expedition with us is got up like

²³ Scott, War of the Rebellion, Series 1, vol. 33, pp. 171–172.

²² Venter, Kill Jeff Davis, 42–50, 56–60.

²⁴ Ibid., 170–172, 182, 187; Salmon and Dutton, "Belle Isle," 9; Elizabeth R. Varon, *Southern Lady, Yankee Spy* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2003), 100–101.

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a picnic, with everybody blabbing and yelping. . . . Kilpatrick is sent for by the President; oh, ah! everybody knows it at once: he is a cavalry officer; it must be a raid. All Willard's [Hotel, near the White House] chatters of it. Everybody devotes his entire energies to pumping the President and Kill-cavalry! Some confidential friend finds out a part, tells another confidential friend, swearing him to secrecy, etc., etc. So there was . . . Humphreys writing mysteriously, and speaking to nobody, while the whole camp was sending expeditions to the four corners of the compass!²⁵

The tactical, security, and logistical problems notwithstanding, Meade and Pleasonton were virtually obliged to let the raid proceed because Lincoln and Stanton had approved it. They also had to do everything necessary to increase its chances of success, no matter how skeptical they were. Meade ordered two westward feints to keep Confederate troops in place, so that they could not reinforce Richmond. Major General John Sedgwick marched his Sixth Corps southwest to Madison Court House, while Kilpatrick's subordinate, Brigadier General George A. Custer, led 1,500 cavalrymen in the same direction to Charlottesville at 1:00 A.M. on February 29, a few hours after Kilpatrick's raid began in the evening of February 28. Custer's men burned a bridge over the Rivanna River as well as three flour mills; they also captured cannons and fifty men in two small engagements at Charlottesville and Stanardsville before returning to Culpeper County. This diversionary portion of the raid succeeded, since no Confederate troops marched east to Richmond and Kilpatrick rode to the city's defenses was largely unhindered.²⁶

Kilpatrick planned his route to take his force from Rose Hill east to Ely's Ford on the Rapidan River, where it would cross and turn south through Chancellorsville and Spotsylvania Court House. There, Kilpatrick would send out two detachments. One would ride east to Guiney's Station on the Richmond, Fredericksburg, and Potomac Railroad to destroy track and facilities there. Then it would rejoin the main force at Carmel Church, north of Hanover Junction (presentday Doswell), and continue to Richmond on the Brook Turnpike. The second detachment was to ride southwest to Frederick Hall on the Virginia Central Railroad, destroy track and facilities there, and then proceed south through Goochland Court House, destroy part of the James River and Kanawha Canal, cross to the south bank of the river, and ride east toward Richmond. En route, the detachment would destroy the Bellona Arsenal and, if possible, parts of the Richmond and Danville Railroad and the Petersburg Railroad. Kilpatrick intended that his larger force drive through the thinly manned lines into the city, reunite with the Frederick Hall detachment—which was to cross the James River upstream from Richmond and then cross back over into the city from the south side—free the prisoners, and then escape with them down the Peninsula to West Point. The sound of gunfire, as well as the use of signal rockets, would inform the detachment and the main force as to each other's presence in the northern and southern sides of the city once Kilpatrick began his thrust against the Confederate defenses.²⁷

²⁵ Lyman, With Grant and Meade, 76–77. Willard's lobby was notorious as a gathering-place for those seeking posts or influence with the administration—hence "lobbyist."

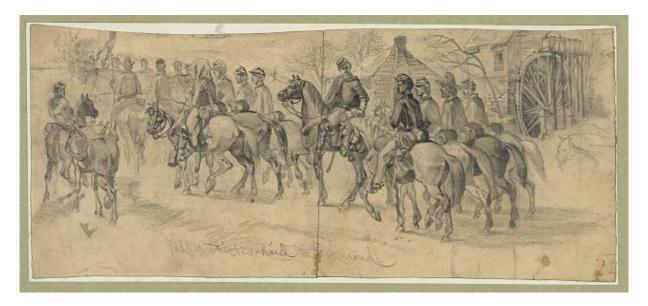
²⁶ Scott, War of the Rebellion, Series 1, vol. 33, pp. 169–170, 174; Venter, Kill Jeff Davis, 112–126.

²⁷ Ibid., 172–173, 188–190.

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The command of the Frederick Hall detachment was assigned to a twenty-one-year-old officer, Colonel Ulric Dahlgren. He was a son of Union Rear Admiral John A. B. Dahlgren, a friend of both Abraham Lincoln and (in the 1850s) then-secretary of war and senator Jefferson Davis. Davis's wife had been especially fond of the boy. In large part because of family connections and political influence, Dahlgren gained an aide's position on the staffs of several army commanders in succession, including Franz Sigel, Ambrose E. Burnside, Joseph Hooker, and George G. Meade. He was known—as were Kilpatrick and Custer—for being brave and bold, as well as egotistical and ambitious. He and Kilpatrick first met when the latter was pressing the Confederate rear guard covering the army's retreat after the Battle of Gettysburg. On July 6, 1863, Dahlgren volunteered as Kilpatrick's aide when the Union cavalry closed in on the Confederates in Hagerstown, Maryland, and joined the lead company as it charged into town. He performed heroically but a bullet struck him in the right foot, and on July 21 his leg was amputated below the knee. A long recovery period followed; eventually Dahlgren received a prosthetic limb, but he was still getting used to it in mid-February 1864 and was not fully fit for field duty. Dahlgren may have learned of Kilpatrick's plans for a raid while he was in Washington. On February 18, 1864, he took a train from the capital to Brandy Station, then rode a horse to Rose Hill to confer with Kilpatrick, who designated him to lead the Frederick Hall detachment instead of a Third Cavalry Division officer. Whether Dahlgren's performance at Hagerstown influenced Kilpatrick's decision, or whether it was Dahlgren's Washington "connections" who pressured Kilpatrick, is not known. Regardless, Dahlgren now had the command. Subsequent meetings with Kilpatrick to discuss the details of Dahlgren's role would have taken place at the former's Rose Hill headquarters. Dahlgren wrote a letter to his father on



Kilpatrick-Dahlgren Raid underway, February 1864, Alfred R. Waud drawing, courtesy Library of Congress

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headquarters stationary on February 26, informing him in vague terms of the "grand raid" and that he would hold "a very important command" in it. Whether Dahlgren was quartered in the house or on Rose Hill property is not known.²⁸

The day after Dahlgren wrote his letter, Kilpatrick's Third Cavalry Division and other units assigned to the mission assembled around Rose Hill and Stevensburg to gather rations and supplies. February 28 dawned unusually warm, but gradually turned cloudy and windy, and a drizzling, chilly rain fell as the men mounted their horses to begin the raid. Between 3:00 and 4:00 P.M., a small detachment left to secure Ely's Ford, followed by Dahlgren and his men a short time later. The main body under Kilpatrick started at about 5:00 P.M., and by 7:00, when it was fully dark, the rear guard followed. The troopers passed across Ely's Ford easily, and then rode south to a point below Spotsylvania Court House near Mount Pleasant, where Dahlgren's detachment departed (it had been at the head of the column). The other detachment rode to Guiney's Station and accomplished its mission. Kilpatrick pressed on toward Richmond on February 29, encountering only a few Confederate pickets along the way. Unbeknownst to Kilpatrick, however, scouts from Major General Wade Hampton's cavalry brigade had captured a couple of men in the rear guard after they crossed the Rapidan. The South Carolinians quickly put two and two together and informed Hampton in Fredericksburg. He passed the word along, and soon the commanders in the capital knew that Union cavalry was headed their way, roughly twenty-four hours after the expedition began. They already were on alert, given the lax Federal security that Lyman described and the rumors they had heard. Confederate troops and artillery pieces strengthened the earthworks north of the city on Brook Turnpike, and when Kilpatrick drew close at about 10:00 A.M. on March 1, the Confederates were ready to hold him at bay.²⁹

Dahlgren's part of the raid went well enough at first. He tore up track, cut telegraph lines, and captured prisoners east of Frederick Hall (he avoided the station itself, as a Confederate camp was there), crossed the North Anna River, and rode through Goochland County toward the James River. The weather became increasingly foul, with wind and rain turning to sleet. While Dahlgren wreaked destruction on several farms as he neared the river, he also realized that he had no idea where to cross to the south bank. There was no bridge in the area, although there were several fords. An African American freedman, Martin Roberson, was to guide the detachment, which started riding east toward Richmond along the north bank, but Dahlgren found one ford after another unusable because of the high water. When Roberson took the troopers down a road that led toward Ashland instead of Richmond, Dahlgren was enraged and had him hanged. Dahlgren continued to lead his men northwest in the general direction of the city. On the morning of March 1, they heard the cannons on Brook Turnpike, perhaps nine miles away, as the Confederates fired on Kilpatrick. Dahlgren's detachment passed into Henrico County from Goochland County about 2:00 P.M., burned equipment at a coal mine, rested for a couple of hours, and then pressed ahead through the lightly manned outer Confederate defenses. Richmond's local defense troops had turned out when Kilpatrick attacked that morning, and Dahlgren fought two small engagements with them about four miles west of Capital Square on

²⁸ Wittenberg, *Like a Meteor*, 140–143, 169–170, 223; Venter, *Kill Jeff Davis*, 85–90; John A. B. Dahlgren, *Memoir of Ulric Dahlgren* (Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott, 1872), 211.

²⁹ Venter, Kill Jeff Davis, 94–99, 127–146.

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Three Chopt Road. Parts of the detachment became separated. Dahlgren and about one hundred men passed north of Richmond and east toward West Point on the Peninsula, harassed constantly by Confederate home guards and regular cavalry. After dark on March 2, Dahlgren rode into an ambush near a road intersection in King and Queen County. The home guard opened fire and Dahlgren fell dead face-first into the mud beside the road.³⁰

Some of Dahlgren's men surrendered while others fled. The next morning, March 3, Dahlgren's body was searched, and William Littlepage, a thirteen-year-old member of the home guard, found a couple of souvenirs: a gold watch and a case with cigars. He also found a memorandum book and papers. He turned over the book and papers to his teacher, Captain Edward W. Halbach, the home guard commander, who skimmed through them and reportedly was aghast at what he read. Dahlgren had written in a speech to be delivered to his detachment that he intended to capture Richmond, set it afire, free the prisoners, and then capture and kill Jefferson Davis and his cabinet. He repeated his intentions in a copy of special orders to Captain John F. B. Mitchell, who was to handle a detachment approaching Richmond along the north bank of the James River. Halbach passed the papers on through his superior, Captain Richard H. Bagby, to Lieutenant James Pollard, Company H, 9th Virginia Cavalry, who had been skirmishing with the rear of Dahlgren's column. That afternoon, Pollard took them to his commander, Colonel Richard T. W. Beale, who read them and then had Pollard take most of them to Major General Fitzhugh Lee, in Richmond. Beale kept the memorandum book until the end of March, then sent it to Richmond, where the Richmond Daily Examiner published it on April 1. Lee read the address and special orders and on March 4 transmitted them to Adjutant General Samuel Cooper, writing scornfully of Dahlgren's "insane attempt to destroy Richmond and kill Jeff. Davis and his cabinet." The papers soon were in Davis's hands, and before the end of the day he had read them and decided to publish them in the Richmond newspapers. General Braxton Bragg, Davis's chief of staff, believed that was insufficient. To Secretary of War James A. Sedden, he urged the execution of the prisoners captured in the ambush, given the papers' "extraordinary and diabolical character" and the "fiendish and atrocious conduct of our enemies." Seddon concurred, but Davis did not. He did, however, send copies of what thereafter would be called the "Dahlgren papers" to the Richmond newspapers, which published them the next day, March 5.31

The papers' publication caused eruptions of outrage in Union and Confederate states, for different reasons. In Richmond and throughout the Confederacy, Dahlgren was depicted as a barbarian who violated the rules and customs of warfare with his orders that the city "must be destroyed and Jeff. Davis and Cabinet killed." The *Richmond Whig* echoed Bragg's opinion of Dahlgren's men, now prisoners:

Are these men warriors? Are they soldiers, taken in the performance of duties recognized as legitimate by the loosest construction in the code of civilized warfare? Or are they assassins, barbarians, thugs who have forfeited (and expect to lose) their

³⁰ Ibid., 147–171, 196–214, 229–235; Wittenberg, *Like a Meteor*, 175–193.

³¹ Venter, *Kill Jeff Davis*, 237–242; Wittenberg, *Like a Meteor*, 194–197; Scott, *War of the Rebellion*, Series 1, vol. 33, pp. 217–218.

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lives? Are they not barbarians redolent with more hellish purposes than were the Goth, the Hun, or the Saracen?³²

Northern newspapers opined that the papers, or at least the references to killing Davis, were Confederate forgeries. A *New York Times* writer's assessment was representative:

The simple fact [is], that in the so-called programme of operations found upon the body of the lamented Col. Dahlgren, they have interpolated words of their own coining, to the effect that Jeff. Davis and his Cabinet were to be killed, thereby giving an importance to the proclamation (which, by the way, was never read to the troops) and the memoranda of operations which were found, not at all in accordance with the spirit actuating the instigators and leaders in the movement.³³

Davis had the papers photographed and sent a five-page set to General Robert E. Lee with instructions to demand an explanation from the Federal commanders. Lee first gave Davis his opinion that the prisoners should not be executed, not only because the orders had not been carried out, but also because executions likely would result in Federal reprisals on the prisoners they held. On March 31, Lee forwarded the photographs to Meade by flag of truce; Meade replied on April 17—after questioning Kilpatrick—that "neither the United States Government, myself, nor General Kilpatrick authorized, sanctioned, or approved the burning of the city of Richmond and the killing of Mr. Davis and cabinet, nor any other act of war not required by military necessity and in accordance with the usages of war." Meade included Kilpatrick's statement that he had questioned the officers and men who accompanied Dahlgren, all of whom swore that the colonel had never delivered a speech or told them to kill Davis and burn the city. This remained the official Federal position thereafter, effectively disowning Dahlgren. Confederate Secretary of State Judah P. Benjamin ordered fifty photographic sets of the Dahlgren papers printed and distributed. Copies were sent as far afield as the Vatican and Paris, hoping to influence international opinion in the Confederacy's favor.³⁴

Thus began a debate over the papers and Dahlgren's mission that has continued to this day. If the papers were genuine, they may have been composed at Rose Hill. Dahlgren's alleged speech to his men was written, like his letter of February 26 to his father, on Third Cavalry Division headquarters letterhead stationery. So too were his orders to Captain Mitchell to lead a detachment along the north bank of the river. Those familiar with Dahlgren's signature, however—his father, for example—were convinced that the Confederates had forged the papers, especially the part related to murdering Davis. Several factors appear to support the contention that they were genuine, however: the speed at which they were transmitted to Richmond and published just two days after they were found, leaving little or no time for the creation of a

³² Richmond Whig, Mar. 5, 1864.

³³ New York Times, Mar. 14, 1864.

³⁴ Venter, *Kill Jeff Davis*, 242–245; Wittenberg, *Like a Meteor*, 198–203; Duane P. Schultz, *The Dahlgren Affair: Terror and Conspiracy in the Civil War* (New York: W. W. Norton, 1998), 184–189. One photographic copy of the papers is in the John Dahlgren Papers collection in the Library of Congress.

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Confederate forgery plot; internal evidence known to Dahlgren at the time the papers were written but not to the Confederates; the well-documented chain of possession; affirmations by the officers and officials who read the manuscripts when they took possession that the newspaper versions were true copies; and the postwar testimony of officers who had been with Dahlgren and acknowledged that he had in fact delivered an address to some of them (although they denied that he said anything about killing Davis and his cabinet). There is also evidence of a cover-up on the Union side: Meade's subsequent comments about his distrust of Kilpatrick and his desire to keep his own "skirts" clean; the Union high command's obvious desire to deny responsibility and to lay the blame on Dahlgren alone; and the mysterious disappearance of the original papers, which were recovered at the end of the war in the Confederate archives. On December 1, 1865, they were handed over to Stanton at his request. In 1879, when the task of compiling and publishing the records of the war began—titled The War of the Rebellion: A Compilation of the Official Records of the Union and Confederate Armies, the first volume appeared the next year a request to return them was sent to the War Department, which reported that they could not be found. Conspiracy theories abound concerning Dahlgren's appointment to command, the papers and their internal and external discrepancies, the failed mission, and its consequences. The mystery of the Dahlgren papers appears no closer to resolution now than in 1864.³⁵

In addition to the uproar over the papers, the disposition of Dahlgren's remains stirred great controversy. Admiral Dahlgren grew ever more frantic to recover his son's body, while angry Confederate authorities coldly rebuffed all efforts. Ordinarily, as a courtesy, officers' bodies often were sent through the lines if the situation permitted, to be claimed by their families and buried. Such was the Confederates' rage over the papers, however, that these niceties were ignored. This prompted a taunt from Butler at Fort Monroe, who on March 11 wrote to the Confederate Commissioner of Exchange on behalf of Dahlgren's distraught father, citing Richmond newspaper reports of "indignity and outrage" on the body: "You do not war upon the dead." At first, young Dahlgren had lain in the mud where he fell until his pockets had been rifled, and then he was buried in a shallow grave nearby. On March 4, his body was dug up, placed in a pine box, and conveyed to Richmond, where on March 6 it was displayed to the public in a railroad car. That afternoon, by Jefferson Davis's order, it was buried in a secret location in Oakwood Cemetery in East Richmond. On March 23, the authorities at last decided to release the body to the admiral, but when the grave was opened a few weeks later, the Richmond Examiner reported on April 14 that it was found to be empty. Dahlgren's apparent resurrection was the work of the redoubtable Union spy, Elizabeth Van Lew, whose operatives had removed the remains on April 5 and concealed them on a nearby farm. The next day, the coffin was hidden in a wagon under a load of peach saplings and carried to another farm near Hungary Station, north of the city, where it was buried. There the body remained until the war ended,

³⁵ A photographic copy of the Mitchell order appeared on the Cowan's Auctions Web site, https://www.cowanauctions.com/lot/csa-mapmaker-albert-campbell-photographic-facsimile-of-colonel-dahlgren-s-instructions-to-burn-and-sack-richmond-and-kill-jefferson-davis-3187587, accessed Apr. 8, 2019; Peter C. Luebke, ed., *The Autobiography of Rear Admiral John A. Dahlgren* (Washington, DC: Naval History and Heritage Command, 2018), 113; George Meade, *The Life and Letters of General George Gordon Meade* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1913) 2:189–191; Venter, *Kill Jeff Davis*, 198; Wittenberg, *Like a Meteor*, 213, 238–247; Schultz, *The Dahlgren Affair*, 240–241.

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when on April 11, 1865, it was transported to Washington and given to Admiral Dahlgren. Ulric Dahlgren finally was buried in the family plot near Philadelphia on November 1, 1865.³⁶

That the raid was botched was clear in both the Union and Confederate states as soon as it ended. Editorializing on March 8, 1864, the anti-Lincoln New York World placed the blame squarely on Lincoln as

> the responsible author of the Kilpatrick Raid. We are prepared to assert that it was planned by Mr. LINCOLN, Mr. [Michigan Congressman Francis W.] KELLOGG, of the Military Committee of the House, and Gen. KILPATRICK. . . . The raid was undertaken without the advice of some, and against the advice of others, who knew the science of war by heart when Mr. LINCOLN was arguing fifty-dollar suits in the Illinois courts.³⁷

Although the editorial's author failed to cite his sources, the raid and especially the alleged goal of kidnapping or murdering Davis prompted similar plots against Lincoln. Using Dahlgren's papers and alleged murder plans as an excuse, Confederate authorities launched schemes to kidnap Lincoln in June, August, and September 1864. That Lincoln was not averse to kidnapping or capturing Davis is evident from several of Lincoln's documented words and orders, but assassination—"Black Flag Warfare" in violation of the rules of war—seems not to have been part of Lincoln's repertoire. No direct link has been found between the Kilpatrick-Dahlgren Raid and Lincoln's own assassination on April 14, 1865. The failed raid and the Dahlgren papers, however, appeared to justify formerly forbidden actions in a war growing ever more brutal.³⁸

When Kilpatrick began to withdraw from his position on Brook Turnpike north of Richmond about 4:00 P.M. on March 1, he considered making another attempt on the city before giving up entirely. Soon, however, Hampton launched an attack on Kilpatrick's rear and the Federals began moving east toward Williamsburg, where Kilpatrick believed part of Butler's command would be waiting for him. Rearguard engagements occurred frequently, but at New Kent Court House on March 3, Kilpatrick found Butler's advance cavalry regiment and protection. The weary raiders moved on through Williamsburg and then rode to Yorktown on the afternoon of March 4. On March 11, Kilpatrick and his troopers sailed to Alexandria. From there, the men returned to Culpeper County and the camp at Stevensburg within a week's time. While the troopers rode back to Culpeper County, Kilpatrick spent several days in Washington, presumably explaining the failure of his raid to the Federal hierarchy. By March 16, Kilpatrick had returned to his old headquarters at Rose Hill, where he wrote Meade his report of the expedition. The army commander had more than Kilpatrick and the failed raid to concern him, however; on March 10, the new commander-in-chief of all Union armies, Lieutenant General Ulysses S. Grant, had arrived and informed Meade that he intended to accompany the Army of the Potomac in the field on the spring campaign. Even the prickly Meade admitted that Grant went to great lengths to treat him respectfully, but nonetheless changes were imminent, and soon the army was

³⁶ Wittenberg, *Like a Meteor*, 195–196, 206, 209–212, 215–218.

³⁷ New York World, Mar. 8, 1864, p. 4.

³⁸ Venter, Kill Jeff Davis, 247–248; Wittenberg, Like a Meteor, 226–237.

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reorganized. On March 25, Pleasonton was relieved of command of the cavalry corps and ordered to Major General William S. Rosecrans's army in St. Louis, Missouri. Major General Philip H. Sheridan assumed command of the cavalry corps on April 5. In mid-April, Grant went over Meade's head—or perhaps with his blessing—to assign his friend Brigadier General James H. Wilson to command of the Third Cavalry Division, effectively dismissing Kilpatrick. Sheridan wrote to Meade's chief of staff that he was "very much embarrassed" with Wilson's assignment, especially since Kilpatrick outranked Wilson: "General Kilpatrick is anxious to be transferred to the West; is it possible to do so?" It was indeed possible, and on April 16 Kilpatrick spent his last night at Rose Hill. In the evening he walked out of the house and spoke to his division, drawn up nearby, to thank them for their service and the hard fighting that they and he had endured together. The next day, Kilpatrick left Rose Hill, rode to the depot at Brandy Station, and departed to serve in Major General William T. Sherman's army.³⁹

Early in May 1864, the Army of the Potomac broke camp to march south. Grant had designed a strategy for the campaign in which all Union armies everywhere would advance simultaneously against Confederate armies. These drives occurred in Georgia and in three parts of Virginia: the Peninsula, the Shenandoah Valley, and between Culpeper County and Richmond—the Overland Campaign. On May 4, Meade's men began crossing the Rapidan River, and by the next day the Battle of the Wilderness had begun. Not all parts of the army crossed the river on the same day. The 9th Virginia Cavalry, for example, remained behind to guard Morton's Ford in case it was needed. On May 8, the regiment marched by way of Stevensburg to rejoin the army. 40

It was perhaps during this march that an incident occurred at Rose Hill, where the Ashby family had emerged from the cellar at last, that has entered Covington family lore. As the 9th Virginia Cavalry passed by, Private Thomas R. Covington saw Mary Jane Ashby in the yard and trotted over to ask her for something to eat, and she gave him biscuits and ham. He rode away, and then returned to Culpeper County after the war to court her.⁴¹

Thomas Rosser Covington was born on October 18, 1845, in Essex County, Virginia. He enlisted in the Essex Light Dragoons (later designated Company F, 9th Virginia Cavalry) on March 18, 1862. The regiment took part in Stuart's ride around McClellan's army in the Peninsula Campaign in June 1862, and then in most of the major campaigns of the war in Virginia, Maryland, and Pennsylvania. These included the Second Battle of Manassas; the Antietam Campaign; the Battles of Fredericksburg, Chancellorsville, and Brandy Station; the Gettysburg Campaign; the Overland Campaign; the Siege of Petersburg; the 1864 Shenandoah Valley Campaign; and the Appomattox Campaign. Covington served until the end of the war and was

³⁹ Venter, *Kill Jeff Davis*, 34, 8–12, 186–195, 215–228, 249–251; Gordon C. Rhea, *The Battle of the Wilderness*, *May 5–6, 1864* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1994), 43–45; Scott, *War of the Rebellion*, Series 1, vol. 33, pp. 183–187, 732, 806, 862.

⁴⁰ R. L. T. Beale, *History of the Ninth Virginia Cavalry, in the War Between the States* (Richmond, VA: B. F. Johnson Publishing Company, 1899), 116–117.

⁴¹ "Family Innovates to Preserve Rose Hill in Stevensburg, Va.," *Civil War News*, June 2011, on Dartmouth College Class of 1970 Web site,

http://1970.dartmouth.org/s/1353/images/gid322/editor_documents/newsletter_content/rosejun11cwn.pdf?gid=322&pgid=61, accessed Feb. 18, 2019.

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paroled on May 2, 1865. He returned to Culpeper County and married Mary Jane Ashby at Rose Hill on November 4, 1868. The Covingtons were listed in the Ashby household in the 1870 census with their eight-month-old daughter Mary, and Thomas Covington's occupation was given as "Farm hand." He and Mary Jane Covington eventually had five children: Mary "Mamie" Eleanor Covington (1869-1946); Walter Gregory Covington (1872-1941); Alfred Lomax Ashby Covington (1876-1951); John Austin Covington (1881-1957); and Irene Thompson Covington (1887-1923).⁴²

Thomas R. Covington served as postmaster of Stevensburg between March 1, 1905, and February 6, 1907. Described as "a prominent church member and leading Republican politician in Culpeper County," he also was an avid traveler within the United States. While visiting friends in Aberdeen, South Dakota, in 1908, he found that he and the local postmaster had been on opposite sides and likely faced each other directly during the Battle of Cedar Mountain in 1862. Instead of shaking hands across the stone wall at the Bloody Angle, as Union and Confederate soldiers famously did at Gettysburg reunions, at Covington's humorous suggestion the former enemies shook hands "across the bloody money order desk." Periodically, Covington wrote accounts of his journeys that were published in the *Fredericksburg Free Lance* newspaper.⁴³

Thomas Rosser Covington died suddenly at Rose Hill on February 29, 1912. The Rose Hill property has remained in the hands of the Covington family ever since, and today is owned by Dr. John A. Covington, of Stevenson, Maryland, and his cousin, Donald C. Wells, Jr., of Manassas, Virginia. The house, which has been carefully maintained and rehabilitated, is currently operated as a hunting club.⁴⁴

REGISTRATION REQUIREMENTS

Rose Hill meets the registration requirements described in "The Civil War in Virginia, 1861–1865: Historic and Archaeological Resources" Multiple Property Documentation Form (076-5168). The Rose Hill farm served as a campsite for part of the U.S. Army of the Potomac's Third Cavalry Division, which was spread over an area larger than the farm. The fields surrounding

⁴² "The Ninth Virginia Cavalry, Essex Light Dragoons, Essex County," Company F Roster, on Ninth Virginia Cavalry Web site, http://9thvirginia.com/cof.html, accessed Feb. 18, 2019; "The Ashby Family Bible," on Rootsweb Web site, www.sites.rootsweb.com, accessed Feb. 11, 2019. After Mary Jane Ashby Covington died, Thomas R. Covington married twice more, but each marriage ended in divorce. First, he married Mary V. Alexander, Nov. 12, 1904, in Alexandria (ibid., "Ashby Family Bible"). Presumably they had divorced by ca. Oct. 1908, when he married Peachy Edith McMullen, marriage license issued Oct. 20, 1908, Baltimore, divorced ca. Apr. 1909 (*Baltimore Sun*, Oct. 21, 1908, p. 7; ibid., Mar. 31, 1909, pp. 1, 11; *Fredericksburg Free Lance*, Apr. 3, 1909, p. 4; ibid., Apr. 9, 1909, p. 4.)

⁴³ "Thomas R. Covington," Appointments of U.S. Postmasters, 1832–1971, on Ancestry.com Web site, https://search.ancestry.com, accessed Apr. 17, 2019; *Baltimore Sun*, Mar. 31, 1909, p. 11; *Fredericksburg Free Lance*, Nov. 30, 1909, p. 2.

⁴⁴ Richmond Times-Dispatch, Mar. 2, 1912, p. 2; "Family Innovates to Preserve Rose Hill in Stevensburg, Va.," *Civil War News*, June 2011, on Dartmouth College Class of 1970 Web site, http://1970.dartmouth.org/s/1353/images/gid322/editor_documents/newsletter_content/rosejun11cwn.pdf?gid=322&pgid=61, accessed Feb. 18, 2019.

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Rose Hill that constituted part of the camp appear largely undisturbed, although no archaeological investigations have been conducted. The dwelling served as the division headquarters; the commanding general, Major General H. Judson Kilpatrick, resided in the Rose Hill house between December 1863 and March 1864. Both the property's acreage and the house retain their integrity of location and setting, as few changes have occurred to the physical features that were present during the Civil War. The dwelling retains integrity of design because its floor plan, character-defining stylistic features, and form have not been altered. The dwelling's integrity of materials and workmanship, likewise, are intact with unaltered fenestration, exterior walls, and porches (the front porch's historic appearance is documented in period photos), and the house's craftsmanship and construction techniques have not been obscured, removed, or covered with later materials. Rose Hill has the requisite integrity of feeling because the dwelling, antebellum outbuildings, and acreage convey a good sense of the property as it appeared during the Civil War, despite the presence of some small-scale later outbuildings. The dwelling has integrity of association as the documented headquarters for Union General Judson Kilpatrick during his division's 1863-1864 winter encampment in Culpeper County. The dwelling's intact exterior appearance and interior floor plan are little changed since Kilpatrick's occupation, allowing for an understanding of how it was used during its time as a military headquarters.

ARCHITECTURAL CONTEXT

Rose Hill is one of several dwelling that were built in Culpeper County in the mid-nineteenth century and are listed in the National Register of Historic Places. Rose Hill is a well-detailed five-bay frame dwelling with a central-passage, single-pile plan, also known as an I-house. The I-house became a popular house type for successful farmers, merchants, and others of middling success and was built across the eastern United States including Virginia. I-houses were built from the early nineteenth century onward. Rose Hill is a good example of this house type with character-defining detailing in the Greek Revival style. While not ostentatious, the detailing is well done and reflects the styles popular when it was built. A notable feature of the house is its one-story pedimented front porch and the interior-end chimneys that are partially exposed on the exterior. On the interior, window and door surrounds have Greek Revival-style moldings while the mantels retain a late Federal period form with colonettes supporting a fairly tall five-part frieze. The property also retains a good collection of antebellum domestic outbuildings, including a detached kitchen, school, and smokehouse.

The other houses built in Culpeper County around the same time as Rose Hill include Auburn (NRHP 2008; 023-0002), built 1855-1856, Greenville (NRHP 1980; 023-0009), built 1854 by Philip Pendleton Nalle (of the family that formerly owned Rose Hill), Hill Mansion (NRHP 1980; 204-0002), a house in the town of Culpeper completed 1857, Graffiti House (NRHP 2005; 023-5092), built around 1858, and Clifton (NRHP 2008; 023-5230), whose original section was built in 1845. Auburn is perhaps the purest example of the Greek Revival style in Culpeper County and unlike Rose Hill. It is a three-story, frame, gable-front dwelling with a monumental two-story, one-level front porch. The interior detailing features plain but heavy mantels and window and door surrounds with paneled pilasters and heavy cornices. The interior of Rose Hill

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is much more nuanced than Auburn with thinner and lighter window and door surrounds, mantels with colonettes, and a five-part frieze instead of the heavy but plain mantels of Auburn. Like Auburn, however, Rose Hill presents a hierarchy of finishes with the more elaborate finishes in the first-floor front rooms. The Graffiti House, although much smaller and simpler than Auburn and Rose Hill, has more in common with Auburn than with Rose Hill due to its interior Greek Revival details including shouldered window architraves. The early parts of Clifton, a frame house built in stages in 1845, 1850, and 1910, holds some similarities to Rose Hill in its interior woodwork. The original section of Clifton has interior details that feature grooved window and door surrounds and square corner blocks with a peaked center section. Like Rose Hill, the mantels in the original section of Clifton feature a late Federal form with flanking colonnettes and a tall frieze similar to what is seen at Rose Hill. The original section at Clifton, however, is much plainer than Rose Hill. The 1850 section of Clifton has a "severe" Greek Revival mantel, unlike those at Rose Hill. While there are other Greek Revival-style houses in Culpeper County, Rose Hill is an excellent example of a well-built, quintessential I-house with transitional mantels but other Greek Revival interior details.

Other mid-nineteenth-century dwellings built in Culpeper County are in other styles. Greenville, which was built in 1854 by Philip Pendelton Nalle, of the same Nalle family that owned Rose Hill, is completely different from Rose Hill. It is a large brick edifice with two-story columns across the front and a heavy bracketed cornice. The Hill Mansion was built in 1857 in the Italianate style and, unlike the other houses described above, was built in the town of Culpeper instead of in the countryside.

Rose Hill retains a high degree of architectural integrity. The layout of the buildings and their spatial relationship remains the same as during its period of significance (landscape, design, setting). The buildings have experienced few alterations and the interior floor plans of all buildings are unchanged (materials and workmanship) from when the property served as the headquarters of Union Brig. Gen. H. Judson Kilpatrick during the Civil War. Overall, Rose Hill retains its integrity of feeling and association.

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____ Federal agency
____ Local government
____ University
____ Other
Name of repository: Virginia Department of Historic Resources, Richmond

Historic Resources Survey Number (if assigned): DHR No. 023-0018

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10. Geographical Data			
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Datum if other than WGS8		<u> </u>	
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2. Latitude: 38.442581		Longitude: -77.911584 Longitude: -77.90774	
3. Latitude: 38.442145		Longitude: -77.904649	
4. Latitude: 38.440768		Longitude: -77.904999	
5. Latitude: 38.440625		Longitude: -77.900194	
6. Latitude: 38.436870		Longitude: -77.900166	
7. Latitude: 38.435881		Longitude: -77.903557	
8. Latitude: 38.432276		Longitude: -77.908985	
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Verbal Boundary Descrip The historic boundary for F	otion (Descri Rose Hill enc	be the boundaries of the property.) compasses 207 acres and is coterming Culpeper County, VA. The true and	

Boundary Justification (Explain why the boundaries were selected.)

boundary is shown on the attached location map.

The nominated parcel encompasses the tract on which the two principal nineteenth-century owners—Martin Nalle and Alfred L. Ashby—completed and established contributing buildings, structures, and cemeteries, and on which significant military activities occurred

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during the Civil War. All known historic resources as well as the property's historic setting are included within the boundary.

11. Form Prepared By

name/title: Ashley Neville and John Salmon

organization: <u>Ashley Neville LLC</u>

street & number: 11311 Cedar Lane

city or town: Glen Allen state: VA zip code: 23059

e-mail: ashleyneville@comcast.net

telephone: <u>804-307-4601</u> date: <u>September 23, 2019</u>

Additional Documentation

Submit the following items with the completed form:

- Maps: A USGS map or equivalent (7.5 or 15 minute series) indicating the property's location.
- **Sketch map** for historic districts and properties having large acreage or numerous resources. Key all photographs to this map.
- Additional items: (Check with the SHPO, TPO, or FPO for any additional items.)

Photographs

Submit clear and descriptive photographs. The size of each image must be 1600x1200 pixels (minimum), 3000x2000 preferred, at 300 ppi (pixels per inch) or larger. Key all photographs to the sketch map. Each photograph must be numbered and that number must correspond to the photograph number on the photo log. For simplicity, the name of the photographer, photo date, etc. may be listed once on the photograph log and doesn't need to be labeled on every photograph.

Photo Log

Name of Property: Rose Hill City or Vicinity: Culpeper

County: Culpeper State: Virginia

Photographer: Ashley Neville Date Photographed: October 2018

Description of Photograph(s) and number, include description of view indicating direction of camera:

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1 of 17. VA_CulpeperCounty_RoseHill_0001

View: Dwelling, façade, view to the northwest

2 of 17. VA CulpeperCounty RoseHill 0002

View: Dwelling, southern side, view to the northwest

3 of 17. VA CulpeperCounty RoseHill 0003

View: Dwelling, rear and north side of rear ell, view to the southeast

4 of 17. VA CulpeperCounty RoseHill 0004

View: Center passage stair, view to the south

5 of 17. VA CulpeperCounty RoseHill 0005

View: Second-floor, center passage, view to the northwest

6 of 17. VA_CulpeperCounty_RoseHill_0006

View: First-floor mantel, view to the northwest

7 of 17. VA CulpeperCounty RoseHill 0007

View: Second-floor south room, mantel and grained doors, view to the southwest

8 of 17. VA CulpeperCounty RoseHill 0008

View: Attic, center passage and stair, view to the west

9 of 17. VA CulpeperCounty RoseHill 0009

View: Detached kitchen, view to the north

10 of 17. VA CulpeperCounty RoseHill 0010

View: Detached kitchen, interior, enclosed stair, view to the east

11 of 17. VA CulpeperCounty RoseHill 0011

View: School or Old Hall, view to the northeast

12 of 17. VA CulpeperCounty RoseHill 0012

View: Smokehouse, view to the northwest

13 of 17. VA CulpeperCounty RoseHill 0013

View: Nalle Cemetery, view to the northwest

14 of 17. VA CulpeperCounty RoseHill 0014

View: Garage #1, view to the northwest

15 of 17. VA CulpeperCounty RoseHill 0015

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View: Garage #2, view to the west

16 of 17. VA_CulpeperCounty_RoseHill_0016 View: Grain House, view to the northwest

17 or 17. VA_CulpeperCounty_RoseHill_0017 View: Bird Houses, view to the southeast

Paperwork Reduction Act Statement: This information is being collected for applications to the National Register of Historic Places to nominate properties for listing or determine eligibility for listing, to list properties, and to amend existing listings. Response to this request is required to obtain a benefit in accordance with the National Historic Preservation Act, as amended (16 U.S.C.460 et seq.).

Estimated Burden Statement: Public reporting burden for this form is estimated to average 100 hours per response including time for reviewing instructions, gathering and maintaining data, and completing and reviewing the form. Direct comments regarding this burden estimate or any aspect of this form to the Office of Planning and Performance Management. U.S. Dept. of the Interior, 1849 C. Street, NW, Washington, DC.

